New Errands

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Welcome to New Errands!

The Eastern American Studies Association and the American Studies Program at Penn State Harrisburg are pleased to present the sixth issue of *New Errands*, an online journal that publishes exemplary American Studies work by undergraduate students.

Seeking to develop the next generation of Americanists, *New Errands'* mission is both to provide a venue for the publication of important original scholarship by emerging young scholars and to provide a teaching resource for instructors of American Studies looking for exemplary work to use in the classroom.

New Errands will be published semi-annually, after the end of each academic semester. The goal of this timetable will be to collect and publish essays produced during the previous term, so that they can be made available as quickly as possible for use in the following term. We encourage both self-submission by undergraduate students and nominated submissions by instructional faculty. They must have an American focus, but can employ a variety of disciplinary methods. Submissions can be emailed as Word documents to: newerrandsjournal@gmail.com.

Essays can be of any length, but they must have a research focus. Any visual images should be placed at the end of the manuscript, and tags should be placed in the text to indicate the intended placement of each image. Manuscripts should conform to MLA guidelines.

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For further information about the Eastern American Studies Association, including the annual undergraduate roundtable and the EASA undergraduate honors society, please visit: http://harrisburg.psu.edu/eastern-american-studies-association.

A Message from the Editors—

The Spring 2019 edition of New Errands includes six exemplary submissions. Leah Hunt's essay "*Just Mercy's* Stories of Unjust Ableism and Racialization" offers an intersectional analysis of the effects of race and disability in the criminal justice system. In her essay "Remarks on *Craftsman of the Cumberlands: Tradition and Creativity*," Alexandra Gupta analyzes the findings of Michael Owen Jones to determine how Chester Cornett's chairs could be interpreted in a museum setting. Jordan Cohn examines sheet music during the Civil War to offer fresh analysis of Abraham Lincoln's policies and public perception in "Abraham Lincoln and the Music of the Civil War Era." Micaiah Bulgrien, in "Legend Trips from Home Still Count," collects and analyzes interviews of legend trips done from home, determining that they fulfill the requirements of a traditional legend trip. In "Magic: The Obsession," Megan Martin explores the game Magic: The Gathering to determine the features of the game that make it both addictive and appealing to players. The final essay in this volume is "The Dynamics of Free Speech on Modern College Campuses" by Juan Flores-Serrano, Trishawna Forde, Austen Johnson, Monica Monteiro. This essay resulted from a case-study competition in which teams of students determined the best way for a fictional university to manage controversial speakers on college campuses.

This exciting collection of papers touches on a wide range of topics and research methodologies. In doing so, they reflect the breadth of American Studies scholarship while bringing attention to important current and historic events. Each paper also demonstrates a high commitment to excellence in both research and writing. As such, we hope that you will find in these papers strong examples of undergraduate writing that model interesting assignments and approaches at this level of scholarship.

We would like to thank Alicia Bott for her aid in the selection process. In addition, we would like to thank our contributors for their dedication to American Studies scholarship.

We hope you enjoy these essays.
Caitlin Black and Brittany Clark

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Just Mercy's Stories of Unjust Ableism and Racialization

Leah Hunt
Rutgers University

Bryan Stevenson is a renowned civil rights lawyer and the founder of the Equal Justice Initiative, based in Alabama. Stevenson's 2014 book, *Just Mercy*, recounts his early career as a defense attorney for death row prisoners and his journey to making the Equal Justice Initiative the force it is today. He is passionate about fighting for people on death row and working against the tide of mass incarceration, which he defines as the system by which the nation has disproportionately incarcerated people of color and even profits from the criminalization of people. Mass incarceration fractures and disempowers poor, working-class, and racially-marginalized communities nationwide by holding them in punitive confinement, depriving them of potential workers in their economy, setting additional roadblocks on the path to higher education and employment, and overall inflicting trauma on individuals and communities. The cycle continues as it disproportionally criminalizes people who cannot financially support themselves - be it because of disability, economic depression, and/or systemic racism - for not being able to conform to the societal mold of the "good citizen" who has a job, a place to live, and access to affordable healthcare.

In *Just Mercy*, Stevenson tells the personal stories of a multitude of people he has represented throughout his career as a lawyer, including many black people living with mental disabilities, such as Horace Dunkins, Trina Garnett, and Joe Sullivan. He details their situations in which law enforcement played on racial fears and stereotypes of black criminality, while also not taking their disabilities into consideration when handling their cases. These three people find their identities at the intersection of oppression because of both racism and ableism (among others), that have deep roots in the United States criminal justice system. The stories of Horace Dunkins, Trina Garnett, and Joe Sullivan tell of people whose criminal justice outcomes are not only affected by the historic overcriminalization of black people, but also by systematic mistreatment of people with disabilities.

Prisons and jails are the nation's de facto treatment centers for mental illness. This phenomenon has been thoroughly analyzed in Alisa Roth's book, *Insane: America's Criminal Treatment of Mental Illness.* She radically asserts, "In America, having a mental illness has become a crime," ("Insane"). According to the Federal Bureau of Prison Statistics, 64% of the nationwide jail population suffers from mental illness (Cullors 2). Furthermore, a supplementary report that the advocacy group, "'Dignity and Power Now'" submitted to the United Nations Human Rights Office states, "Black people with mental health conditions, particularly Schizophrenia, Bi-Polar disorders and other psychoses are more likely to be incarcerated than people of other races" (Cullors 2). Despite these statistics, the United States' criminal justice system turns a blind eye to mental health in all steps of the judicial process. The desire to keep costs low contributes to jail and prison facilities' lack of qualified mental health care professionals. Overcrowded facilities often employ unlicensed counselors and even then have too few to serve their population, resulting in prisons simultaneously denying proper care and overprescribing medications as a last-resort (Cullors 2). In the stories of Dunkins, Garnett, and Sullivan, two major sites of injustice appear initially: the exclusion of their disability from consideration in the discussion of sentencing and the mistreatment and abuse because of their disability while incarcerated.

Both Trina Garnett and Horace Dunkins were sentenced to life in prison and the death penalty, respectively, despite their documented intellectual disabilities (Stevenson 71). Garnett is developmentally disabled and sustained childhood trauma. She was sentenced to life without parole for accidentally lighting a fire that burned down a home and caused two fatalities. Dunkins was also intellectually impaired, as evidenced by IQ testing. During Dunkins' time on death row, the Supreme Court actually upheld the practice of capital punishment for the mentally disabled in 1989 with *Penry v. Lynaugh* ("Penry"). This ruling left little hope for Dunkins' case, and he was ultimately executed in a mishandled procedure that made national news for its atrocity. Due to improperly

connected cables, the procedure took nineteen minutes in total (Applebome). Not until 2002, following *Atkins v. Virginia*, was the execution of intellectually disabled people outlawed ("Atkins"). The discrimination against such people in the criminal justice system did not cease there. The aforementioned report from Dignity and Power Now detailed that today people of color "report receiving considerably harsher sentences than their white counterparts and feel they are less likely to be offered alternative treatment programs or "rehab" instead of incarceration during sentencing" (Cullors 3). Garnett would have been a valid candidate for a reduced sentence and/or an alternative treatment program; she showed signs of intellectual disability as a child and likely experienced post-traumatic stress disorder from her lifetime of abuse, but her case fell through the cracks of the criminal justice system. It was neglected because of her race, gender, and class. Her lawyer failed to file the paperwork necessary for her to be proclaimed incompetent to stand trial. No one fought against the decision to try the (at the time) fourteen-year-old in adult court, and her lack of intent to kill could not be taken into consideration for sentencing of the second-degree murder as per state law (Stevenson 150). The mandatory sentence was life in prison without the opportunity of parole. Through this series of unjust events, a fourteen-year-old mentally disabled girl from a broken home ended up sentenced to die in prison for an unintentional crime.

Garnett's story of mistreatment continued when she went to adult prison. There, a correctional officer raped and impregnated her, not only traumatizing the young woman with the initial sexual attack, but also with the stresses of pregnancy and birth. Like most women in prison prior to widespread state policy changes in 2008, Garnett was handcuffed to a bed while she gave birth to a child that was subsequently taken away (Stevenson 151). As can be expected, her mental health worsened further. Stevenson recounts that she became less functional: "Her body began to spasm and quiver uncontrollably, until she required a cane and then a wheelchair. By the time she had turned thirty, prison doctors diagnosed her with multiple sclerosis, intellectual disability, and mental illness related to trauma" (151). Prisons are constitutionally obligated to provide those who are incarcerated with psychiatric care, as decided by the

1976 Supreme Court case Estelle v. Gamble (Press). Not only did the carceral system fail to help Garnett maintain her baseline health, but its harsh environment compounded her illnesses. Dignity and Power Now writes, "While most offenses committed by people with mental conditions tend to be nonviolent… their incarceration (instead of voluntary treatment) often exacerbates their conditions and results in higher rates of trauma, criminality and recidivism" (Cullors 2). Garnett experienced trauma as a child, went untreated for years, was sentenced to prison without consideration of said trauma, continued to lack treatment in prison, and to top it off, experienced new trauma while under state custody. This cycle only further cripples those who have had a difficult time thriving in this hyper-capitalist, overpoliced society where one's ability to obtain money dictates one's health outcomes, freedoms, and overall quality of life. This system criminalizes vulnerable people for being vulnerable under the system of capitalism, and then punishes them by inflicting more harm, yielding them even less capable of functioning in the "proper" way in society.

Stevenson also tells of his experience with his client Joe Sullivan, who was intellectually impaired but nonetheless sentenced to life imprisonment without parole when he was thirteen years old. According to Stevenson, Sullivan read at a first-grade level (Stevenson 258). After the boy allegedly participated with older teens in the robbery and sexual assault of an older woman in her home, the court reviewed his history of nonviolent, misdemeanor-level juvenile incidents and decided that he was a "'serial' or 'violent recidivist'" who had already thrown away his second and third chances (258). Like Garnett, Sullivan only found more trauma in prison. He was raped and sexually assaulted many times and he, too, developed multiple sclerosis from trauma in prison and was ultimately bound to a wheelchair. In this way, the criminal justice system was able to criminalize him because of his mental disability and then through imprisonment render him physically disabled, only making it infinitely more difficult for him to conform to societal expectations of self-sufficiency.

When Stevenson met Sullivan, he was an excited and gentle young man juxtaposed within the harsh and unforgiving environment of prison. He had served eighteen years and was reading at a

third-grade level at age thirty-one. In awaiting Stevenson's arrival, Sullivan was wheeled into a four-by-four-foot cage that was apparently protocol for movement of all lifers, no matter how low-threat. It took four men to get the wheelchair out of the cage, all the while jostling and frightening Sullivan inside (Stevenson 262). This punitive approach is not only unnecessary, but it is detrimental to the mental and overall health of prisoners such as Sullivan. This is an example of the multitude of ways that law enforcement and correctional officers mishandle mentally disabled people inside and outside prisons. The Dignity and Power Now report states that in the Los Angeles, California jail system, a third of sheriff deputy-on-prisoner force is perpetrated against prisoners with mental health issues. The deputies "respond more aggressively and more skeptically to requests and actions, including about health concerns, by Black and Latino prisoners as compared to White prisoners" (Cullors 3). Such abuse is tied to the historic dehumanization of black and brown people in the nation. Since the dawn of colonial chattel slavery, the hegemony has seen black bodies as "slaveable," disposable, and dangerous.

From inside Florida's Dade Correctional Facility, stories of horrific abuse against mentally ill people of color have come to light in the past few years. Journalist Eyal Press wrote for The New Yorker about the conditions in the facility's mental health ward, where verbal, physical, and sexual abuse is rampant. In multiple instances, correctional officers attempted to handle mentally ill individuals that they felt were disorderly by locking them in a shower stall with the water on at above 150 degrees. One man, fifty-year-old Darren Rainey, died from this treatment. Press reports: "It was later revealed that Rainey had burns on more than ninety per cent of his body, and that his skin fell off at the touch." Countless other instances of violence, such as officers beating handcuffed prisoners were witnessed by staff, but the culture within the facilities makes it too intimidating for most people to report these abuses. The witnessing prisoners fear being abused themselves. Staff may fear losing their jobs and often feel conflicted about loyalties to correctional officers, who protect them while on the job (Press).

The cases of Horace Dunkins, Trina Garnett, and Joe Sullivan as described in *Just Mercy* by Bryan Stevenson are testaments to the disproportionate harm that the system of mass incarceration inflicts upon black people, the poor, and people with disabilities. They are among the groups most vulnerable to being inhumanely and unjustly treated within the criminal justice system. Dignity and Power Now references studies on the vicious cycle of effects on black people who do not have adequate access to mental health care, leading to "more severe symptoms, greater criminal involvement, and more frequent arrest" (Cullors 2). A long history of racialized citizenship and the more recent, intertwined histories of mental healthcare deinstitutionalization and mass incarceration brought us to where we are today. If there are little to no public mental health care programs in the nation, where else will a person of humble means who cannot function as a cog in the machine of capitalism end up but on the streets or imprisoned? There simply is no place in our highly monetized society for people who lost the lottery of birth to get help maintaining or repairing their mental health if they cannot afford it.

