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AUDIOVISUALIZING FAMILY HISTORY: AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHY OF A DIGITAL DOCUMENTARY

ABSTRACT

This article discusses issues of collaboration and voice in the ongoing production of a multimedia and multimodal documentary project about Frances and John Reedy from Harlan, Kentucky, their cyclical migration from Appalachia to Ohio, and their extensive musical recordings and contributions to the founding of Bluegrass music. The authors share insights about the educational purpose and process of producing a personal and public documentary in relation to digital design and community scholarship, family history and counterstorytelling, and memory and representation. Selected multimedia content from the documentary Website are featured as examples of the Reedys' self-documentation practices and how they relate to the collaborative documentary process and productions.

KEYWORDS

Appalachia; music; memory; community scholarship; counterstorytelling; digital archive; documentary

TIMI REEDY AND TAMMY CLEMONS

Timi Reedy and Tammy Clemons are ecofeminist homesteaders with deep Appalachian roots, and co-produce "Remembering the Reedys: Appalachian Music, Migration, and Memory," a multimedia documentary on Frances and John Reedy from Harlan, Kentucky (http:/remembereedy.blogspot.com). Timi Reedy serves as an independent public educator on mountain mycology and locally-dispersed intentional community, and is a board member for Appalachia—Science in the Public Interest, a non-profit organization for which she has also co-conducted oral history interviews

on Appalachian culture and forest ecology. Tammy Clemons has recently completed her doctorate at the University of Kentucky, Department of Anthropology where she researched how young visual media makers in different social contexts in Appalachia envision, construct, and act upon possibilities for young people in the region.

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses issues of collaboration and voice in the ongoing production of a multimedia and multimodal documentary project about Frances and John Reedy from Harlan, Kentucky, their cyclical migration from Appalachia to Ohio, and their extensive musical recordings and contributions to the founding of Bluegrass music. The co-producers of this project and co-authors of this article will first briefly summarize the project within the context of audiovisual production about and within Appalachia. Then we will share insights about the educational purpose and process of producing a personal and public documentary in relation to digital design and community scholarship, family history and counterstorytelling, and memory and representation. We will also feature selected multimedia content from the documentary Website as examples of the Reedys' self-documentation practices and how they relate to the collaborative documentary process and productions. We close with additional comments and questions as we consider other potential project developments and implications in the future.

CULTURAL PRODUCTIONS AND APPALACHIA

AudioVisual Cultural Productions About and Within Appalachia

In order to understand the significance of Frances and John Reedy's prolific cultural production, it is necessary to have a basic understanding of the "invention of Appalachia" (Batteau 1990) as a region and cultural stereotype within the United States. Scholars and artists have produced books, articles, music, films, community theatre, podcasts, etc. about the cultural production of, about, within, and without Appalachia. However for the purposes of this article, we will describe some of the basic stereotypes about Appalachia and summarize the commodification of such cultural stereotypes and productions relative to the political economy of regional migration patterns.

The diverse regional range and the potent symbols and stereotypes associated with its people comprise the "*idea*," "invention," and "social construction" of Appalachia that "was accomplished not in a professor's study but in the hurly-burly of politics and commerce and industry … With some very specific political ends in view" (Batteau 1990: 16). Cultural stereotypes of Appalachian people are so common that they have become clichéd, and "the image of Appalachian culture in the American popular mind has evolved in marked contrast to American mainstream culture" (Olson and Kalra 2006: 163). Stereotypical representations are typically negative and serve as a convenient and socially acceptable "Other" in U.S. pop culture.

The very origin of Appalachian stereotypes is the result of print media like newspapers, novels, and travel memoirs. Cultural assumptions and imagery about Appalachia were proliferated in the "local color" literature of the late 1880s (Straw and Blethen 2004: 9-11), which helped justify and solidify outside

intervention efforts to "uplift the culture" (Straw and Blethen 2004: 10). "Mountain people were described as noble and savage, independent, proud, rugged, and violent, but also as dirty and uneducated yet crafty and practical. They drank too much and were lazy but managed to scare up the energy to produce excessively large families" (Straw and Blethen 2004: 9).

