

Sound Expertise – Season 2, Episode 6

Freedom Singing at the March on Washington with Tammy L. Kernodle

TRANSCRIPT prepared by Andrew Dell'Antonio

SPEAKERS

Tammy L Kernodle, Will Robin

Tammy L Kernodle 00:00

In order to speak yourself into the narrative of freedom, you have to go back to that historical point where that question of freedom begins, and that is with the spiritual. So this female engagement with the spiritual takes on these very expansive levels of meaning.

[Intro music]

Will Robin 00:43

So, there's this amazing story that you've almost certainly heard before about Martin Luther King Junior's "I Have a Dream" speech at the 1963 march on Washington. At one point as King is giving his speech at the Lincoln Memorial in front of thousands of people, the great gospel musician, Mahalia Jackson, who King had specifically requested sing before he spoke, exclaimed, "tell them about the dream, Martin, tell them about the dream." And King starts ad libbing, and soon enough he utters one of the most famous lines in American history. That said, this history making moment, this highly mythologized moment, was just one of many examples of how music and politics intersected during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in August of 1963. King's speech is the most mythologized moment of that day, but it represented only one of many perspectives from a diverse and deeply contested coalition of civil rights activists. And as my guest today will discuss, some of the most radical voices of that March, both politically and musically, were those of Black women who have often been ignored or neglected in histories of the civil rights movement. Tammy Kernodle, Professor of Musicology at Miami University in Ohio, has dedicated her career to uncovering the histories of crucial, but oft overlooked Black women musicians, including those who performed at the march on Washington. And that will be the subject of our conversation today on Sound Expertise. And I'm your host, Will Robin. One quick note before our talk. For those of you who aren't super familiar with 1960s civil rights lingo, three acronyms will come up occasionally: SNCC, CORE, and the SCLC. These each refer to three major civil rights organizations with their own politics and constituencies, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Let's turn now to my conversation with Professor Tammy Kernodle, on Sound Expertise.

02:57

[Intro music]

Will Robin 03:03

So let's start maybe by talking a little bit about the 1963 march on Washington, which is, you know, often kind of simplified in historical accounts to focus just on the "I Have a Dream" speech, this very famous Martin Luther King speech, but it was a much bigger and more widespread event. And you've written about this, and there are a lot of different kinds of speeches happening, performances happening, in different settings throughout this march. Can you talk a little bit about the spatial nature of the march and some of the different music that could be heard throughout this major event?

Tammy L Kernodle 03:37

Yes. So, the March is, unfortunately, kind of edited down to what consists of really the last few minutes of it, it's a nine-hour event, that takes place over three geographic locations, right. And so, you know, we oftentimes fixate on what happened at the Lincoln Memorial, but that was only the latter part of the march. The march actually begins about 8am in the morning, at the Washington Memorial. And what the march organizers really envisioned was that this would be a very wide sonic experience. And so from the very beginning, they position music as being central to the message of the day. And music being very important in terms of promoting what was their intentions of the march. So I want to come back and talk about the intention. But there's this geographic expanse, right. So you've got Washington monument and Lincoln Memorial, but in between, you have this space, which is the march space, right? And that's a space of where we see, really all the factions really coming into play. And the real politics of protests really being meted out. And what I mean by that is, the march route itself, it was split into two different pathways to the Lincoln Memorial. But they also ... that splitting also came to symbolize the real gendering that took place at the march. So female speakers were actually excluded from the march, and this was something that was argued in the planning stages, that none of the female leaders within all of these other civic organizations would be on the podium or be given the opportunity to speak. So there was much protest about that and discussion. So you have the women who are kind of leading part of the march participants in one direction, and Dr. King and A. Philip Randolph and all of the leaders of the big organizations taking a different route, right. But you also, in that space, have the younger factions of the movement, actually contesting what is this sanitized soundscape that's going on in these other two major spaces. And so you got SNCC and CORE and the song leaders, and you got all of these different delegations from states that are in ground zero, like, in the midst of all this violent space, who are beginning to protest against the Odettas, the Joan Baez, the Peter, Paul and Mary's, you know, who aren't even really engaging the crowd so much, but performing, so they are performing their own repertoires in this other sound space, around these memorials, and around the march path.