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Remarks on *Craftsman of the Cumberlands: Tradition and Creativity*

Alexandra Gupta
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The following essay addresses the several questions relating the Chester Cornett and other craftsmen operating in southeastern Kentucky during the 1960s, the subject of Michael Owen Jones's *Craftsman of the Cumberlands: Tradition and Creativity.* The first pertains to how Chester Cornett generated the designs of his chairs, referencing his innovative design process and his grounding in historical designs and processes. The second brings into question Chester Cornett's financial, aesthetic and emotional motivations for chairmaking and compares and contrasts his motivations with those of fellow chairmaker, Verge. The third speaks to what Chester's work in chair-making reveals about humanity from an aesthetic viewpoint, expanding the notion of folk art beyond something that is "old-fashioned" and towards something we can understand as innovative, creative and artistic. It also opens the relation between "art" and "usefulness." The last deliberates on which of Chester's works are best-suited to exhibition in an art museum, based on aesthetic, historical, and psychological reasoning.

Generating Designs

Chester Cornett generated the designs of his chairs through a process that started with him finding inspiration, often through dreams, then taking the time to think through the physical details of the design and using a combination of innovative techniques and historical processes to realize his designs. Michael Owen Jones describes Cornett's general process as "envisioning in a flash of inspiration a form or parts of a larger form, puzzling about how to actualize the form, and imagining (and even mentally testing) ways to achieve objectives" (Jones 78). Cornett's process is investigated more specifically when Jones describes how Cornett conceived the ideas for the New Design and the Bookcase Masterpiece.
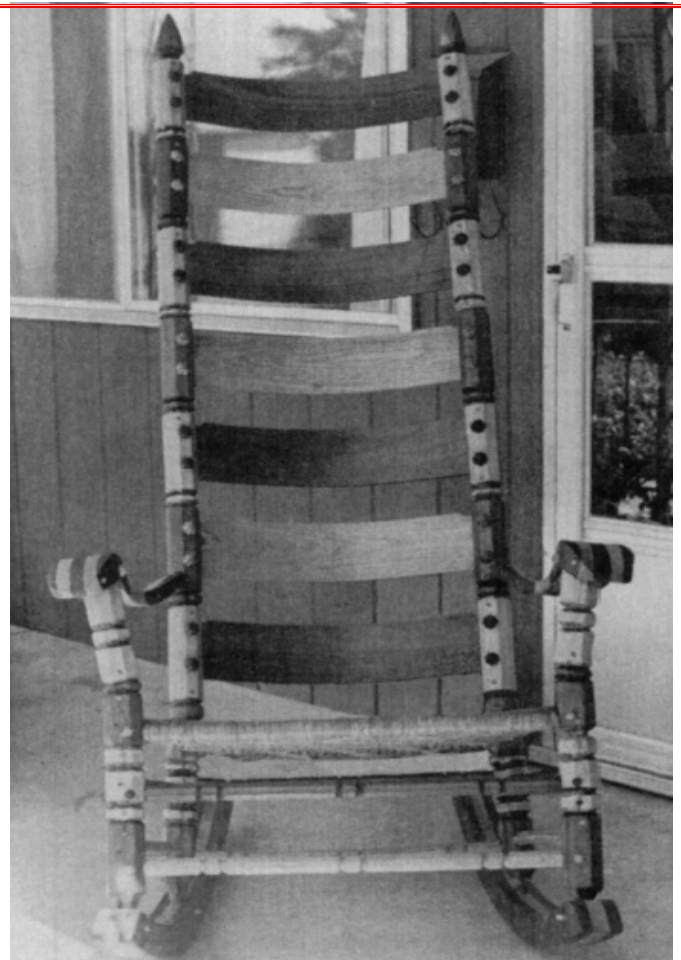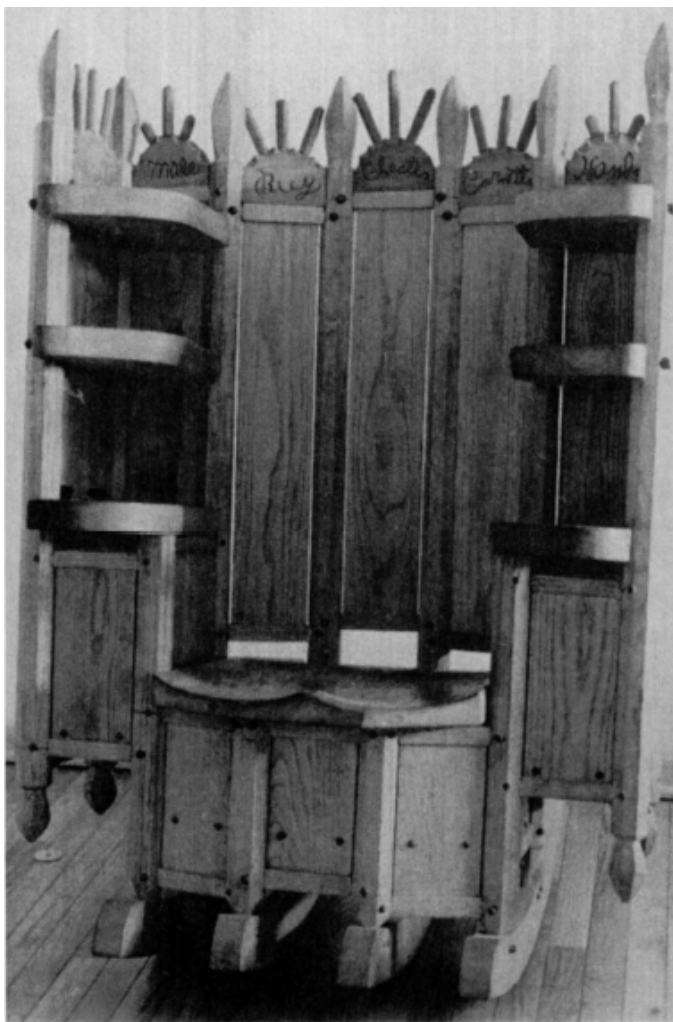

Figure 1 The New Design

In the case of the New Design, "a rocking chair consisting of alternating pieces of dark and light wood," Chester followed the general process detailed above (Jones 67). The process began with the inspiration for the chair coming to him in a dream; Jones mentions that, "Chester told me several of his chairs had appeared to him at night just before he went to sleep and that later he thought about the forms and designs until they were well formulated in his mind" (Jones 66). In addition to drawing inspiration from his dreams, Chester drew inspiration from prior experiences. For instance, he drew inspiration from earlier ideas of contrasting dark and light wood; he previously had plans to make a bedstead using contrasting wood and at one time he made a dining table featuring alternating sassafras and walnut for his wife (Jones 71). In addition, he recalled a chair featuring contrasting colors of wood made for President Kennedy by other chairmakers called Hascal, Verge and Aaron (Jones 78). The chair made for President Kennedy had a checkerboard seat that fascinated Chester and even though he ended up not being able to

incorporate that aspect into the New Design due to lack of materials, that detail factored into his inspiration and design process (Jones 73). This design is rooted in a traditional six-slat rocker design—Chester innovates it by adding another slat and adding the contrasting wood component (Jones 70). As far as assembling processes, Jones claims that, "Some techniques and construction of [the New Design] were traditional in the sense that other craftsmen used them" (Jones 78). These traditional techniques would include using glue and pegging for assembly as well as the shared idea of using contrasting woods. The process of the New Design provides an example of Chester's process for generating his work.

Figure 2 Chester's Bookcase Masterpiece (Jones 50)

The design of the Bookcase Masterpiece also follows the same general process as the New Design. Jones mentions that the inspiration for the design also likely came to Chester in a dream (Jones

75). In addition to drawing inspiration from the dream, Chester, "Envisioned [Jones] in the chair, remarking that it was for a person like [him] to sit in, surrounded by books...and smoking a pipe" (Jones 75). Chester focus on traits like "solidarity" and the chair being "heavy and enduring"—he developed these traits throughout the process by making the chair throne-like (Jones 75). Like the New Design, he pulled inspiration from earlier designs including "the Dolph chair," another rocking chair he had made (Jones 75). As far as techniques, he followed traditional techniques he had learned through his career, the Bookcase Masterpiece was an ordinary chair with "twice as many posts and rockers as an ordinary chair" (Jones 77). Overall, "Although nearly every element of the chair had precedent in Chester's forty-year career as a craftsman, each feature had been elaborated or even carried to an extreme" and in this way Chester innovated (Jones 77). Chester's process for generating chair designs can be summarized in the follow sequence of events: drawing inspiration from dreams and past experiences, carrying out his designs using traditional techniques (innovating where necessary), ultimately carrying these traditional techniques to extremes as in the Bookcase Masterpiece or adding other elements, such as contrasting wood in the New Design to innovate and create something new and unique.
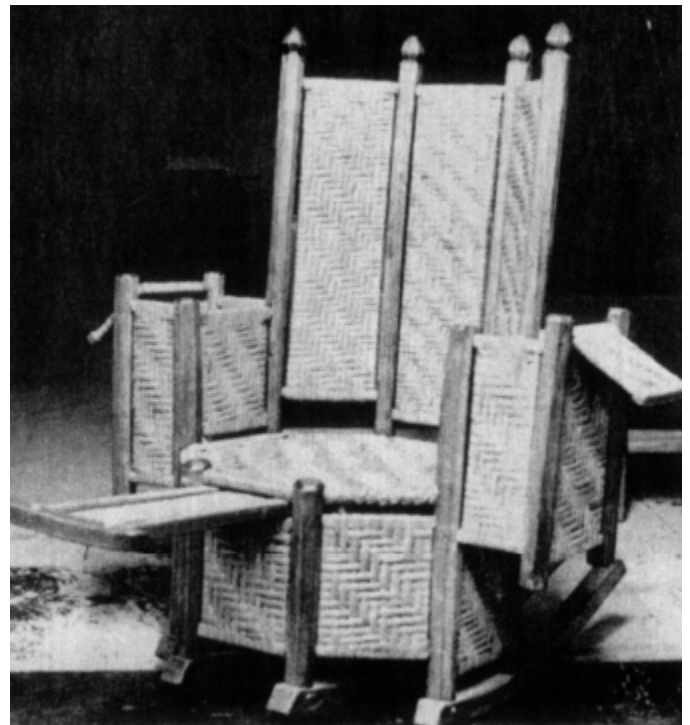
Figure 3 The Dolph Chair (Jones 63)

Motivations

Chester Cornett shares some motivations with other chairmakers, specifically Verge, with whom he shares financial motivations since both seek to make money off of their work. However, when contrasted with the motivations of Verge, Chester puts more value on certain aspects of chair creation, including uniqueness and originality, than Verge. As far as financial motivations, both Chester and Verge aim to make money. However, Verge claims that he "'makes [chairs] for the money' and not for the 'sake of makin' a good chair'" (Jones 196). Even though Chester too is interested in making money, getting into the habit of making more unique chairs to attract "wealthier clientele whenever possible," Chester is also interested in constructing chairs where he can exercise his creativity and make something original (Jones 43). In contrast, Verge would rather repair chairs than build them because of larger profits and "Verge was especially keen on achieving rapid production of huge quantities of chairs" (Jones 201). Verge was more interested in making simple chairs that he could crank out, "[he] claimed not to have altered [his chair] dimensions in half a century...The chairs [Jones] did find, however...suggested that Verge increasingly simplified his designs" (Jones 200). Chester's designs, on the other hand, seemed to get increasingly complicated, with the examples of his elaborate Bookcase Masterpiece and New Design showing just how intricate his designs could become. Aesthetically, both Verge and Chester sought to create a "solid and heavy" chair (Jones 199). However, Verge was critical of Chester's work, calling his chairs ugly (Jones 200). Verge's designs were more traditional; he looked in "mail-order catalogs" for designs" (Jones 201) and had "fundamentalist values" (Jones 202). Chester had a "willingness to 'fool' with chairmaking, that is, to take it seriously" allowing him to explore different ideas and pursue innovative designs Verge had no interest in creating (Jones 222). Aesthetically, Jones suggests that Chester "wanted to make a chair befitting his self-image as a master craftsman" and for that reason sought out more complicated designs (Jones 59). Jones also indicates that chairmaking was more than a job for Chester—"Chairmaking was the only occupation at which Chester was skilled and the only work he enjoyed" (Jones 93). Even though there is some overlap in Chester's motivations and Verge's motivations as far as aesthetics and financial motivations, Chester placed large value on originality and pushing the chair making into new territory

Chairmaking: Usefulness Versus Art

Craftman of the Cumberlands reveals a difficulty in reconciling the idea of "art" and the idea of something that is "useful," at least in Western thinking—*The Potter's Art* challenges the dichotomy between art and craft, giving the example of Bangladeshi people's word *shilpa*, that encompasses both art and craft simultaneously (Glassie 30). *Craftman of the Cumberlands* demonstrates that even though many of people have difficulty allowing the ideas of "art" and "craft" to occupy the same plane when thinking about each of them, both qualities can exist in the same piece. Discussing Chester's New Design and Bookcase Masterpiece, Jones postulates that, "the chairs demonstrate that the aesthetic impulse existed even in a utilitarian form serving practical purposes" (Jones 79). Jones raises a question asked by Gurney Norman: "'But are they 'just chairs,' pieces of anonymous furniture to sit on and otherwise ignore?"(Jones 45). The argument for the first possible answer, that Chester's chairs are purely utilitarian pieces, would be supported by the presence of Chester's work in homes and households where his chairs are used daily. Upon collecting the designs, Jones realized that "the chairs were not exactly sterling examples of the chairmaker's art" since many were worn and had paint drips (Jones 46). However, the fact that Chester's chairs were being sought out for museums suggests another conclusion, that his chairs are art pieces with aesthetic value. In addition, "Gurney Norman had likened Chester's furniture to the world's great easel paintings" (Jones 45). This description paints Chester as an artist, wielding his tools expertly, delicate paintbrushes in his hands. However, Chester's own vision of himself is in conflict with Norman's view since "Chester identified himself as a chairmaker only, not an artist, an artisan or craftsman" even though he admitted that the aesthetics of making chairs was important to him (Jones 252). Aaron, another chairmaker, shares this view (Jones 253). "[Aaron] allowed…[that] his work might be craft because it was useful" but ultimately decided that art, for him, was limited to painting and sculpture, things he had seen and studied in the classroom (Jones 253). To

Aaron, art was "intended for contemplation rather than use" and thus his chairs would not fit into the definition of "art" (253). Here, a sharp distinction is drawn between what is useful and what has aesthetic value. However, Chester's Bookcase Masterpiece challenges this idea by existing as something with both utilitarian purpose and aesthetic value.