It is almost impossible to disassociate the term "Appalachian" from the word "hillbilly," in spite of the fact that the fictional family in the popular 1960s sit-com "The Beverly Hillbillies" were from the Ozark Mountains (which are located in the Midwest region of the U.S. and not part of the Appalachian Mountain ranges). In their essay on "Appalachian Music: Examining Popular Assumptions," Olson and Kalra (2006) note that "The term 'hillbilly' did not always have derogatory connotations … and was not used exclusively to refer to Appalachian residents" (Olson and Kalra 2006: 168) when it was first used in print in the early 20th century. There are numerous other relevant and significant examples of Appalachian stereotypes in the media that cannot all be named here. However, a comprehensive litany of new stories, television shows, and movies is not necessary to understand that stereotypes about "hillbillies" are ubiquitous and have been relatively consistent over time. Interestingly, the history of the country music industry in the U.S. represents a particularly lucrative construction and commodification of a somewhat celebratory stereotype.

Anthropological understandings of the "field of cultural production" (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993: 37) recognize "media and popular culture forms as both *cultural product* and *social process*" (Mahon 2000: 468). Consumers of cultural productions do not always use or interpret them as intended, and scholars have analyzed the "creative ways in which social actors manipulate these products, often for purposes of resistance and political expression" (Mahon 2000: 469).

Moreover, "consumers" also have agency as cultural producers who engage in "public visible processes" and "use the media and artistic forms to critique the social terrain they inhabit and the social verities they inherit" (Mahon 2000: 474). It is important to note, however, that cultural productions can reproduce assumptions and representations of Appalachian White rurality that reflect an erasure of racial and ethnic diversity as well as urban environments and issues in the region (Halfacree 2003, Kingsolver 2011; Scott 2010). Therefore, some scholars have striven to unearth and disseminate stories and knowledge about African-American Appalachians (or "Affrilachians") (Walker 1999) and their contributions to regional music and other cultural traditions (Cantwell 2003; Thompson 2012). Stereotypes and cultural productions of the American South and Appalachia have also been reproduced and technologically transmitted through various socioeconomic patterns and development efforts, such as the commodification of rurality (Kingsolver 2011) and the commercialization of "country" music traditions into new mainstream music industries (Cantwell 2003).

Cultural productions like "Country music" and its many musical sub-genres have been constructed as a set of class "tastes" and aesthetics (Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) by a combination of cultural and commercial forces such as the political economy of regional migration patterns and the commodification of cultural stereotypes and productions. However, none of the different labels of "Appalachian," "Bluegrass," "Country," etc. represent totally distinct or isolated categories of musical style or even geographic origin. Malone writes: "Bluegrass music is neither Appalachian nor very old. Bluegrass receives its name from the music made by Bill Monroe's string band, the Blue Grass Boys, between 1944 and 1948. No one in the seminal band came from Appalachia" (Malone 2004: 125) but from Western Kentucky (Monroe), the Piedmont region of North Carolina (Scruggs), and Florida (Wise) (Malone 2004: 125).

Malone (2004) likewise points out:

> There is no such thing as 'Appalachian music.' ...But it is clear that music made by Appalachian musicians bore the marks of an intensely rural society and of the technological forces that were transforming the region: the railroads, textile industry, coalmining, lumbering, and urban growth. Ancient ballads, gospel songs, ragtime pieces, and Tin Pan Alley ditties coexisted in the repertoires of mountain musicians, with no apparent sense of contradiction. (Malone 2004: 115).

The creation and popularization of the country music industry and related technological developments coincided with the outmigration of many Southern and Appalachian families to Northern urban areas in search of work between the 1940s and 1960s. Some of these families, including the Reedys, engaged in "shuttle migration" patterns of returning home periodically (and/or eventually for good) between working in Northern factories (Obermiller 2004: 90). Malone writes: "Transplanted Southerners certainly contributed to the popularity of 'mountain music' in cities throughout the industrial North" (Monroe 2004: 124), and "many working people .... searched their radio dials for familiar voices and stories" (Malone 2004: 124).