07:23

[Music - singing, "we shall not be moved"]

Tammy L Kernodle 07:44

And so you've got all of these different competing sounds and genres, and even performance aesthetics that are happening in this space. And it very much speaks to how, why this is the high point of the movement, because this is really the cresting of the movement. Because, from here on, the movement is globally and internationally recognized. It's not just compartmentalised in the Black press anymore. It has a global face now. But it really speaks to how even in that moment, that this coalition is tenuous. And it's going to fall apart, and everybody has a different long game goal. And the long goal is

very different. Right. And just how disjointed the movement was, even though it's important, it was really just in some ways disjointed.

Will Robin 08:47

I mean, that's ... you often see people kind of mythologizing this moment and you see the King speech and you look out at the crowd, and you assume it's just this unified movement, and there's a lot of nostalgia for that too. And so it's interesting to think of it as, yes, this King speech is happening and yes, but everything in that space is so fractured and contested.

Tammy L Kernodle 09:09

It's a mess. It's a mess. And, you know, part of it was the mixed messaging, you know, Bayard Rustin and King and these other leaders wanted it to be a... kind of a propaganda moment, right? It was not a protest. Yeah, it was a display, like -- we're gonna ... we're gonna prove to white middle America that we have the same belief and we're going to put on this face. And so we're not going to necessarily try to rock the boat. But what we're going to do is ... in this very assimilationist kind of approach, is project to white America why, you know, civil rights is ... or this is what an integrated America looks like, because you know, you've got Burt Lancaster, you got Marlon Brando, you've got all these White and Black celebrities that are on display in this moment, right? So this is like, we're gonna project to this, and the younger faction is like, No, we came here to rip stuff up, we want to rock the boat, you know, we want to say emphatically -- America, you need to step up and stop. You know, and this is why John Lewis is such a battle for John Lewis to change his speech. And it's up until moments before he gets ready to take, the day it's before he concedes to change his speech, but his speech was very fiery, and it really spoke to how the young faction of the movement visualized civil rights and social change, and how that was so different from what this older guard visualized, and King was in the middle. King was trying to bridge both, and he understood both, but he was kind of caught in the middle.

Will Robin 11:02

So to turn to the music, the integrationist model, that's the one that's been most popularized in historical memory, is why we associate, to a certain degree, the civil rights march with figures like Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, so these White folk musicians, who are already very well known among White listeners ... talk a little bit about how they came to represent in some way, some of the sounds of the marches. And then maybe let's talk about the other people who are making music at the march as well.

Tammy L Kernodle 11:32

Well, I think they really represented that close relationship that developed between the folk movement, the second wave of the folk movement, and the civil rights movement. But also how there are these underlying political ideologies that brought them, essentially, together. Baez and Dylan, in particular, really rep.... And I will say, Peter, Paul, and Mary, really came to represent the kind of coalition politics that the movement was trying to project. When, especially when we look at the 1960s. Because we got to think about how different the movement is in the 60s than the 50s. And we can come back and talk about that. But you know, college students were so central to that shift to direct action nonviolent campaigns in the 60s, and it's largely Black college students first, but White college students begin to come into this mix as well. So you're bringing in a music base and a cultural base with white college students, that is also drawing in Black students with Baez and Dylan, and they're hearing that music

because they're in these moments of protest together. But you know, Dylan and Baez also represented a different type of artist-activist, right, and how they really position themselves as part of this larger community, advancing social change. And so I think it was only paramount that they would end up being there alongside Odetta. Because these were people who actually went, you know, Baez marched with King, Baez went to these ... she just didn't do these concerts. She was out there trying to march and really work on behalf of the movement.

13:44

[Music: Joan Baez leading a group singalong of "We are not afraid"]

Tammy L Kernodle 13:59

So I think it really speaks to that kind of racial coalition that was there in in this early part of the movement.

Will Robin 14:07

So let's talk a little bit about Odetta as a figure in this moment. She's also someone who's been the most, you talk about her being one of the very first musical voices in the civil rights movement. Can you talk a little bit about her politics and her music and how that operated at the march as well?

Tammy L Kernodle 14:24

So Odetta is very interesting to me, because Odetta really exemplified the kind of radical politics that were coming out of a certain generation within the civil rights movement. She wasn't as young as some of the members of SNCC and CORE, but her consciousness had been shaped by World War Two. And by seeing, in particular, her Japanese neighbors. She grew up ... most of her formative years were spent in Los Angeles, and the neighborhood she lived in was quite diverse racially and ethnically. And you know, she speaks very clearly in many of her interviews about seeing her Japanese neighbors being sent to the internment camps, and how the US government had decided to politicize *them*, but not Germans, right, and not the Italians, and how that was part of a shaping of her consciousness, alongside the racism she experienced. And then she's radicalized because, you know, she's operating in the underground of the folk music scene of the 50s. Right, and Robeson, this is a person who was, who is very explicitly saying out loud, Robeson radicalized me.