The Bookcase Masterpiece embodies the dual nature of the craft as both something aesthetic and artistic and as something that is meant to be used. As discussed earlier, Chester planned the piece with Jones in mind as the eventual user; it was designed for an intellectual with a place for books and a pipe (Jones 75). Chester intended the chair to be useful. However, others perceived the chair differently. Other chairmakers mentioned that they would display it in their house as a decoration and not sit in it (54). Ironically, though Chester intended the chair to have a utilitarian purpose, the chair was not very comfortable and due to simple physics, books would fall out of the bookcase part of the chair if someone rocked in it. That being said, even though it ended up being more of an art object in practice, the intention was for it to have both aesthetic value and utilitarian value. To Jones, the chair failing at its original purpose does not nullify its utilitarian value. He explains, "If the masterpiece has become 'just something to look at,' it is not because it is useless, but because its form transcends our experiences, transmuting the commonplace into something uncommon indeed" (Jones 77). Even though the other chairmakers saw the chair as something "to be chained to the wall and not sat in" they still envisioned a use for it (Jones 54). They saw it as something they could use to display "Pretties…[or] useless (although not worthless) things, such as flower and pinecone arrangements [and] found objects" (Jones 54). The Bookcase Masterpiece is a striking example of aesthetic and utilitarian values existing in the same piece, perhaps a representation of *shilpa*.

Museum Exhibition

If I were a curator of an art museum choosing a chair for the museum's collection, the Bookcase Masterpiece would be my first pick for the museum's collection. Out of all of Chester's works, the Bookcase Masterpiece seems like the obvious choice given how unique it is and how it is representative of Chester's abilities and vast skill.

As Jones puts it, "The chair culminates Chester's endeavors" (Jones 77). Although the chair does not personally appeal to me aesthetically in the sense that I do not look at it and think, "What a pretty chair," I can appreciate the labor that went into it and Chester's aesthetic goals, namely making the chair imposing and "heavy and enduring" (Jones 75). The chair also has psychological impact—the colleague of Dr. Kennedy's who spoke to the class via Skype talked about his moving experience in the chair's presence and getting to actually sit in the chair. The chair is striking and hard to ignore, what with its abundance of rockers and legs. It is almost a hulking, monstrous object. As a museum curator, it would be important to me to feature objects that draw attention and are visually interesting. Chester's Bookcase Masterpiece fits this description. The one-of-a-kind nature of the chair also makes it an appealing object to feature in a museum. For Chester, "It is a masterpiece, he says, because of its uniqueness" (Jones 77).

Figure 4 Chester Seated in the Bookcase Masterpiece (Jones 53)

Although Chester's simpler works demonstrate beauty and utilitarian purpose (I find the New Design especially pleasing to the eye), the Bookcase Masterpiece is easily his most ambitious project and it would seem a dishonor to Chester's memory to not display it if given the opportunity. In addition, as a museum goer, something as unusual as the Bookcase Masterpiece would be more likely to draw my interest than Chester's simpler work. As a museum curator interested in creating an appealing exhibit for museum visitors, it seems natural to include something as showstopping as the Bookcase Masterpiece. Although it might be somewhat impractical to obtain and display (a colleague of Dr. Kennedy/s mentioned that he had to drive cross country to bring the piece to the desired location), "The two-in-one, bookcase rocker, masterpiece of furniture testifies to what Chester could accomplish through a lifetime of learning" and for that reason, would be well worth the trouble to add to a museum collection (Jones 77).

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Abraham Lincoln and the Music of the Civil War

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Introduction

Music pervades civilization in almost every institution and serves as a provider of important ideas. Today, music carries heavy political meanings, as artists frequently opt to explicitly voice their opinions and express their emotions through song and dance. The 19th century was no different. An especially turbulent period in American history, the years of Lincoln's presidency were marked by a staggering amount of political unrest. In this tumultuous time, music played a large role in spreading and reinforcing a wide breadth of beliefs. Acclaimed Lincoln and music historian Kenneth A. Bernard calls the Civil War a "musical war." His claim is further supported by the fact that more music was produced and performed over the four-year period of the American Civil War than during every other war combined.[1]

This paper will look at primary sources of music from the Civil War era that are still available to us for research. Thanks to Louis A. Warren, the director of the Lincoln National Life Foundation, there is an index of every piece of sheet music written about Lincoln at the start of his presidency, all throughout the Civil War, and after his death.[2] The index was released in 1940, and by using the pieces of sheet music provided, with the years of publication and the composers/artists listed in the index, a deep dive into the world of Civil War era music is possible. The Library of Congress holds digital copies of these pieces of music, sortable into different categories, and this online collection of sheet music provided easy access to these authentic primary sources.

Exploring the lyrics of these songs will reflect something that Lincoln cared very much about: public opinion of his office and administration. By researching and analyzing lyrics, it can be seen how the public interpreted Lincoln's policies and administrative goals. Lyrics can also demonstrate the support and opposition he received from followers and adversaries and display their reactions through popular music. By looking at a range of music over time, from the songs of Lincoln's electoral campaign in 1860 all the way to music commemorating his death, it will become clear how his image changed. Even pieces of sheet music that are instrumentals contain important information. What they lack in lyrics can be made up for in the style of song, the cover art and its depiction of Lincoln, and other annotations on the piece. The lyricists of the songs will also be a key factor in determining the utility of sheet music in uncovering themes of the Civil War. Although the ethnicities and backgrounds of the composers may not be information that is readily available, using the last names of the composers and the areas of publication and distribution as indicators can also shine a light on why certain music appeared, what audience it was meant for, and who was actually receiving it.

Each part of the paper investigates different parts of Lincoln's policy, including the preservation of the union, the military strategy and spirit of war, and emancipation. Within each section, relevant sheet music will be utilized to highlight different aspects of Lincoln's presidency. Specific lyrical excerpts will show the messages that the music conveyed. Then, secondary sources will reinforce the primary evidence. Additionally, a secondary goal of this paper is to advocate for the use of sheet music as a viable source of studying history.[3]

Lincoln and Music

Abraham Lincoln, the most influential figure of the Civil War era, was not immune to music's influence. His love of all kinds of music has been well-documented by a number of historians, and the frequency with which he encountered music during his presidency helped to establish the political, cultural, and social implications that music could carry in the United States. From the very start of his

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[1] Kenneth A. Bernard and Frank and Virginia Williams Collection of Lincolniana (Mississippi State University Libraries), *Lincoln and the Music of the Civil War* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1966), xviii.

[2] Louis Austin Warren and Lincoln National Life Foundation, *Lincoln Sheet Music: Check List* (Fort Wayne, Ind: Lincolniana, 1940), accessed Dec. 11, 2018.

[3] See **Historiography** section.

political career, music had a large presence in his life. He enjoyed music during his entire campaign for the presidency as well as during his years as a lawyer during which he traveled up and down the country on the Eighth Judicial Circuit and crossed paths with itinerant musicians.[4] After Lincoln was elected, music continued to have a steady presence in his life. His inauguration ball was a lively and rather splashy event, with a typical Marine band playing patriotic tunes in addition to a full-scale opera performance, which historian Douglas Jimerson says was the first opera to have performed at a presidential inauguration. [5]

Henry Clay Whitney, an attorney and friend of Lincoln, spoke to Lincoln's love of music in contrast to his understanding of it. He mentioned that Lincoln claimed that music had no utility other than the ability to please the listener and that "he fancied that the creator… made music as a simple, unalloyed pleasure."[6] This quote slightly contradicts other reports of Lincoln's reception of music. With his re-election in doubt in 1864, Lincoln was reported to have been "deeply affected", his face "wet with tears," after hearing "Lead, Kindly Light." This religious hymn pleaded for God to lead the narrator, and the narrator would show undying loyalty and trust in return for guidance. Lincoln, who at this time used religion as a source of solace, appreciated the song in the context of the uncertain situation he was facing.[7] Regardless of his emotional response, it is likely that Lincoln himself did not realize the practical importance of music.

The news of the attack on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, brought out a strong effusion of emotions in the nation's capital. People feared war while concurrently experiencing a newfound sense of excitement and spirit to jump into battle. [8] As a result of this unrest, a wave of relief flooded over the citizens of Washington as the New York Seventh regiment appeared in the city as the first wave of defense shortly after the event, on April 25. Along with defense, the regiment brought music, and it was the first military band to perform a concert at the White House for Lincoln. Sensibly enough, patriotic standards such as "Hail, Columbia" rang loudly through the streets as the Union military asserted itself as a proud defensive presence in Washington. [9]

Lincoln frequently heard "Hail, Columbia" in the early parts of the war, as the song represented the values of the Union and had done so since the days of George Washington. It discusses the value of staying "firm" and "united," and made a specific reference to a "band of brothers" in the oft-repeated chorus. [10] The song was very non-specific to the era, and yet was especially relevant as a period of disunion was about to completely dismantle the country over the coming months. Another patriotic standard, "Hail to the Chief!" was played with high frequency throughout the entirety of Lincoln's political career, often as an instrumental and with especially prominent stretches of popularity during election season. Again, this song was a traditional one, honoring presidents since the early 19th century. It was finally played at an inauguration ceremony for the first time in 1837 for Martin Van Buren.[11] In 1864, it is no wonder then that both Lincoln and McClellan welcomed the song as a part of their respective campaigns, while lyrics may have been slightly altered to denote who exactly was being hailed as "the chief." [12] Traditional songs, however important in continuing political customs and American rituals, were used predominantly for show and for entertainment.

[4] Bernard, xvii.

[5] Douglas Jimerson, "Music Played a Notable Part in Lincoln's Life," *The Washington Times* (Washington, D.C.), Mar. 22, 1997, accessed on Dec. 10, 2018, https://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-56847999.html.

[6] "Abraham Lincoln and Music," *The Lehrman Institute Presents: Abraham Lincoln's Classroom*, accessed on Dec. 10, 2018, http://www.abrahamlincolnsclassroom.org/abraham-lincoln-in-depth/abraham-lincoln-and-music/.

[7] Bernard, 147.

[8] Ronald C. White, Jr., *A. Lincoln* (New York, NY: Random House, 2009), 407.

[9] Bernard, 19.

[10] S. T. Gordon, "Hail Columbia," New York: S. T. Gordon, 1862, loc.gov.

[11] "Hail to the Chief," *Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C.), 2002, accessed Dec. 10, 2018, https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200000009/.

[12] Bernard, 243.

They did nothing to differentiate themselves for the specific era of the 1860's in the United States, and did not influence or encourage the spread of ideas and opinions specific to the war years throughout the audiences in front of which they were performed. These audiences could be quite large. For example, over 30,000 people gathered for a concert in Washington after the news of Gettysburg and Vicksburg reached the capital, and some individual songs sold over 100,000 copies in print by war's end. [13] Music had a potential to circulate throughout the entire public.

Thus, music during Lincoln's time was important in many ways for the lawyer and politician and for all of the citizens, whether they were viewed as loyal unionists or as Confederate rebels. Music was a reflection of the hearts and souls of many American citizens during a time where popular opinion was especially important to the receptive commander-in-chief. Many of the songs were written with direct references to the president, and additionally would reference members of his cabinet, members of the Confederate government, and draw explicitly upon the issues of the time to communicate ideas throughout the struggling nation.