The advent and availability of radio technology occurred at the same time that the U.S. was experiencing a national economic crisis, and radio helped migrant Appalachians to reminisce about home and also connected more rural communities to a larger cultural geography. Oral histories with older residents in Appalachian Ohio illustrate how "the inception of radio in the 1920s that brought a genesis of belonging to a national community into this region of the [U.S.]" (Podber 2007: 388). Within rural Appalachia, there were also issues of access related to class, including access to a radio and the electricity to power one: "If they listened to the radio in their home, this might indicate a level of wealth, as many respondents... were too poor to afford a radio. As a result... they went to the home of a neighbor or relative to listen" (Podber 2007:392).

Conversely, the broadcast range and regional musical content of urban radio stations in Appalachia and the American South reached local rural communities as well as national audiences because there were so few radio stations competing for the (then) unpopulated airwaves. For example, radio stations like WNOX in Knoxville, Tennessee, which is one of the stations where Frances and John Reedy played, "could be heard as far as New York City" (Hooper 2009: 7). Local "radio" audiences at WNOX and WHLN, where the Reedys had their own radio program for more than 17 years, often crowded around outside the station to listen to (and sometimes watch) live shows as they were being broadcast (Hopper 2009; Reedy 1996; Rounder 1974). "Once they made their reputation through radio broadcasts, musicians could then enlarge their audiences through public appearances in country schoolhouses and movie theaters" (Malone 2004: 124); which the Reedys continued to do for several decades.

We have described some of the ethnoscapes and mediascapes (Appadurai 1990) that the Reedys participated in and co-produced to help contextualize the audiovisual representations of their voices featured in this article and our documentary project. Next we will discuss how the documentary processes and productions contribute to multisensory approaches in visual anthropology (Pink 2006) and media archaeology "as a mode of studying media that gives particular attention to the often-overlooked sidepaths of media history" (Shapins 2012: 94) through our consciously collaborative effort to digitize and archive various analog audiovisual media artifacts in a public, interactive format.

COMMUNITY SCHOLARSHIP AND DIGITAL DESIGN

John and Frances Reedy's granddaughter Timi Reedy and her partner Tammy Clemons maintain a documentary blog called, "Remembering the Reedys: Appalachian Music, Memory, and Migration" (remembereedy.blogspot.com/), where we post and analyze research findings and multimedia artifacts related to the Reedys' musical legacy, such as photos, news clippings, videos, audio clips, and other personal memorabilia.

Before discussing some of the more personal documentary content and our experiences as digital curators and mediators, we will summarize some of its general educational purposes and audiences, how the project came about, and how community scholarship and digital design serve as core methodological approaches for documentation and representation.

The documentary blog has evolved as the primary organizing medium for preserving and sharing the rich history and content of the Reedys' music, migration, and memories. As such, it has served a variety of educational purposes and a broad range of audiences that have evolved alongside its development. As we will discuss more in-depth, it was originally created to serve as a publicly accessible reporting structure for following up on funding that we received to archive the Reedy artifact collection.

It was also a way for us to share information as it surfaced and to educate family, friends, and fellow fans about our work as we went along, which became a model for collaborative knowledge production.

For example, we have used the blog for communicating and confirming information with immediate family members; vinyl collectors and aficionados; and experts such as archivists and historians of these musical genres and time periods. We have shared it with community scholars and folklife enthusiasts as well as with more scholarly audiences in presentations at the annual Appalachian Studies Association conference.

We had already video-recorded some important but isolated pieces of Reedy family history, like two oral histories that Timi conducted with her grandmother (or "Mamaw") in the 1990s and some home video footage we shot with her in the 1990s and early 2000s. However, when Timi's Mamaw passed away, we literally inherited a much greater material abundance of (and responsibility for) family history that Frances had collected and tucked away throughout her long and culturally productive life. Her personal (and now public) archive includes more than a dozen commercial recordings on various vinyl formats and an 8-track cassette; 15 reel-to-reel tapes and more than 20 cassette tapes of home audio recordings; VHS videos of John and Frances' last recorded performance together and both oral history interviews with Frances; more than 200 photographs; liner notes from commercial recordings; news clippings; musical correspondence; and other music and family keepsakes.