Will Robin 15:57

Paul Robeson.

Tammy L Kernodle 15:57

Yes, at a time when most people are, especially Black performers are acting like they don't know Robeson or they never had anything to do with him. And so she's influenced by not just Robeson's radicalness in his political ideologies, but how he visualized Black folk music as being this kind of Black national form of culture. And he's amongst many who were having these conversations, but he really said we needed to look at the blues and ballads traditions, and the spiritual traditions, and through a different lens than what was being presented to us by John and Alan Lomax, and all of these other folklorists, who were really sanitizing what were these political ideologies. So you have Odetta in some ways bridging a lot of cultural, political and ideological gaps, and this is why in my work I look at her as

a central figure for us understanding the emergence of song leaders within SNCC and CORE that are on the ground, for us understanding the emergence of people like Bernice Johnson Reagon, even Fannie Lou Hamer as a song leader, because what she did was, she came to embody what was work that was happening in the 50, with Robeson, Paul Robeson, also Josh White, and other people who were really kind of ciphering this political current out of this Black folk music, but she came to embody that in a different way in the late 50s and 60s, reclaiming that, but also redefining for a younger generation the importance of that music, at a time when we have to think about, Odetta is coming to a height of popularity at the time that Ray Charles and Sam Cooke, and we're beginning to see the beginnings of Motown. I mean, Motown is being envisioned in the late 50s, early 60s, so the beginnings of a shift, culturally and sonically, that's happening in Black America, but she's drawing them back to a historic past.

Will Robin 18:40

And so what was her role in the march — what did she perform? Spirituals, right? And talk a little bit about that?

Tammy L Kernodle 18:47

So she performs I think what is one of her greatest pieces, that I think really links her to the spirit of the movement. It's called A Spiritual Trilogy. And it starts with Oh Freedom, and it goes to Come Go with Me to That Land, and it ends with I'm On My Way to Freedom Land. Now these were all spirituals that in some ways were shifted and altered in some.., and so she ... here we have her operating in the same spectrum of freedom songs that are used on the ground, in that she's tweaking the words, I'm On My Way to Freedom Land was I'm On My Way to Canaan land, right? So she's providing this next generation a language, a language in which to document their experiences that are happening on ground, but also a language that can help unify all of them. Because when we look at the repertory of freedom songs that come out of that movement, maybe half of them are these recomposed spirituals.

[Music: Odetta sings]

So she performs this spiritual trilogy that came very early in her career, her debut album, and it is one of the most, it's one of the most emotional high moments of the movement, there aren't many, because even the performers were told — this is how we want you to maintain. And most people don't know this performance, I'll tell you that this, even if you look at footage of the movement that's available publicly, she doesn't appear, that's very interesting to me. I don't know if there's copyright situations, but most people don't even know she performed this at the Washington Memorial. But I found a transcript of the radio broadcast that took place, which was not censored in any way or edited. It's just the full transcript. And it's this moment where the crowd, she draws in the crowd, the performance comes to a height, it replicates what we hear in these mass meetings in these moments. And she's called back to the stage. And she comes back to the stage and sings this very mournful spiritual, and really symbolizing what is, you know, the weariness of the injustice and the brutality and the trauma that's taken place.

22:10

[Music - Odetta sings “many thousand gone”]

Tammy L Kernodle 22:43

And I think it really signifies is that her in that moment, as being very different from Dylan and very different from Baez, like Dylan and Baez could garner an audience, but Odetta could really bring multiple constituents, by her way of kind of welcoming people into a performance.

Will Robin 23:07

So there's a kind of coalition musical politics happening and what she's doing almost. Sorry, I interrupted you.