Historiography

Although Kenneth Bernard's *Lincoln and the Music of the Civil War* extensively researches the president's relationship to music of the time, his work focuses on music that was popularly performed for or heard by the president. His detailed explanations of the president's emotional responses to certain songs and his accounts of performances help readers to develop a more complete view of the president as a person. Supplementing Bernard's historiographic approach on the music that Lincoln would have heard with the songs that most directly referred to the public opinion of Lincoln and the war provides an abundant source of information on the Union and the popular masses in the Civil War era.

A more general account of music of the Civil War, Sanjek's *American Popular Music and Its Business*, discusses some of the most important publishers, writers, and performers of music. Sanjek

breaks down the prominent music publishers of the time, including Oliver Ditson, who oversaw a whole network of music publishers throughout the North and is a renowned publisher of the sheet music featured in this paper. Sanjek also details which songs were popular at certain times, which implies how the song may have had an effect on the nation during the Civil War.

What this work will do differently is look at the lyrics of songs regardless of whether Lincoln would have heard them, and take their popularity into account separately from the political, religious, or social connotations of each song. The usefulness of Bernard's and Sanjek's works here is that they shine light on the relative popularity of each song, but regardless of these facts, the songs' meanings have never before been explored to this extent. There is one instance in Ronald White's biography on Lincoln where he discusses the importance of "We Are Coming, Father Abraham," and looks into the lyrical implications. [14] However, lyrics do not receive serious treatment in his biography or in any others that look into Lincoln and the Civil War. My research complements Lincoln biographers as well, in that the analysis of lyrics helps to provide context of the time period in which the songs were released and inform readers about the motivations and opinions of the people living under Lincoln. Sheet music provides a rich source and method of researching popular history, and additional research into the composers themselves, the frequent locations of performance, and the relative popularity of certain songs could inform historians even more on life during the Civil War.

The 1860 Campaign and Lincoln's Platform

The 1860 election was tightly contested from the very beginning for the Republican Party. Not until the third day of the Republican Convention did Lincoln take the lead over one of his fellow candidates, William H. Seward, whom he was trailing by three votes. One of the states in which Seward was leading going into that third day was Massachusetts, but by the end of the day, four votes had transferred over to Lincoln. [15] Several important pieces of music from the 1860 election

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[13] Bernard, 141-143.

[14] White, 491.

[15] White, 328.

supporting Lincoln were written and published in the capital of this crucial state.

An instrumental entitled "The Railsplitter's Polka" was written in Boston during the campaign. Written by A. Neuman and published by the aforementioned major printer Oliver Ditson, the cover page of this piece dedicates the song "To The Republican Presidential Candidate Hon. A. Lincoln" at the top of the page. Further down, the "R" that begins the title is made up of robust rail lines and wood.[16] This reputation followed Lincoln throughout his 1860 campaign whether or not it was his intention. Richard J. Oglesby, chairman of the convention, had brought in two rails and a banner that denoted Lincoln as the "Rail Candidate" which symbolized a movement away from slave labor and one towards free labor.[17] The railroad also represented Lincoln's work ethic and desire to spread west. As this piece of music was disseminated, the first thing that recipients would read was this title and the front page dedication to the favored candidate.

Once Lincoln had been established as the Republican candidate, a divided Democratic platform stood in the way as the final opponent in becoming president. Lincoln believed that although the South threatened secession, talk of this sort was "mostly bluster" and that other focal points were more important.[18] Instead, Lincoln advocated for the promise of "justice and fairness to all." [19] As his railsplitter reputation signified, he was totally against the extension of slavery so as to promote free labor. The songs of his campaign accurately reflect these ideas.

Karl Cora wrote two pieces of music in support of Lincoln's campaign which were published in Boston by Russell and Tolman. Although both were distributed in the same packet of sheet music, the two feature drastically different aspects of Lincoln's platform. "The Campaign" is displayed across the top of the cover page, followed up by Karl Cora's byline. Interestingly, the byline expresses that the words were "written expressly for the times," as if to indicate that the lyrics may not have a perpetual significance. Karl and Cora are names that are very often German in origin, and so Cora's allegiance to Lincoln, demonstrated in his campaign music, is appropriate based on the German opinion of the time. The Germans' "commitment to free soil," and thus opposition to slave labor, rang true in Cora's writing.[20]

The first of Cora's contributions, "We see the break of day," focuses almost exclusively on the slavery aspect of the Republican party platform. Cora writes from the perspective of an enslaved African American, deploying profound lyrics such as the following:

> *The hands that hold the Sword and Purse*
>
> *Ere long shall lose their prey:*
>
> *And they who blindly wrought the curse,*
>
> *The curse shall sweep away.*[21]

This verse seems to say that the owners of these slaves will lose their slaves without anything to gain from the loss.[22] Cora also writes about the maintenance of the "virgin beauty of the West" and encourages the prevention of anything that would stain it.The song ends on a triumphant note, claiming that the African Americans refuse to be slaves now or ever, and that the world shall soon find out that they are free.[23] Although Lincoln does not discuss emancipation this early into his political career, the Republican party's supporters include abolitionists and free African Americans, and Cora

[16]A. Neuman, "The Railsplitter's Polka," Boston: Oliver Ditson & co., 1860, Library of Congress website. Unless otherwise stated, all pieces of sheet music were researched through the Library of Congress website which will be denoted in footnotes as loc.gov.

[17] White, 320-321.

[18] White, 345.

[19] White, 332.

[20] Louise L. Stevenson, *Lincoln in the Atlantic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015) ,115 and 120.

[21] Karl Cora, "We see the break of day," Boston: Russell and Tolman, 1860, loc.gov.

[22] Lincoln hadn't introduced his idea of compensated emancipation until July of 1862.

[23] Cora, "We see the break of day," loc.gov.

connects with those audiences by speaking to the hope of freedom.

The second piece from Cora in this dual campaign set was "Freedom's Call." Instead of appealing to the more radical sector of Lincoln's supporters, this song serves a broader audience by discussing themes of perpetual union and strong leadership. Cora emphasizes Lincoln's belief in the founding fathers' intentions with lines implying that Lincoln "makes certain the way" left behind by "the shades of the fathers for freedom who died." Cora builds upon this patriotic and nostalgic sentiment and ends with "not for North or for South, but the best good of all, We follow Lincoln and his wild bugle call!"[24] As Ronald White mentioned, Lincoln did not like to focus on the growing threat of secession, and actually neglected the growing reality of its possible occurrence, and so these lyrics reflect that the president's avoidance of the topic of secession rubbed off on popular music supporting his campaign.[25]

Music continued to reinforce the concept of unity after the election, with songs like "Viva l'America." Written by H. Millard in 1861 and published in New York, the lyrics denounced the traitor and attempted to establish a strong sense of nationalism. The chorus of "united we stand, divided we fall! Union forever, freedom to all!" served as a direct counterpoint to the verse, which threatened the traitor and proclaimed "curs'd be his homestead… shame be his mem'ry…. Exile his heritage, his name, a blot!" [26] The song, "written to instill a new spirit of nationalism," became massively popular as the decade began.[27]

Live performances of music during and immediately after Lincoln's 1860 campaign featured popular songs that embodied the same themes of union and nationalism. *Hutchinson's*

Republican Songsters, For 1860 was a compilation of music of this sort performed by the widely popular Hutchinson Family, known for their abolitionist themes and overall strong support of republicanism. One of the most popular musical groups of the time, the Hutchinson Family was hired by Lincoln to perform in the Red Room of the White House for private parties, and so their music appealed not only to the wider audiences that would hear their music at celebrations and receptions, but also for private guests of the president.[28] The Rhode Islanders' band, composed of troops, celebrated Lincoln's election with performances of pieces like "The Flag of Our Union," which stresses the preservation of all aspects of our nation, including the lakes, the lands, and the hearts and hands of citizens under the flag.[29]

Military Strategy and Emancipation: 1862-1864

Unfortunately for Lincoln and the rest of the United States, the idea of perpetual unity was almost immediately destroyed when the Confederates attacked Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861. Military consequences had now emerged out of the political tactic of secession, and Lincoln's role as commander-in-chief came into the public eye. Inadvertently, the Confederate attack stirred up the North to rally around a common cause and strengthened its unification.[30] As secession pulled more and more states out of the union, faithful Americans "dedicated to preserving the Union turned to patriotic music." [31]Seven months after the attack, the North's patriotic sentiment was to be reflected in what Kenneth Bernard calls "the greatest song of the war." [32] Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," still a recognizable tune today, had a major impact on the war spirit of the Union. It utilized the melody of "John Brown's Body," a popular Union song about the abolitionist

[24] Karl Cora, "Freedom's Call," Boston: Russell and Tolman, 1860, loc.gov.

[25] White, 345.

[26] H. Millard, "Viva l'America," New York: Firth, Pond & Co., New York, 1861.

[27] Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business, Volume II: The First Four Hundred Years Volume II: From 1790 to 1909* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 240.

[28] Bernard, 56-57.

[29] Bernard, 26; Wm. B. Bradbury, "The Flag of our Union," New York: Firth, Pond & Co., 1861, loc.gov.

[30] Michael P. Johnson, *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2011), 70-71.

[31] Sanjek, 234.

[32] Bernard, 50.

from Harper's Ferry.[33] Howe's song "stir[red] the conscience of the whole North" and pinned religious undertones to the whole cause of the war.[34] By deploying lyrics like "As He [Christ][35] died to make men holy, Let us die to make men free," the war effort was elevated to one that put the morality of citizens at stake unless they fervently supported the war effort.[36]

On July 1, 1862, Lincoln made a bold move as commander-in-chief. A wave of "great Northern discouragement," no doubt a response to a long series of Union losses under General George McClellan in his Peninsula Campaign, led to Lincoln's call for 300,000 volunteers.[37] Soon after, James Sloan Gibbons, a quaker abolitionist and economist by trade, wrote a poem titled "We Are Coming, Father Abraham."[38] The words of the poem were set to music at least seven times by different artists, including the hugely popular Stephen Foster. The song, written in the plural first person, unites all listeners together in a zealous attempt to invigorate the North. Different versions of the song, depending on the composer, contain subtitles with different numbers of volunteers. A version released in Philadelphia, for instance, is subtitled "600,000 more," while a version published in Boston only subtitles the piece "300,000 more."[39]

The differing numbers of volunteers aside, the song officially frames Lincoln as more than just a president and commander in the public eye. Lincoln had now attained a patriarchal presence. The lyrics of this song recognized many of the emotions that Unionists were experiencing: the volunteers were sad to leave their homes, but their "hearts [were] too full of utterance" even as "a farewell group stands weeping at every cottage door."[40] Expressing the cognitive dissonance that the volunteer must have felt made the song more personal and thus more salient. Lincoln himself commented that the song "contained an excellent sentiment and was sung in a manner worthy of the sentiment."[41] Father Abraham's recognition of the song helped bolster the song's success as shown by the two million copies of the song that were distributed before Gibbons's death in 1892.[42] George F. Root's "Yes, We'll Rally 'Round the Flag, Boys (The Battle Cry of Freedom)," a similar theme song of the Northern war effort, was printed 500-700 thousand times.[43] The sheer quantity of pieces published demonstrate the immense success that these songs had.

Wartime songs did not always carry positive and enthusiastic messages. A parody of Gibbons's famous tune reflected a drastic change in Northern attitudes as the war dragged on. The first federal conscription bill passed in March, 1863 sparked a series of protests. One part of the law that enraged poorer Northern citizens was the clause that accepted a "$300 commutation fee" in order to exempt someone from the mandatory draft.[44] Anti-draft rioters paraded through the streets of New York and sang the "Song of the Conscripts," which contained the following verse:

We are coming, Father Abraham,
three hundred thousand more.

[33] Bernard, 50.

[34] Bernard, 51.

[35] My addition.

[36] Julia Ward Howe, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1862, loc.gov. The LoC website says the piece was received by the LoC in 1890, and so can't put a date on the actual age of the sheet music. However, the song itself was first published in 1862.

[37] White, 490.

[38] Bernard, 76.

[39] White, on page 490, claims that Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 volunteers in July, 1862, whereas Johnson, on page 109, writes that Lincoln called for 600,000 volunteers in July and August 1862. Different versions reflect both of these claims.

[40] James S. Gibbons, "We are Coming, Father Abraham," multiple versions, loc.gov.

[41] Bernard, 82.

[42] Bernard, 75.

[43] Bernard, 75.

[44] Adrian Cook, *The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 51.