We chose to curate and care for this wealth of material culture as community scholars of both the personal history of the Frances and John Reedy and of the broader historical contexts of migration of both Appalachian people and music traditions from the region. We officially launched the documentary project in 2009 when Tammy's grant-funded professional position at Berea College ended and we applied for and were awarded a three-month Appalachian Sound Archives Fellowship to conduct research in the Berea College Special Collections and Sound Archives. We decided to donate the Reedy collection to Berea College as part of our proposed fellowship project in order to preserve and make public the Reedys' extensive collection of recordings and memorabilia from their musical career. The Berea College Sound Archivist and support staff had encyclopedic knowledge about diverse musical eras and genres, and their expertise was crucial in digitizing outdated analog media (especially reel-to-reel recordings), which we could not have done ourselves.

During part of our fellowship period, we simultaneously completed the Community Scholars certification program sponsored by the Kentucky Folklife Program, which included basic field methods training and an oral history project. In 2010, we conducted additional archival research at the Kentucky Historical Society as part of a Family Research Fellowship, and we publicly presented our findings and different multimedia components at the Appalachian Studies Conference in 2010 and 2012.

From the outset, we knew that we wanted to create a public archive of not only the artifacts that we digitized, so we created an online documentary blog to chronicle our research process and collect findings. In terms of our co-authorship methods for the Reedy documentary blog (and this article), we use the collective "we" to describe our collaborative efforts rather than single out one person's role or voice. Where we need to emphasize one individual's voices or relationships, we refer to each person in third-person by their proper first name.[1] In our blog posts, we have consciously chosen to share supporting resources, such as successful grant proposals and follow-up reports, as examples for other people applying to these programs or seeking support for similar projects. Similarly, we hope this discussion of public scholarship and digital methods includes lessons and considerations that are helpful to other independent researchers.

In terms of the project's digital design, we have utilized various freely available online applications for storage and public distribution that we use in combination with one another to support the interactive, multimedia storytelling of the primary documentary project blog. This digital toolbox includes (but is not limited to) the following free web-based Google applications: Blogger (www.blogger.com), Feedburner (feedburner.google.com), Analytics (analytics.google.com), My Maps (www.google.com/mymaps), Picasa Photos (picasaweb.google.com), and Webmaster Tools (www.google.com/webmasters/tools/home). To post audio and video files, we use YourListen (www.yourlisten.com) and YouTube (www.youtube.com) respectively.

There are definitely limitations and liabilities for relying on a complex corporate package of applications like Google products. First of all, all of these products are not universally available in every country or in the same way; and everyone who has access to these products must accept the risks of corporate (and likely governmental) access to all of their private data beneath what they choose to share publicly. However, there are also some handy advantages to having multiple integrated online platforms and Website tools available in a single free log-in account, and we were able to tie together existing accounts, like Blogger and YouTube, with other web development tools when they became Google products. There is not sufficient space here for a comprehensive discussion of risks and benefits of proprietary versus open source digital technologies and applications, but they are worthy of further exploration by do-it-yourself digital archivists with limited resources (e.g., Kurzwelly 2015; Tactical Technology Collective n.d.).

The organization of the blog itself has developed over time to include several standalone components in addition to periodic postings of findings and other updates. For example, the blog layout includes a universal sidebar that appears on every page of the Website. This customizable sidebar features images, the Reedy YouTube playlist, a blog archives, keywords, search functions, subscription options, and links to other relevant blogs. It also includes a menu of individual pages where

[1] We discuss other issues related to naming, voice, representation, and reflexive engagement in other sections throughout this article.

we have compiled, cross-referenced, and organized various media and information in different ways. For example, we have pages with brief bios and acknowledgements of production support, as well as more archival pages like a multi-media library of all posted material, a comprehensive discography of the Reedys' commercial recordings, and an interactive map that illustrates their migratory patterns and cultural productions. We have also built additional and more complex multimedia elements and interactivity by locating and modifying existing code for additional interactivity and creative control over multimedia elements of the blog. However, it is important to note that Tammy is a digital native who literally grew up alongside the development of personal computing (since the 1980s), had access to each generation of technology in educational settings, and has a basic understanding of HTML and other source code. Therefore, different skill-sets and levels of comfort with digital technologies will determine what is feasible for other documentary projects and documentarians.