Tammy L Kernodle 23:15

No, no, no, no, that's a perfect thing. That's a perfect way of characterizing that, and this is why, there's ... I write a chapter ... I'm writing a trilogy on civil rights music that's very ... and Odetta is the first chapter in the book that looks at popular music, popular with a little p. And I ... the chapter is called "The mother of it all." Because I found this quote where she says at every, you know, people think that I was modeling Bob Dylan and Joan Baez. But they were modeling me. I'm the mother [laughs]. I'm the mother, right, they draw... and that's true! Dylan says, you know, that Odetta is the reason why he became a folk musician. And Baez sings, is singing the repertory that Odetta makes popular, so, in some ways..., and she also represented how King, Dr. King had a role in curating this music. Her, Eva Jesse, Camilla Williams, and Mahalia Jackson, Dr. King is one of the reasons why they are performing on that day, because these are women musicians that he identified as being key voices of the movement, but also, individuals who worked inside of his SCLC to really... to bring people in, to bring cash in, and that's something we have not always considered, what is this history of Black women, particularly Black women concert artists, because we know Odetta, but Camilla Williams, the famous opera singer, you know, Eva Jesse, the famous CORE director, few people know that, you know, they really were doing these benefit concerts on behalf of the SCLC.

Will Robin 25:34

Tell me a little bit more about Williams, who sang at the March. She sang the national anthem, because Marian Anderson was stuck in traffic. Is that right? What was her role that day? How did she get involved? What were her politics?

Tammy L Kernodle 25:47

So I have to tell you, I have a personal connection to Camilla Williams, because Camilla Williams was born and raised in my hometown, Danville, Virginia. And she was one of my first introductions to Black concert music, or concert music, because she used to come home sometimes in the summer, and she would do these concerts. So you know, I have a very early memory of her singing arranged spirituals, in my home church, when I was a little girl. And she epitomized, for not just people in my community, but within Black America as a whole, this symbol of Black excellence, you know, because she was the first Black woman to play Madame Butterfly, and had had all of the success as a concert artist. Her husband was a well-known civil rights lawyer. And when the march happens in 63, almost a few ... well, a few weeks before that March, well, I'm going to say even a few months, if I can characterize it correctly, the movement actually comes to Danville, Virginia. So SNCC comes to Camilla Williams's hometown, my hometown, even though I'm born years and years later, and it serves to be one of the most bloodiest civil rights campaigns outside of Birmingham. Now, most people don't know that because the media

were actually kept out, they were suppressed. They couldn't cover Danville. Danville's police department really were able to suppress any of those, the reports of what was happening there. So I say all of this to say that she had that connection with SNCC. In fact, she came and did some benefit concerts back in the community to raise money for the movement. But she was one of many Black concert artists that that King knew, by virtue of her husband's work, but also because of her Black achievement, she would have, she was going to be one of those people, and very civic minded. So she actually does two performances. Most people know about the national anthem, because, as you say, Marian Anderson gets stuck in traffic, and is unable to get there. So they call upon Camilla Williams, she jumps at the occasion and does it

28:45

[Camilla Williams sings the Star Spangled Banner]

Tammy L Kernodle 29:00

But she also sings a negro spiritual after that, that is oftentimes not heard. And it's one that is one of her signatures, Twelve Gates to the City. And so, she and Anderson and Eva Jesse really embody this, what I like to call Black exceptionalism. If we look at this notion of American exceptionalism that's really promoted heavily after World War Two, where you know, that America becomes a superpower, Black America was really trying to do the same thing, and showcasing, who are these individuals that made these exceptional achievements. And so when you look at Camilla Williams and you look at Eva Jessie, and you look at Marian Anderson, who are there on that day, even Mahalia Jackson, even though there were some people who didn't want Mahalia Jackson, because they didn't think she was polished enough, right? You know, they represented Black achievement, Black exceptionalism, they represented how Black people, when given the chance, could thrive in these largely white or majority white environments, and how they could appeal, in many ways to some of these tenets of white America, cultural tenets, belief systems. So Williams's role there was very central in terms of promoting that idea.

Will Robin 30:44

So when we opened, we were talking a little bit about the gender politics of the march and these women that you focus on, part of what makes these performances radical is that they are women in this context, right? Can you talk a little bit about the fact that you have these women's voices being suppressed in the march in a way, but then you also have these Black women performers and musicians performing? What is that tension?