*We leave our homes and firesides
with bleeding hearts and sore,*

*Since poverty has been our crime, we
bow to the decree;*

*We are the poor who have no wealth
to purchase liberty.*[45]

The biting sarcasm apparent in these words show a complete contrast, albeit from a single group, to the jubilant expression of respect for Lincoln displayed less than a year earlier. It wasn't the only time the song had been made into a parody. In 1864, the meaning of the song changed to advocate the Democrat party candidate, George McClellan. "We are coming Father Abraham" was proclaimed not in a supportive tone, but in a threatening tone, and was followed up by "two millions strong I'm sure, to drive you from the white house; Abe your acts we can't endure." The acts are then specifically listed and mention his suppression of habeas corpus among other alleged violations.[46]

Some songs, rather than resorting to anger, tugged at the heartstrings of listeners to protest the war and sympathize with those who had to deal with the domestic effects of the enduring conflict. Charles Carroll Sawyer's "Weeping, sad and lonely (When this cruel war is over)" was among the most popular songs at anti-administration protests in New York.[47] The war is called "cruel" and is written from the perspective of a family member awaiting his/her beloved soldier to come back home. A particularly powerful line suggests the harsh reality made possible by the war, as the narrator solemnly says,

Oft in dreams I see thee lying

On the battle plain,

Lonely, wounded, even dying,

Calling, but in vain.[48]

While the lyrics do not directly refer to Lincoln, his unwavering stance that war must go on stood in contrast to the longing desires represented in this popular song. Sawyer's moving piece sold over one million copies and was the most popular song of the entire Civil War era due to its message "which so strongly appealed to two great armies and to an entire people." [49]

The positive spirit of war intertwined with the longing for emancipation and the amalgamation of the two aspects of the war manifested itself in the lyrics of songs sung at contraband camps. Lincoln himself would hear some of these songs in his visits to the camps, and would even join in the singing.[50] The songs often suggested religious worship as a crucial part of emancipation. Before the proclamation was officially announced in September of 1862, Lincoln had generally acceded to the North's contraband policy through which fugitive slaves could work for the Union army.[51] At a contraband camp in Washington, D.C., the fugitive slaves sang songs that blessed Abraham Lincoln in anticipation of their hopeful freedom.[52] Although Lincoln's policies do not exactly reflect that of a great religious emancipator, a role that many of the songs bestowed upon him, it is probable that songs allowed these ideas to be disseminated and further entrench Lincoln into this position.

One title, the appropriately named "Song of the Contrabands," was full of references to Moses and Pharaoh, and the popular biblical motif of "Let my people go!" rang true throughout the lyrics and acted as the subtitle of the song. Arranged by

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[45] Cook, 52. Actual source of song could not be found, but is cited in multiple different articles.

[46] Bernard, 245.

[47] Bernard, 137.

[48] Charles C. Sawyer, "Weeping, sad and lonely (When this cruel war is over)," Brooklyn: Sawyer & Thompson, 1863, loc.gov.

[49] Sanjek, 245-246. Sanjek also notes that "criticism is baffled in an attempt to discover a reason for its popularity," on the same pages.

[50] Bernard, 92.

[51] Johnson, 115. However, Lincoln insisted that the slaves be returned if their master was a "loyal" one, but Johnson argues that this distinction was never made clear.

[52] Bernard, 93.

Thomas Baker, the song was said to originate "among the 'Contrabands' and was first heard sung by them on their arrival at Fortress Monroe,".[53] In all eleven verses, there is no mention of any current political figure or issue, but the intentions are completely clear. Perhaps to give the song legitimate political meanings, Baker created a parody of the song, changing the lyrics to represent the modern times and published it alongside the original sheet music of the "Song of the Contrabands."

Baker's parody, titled "The Lord doth now to this nation speak," continues the refrain of "Let my people go!" from the original, but replaces biblical characters with current figures and themes. Verse seven pleads:

> *Save freemen, saver our land from stain,*
>
> *O let my people go!*
>
> *Go say to Congress yet again,*
>
> *O let my people go!*

Verse nine features Simon Cameron, William H. Seward, and Salmon P. Chase in the lyrics, and is followed up two verses later by more members of Lincoln's cabinet.

> *Go say to Smith, Welles, Blair, and Bates,*
>
> *If you let my people go;*
>
> *Peace shall return to the Rebel States,*
>
> *Then let my people go!* [54]

The two songs had the same melodies and choruses, but the utility of each served the appropriate audience differently. Fugitive slaves and still-unfree slaves sang the song as a call for hope and for emotional unity among each and every one of them. Baker's agenda was to get the song into the public

and rally support for Lincoln's eventual proposal of emancipation.

When emancipation did finally occur, popular music discussed it frequently. A piece released in Boston in 1863, "We'll fight for Uncle Abe," continued the themes of patriarchy and military spirit. Even as the proclamation freed them, the sentiment still favored going into battle both to support Lincoln and to fight back against the side that caused decades of oppression. The cover of the sheet music denotes it as a "plantation song" and states that it is sung "with great success" by the Buckley Serenaders.[55] This group, one of the most popular blackface groups at minstrel shows in the United States in the 1850's and 1860's, would have been heard often.[56] The song supports General Grant, General McClellan, and mentions the great presidential power and leadership possessed by Lincoln. It even brings international politics into play, claiming that "Johnny Bull and Mister France are 'fraid of Uncle Abe." [57] Here, Great Britain and France are seen as scared to interfere with the war due to Lincoln's executive proclamation. The Emancipation Proclamation, as demonstrated through popular music, further elevated the stature of the Rail Candidate into a powerful, patriarchal, and practically religious figure. "Kingdom Coming (Year of Jubilo)," written by abolitionist Henry Clay Work, had existed before emancipation but took on a new meaning when Lincoln's proclamation reached the public. It was by far the most popular "freedom song" sung by both whites and blacks in the North, and sold over 3,000 copies a month.[58] The themes of religion that began in contraband camps had now resonated with the greater public, as Lincoln appeared to be "coming with his chariot" to free all of the slaves.[59]

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[53] Thomas Baker, "The Song of the Contrabands," New York: Horace Waters, 1861, loc.gov.

[54] Thomas Baker, "The Lord doth now to this nation speak," New York: Horace Walters, 1861, loc.gov.

[55] James Buckley, "We'll fight for Uncle Abe," Boston:Oliver Ditson & Co., 1863, loc.gov.

[56] Vera Brodsky Lawrence and George Templeton Strong, *Repercussions, 1857-1862*, Strong on Music, V. 3., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 95-96.

[57] Buckley, "We'll fight for Uncle Abe."

[58] Bernard, 99; Sanjek 236.

[59] Henry Clay Work, "Kingdom Coming," Chicago: Root & Cady, 1862, civilwarfolkmusic.com.

It is worth noting that not all emancipation songs carried a completely positive sentiment with them. For some Northern songs, the support of Lincoln combined with innate racism to create music that had ambiguous intentions. "Abraham my Abraham," released in 1863, sets the tone with just the title. The writer, listed as Wm. K. O'Donoughue, clearly possesses an Irish surname, and this helps us to understand why the lyrics may reflect multiple different opinions in regards to Lincoln's policies. The Irish, strong in their anti-nativist sentiment, supported the North in order to preserve the Union in fear that otherwise immigration would be not as accessible. The Irish stood out among other nations in their disproportionately large number of immigrants.[60] However, the Irish did not support the Republican Party's platform of abolition and anti-slavery. Emancipation could interfere with the Irish's ability to hold down jobs for cheap labor in the North as well as take up spots in the military.[61]

"Abraham my Abraham" portrays the Irish opposition to Lincoln's presidency. Freed blacks are referred to as "darkies," and Lincoln's proclamation is viewed as a "fatal word." [62] Whether the word "fatal" refers to the Confederates hopes of surviving the war, or the status of the North after emancipation introduces freed blacks into everyday life, is up to the interpretation of the listener. Regardless, the constant refrain of "Abraham my Abraham" transforms from an endearing remark in the beginning of the song to an almost shameful and reprimanding remark at the end.

End of War and Death/Remembrance: 1864-1865

Like many other pieces of art have shown, Lincoln's post-war depiction is almost always heroic. His reelection in 1864 coincided with key military victories to affirm his status as an idol throughout the North, and popular music reflected his heroism. "Abraham the Great and General Grant his Mate," written as a campaign song in 1864,

concluded prematurely that Grant would run alongside Lincoln in the election. The usage of "Uncle Abe" continues throughout the lyrics, as Lincoln's familial presence had now nearly been set in stone. Grant, a military hero for recent victories and the eventual force that warranted Robert E. Lee's surrender, would soon rise to celebrity status in the North. This song very well may have contributed to Grant's thrust into the national spotlight.

There was still some unrest as the war came to an end about the status of African Americans once the war was ever. This crucial component of reconstruction was a cause of fear in many Unionists who were not strong proponents of complete emancipation, and popular music picked up on this anxiety, as well. "That's what the niggers then will do," published in 1865, claims to have been sung with immense success on its title page, which may mean that it resonated with a lot of listeners. Sung from the point of view of a free African American, the narrator asks "but now our work is almost done, then what are we poor niggers guan to do!" [63] While this line may have sparked worry in white listeners who were not ready for the introduction of free African Americans into their community, subsequent verses work to show that African Americans can work to become proper citizens. The lyrics ask to "let us learn to read and write," advocate for their ability to "be faithful and true," and provide evidence that "we have proved that we can fight" and that all they ask for is to be men like everyone else.[64]

Wartime enemies were portrayed in popular music as well. An instrumental titled "Jeff's Double Quick" was an upbeat title, and even without lyrics, the release of the song in sheet music spread a political message. Published for the Western Sanitary Fairs of 1865, the cover art shows Jefferson Davis in a woman's dress, disguised so that he could steal food from more deserving people at the fair.[65] The absence of masculinity present in

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[60] Kevin Kenny, "Abraham Lincoln and the American Irish," *American Journal of Irish Studies* 10 (2013): 41.

[61] Kenny, 49-51.

[62] Wm. K. O'Donoughue, "Abraham my Abraham," Buffalo: Sheppard & Cottier, 1863, loc.gov.

[63] Tom Russell, "That's what the niggers then will do," Boston: Oliver Ditson & Co., 1865, loc.gov.

[64] Russell, "That's what the niggers then will do."

[65] E., M., "Jeff's double quick," Philadelphia: Lee & Walker, 1865, loc.gov. The only composer cited is listed as M. E.

this image of Confederate cowardice not only lifted Northern pride, but demoralized the South for following such an incompetent leader. Perhaps such an image could additionally transform former Confederate loyalists into Northern supporters due to their embarrassment.

After Lincoln's untimely death, an outpouring of popular music hit on the mournful feeling that had swept the North. Of these songs, "Farewell Father, Friend and Guardian" became the best known of Lincoln's funeral pieces, and the title shows how his image had transformed from a humble and honest worker into a familial icon.[66] "Rest, Noble Chieftain," "Let the President sleep," and "Lincoln's Requiem" are all other songs that achieved popularity in mourning of the assassinated president. Instead of dwelling on the assassination, but still in a very solemn mood, the lyrics of these songs acknowledge that Lincoln left the earth once he knew he had fulfilled all of his responsibilities and freed the nation from the massive burden of slavery. "Uncle Abe" had only accepted death once he had succeeded in his monumental goals, and everyone in the North could agree that his passing was a tragedy worthy of memorializing.

Further Research

The works explored throughout this paper only serve as a small representative sample size of the numerous pieces of music from the Civil War era. There are many avenues of research that music opens up. For one, the sheet music itself could be the focus, and discovering the commercial success of each song's sheet music could lead to understanding which opinions and ideas the public had seen most frequently. Breaking down music by the ethnicity and background of the lyricists and composers could reinforce and enhance our understanding on certain groups' opinions of the Lincoln and the Republican party. In addition, music released before and after the war most likely would continue to develop the patterns of popular opinion that this paper has just begun to uncover. Regardless of the focal point of the research, looking at music and lyrics is a fantastic supplemental source of historical information when accompanied by the facts of the times.

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[66] Bernard, 309.

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Legends from Home
Still Count

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There is nothing that disturbs law-abiding adults more than a group of hooligans invading the local cemetery in the middle of the night looking for ghosts and demons. It is often impossible for teenagers to fulfill their horror-driven desires while being so closely watched. However, in the age of the internet, that impossibility becomes relatively easy to overcome. First, it is necessary to understand what drives youngsters to partake in scary activities. Jih-Hsuan et al. suggest that this desire, especially for horror video games, comes from a feeling of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy is defined as "an individual's belief in his or her capacity to execute behaviors necessary to produce specific performance attainments" (Carey and Forsyth). Essentially, people enjoy being scared because they enjoy satisfying the belief that they would perform well in the same situation they see in front of them. So many "bad" horror movies are watched over and over because the viewers satisfy their self-efficacy by making fun of the characters' decisions or inserting themselves in the situation and surviving.

The idea behind a legend trip is that self-efficacy is fulfilled. A person, or, more likely, a group of people venture to a place of legendary significance to play with ghosts and/or demons and prove that they are not afraid. Tucker believes that these trips have a common three stages that validate their position as a legend trip. There is the plan—including research, the original legend-telling, and a plan of action/escape route—the trip itself, and the memorate, or the commemoration of the trip through sharing, story-telling, or summarization. However, when legend trips are the topic of conversation, a sub-genre is often overlooked. The legend trips from home represent the ability of this generation to satisfy their self-efficacy without breaking rules and waking up adults. They still count as legend trips because Tucker's three stages are still fulfilled, and the self-efficacy of participants is still activated despite not being at the scene.