We have contemplated establishing a Facebook page for the project, but there are similar issues with establishing another proprietary account in terms of privacy and security. We have also wondered whether this might take away from the very carefully crafted and richly textured digital landscape of the documentary itself toward the more homogenous visual environment of the blue and white social network site. The main advantage would be increased social connectivity, but questions remain about whether these would result in meaningful engagements with the content or simply more cursory interactions based on superficial "liking" habits. We are still debating this possibility and welcome input regarding this.

When we began our sound archives fellowship at Berea College, we took our personal desktop computer and image scanner to Special Collections and set up a station where we could sort though, digitize, log, and organize the large amount of artifacts we were donating. We each spent about 20 hours a week processing this collection and conducting primary research listening to recordings and reading oral history transcripts in the reading room. The use of these facilities and the generous stipend made it possible for us to work on this project as an almost full-time occupation during the three-month fellowship. We would later realize how crucial such infrastructure, including free and unlimited access to broadband Internet, is for the effective and efficient implementation of a large-scale digital project.

In rural communities in Appalachia and other parts of the U.S., socioeconomic factors can contribute to the pervasive "digital divide" that continues to limit different levels of access to digital technologies, information, and social media (Banks 2012). As Banks points out, equal access is not just about consumption but also about material, functional, experiential, critical, and transformative access to the technologies, resources, and critical literacy for producing content (Banks 2012: 9-11).

Efforts to address inequities in access must also "build meaningful access, using our engagements with technologies to strengthen our communities and our connections to each other" (Banks 2012:13).

Until recently, we did not have reliable Internet access at our home, and we still do not have mobile phone access. We had access only to dial-up service over the phone or satellite Internet with a dish that would also tie up the land phone line and require cutting down trees to install the receiver dish. So over the past six years or so, we only had intermittent dial-up Internet at home because we would get frustrated with the speed and quality and cancel our account and later re-subscribe to see if were any better than before (it never was, so we would cancel it again). This meant that we had very limited ability to upload digital content or even post regular updates. In May 2015, DSL broadband Internet finally became available in our neighborhood, which has changed the way that we can work on this project again (not to mention streamlining the workflow and reducing the stress of Tammy's graduate school career).

We cannot overemphasize how crucial high-quality Internet access is for any public digital archive or documentary project. We have made do with dated electronic equipment (like computers and digitization tools) when necessary, but the interconnectivity of online community scholarship is difficult and sometimes impossible without access to broader channels of communication and distribution. In spite our digital constraints, our methodological emphasis on community scholarship and collaboration, with one another as co-producers and with relevant programs, has enabled and supported our ongoing work on a grassroots digital archive of audiovisual artifacts and stories.

FAMILY HISTORY AND COUNTERSTORYTELLING

As "[m]edia archaeologists …. 'excavating' forgotten media-cultural phenomena that have been left outside the canonized narratives about media culture and history" (Shapins 2012: 94-95), we began this project with the goal of documenting the Reedys' family history by situating them as under-represented founding participants in the development of new cultural productions of Appalachian identity as well as the commercialization of country styles of folk and popular music in various geographical contexts. Another key project goal was the compilation, production, and distribution of counterhistories about Bluegrass music and Appalachian migration, disrupting mainstream narratives about the history of Bluegrass that often mis-credit Bill Monroe or the Stanley Brothers for some of the Reedys' songs or that completely subsume or erase Frances Reedy's songwriting and lead vocal credits under the umbrella of her husband John. Counterstories serve as "competing versions that can be used to challenge a stock story and prepare the way for a new one" (Delgado 1989: 2415-2416), and counter-storytelling is a method of inquiry and theory-building

that arises from critical race theory and can provide a means for marginalized identities to represent their own subjectivities in response to powerful media representations. Delgado writes:

> Stories humanize us. They emphasize our differences in ways that can ultimately bring us closer together. They allow us to see how the world looks from behind someone else's spectacles. They challenge us to wipe off our own lenses and ask, "Could I have been overlooking something all along?" Telling stories invests text with feeling, gives voice to those who were taught to hide their emotions. (Delgado 1989:2440)

Because the project blog already recounts the Reedys' personal history in great detail, we will highlight the voices of John and Frances Reedy by focusing on specific family history vignettes and multimedia examples of their self-documentation practices. As previously noted, Frances and John Reedy were literally part of the creation and commodification of "country" music as a capitalist industry.