Tammy L Kernodle 31:11

Yeah, that's the interesting dichotomy of it. So we're gonna mute you from having any political perspective. And we're not going to acknowledge you as leaders. And I'll be fair, so they did have a moment where they had Rosa Parks, Medgar Evers's wife, and Dorothy Height, and some of these women leaders, they had them stand up and be acknowledged, and they sat down [laughs], I mean, it's the worst thing, it took me a while to reckon with this, because I was like, they really thought that that was okay, and so ... and this ... it's this thing where, we won't let you speak, we will only let the men speak about this notion of freedom. And it speaks to what is something that oftentimes isn't talked about in terms of the civil rights movement, and that is, it's always been very male-centric. It's always been about, if Black men can achieve racial equality, that the rest of the race is all of a sudden going to

experience that. And that's not the truth, because women are dealing with unique circumstances and experiences that aren't oftentimes folded into that public narrative of civil rights. And so it's like, we won't let you talk about what freedom looks like or what freedom should be. But we'll let you sing about it. And so it's this subservient role, like, we would rather for you to be these accoutrements, you come out here, and you look the part and you play the part. But we're not gonna let you talk. That's the male... That's what men are here for, will let you sing. And I think it really represents also what Farrah Griffin talks about in her piece *When Melendi Sings*, when she talks about how Black women's voices are oftentimes used as this larger unifier, that Black women are brought out to sing, and it's supposed to mediate tensions, but it's also supposed to, in some ways, kind of epitomize these utopian notions of unity. And White America does it, but I think in this instance, we see how Black men are doing that, and utilizing Black women in that way as musicians,

Will Robin 34:02

Right. And the common musical thread among all these performers, as you mentioned, is spirituals, in all these different kinds of genres and settings. Can you talk a little bit about what about the spiritual acquires so much political significance at this point? What are these musicians doing by performing spirituals in these contexts? You know, in this, I guess it's this post Paul Robeson idea.

Tammy L Kernodle 34:26

Yeah. Well, I'd like to say that, it is, on one hand is representative of how Black women's engagement with these songs, even as they were being scripted and created out of slavery, has been fraught with political tension and ideology, is one of the central ways, I think, that women have been able to articulate within the parameters of the politics of respectability. What is their ongoing fight — for economic, for racial, but also for reproductive justice. Because that's what gets wrapped up in this context of freedom singing. And so, I think because the spiritual has been ... for centuries has been linked with the essence of Black existence. Because it's a reminder that really the African story in America is one that begins with slavery. And that that's an experience that cannot be divorced from this conversation. And so that those songs have long served as a representative of the essence. This is why when DuBois writes about it in *The Souls of Black Folk*, that he ... the word folk is the populace, is the people, but it's the essence of those songs, and what those songs embody. So in order to speak yourself into the narrative of freedom, you have to go back to that historical point where that question of freedom begins, and that is with the spiritual. So this female engagement with the spiritual takes on these very expansive levels of meaning. And what we have here is how every generation has, in some ways, tried to use this song to articulate and speak themselves in spaces. So that Odetta is drawing on the historical past. So she's speaking the past into the present, where you have Camilla Williams, and you have Eva Jessie and Marian Anderson, who are taking that and showing how generations of Blacks whose identities have been shaped in different spaces created these arranged spirituals. And so still, the essence is there, but it's reflecting a different experience, it's reflecting a different conversation that's being had. And then you've got Mahalia Jackson, and so many people say, oh, well, she sang gospel. But she didn't sing gospel on that day. When she sings, the songs that she sings and selects really speak to how the spiritual has this relationship with gospel music. And so that she chooses to align herself with that same practice. But what she's representing is how that spiritual gets morphed into a modern aesthetic of sacred music.

[Mahalia Jackson singing]

Full sonic cultural representation of the Black experience in America. Just in those songs alone. It's like the history is being ... the history book is being opened, when you really look at all of those together collectively.

Will Robin 38:51

How did you come to start working on the march as a scholar and finding all of these ways that music had not really been fully scrutinized in the context of the march?

Tammy L Kernodle 39:06

I got asked to write a chapter for an anthology that never came out [laughs]

Will Robin 44:44

And so, given the way that the march is memorialized, mythologized, kind of simplified today, and the way that it is used as a comparison point, and sometimes even I think to chastise in some way Black Lives Matter, or at the very least to be a forerunner to current political protests, do you feel like you've developed a kind of understanding of the relationship between music and social movements that you see as being applicable to 2020 as well as 1963?