In the planning stage, research is an important step; it is appropriate that it exists even from home. If the background of a legend is unexplored, then the group will not necessarily understand what they are seeking or doing on the trip. With the internet, this research becomes exponentially easier, and it can even be used for legend trips from home. I interviewed my friend Justin from Elizabethown about an experience that he had with a Ouija board. He is seventeen now and was that old at the time as well. He explained that his experience involved looking online to figure out how to set everything up. His trip involved enjoying a Ouija board with friends and encountering a few spirits: one that enjoyed the conversation and one that was not happy to talk to them. It would have been impossible for his group to have used the Ouija board if they did not know how to "awaken" the board and what to do when it was time to leave the spirit. Almost exactly the same type of research was done with a regular legend trip. My girlfriend, Alison, told me of a time that she went on a legend trip with her friend. They were both from Hummelstown and fourteen during the trip but are both eighteen now. She informed me that, while preparing for the trip, she was "looking up a bunch of scary things to do" and stumbled upon a game (Kreider). Her situation involved herself and two friends searching for a creepy game to play in the haunted house in which her friends lived. In both situations, the participators used the internet to research and plan their trips before going on them. Clearly, despite remaining at home, the first of Tucker's three stages in a legend trip exists.

The second of her stages is the trip itself, which, of course, persists even in the legend trip from home. The name "legend trip from home" would be incredibly misleading if "trip" was meaningless. My friend Kyler from Hummelstown told me a story while he was eighteen, but he was only sixteen during the trip. One night, Kyler and his friends were surfing YouTube for a creepypasta. A creepypasta is a word derived from copy and paste that is essentially just a scary story that is passed on around—copied and pasted—via the internet (Creepypasta Wiki). He disclosed to me that the creepypasta was fairly scary, mostly because of the ending (Sturgill). Apparently, it

vilified a clown that took an interest in a man's son, eventually mutilating the son and framing the father. The most important part of this story that equates the trip to a normal legend trip is the perpetuation of the trip itself. Most legend trips are easy to replicate; venture to the same place and do some exploring. Whatever activities that people did before can be repeated, and hopefully, the same scary things happen. When I searched for the creepypasta that Sturgill mentioned, I found it. It is called "Laughing Jack" and contains all the details that Sturgill recounted (MrCreepyPasta). The legend trip from home that Sturgill and his friends went on could be redone by any other group by watching the same video. This alone represents that legend trips from home fulfill Tucker's second stage.

Kreider's trip further substantiates the creepypasta's relevance. Her experience included copying a trip previously performed, not in the same place, but with the same technique. On her legend trip, the participants threw coins over their shoulders while asking questions of ghost twin sisters Sarah and Sarita (Kreider). This method was used by people before them, after all, that is why it is online. Because Sturgill's trip could be repeated by using the same video just as Kreider's legend trip could be repeated by going to the same place or using the same game, Sturgill does include Tucker's second stage: the trip.

The third and final stage of Tucker's legend trip that remains even from home is the memorate. I conducted an interview that had a memorate involving the ridicule of one participant. I interviewed Logan, a friend of mine from Elizabethtown, about a situation in which I participated. Logan was fourteen, but I was only thirteen during the trip. Beard spoke with me about his late-night browsing of the Xbox store to find a game that would keep us awake. Eventually a few of us left the room for a while and the remainder of the group along with Logan downloaded a jump-scare game intending to scare those of us upstairs. That ploy did work and the member of the group that sat down and actually played the game was surprised the most by the scary game, so we "made fun of him all night long" (Beard). Those jokes that lasted throughout the night about the player's panic represent the memorate that Tucker describes. It perpetuated the experience that we had and allowed

us to remember the fun that we had. All legend trips include some way of commemorating the experience, and for this trip, it was the jokes. In the "real" legend trip that Kreider described, the memorate revolves around one aspect of the trip. At one point, a handprint became visible on a window in the house and they took a picture of it. Additionally, they recorded the entire sequence on their phones, and they often share and re-watch the videos while talking about old times. Therefore, through the combination of the jokes made directly after the game and the ease with which Beard recalled the story, a feasible memorate arises, satisfying Tucker's third stage.

Returning to the self-efficacy involved with legend trips, if legend trips from home are to be considered, they must express that same self-efficacy. This is slightly more difficult to replicate because, in normal legend trips, the self-efficacy is clear since the participants are literally enacting a legend where it happened. However, from home, the more figurative meaning of self-efficacy must be utilized. Remember that self-efficacy describes the enjoyment one gets from a situation in which they believe they would perform well. An excellent way to accomplish this feeling from home is a horror movie. They often include a negative plot with a positive resolution that an audience could relate to or a negative plot with a negative end that an audience believes they could best (Jih-Hsuan et al.). My interview with my brother Ezra exemplifies that quality of horror movies. The one that he described was watched when he was thirteen and revolved around some people that died while trapped in an elevator at the hand of one of the others who happened to be Satan. He explained how, after the movie, the group talked about how "we would use certain methods that would identify the killer," emphasizing that the negative outcome on the elevator was not necessary (Bulgrien). The audience could have easily found out who Satan was and then gotten rid of the person he was possessing before he killed everybody.

So Bulgrien's story fulfilled Jih-Hsuan et al.'s theory that audiences enjoy self-efficacy through negative outcomes in which they are confident in their own abilities to perform well. Had the movie depicted characters that used holy water or tricked the demon to reveal who Satan was, Bulgrien's group would have agreed that they could

have pulled off the same feat, once again supporting self-efficacy. Because the characters failed to act adequately, the group felt self-efficacy because they believed they could do better. In this way, a horror movie can be regarded as a legend trip from home because it activates the self-efficacy in a group of people.

      Legend trips have been historically regarded as evil, dangerous, and chaotic, but the legend trips from home are safe and controlled. If it is so bothersome for parents to go rescue their children from cemeteries in the middle of the night, a horror movie or creepypasta is a perfect alternative. It has the same results as far as memories with friends and getting scared go without all the risks of being out in the dark or somewhere unfamiliar. Participants still obtain a feeling of self-efficacy while also traversing through Tucker's three stages of a legend trip. Essentially, the only difference between the two is where they take place. I do not suggest that the location where a legend trip takes place is irrelevant, because it certainly matters if it happens at home or in the original legend spot, but I do suggest that it is necessary to include legend trips from home in the realm of legend trips. It seems that the term "legend trip" might be a bit misleading. Perhaps we should say "legend experience."

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Magic: The Obsession

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Another Kind of Magic

It was Friday night in downtown State College, home of Penn State University. This school is known as one of the biggest party schools in the nation, so Friday nights are usually filled with excitement and carousing, and tonight was no different. As I got out of my car on top of the Frasier Street parking garage, I instantly felt the familiar Friday night pulse of downtown. My heart raced in anticipation; the rambunctious combination of loud music and laughter in the streets evoked vivid memories of nights where I sought excitement. The mixture of streetlights and the stars above was magical. Here, high above the chaos below, the unforgiving January wind whipped my face and reminded me to keep moving, as if it knew I had another kind of Magic to go admire.

I was on my way to the local comic shop, Comic Swap, in order to observe a session of Friday Night Magic. Magic: the Gathering is a collectable card game in which players invest money and time into building decks of cards, which they use to compete with one another. Magic: the Gathering was the first game of its kind, and has been extremely popular ever since its release in 1993 (Magic, n.d.). According to the Magic: the Gathering official website, over 12 million people play this card game worldwide (Magic, n.d.). Around the year 2000, players from around the world began gathering at local game stores on Friday nights to play tournaments, and "Friday Night Magic" has since become a regular and official event (Gamepedia, 2017).

An outsider may wonder how a card game could command such devotion from such a large number of people. I know I did, and that's why I set out to learn more about the people who play Magic. Certainly, as with any social hobby, the players both enjoy the game and the fellowship that comes with it. Moreover, the fantasy aspect of the game allows players to escape their realities and engage their imaginations, while the strategic aspect of the game allows them to engage their creativity and competitive sides. However, these features are common to any number of social hobbies, including role-playing games and tabletop games. What's more, neither of these types of games requires the same level of monetary investment that Magic demands. For example, after a person buys the necessary source material to play Dungeons & Dragons, no further purchase is required to play. Not so with Magic. The entire structure of the game is bent towards getting players to buy randomly assorted cards from newly released collections of cards, called "sets." After hearing how much money many Magic players spend on the game, I began to wonder if something more primal than their love for the game was driving them.

Cardboard Crack

After exiting the garage, I made my way towards a row of tiny basement-style storefront windows where enough light leaked from the windows to illuminate a sleek black railing and a set of worn, unattractive concrete stairs. Above the stairs is a black awning, which reads, "Comic Swap." I walked down the narrow concrete stairs, and I pulled open the squeaky metal door.

The meticulously categorized shelves of comics stood in contrast to the unsightly staircase and basement setting. The smell of the store brought back childhood memories of Dr. Seuss books. As a child, I loved stuffing my face into books and taking big whiffs. I made my way to the left side of the store where four Magic players were already in their room, setting up the evening's grey metal foldable tables and chairs. Several backpacks were thrown haphazardly about the floor near the matching grungy, red couch and chair. This room, more basement-like than the rest of the store, is relatively plain and unfinished, with white makeshift walls and fluorescent lights. A large poster of Emrakul, a giant-tentacled monster which looks like it was taken straight from the pages of an H.P. Lovecraft story, dominates the back wall.

Two men were playing a casual game against one another, ignoring me; but as it became clear that I wasn't going anywhere, they began casting subtle glances in my direction. I became self-conscious, so I introduced myself. They returned my greeting, but remained involved in their

game. Noticing my awkwardness, a curly-haired college student in a Nickelodeon T-shirt smiled at me, and graciously invited me to sit next to him.

I let out a sigh of relief, and quickly skipped to the uncomfortable grey foldable chair. "I'm Pedro," he introduced himself. His kind, hazel eyes and charismatic demeanor put me at ease while I explained why I was there. He jolted from his seat, and said, "I'm your guy…I'll teach you everything you need to know." Instantly, as if in one motion, he flipped his chair towards me, whipped out his worn Magic cards, and almost skipped his words as he spoke to me in what seemed to be another language: "You need land cards and mana cards in order to tap." Speaking a mile a minute, he passionately showed me his cards and told me their names: "These are tribal mechanics...this is a merfolk…this is a pirate creature." His passion for the game not only came through what he was saying; his eyes were on fire, his hands danced as he spoke, and his tone practically dripped with enthusiasm. I felt comfortable with him, so I burst out laughing as I pleaded for him to "slow down."

Our tutorial was interrupted by the shouts of the Magic tournament manager calling out orders, "Alright guys here's the lineup." The manager gained the attention of these rambunctious players, called the tournament to order, and assigned them to their seats for the evening.

According to Pedro, the tournament is set up as a "draft," which means that each player buys three packs of cards from the store at around five dollars a piece, and uses them to build their forty card deck to play the game. The players open one pack at a time, choose one card, and pass it down like an assembly line. I watched in amazement; the unwrapping of gold packs resembled the scene from *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory,* in which Verruca Salt's father has all of his workers frantically opening packs of chocolate so that they can find the golden ticket. The twinkle in the players' eyes seemed to reflect their excitement for the night's event. Other than the crinkling of the cellophane wrappers, the crowd was extremely quiet as they began their hunt for the best card. Pedro broke his silence as he tore open his next gold pack, "We love opening the packs…it's one of the best parts of the game."

Another guy chimed in, "Oh yeah, it makes my heart beat fast." Their excitement was contagious, and I was reminded of my own feelings earlier on top of the parking garage.

It struck me that eight men between the ages of twenty and thirty sat before me, looking like a bunch of little boys opening presents on Christmas morning. There was more than just childish joy in their eyes; there was a hunger and an anticipation that built up and was released when they tore open the packs. It reminded me of the feelings I experience when I buy a scratch-off lottery ticket. I asked the group, "Can anyone become addicted to opening the packs?"

One player shouted out, "They don't call it 'cardboard crack' for nothing!" The players laughed, and the tournament manager explained how he had a card collection worth over ten thousand dollars. I voiced my amazement; his collection was worth more than my car! Maybe the phrase "cardboard crack" was more than just a joke.

The Hook and the Chase

It is important to note how the business model behind Magic promotes addictive behavior. In order compete within the profit driven economy, trading card companies created "chase" cards, cards that are more valuable than other cards, in order to "hook" people into buying the best, newest, and most expensive cards (Craddock, 2004, p, 310). Indeed, the similarities between the trading card industry and gambling are strong enough to warrant concern. This is especially true for young people, who are the primary consumer demographic for trading cards (Craddock, 2004). Craddock (2004) stated that hobbies with these traits might lead to maladaptive gambling habits. Magic not only has all of the features which are the cause of Craddock's concern; the tournament structure provides even more incentive for invested consumers to keep buying cards.