They played with notable Bluegrass icons like Bill Monroe and the Stanley Brothers when they were beginning their own music careers and inventing their own distinctive styles. As previously noted, the Bluegrass genre is derived from Monroe's band the "Blue Grass Boys," and Monroe himself was (and continues to be) hyper-successful at exploiting this commercial opportunity and reaching legendary celebrity status within the specific genre and country/folk circles in general.

The more localized experiences and contributions of the Reedys are enormously important but previously and largely unrecognized in mainstream histories and folklore, which we will address more in depth later. Meanwhile, it is helpful to contrast the Reedys' collective focus on producing music and the resulting fellowship they experienced with other musicians rather than the singular commercial success. For example, in one of her oral history interviews, Frances commented, "Music then, was kindly [kind of] a family thing. When you run across somebody who wanted to join the band or wanted to come and play, why, you would bring 'em home with you. You would keep 'em, you know. And it was just kindly everybody was family" (Reedy 1996). However, it is also important to acknowledge that Frances and John Reedy also had slightly different aspirations between them, as he loved the attention and desired greater recognition than she did.

When we began our documentary project, we were able to find few reliable references to their contributions in mainstream historical narratives about who "invented" Bluegrass music, who was credited with and/or copyrighted which songs versus their actual authors, and who was listed on the artist credits on different commercial recordings, etc. For example, Bill Monroe has been frequently credited with writing the Bluegrass gospel song, "Somebody Touched Me," which was actually written by John Reedy, whose original 1939 recording of the song was included among

the influential 1974 Rounder Records vinyl LP compilation, "The Early Days of Bluegrass, Vol. 1" of founding Bluegrass musicians (Reedy 1974). This album featured lesser known but instrumental artists who pre-dated or were contemporaries of Bill Monroe, who interestingly enough is not included in this compilation or any subsequent volumes in the Early Days of Bluegrass series (neither are the Stanley Brothers). In addition to our own public history efforts, several recent historical publications have corrected this error in authorship attribution (Gibson 2011; Reid 2014; Rosenberg and Wolfe 2007), and one also points out an erroneous credit to John Reedy for another famous gospel song called, "Oh Death" (Reid 2014). We recently learned that another song that we thought was originally written by John was actually a political campaign song from 1912, and he wrote new verse lyrics that he and Frances recorded commercially multiple times (Clemons and Reedy 2016b).

Another important aspect of our documentary's emphasis on providing a counter-history to that of commercial superstars who dominate the mainstream narrative is telling the consciously feminist counter-history of Frances Reedy's previously invisible contributions and influence. Of the 24 commercial recordings they made together in shared lifetimes, only three name Frances directly in the artist credits, and two of them misspell her name as "Francis" and the third is listed as a humorous nickname, "Frankie." Otherwise, all song credits list John Reedy in various combinations of band names or individual artist names. Therefore, in our textual representation of Timi's grandparents, we refer to them collectively as the "Reedys" or, when possible and it makes sense, in alphabetical order as "Frances and John" rather than reinscribe the patriarchal order that maintained his predominance on their commercial artist credits. Otherwise, we use individual artist credits when referring to the actual recordings with which they are associated. In terms of counterhistories, our project also challenges some typical assumptions about long-term continuous Appalachian migration to urban industrial settings for employment. As previously noted, the Reedys participated in cyclical "shuttle" migration North with the intention of moving back to Kentucky and buying land. However, they also consciously sought out and exploited the commercial radio and recording opportunities that were available for the burgeoning migration and remixing of musical traditions in cities like Dayton and Cincinnati. Their music career also challenges assumptions about the cultural production of Appalachia and Appalachian music.