Tammy L Kernodle 45:29

I think so, I get asked that question a lot. In fact, I was ... I got a call from a friend of mine a few months ago about some of the protests that were happening in Richmond, over the statues. And she was saying, a lot of my students are saying that people aren't singing, people aren't singing, people are ...they're either turning music on boom boxes, or whatever, or they're doing a lot of chanting, she was like, why are they doing that? That's not real! And so I was like, Okay, so I'm gonna be positioned in this moment to be the expert. And so we started unwrapping things. And I was like, we have to remember that the way in which the culture around the march and the movement, and the use of music there during that period was a reflection of what our cultural values were at that time, and how music fit into them. And two things that I think were central to how we got to the point that music could be used in that way, both in that performative way at the March, but also on the grassroots level that we hear when we sing, "We Shall Overcome," and all of these other freedom songs that they were actually singing, in moments of protest: The church and public schools. The way that music focused on, when you think about ... at a certain point, everyone had an ability to sing in a collective sense. Because we were in school, we saying game songs, we sang the patriotic songs, whatever, most of us do acquire music some kind of way. But then when you think about the relationship to congregational singing in the church as well, but for this next, this new generation, they're cut off from those two things, in most cases, because after the Civil Rights Movement, the relationship between the Black church and the Black community shifts, especially as we move into the 90s, when Black churches become more centralized in their gospel on the middle class aesthetic, this prosperity gospel, and so the lower class plight is less a part of the gospel experience. And so you have an underclass and a struggling class that is no longer part of the social justice, because the social justice narrative is not as pervasive in the Black community. So there's a wide secularization that happens. And so that connection to those songs that were the underbelly, were the foundation of the Civil Rights movement, is lost. The fact that you

have a generation that's also not engaged in this notion of collective singing -- think about how people engage in singing now, I sit in front of a screen like this, I sit in front of my cell phone, and I'm in my room with my guitar, and I'm singing, it's very individualized. And so we don't have, many of us don't have a collective notion of that kind of singing. And I said, you're gonna see various things within these communities. There's some communities that tried to replicate what was happening. I know here in Ohio, in Beavercreek, Ohio, where John Crawford was killed at the Walmart, you would see young people with their cell phones, looking up these verses to some of these old freedom songs, and my students who went to Ferguson every week, were telling me the same thing, people were trying to trying to learn, these ...

Will Robin 49:33

Capture something of...

Tammy L Kernodle 49:35

Exactly, but this new generation is focused more on chanting, and they have rejected the structure that really propelled the March on Washington. If you think about what we've been talking about, in terms of whose voices were heard, that kind of structure at the march on Washington prevented certain voices and experiences from being heard. The Black Lives Matter movement is trying to reject that, by emphasizing that everyone's voice is important. That's why there's no leaders. Which upsets me because they don't know who, what, you know ... because

Will Robin 50:24

But it addresses the issues of the previous movement.

Tammy L Kernodle 50:27

Exactly. Exactly, exactly. And what they're doing is what happens to the movement in the late 60s, Will, which is the focal point is not that music leaves the movement, it just becomes redirected. So versus us simply singing in these moments of protest or whatever. So we'll let our other artists provide the soundtrack to accompany what we will do, so that's why the Arethas the James Browns and the Impressions and Curtis Mayfield and Nina Simone and all of them... that's where they become important. And that's what we see happening today. That's why you got H.E.R., and Alicia Keyes, and Lauryn Hill, and Janelle Monáe, and numerous hip hop artists are providing the soundtrack to what is actually occurring in the streets.

Will Robin 51:22

Well, that was all really, really fascinating. Thank you so much for this, this really educational interview. I really appreciate it.

Tammy L Kernodle 51:29

You're welcome. Thank you for asking me.

Will Robin 51:38

Many, many thanks to Tammy Kernodle, who is Professor of Musicology at Miami University in Ohio, for that fascinating conversation. I learned a lot and I hope you did as well. You can check out links to

more of her writing over at our website, soundexpertise.org. As always, I'm grateful to my producer, Dr. Edward Davis for his great work on this and all of our episodes, and you can check out his music on Soundcloud at [warmsilence](https://www.soundcloud.com/warmsilence). And a big thank you as well to Andrew Dell'Antonio for transcribing our episodes to make them more accessible. Those transcripts are up on our website. I'm on Twitter if you have any questions, thoughts, about today's episode, [@seatedovation](https://twitter.com/seatedovation). Next week, I'm very excited to welcome my friend Professor Paula Harper to the podcast. We're going to be talking about internet virality and Rebecca Block's Infamous Friday. See you then.

[outro music]