Two of the most popular formats for Friday Night Magic are Standard and Limited. Both of these formats require continued investment if the player wishes to participate in them. The card pool in Standard regularly changes, with older sets leaving the format as new sets are introduced; in Limited format, players buy-in in order to draft new decks from a pool of previously unopened packs of cards. In other words, if players wish to maintain their consumer experience, they have to keep

buying more cards. This pattern is reminiscent of two key features of addictive stimuli: reinforcement, which means that exposure to the stimulus makes it more likely that a person will pursue that same stimulus in the future, and intrinsically rewarding, in which a person finds the stimulus to be gratifying or worthwhile in and of itself (Icahn School of Medicine, n.d.).

The resemblance to an addiction does not stop there: many Magic players use the game as a way to escape into a world of fantasy. Escapism appears to be one of the major motivations for playing Magic; indeed, some level of escapism is necessary to fully engage in the game. Others use it as a way to validate their feelings of narcissism and to find a group with which they can belong. Finally, one of the hallmarks of addiction is that it is pursued regardless of negative consequences (Angres & Bittenardi-Angres, 2008).

At its core, Magic: the Gathering is a business that requires a steady source of revenue: the overall business model attracts people who are susceptible to addictive tendencies and encourages addictive behavior. Throughout my time spent at Comic Swap, I have come to realize that Magic players are aware of the addictive characteristics of the game, and often have similar reasons for playing Magic in the first place.

The Definition of a Scam

I was lost in a Facebook hole, scrolling through my newsfeed while I was waiting for Friday Night Magic to start. It had been a long work week, and I was enjoying my escape into social media land. Adam, one of the regular Magic players, shouted from across the game table, "Don't worry, Magic players are habitually late." Another player slouched over his Magic cards, and chuckled as if he agreed.

I snapped out of my Facebook fog, jumped out of the comfy couch, and got focused on why I was there. "Thanks guys, I'm actually early tonight," I said. This seemed to reaffirm my non-regular status, and without acknowledgment, they returned to their casual game play. As I paced the creaky floor near the "50 cent comics" section, I noticed how quiet and tranquil the store was. My own feeling of tranquility, and my experience with social media outlets, helped me relate and

understand how Magic and other fantasy cultures can act as an escape from the stresses of real life (Martin, 2004). I wandered through the U-shaped wall, and made my way to the front of the store. A group of people walking down the stairs to my right caught my eye through the window on the door. Pedro was not amongst the crowd; however, a girl was joining the Magic tournament tonight, a rare sight indeed! I thought I'd take advantage of this situation, and asked her if I could interview her for my project.

She was one of only two girl players I have seen at these tournaments throughout the course of this semester, so I was thrilled when she said yes. "Let me buy my packs for the night and I'll meet you by the couches," she said. As I turned around and made my way to the game room, I noticed how many new players were coming in. Usually there are no more than eight players present on a typical Friday, so I stuck around near the front of the store to see what the deal was. I was informed that tonight was a special Limited tournament night; Magic was celebrating its 25th anniversary.

Having some knowledge about Magic's business model, I wasn't surprised to hear that they created a new set of cards for tonight's event. All of the eager players crowded the counter as they examined the shiny blue artwork on the foil packs. One customer expressed his displeasure, "Oh man, these are *way* more expensive." To be exact, these packs were twice as expensive as normal. Some other players mumbled under their breath about the cost; however, one-by-one they reached for their wallets and paid the hefty thirty-dollar price. I brought up the inflated price of the anniversary cards with the storeowner, Jay, and he said that it was the definition of a scam. He went on to explain that new sets were also being released more frequently than in the past.

After paying, my new interviewee turned towards me and said, "OK, I'm ready for ya."

It's Better Than Heroin, Right?

I learned that her name was Kelsey, and that she was in town for spring break from an art college in Brooklyn, New York. I wasn't surprised—she seemed like a New Yorker: her demeanor came across as cheeky and cool, she had an edgy sense of style, and was confidently wearing no make-up. She

tossed her black bag on the floor, sat cross-legged style on the red couch, and turned towards me. I explained to her what I was doing for class, and she thought that the project was really interesting. Acknowledging this male-dominated hobby, I asked an obvious question: "What's it like being a girl in Magic?"

She explained that it had its advantages and disadvantages. One disadvantage she mentioned was "gate-keeping." Kelsey explained, "Gate-keeping is when they make you prove you are smart enough to play Magic; however, that doesn't bother me much," she winked, "I know I'm way smarter than these dudes." I wondered if this reflected the narcissistic characteristics of Magic players, or if she was just being sassy (McCain et al., 2015).

Although the sexist aspects of the subculture may be annoying to female players, she told me a story about how one time she was able to buy an expensive Magic card from a guy for only $36. However, when her boyfriend approached the same seller about the card earlier the same day, he was charged $80. As she laughed about this event, I couldn't get over the fact that someone would actually buy a *single* Magic card for $80. Then I remembered how the tournament manager told me he had a Magic collection worth over $10,000. Magic seems like such an expensive habit to me.

My next interview question attempted to shed light on this aspect of the culture, "Do you ever feel like you spend too much money playing Magic?"

Kelsey rolled her eyes, crossed her arms, and leaned back into the couch and exclaimed, "Yes, but everyone has their own habits, right?"

I found her choice of the word "habit" interesting. I nodded and dug a little further, "Do you think that Magic is addictive?"

She barely hesitated to answer, and jokingly said, "Yeah, kinda like an addiction, but it's better than heroin, right?" This wasn't the first time someone told me they thought Magic was addictive. The Magic community is certainly aware of the game's addictive characteristics, and throughout my time observing this subculture, the players casually joked about this aspect of the game (Kastle, 2012).

Before I could continue the interview with Kelsey, we were interrupted by a loud, panting voice, "Sorry, sorry, sorry…sorry I'm late!"

Kelsey leaned over and said, "I'll let you two have at it."

Bragging Rights

I reassured Pedro that his tardiness was no problem at all and after he was settled, I launched into my interview. I asked, "When did you start playing Magic?" This question seemed to interest the other players. Several of the players crept closer to listen to his response. He, like most Magic players, described his start date based on what set of Magic cards was most current when he started playing. This seemed to be a way of establishing status amongst Magic players—the starting set signals how long they have been playing, and gives players bragging rights based on seniority.

"I started with *Ravnica*," Pedro said proudly. I learned later that this set came out in 2005. Pedro, like most Magic players I've met, started playing Magic when he was in middle school. Pedro's proclamation invited the other players to announce their set start date. As the players bragged about their set start dates, I couldn't help but wonder how middle school kids had the money to play this expensive game.

Chore Money Well Spent

This curiosity cued my next question, "How did you guys pay for your Magic habit?"

One of the younger players said that he started playing when he was nine years old, and that buying Magic cards was the highlight of his month: "I would use my chore money at the end of the month and basically run to the store." The others nodded in agreement and went on to tell their own stories about their obsession with Magic cards when they were younger.

I noticed that the conversation was getting a little off topic, so I asked one final question to the group, "Have any of you tried to play professionally?"

One of the older players spoke up: "I have gone to a few larger tournaments, but it became too expensive, so I moved on and grew up." The others

agreed, and told me that they just couldn't afford to keep up with the "pro-player" lifestyle. This wasn't the first time I have heard a player describe their brief experiences with competitive Magic as a phase out of which they grew. These explanations make sense given conventional wisdom, but I couldn't help but wonder if the idea of "growing up" as opposed to failing wasn't a way of maintaining a grandiose view of themselves (McCain & Campbell, 2015).

Last Call

As the clock ticked closer to draft time, the tournament manager shouted out, "Last call to buy packs and sleeves!" to which the players jokingly cried out in unison, "Last call for alcohol!" It was funny, but it seems like Magic players are always making the same type of joke about how addictive this game really is, from referring to Magic as "cardboard crack" to laughingly justifying it because it's not heroin. While it's obviously true that playing Magic isn't as destructive to the individual or society as a drug addiction, Magic is essentially a "pay-to-play" game, and the constant jokes and references do seem to be a type of preemptive defense mechanism. The players can shut down potential criticism of how much they spend on their hobby by simultaneously acknowledging that it exists, and that there are many other destructive behaviors in which they could be engaging. This serves not only to justify how much they spend on a game, but also elevates them over a drug addict.

This need to elevate oneself is common among Magic players. Players gain status based on how long they have been playing, by the number of effective cards or decks they own, and, of course, by winning. Not only this, but failures are often explained away by having bad luck, or by "growing up." This competition for status carries over even into their conversations; players are always correcting one another, whether it is about effective card combinations, storyline history relating to the game's mythology, or even the proper use of grammar. My impression is that most of these players are not this overblown outside of Friday Night Magic; rather, this is their venue in which they can act out these aspects of their personalities without judgment.

I am certain that Magic: the Gathering is not a highly addictive product ravaging the geek world, but rather that it targets vulnerable demographics and employs tactics which encourage addictive tendencies. Magic is especially attractive to people who want to escape from their lives and fulfill their unmet narcissistic views about themselves. The very nature of the business model, in which cards are sold in random packs alongside a competitive format which continuously phases out older cards, creates a situation in which the consumer must continuously buy cards in order to participate. As mentioned previously, escapism can lead to addictive behaviors, and this link can only be strengthened by this kind of continuous consumption. It could even lead to the kind of obsession that completely consumes a person's life (Kastle, 2012). These observations haven't gone unnoticed by the Magic community: a popular web comic about the game is called "Cardboard Crack," and this is a term I have heard during my observations as well. Rather than treating these addictive tendencies as just a joke, they should be discussed seriously, especially given the links between escapism, narcissism, depression, and neuroticism and engagement in geek culture (McCain & Campbell, 2015).

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Dynamics of Free Speech on Modern College Campuses

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Introduction

In March 2017, Charles Murray--a highly controversial author and academic--visited Vermont's Middlebury College. His visit was met with students protests; the protesters shouted Murray down, and, ultimately became violent, attacking Murray and injuring a Middlebury professor. The administration doled out discipline to 67 students.[67] Some felt the Middlebury Administration lost control of the situation, and their efforts to reign in the chaos amounted to little more than a semi-random disciplinary response that fell short of imparting societal values on students in need of such a lesson. A Middlebury political science professor, critical of the college's response stated: "[this] was an institutional failure...Students do not understand the value of free speech" (Saul 2017). After the penalties were handed down, Charles Murray criticized the leniency of the sanctions saying, "They will not deter anyone. They're a statement to students that if you shut down a lecture, nothing will happen to you."

Freedom of speech rights are a contemporary issue and source of anxiety on many college campuses. Recognizing tensions over freedom of speech as an opportunity for project-based learning, the College of Social Sciences and Humanities at Rowan University developed a Case Study Competition. Student volunteers were put in

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[67] The administration was unable to identify all students involved, and the 67 disciplined were only part of the overall protest.

teams and presented with a hypothetical scenario. Acting as a student advisory board at the fictional Garden State University (GSU) in New Jersey, participants were tasked with 1) deciding whether to maintain or cancel a controversial speaker's invitation to campus, and 2) developing a standing policy for hosting controversial speakers to avoid what happened at Middlebury.

As student participants, this case allowed us to study free speech in an innovative way, and impressed on us the efficacy of discourse and the problems stemming from polarization. When people become entrenched in their beliefs and close themselves off to other views, space for productive conversation disappears. Despite the historical complexity of free speech issues on campus, each group in the competition, surprisingly, reached similar solutions. This outcome demonstrates how collaborative conversation can lead to compromise on even the toughest of issues.

Understanding Free Speech Through a Case Study

First Amendment rights have become a contentious issue, where emotions overtake logic and reason, across the United States. The discourse surrounding freedom of speech has sparked dangerous protests and much chaos on college campuses such as Middlebury College, the University of Missouri, and UC Berkeley (Wells 2018). Rowan University's administration developed a case study competition centered on free speech issues, believing it would be a valuable educational exercise for students (Assistant Dean Stephen Fleming, personal communication, April 19, 2018).

Case studies, among other things, help students better understand abstract concepts and arguments that cannot necessarily be conclusively proven (Ellet et al. 2016). In this case, students applied abstract theoretical concepts from their majors. By presenting a hypothetical situation to students, the Rowan administration was able to view and analyze the students' perceptions on the topic of free speech. The case study forced students to work towards the same goal by allowing team members time to discuss their differing opinions and reach a solution to the proposed problem. The administration intended to create a collaborative environment, allowing each student to learn from

the others and expand their worldview in the process (Assistant Dean Stephen Fleming, personal communication, April 19, 2018). By exchanging ideologies, participants with diverse backgrounds found a common solution to the hypothetical situation proposed in the case. A key takeaway from the competition was the value of interdisciplinary learning (Ellet et al. 2016). The mixing of different ideas helped synthesize individual major perspectives into well-rounded solutions.

The Case

Garden State University (GSU), an imagined New Jersey campus serving a majority minority student body, is slated to have a controversial speaker, Chris Skywalker, appear on campus.[68] Skywalker has been known to support far right ideological groups. Furthermore, Skywalker's discriminatory and bigoted beliefs run counter to the majority of the student population at GSU. Students reacted violently to the news of Skywalker's appearance, protesting and damaging university property. In addition to backlash from students, parents, and sponsors over Skywalker's proposed visit, GSU faced reciprocal pressure to bring the speaker to campus from members of its board of trustees.