While the Reedys are largely noted as founding Bluegrass musicians, their actual musical repertoire was far more diverse and contributed to overlapping aural sub-cultures around commercial and custom vinyl recordings of early Bluegrass, Rock-a-Billy, and Honky Tonk music. One of the recordings (Reedy 1976) even includes a contributing artist playing a jazzy Klezmer clarinet solo and a honky tonk piano instrumental. From personal communications with some collectors and aficionados in these sub-genres, we have learned about the Reedys' continued

influence among contemporary social scenes and cultural productions. We also recently learned about a young female duo that performs "traditional" and "old-timey" music who recorded a new cover of a gospel song written by Frances Reedy, unaware of her original recording from the early 1960s, which was a very contemporary country version with a Honky Tonk flavor (Reedy 1962).

In addition to their commercial recordings and radio appearances, Frances and John Reedy consciously and prolifically self-documented themselves through whatever technological innovation was available. For example, one of our project's most recent developments and yet probably the Reedys' very first attempt at self-recording was a circa 1953 "Voice-O-Graph" recording. Voice-O-Graph recording booths were about the size of a phone booth, and the recordings they produced represent one of the earliest forms of "voicemail" (Levin 2011-2015). The Reedys' Voice-O-Graph features primarily John's voice, with his sister adding asides in the background, and Frances uttering a seemingly reluctant "Hello," when directed by John. In this two-minute narrative, he recounts their early migration experience and its promise, and he ends with a humorous reference to their son Harold (Timi's father) (available at: yourlisten.com/Tambone/john-reedy-voice-o-graph-to-all-the-family).

This surviving Voice-O-Graph recording contributes indirectly to the efforts of PhonoPost, an entire "research archive investigating the media archaeology of voicemail" directed by Princeton professor Thomas Y. Levin in collaboration with the Friedrich Schlegel Graduate School for Literary Studies and the Einstein Foundation in Berlin (Levin 2011-2015). In the late 1950s or early 1960s, the Reedys self-recorded and released vinyl pressings of some of their songs.[2]

During this time, they also purchased a reel-to-reel tape recorder, which would have been state-of-the-art technology at the time, and they used it to record rehearsals before studio recording sessions and informal jam sessions at their home. Frances also made some back-up recordings of their commercial records on both reel-to-reel and cassette tapes, the latter of which were more commonly in use by the 1970s.

Occasionally, Frances or John recorded their own solo performances or sound-checks that included everyday household activities and conversations. They also audio-recorded memories of family members. For example, on one reel-to-reel tape, John Reedy recorded the family gathering for a Christmas celebration in 1961.

They had been living in Dayton, Ohio for about a decade by that time, and it was just a couple of years before Timi was born and they moved back to Kentucky (Clemons and Reedy 2016a). The recording included a radio-like sermon by John's brother Roger Reedy, a couple of gospel songs, and some interviews with different family members. In the first interview, John talks to his nephew Junior (son of his sister Cleedia) about whether he prefers living in Dayton or Kentucky. The clip captures a fas-

[2] Custom pressings by companies like RITE Record Productions provided the Reedys and many other artists with the means to mass-produce and distribute their music (De Clark 2001-2016). These activities pre-date the surprisingly similar cultural production of multiple sub-cultures and musical genres in the field of DIY (do-it-yourself) record labels and punk scenes in the U.S. decades later (O'Connor 2008).

cinating moment in time and space where John is consciously recording the family gathering for posterity and documenting his own attachment to Kentucky in contrast to his young nephew who prefers Ohio. The informal interview (available at: yourlisten.com/Tambone/john-interviews-junior-christmas-eve-1961) literally foreshadows Frances and John's return to Kentucky, and along with the Voice-O-Graph recording, serves an audio bookend for their shuttle migration (Obermiller 2004) to Dayton, Ohio while they earned money to buy land in Kentucky. Interestingly, the Christmas recording also occurs around the same time that they would have divorced and remarried, which we will discuss in greater detail in the next section. Their son Harold Reedy documented another family Christmas gathering at his home in Corbin, Kentucky in 1980, and as a result, he made the last known recording of Frances and John performing together on a VHS home video recording (John Reedy died just three years later). We posted a video excerpt of the Reedys performing the song, "Little Sparrow," which is the second most viewed video on Tammy's YouTube channel and the most viewed video related to the Reedy documentary (available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=A7XI0Z0DpII).