Developing a Solution to the Problem

Participants in Rowan University's College of Humanities and Social Sciences Case Study Competition were charged with the task of resolving the free speech conflict depicted above. As participants, we drew on our understanding of theory from our respective academic majors to develop an approach to resolving both this specific issue and future free speech problems that might arise on the GSU campus.

Identifying Tensions

We began our analysis of the problem by acknowledging the dilemmas faced by GSU administrators. Should they acquiesce to the emotions of the majority of the students and cancel Skywalker's appearance? Should they stick to their word and let Skywalker's speech happen as planned? Our scenario is set only a few days before

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[68] Skywalker was modeled after real-life far right icon, Milo Yiannopoulos.

Skywalker is supposed to come to GSU. What if Skywalker comes as planned, and students react aggressively, as Middlebury students did? GSU seems to be in a lose-lose situation. If they backtrack on Skywalker, some would say they suppress free speech. Yet, if they allow Skywalker they will offend a large portion of the student body. Those students could decide that they do not want to attend GSU in the future.

Freedom of speech is one of the bedrocks of the American identity, but in this scenario, it is also a source of anxiety for the entire GSU campus. University officials across the country are confronted with similar issues. In what follows we present individual applications of our majors before explaining our overarching solution to this problem, which we believe can serve as a model for institutions and organizations managing opposing interests around complex, sensitive issues.

Balancing Wants and Needs With Reality: An Economic Perspective

How do supply and demand relate to free speech? Two core theories within economics-- classical economics and Keynesian economics-- offer insight. Proponents of classical economics believe in a free market, where there is little to no regulation and the market is free of artificial controls. Classical economists believe when a government steps in to aid a struggling economy, it leads to inefficiencies and a dependency on the government to always solve these problems, which then undermines the benefits of the free market (McConnell, Brue, and Flynn 2014). A free market should be able to go through ebbs and flows, and naturally correct course (McConnell, Brue, and Flynn 2014). Once a market receives some kind of artificial aid, it can become dependent on these controls. (McConnell, Brue, and Flynn 2014)

Keynesian economics challenges the classical way of thought. While Keynesian economists still predominantly rely on a private sector economy, they realize that demand will not always be equal to productive capacity, leading to inefficient outcomes (McConnell, Brue, and Flynn 2014). A Keynesian economist would support policy change and government action in times of recession or depression. This school of thought argues there are times regulation and institutional aid will benefit an economy (McConnell, Brue, and

Flynn 2014). A market is always going to be volatile, and sometimes demand will not align with supply, which can lead to issues such as recession. When supply and demand are mismatched, regulation becomes key to dealing with this inefficiency. This can come in various forms of policy, such as government spending or manipulating interests rates to control inflation (McConnell, Brue, and Flynn 2014).

I viewed the issue of free speech and how to regulate it at GSU, similar to how a government would regulate an inefficient/struggling economy. I began to see this situation as one where GSU administration could effectively function as a government aiding its struggling economy. The student body and community of GSU represents the free market. In this scenario, I saw that administrative aid would be needed to improve the situation. The dangers presented by this situation, such as rioting, and student anxiety, call for a response from those in a position to create change.

I chose these theories as the basis for my argument for the case because it felt like the most applicable theory. Economics is heavily concerned with the ways people think and behave. Why do they make the decisions they do? These decisions can be reactions to the environment around them. If a speaker has ideas that are hateful to your essence as a person, you would probably want to protest or ban that speaker. That said, the speaker has an integral right to free speech. So how do you accommodate these conflicting viewpoints? By drawing parallels of the administration to a government and the school community as the economy, in a space with no regulation where it is now, this is an issue that can be aided with Keynesian economic theory.

In my view, the GSU administration needs to become involved. The people, left to their own devices, would have only led the situation to devolve further, into something like Middlebury, where people could get injured or the perception of GSU students becomes one of combative, malcontents, scared to expand their world view. The prestige/reputation of the school could suffer, where people decide they do not want to attend such a university. GSU should put systems into place to best aid their community to deal with this situation, and to set a precedent to deal with further incidents that may arise in the future. This is the right course

to set. While proponents of classical economics argue that this kind of administrative/government intervention would hurt the free market long term, Keynesian economists argue that when it is needed, a government (in this case the administration) needs to step in and regulate the economy (in this case the GSU campus community), to prevent it from falling apart. This way, the GSU community will not be dependent on the administration always taking future actions. Instead, there would be new and permanent systems put in place to moderate any future conflicts.

Finding a Light in Literature: Applying an English Major Perspective to Free Speech

In 1885 Mark Twain's progressive piece, Huckleberry Finn, was banned only months after being printed (Lombardi 2017). By banning the book, American society discredited Twain's attempt at defending and humanizing African slaves in America. As students we can empathize with of our fellow classmates' feelings of discomfort regarding Skywalker's visit. In order to find a solution that benefits the community as a whole, it is essential that the administration works with its students. As an English major, I would be concerned with this specific limitation of speech influencing the limitation of literature. Historically literature has been deployed to motivate political and social reform by criticising or glorifying some aspect of a society. For instance, Malvina Reynolds poem "It Isn't Nice" was recited by students at Berkeley in 1964 while protesting the limitation of speech on their campus (Slater 2016).

Today, students still express the same dissatisfaction with their university's policies regarding the limitation of speech. If we allowed for the limitation of free speech at GSU we would be encouraging the same regressive attitude that delayed the views of writers such as the brilliant Mark Twain. Literature aided in providing the insight of past writers in similar situations and their reactions and perceptions of free speech. The ultimate goal of our solution was to transform Skywalker's visit into an event that would neither obstruct free speech nor silence the voices of students, as writers' voices and ideas of reformation were silenced by banned books.

A Collaborative Solution through the Logic of Collective Action: An Approach Rooted in Political Science Theory

The problem presented to us depicted a university facing a free speech conflict; the two parties' expression of ideas failed to coexist, leading to protests and threats of censorship. Realistically, people will always want to exercise their free speech rights. Situating this problem in the collective action framework offers an opportunity for a utilitarian resolution.

In his work, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups,* Mancur Olson, Jr. (1965) claims it's essential for individuals within a group to cooperate and compromise to reach an optimal outcome. He argues, however, that cohesive collaboration often requires an incentive beyond the promise of such an outcome (Olson 1965). The incentive ensures everyone contributes to the collective effort and prevents freeriding.

The Theory of Collective Action is at the foundation of how government operates. In order for a government to function, representatives acting on behalf of constituents with diverse interest, must cooperate and compromise to benefit the whole society. Collective Action Theory addresses the problem of diverse ideas working against each other through rules and a general governing structure, or government. A government can induce or coerce behavior, countering self-interest to produce utilitarian outcomes.

Viewing the case study through Olson's theory, it became clear that the root of the problem stemmed from two self-interested groups and a lack of compromise. By using Collective Action Theory as a policy tool, we can bridge the gap between the student groups and the administration. Specifically, enacting measurements that incorporate the voices of all parties and providing a governing structure to combat the self interest of everyone involved by maximizing the benefits of compromise. In the end, as Olson suggests, rules and incentives provide improved representation, increased safety, and more satisfaction for the largest possible group.

Applying the Process of Diplomacy: Another Political Science Application

Political scientists strive to understand, compare, and contrast all sides of an issue to create a compromise that will maximize positive outcomes for everyone involved (Collier 1993). Although Political Scientists may have their own views on certain topics, when reflecting on the views of others, they recognize, appreciate, and listen to them in order to come to understanding of the other person's point of view. Doing so usually creates a sense of partnership and accomplishment for the parties involved. Our case study competition group was presented with the task of finding a solution to the issue of the controversial speaker "Mr. Skywalker" coming to GSU. When creating our solution, we looked at both sides of this argument. On one side, most of the students would rather Mr. Skywalker not step foot on their campus because they do not agree with his controversial views and some students even felt as though their safety would be affected if he attended. The students also may protest if he speaks at their school. Not allowing the speaker to come to GSU would prevent this and make most GSU students happy. On the other hand, not allowing the speaker to come infringes on his right to free speech and will affect the students that actually want to listen to the speaker. The other issue is that the speaker also threatened to do his own protests if he was not allowed to attend the school and give the speech. My case study group and I found this very difficult at first. We all had our own ideas of what to do and no one was ever silent while expressing them. We sat down, listened to one another, gathered our own research on the topic, partnered together, and came up with a feasible solution that all members were happy with. All present members of our group sat together and not only listened to one another's perspectives, but also constructed an understanding of both sides of the problem. We then came together and created a solution: add another speaker.

Our Collaborative Solution

The solution we proposed to university officials addressed both the current conflict over Skywalker's pending appearance, and the possibility that future free speech issues would arise at GSU. We formed a solution in light of our consensus that the freedom of speech of all

members of the GSU campus must be respected and protected. To that end, the first prong of our two part proposal addresses Skywalker's visit. Rather than just having Skywalker speak on campus, we proposed inviting an additional speaker, decided amongst students, to balance Skywalker's perspective and create a healthy debate. Although the proposal refrained from identifying a second speaker, we welcomed the possibility of students advocating for a prominent voice, whether it be a student or professor, in their academic community to speak at the event. To further increased student participation in the democratic process, we proposed a Q&A session to conclude the event and allow for students be a part of the conversation of politics and ideas. This creates a healthy democracy within the campus community. Shifting the event's focus from a single speaker to a regulated debate helps ease tensions between the student body, the university officials, and the speaker(s) while keeping the event educational.

The second element of our solution develops bureaucratic and democratic processes that prevent future free speech conflicts. We propose delegating the responsibility of event planning from the administration to student organizations. In order to host future events on campus, including protests, students and organizations must submit an event planning form. The form requires students to describe event details, proposed location(s) and an anticipated budget (See Appendix A). Students can also use the form to request funding for the event, if necessary. The form ensures that campus safety is maintained and that campus remains a place where freedom of speech can flourish. The bureaucratic and democratic processes established have the capability to restore GSU's reputation and set a prestigious standard of student representation by embedding democratic values into the college experience.

Conclusion

Free speech rights are a pertinent contemporary issue, presenting a source of anxiety for many, stemming from issues of censorship and what can be considered fair or offensive to subjects of free speech. Rowan University's College of Humanities and Social Sciences used a case study competition centered on a free speech issue to provide students an opportunity to learn about free speech through a dynamic, project-based approach.

As participants in the competition, we developed a solution that not only provides GSU with a resolution to their immediate dilemma surrounding Skywalker's scheduled visit, but also provides a framework for addressing future issues that may arise. English theories motivated us to act to protect free speech, while an understanding of political science provided the tools for a productive dialogue and a standard (that of the utilitarian outcome) by which to measure potential solutions. Economics provided a perspective to aid efficiency and efficacy to create a solution, while trying to understand the motivations of all affected parties. We cannot conclusively prove our solution was the best, but with difficult subjects such as this one, there must be a starting point. With such a polarizing topic, it can be complicated to affect progress because people lapse into "us vs them" mentalities, ceasing to understand the opposing side and rendering solutions unattainable. We believe that through our collaboration and application of our majors and studies to the project, we achieved a solution that considers the students' and the University's best interests.

So why do a case study? Collaborative conversation helps foster new ideas about difficult issues. Each group participating in the competition ultimately believed the University should bring the controversial speaker to campus, albeit they incorporated various degrees of safeguarding and ideological counterbalancing. The fact that autonomous groups reached relatively uniform conclusions about a controversial issue that continually plagues college campuses and society speaks volumes to the process promoted by the competition. The details of our solution relied heavily on the administration to regulate and facilitate future controversial situations. To be fair, we do not know how this would play out in real life amidst both the idiosyncrasies of an institutional bureaucracy and the emotions of a controversial issue. Nonetheless, thoroughly discussing issues and collaboratively examining them from diverse perspectives maximizes the possibility of attaining these kinds of universally beneficial outcomes. As students, we sought to achieve a fair and balanced, education-centered resolution to this issue. To educators looking for an effective method to incorporate teamwork, interdisciplinary studies, and atypical research, we would recommend a case study. We would also recommend it to students who are seeking to participate in a case study to do so.

Free speech issues have become emotionally charged and continue to divide communities. People often approach these issues with narrow minds, entrenching themselves in their predetermined positions. Creating productive discourse in a hostile environment is a challenge. Our system places power with the students, so that they may decide how they are heard, and create healthier, educational discourse for this event and others to come.

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Appendix A

Garden State University

APPLICATION FOR EVENT PERMIT

Date of Event: _____   Event Type: _____

Approximate Size: _____   Location Requested: _____

Funding Amount Requested: _____   Security Requested: _____

1. Describe the schedule and purpose of the event.

2. What are the extra or co-curricular benefits of the event? How does the event help achieve GSU's mission?

3. What are the associated costs of your event? If your event requires university funding, including funding for security costs or space/equipment rentals, please attach a budget proposal form.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY	
Approved? • Yes • No	If no, provide rationale for denial here:
Funding Allocated • Yes • No	Amount: _____
Signature: _____	Date: _____