In the mid-1990s, Timi helped conduct two interviews with her grandmother Frances as part of a larger oral history project conducted by a regional non-profit organization. Both interviews were videorecorded on VHS, and one of them focused on her early musical background and career before she and her husband left Harlan and migrated north to Dayton. She discussed forming their first band, their first 78 rpm recording of "Somebody Touched Me" in the late 1930s, their radio program in Harlan during the 1940s, and various famous musicians they met and performed with during that time. She also reluctantly performed two songs at Timi's request, which ultimately became her last recorded performance. For our Appalachian Sound Archives Fellowship, Tammy edited a 10-minute excerpt from the original 20-minute interview about her musical background, including historical photographs wherever possible to illustrate her stories.[3] In contrast to mainstream histories of Bluegrass music and even of the Reedys' musical career, this video privileges Frances Reedy's narrative and voice. While she was self-conscious about the sound of her literal voice, which had deepened significantly after many years of smoking, she performed well and with both humor and sincerity (available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=RfHy87ebIGw).

By highlighting Frances and John's voices through such self-documented media artifacts, this documentary project archives and makes public counterhistories of Appalachian music and migration. The project also places their voices in context and in conversation with other primary sources and scholarly histories about different geographical places and time periods in which they were cultural producers.

[3] There is one visual error in the edited oral history video, which is a photo of an unknown young man when Frances talks about playing her uncle's guitar. Based on the quality of the photo and the young man's attire, it would have been taken decades later than the time period Frances described in her narrative.

MEMORY AND REPRESENTATION: AFFECTIVE RESOURCES AND LIABILITIES

Having access to hidden histories entails a responsibility to preserve and/or circulate them to family and even broader audiences relative to their historical contexts. Because the Reedys' cultural productions reached commercial radio audiences and subcultures, it is not enough to share these memories with family members alone given their wide spatial and temporal reach. However, sharing family memories in a public fashion also requires the ethical and political responsibility for choosing what should be publicly included and how it should be represented. We will discuss how we navigated some of the tensions between preservation for the public good and personal privacy by highlighting two particular stories and the multimedia artifacts that accompany them on the documentary blog.

The Reedy documentary has become more autoethnographic over time as we have situated history in living and past relationships that continue to effect contemporary cultural processes and productions. Ellis notes: "As a method, autoethnography combines characteristics of autobiography and ethnography" (Ellis et al. 2011: 275), and thus, "it is both process and product" (Ellis et al. 2011: 273). Autoethnographic writing incorporates "retroactively and selectively [writing] about past [autobiographical] experiences" (Ellis et al. 2011: 275) as well as "retrospectively and selectively [writing] about epiphanies that stem from, or are made possible by, being part of a culture and/or by possessing a particular cultural identity" (Ellis et al. 2011: 276). Like other autoethnographic researchers, they "seek to produce aesthetic and evocative thick descriptions of personal and interpersonal experience" (Ellis et al. 2011: 277) while remaining mindful of the "relational ethics" of how "we implicate others in our work," including our family and friends (Ellis et al. 2011: 281). The documentary is autoethnographic because we cannot extricate our family histories and memories from the raw materials we have organized or the representations that we present. Timi is a product of her grandparents' upbringing, music-making, and storytelling, so our documentary maintains continuity with Frances and John's self-documentation practices on behalf of their family.

We carefully craft our documentary posts for the purpose of public scholarship by maintaining certain stylistic and ethical rigors of scholarly work while presenting content in an informal conversational style that can reach audiences of various ages, educational levels, and topical interests. We must also be selective about what content we share because the sheer volume of artifacts that Frances Reedy collected limits the amount of material that we can meaningfully post and the amount of time we are able to devote to the project in an ongoing manner.

The comprehensive archive documents the Reedys' public musical career in great depth, but it also includes a substantial number of more informal home recordings that shed light on the behind-the-scenes history and personal dynamics of their cultural production.

Because this is also part of Timi's own family history and many of her personal memories, we bear another layer of responsibility as researchers and co-producers that must account for how these stories impact other living relatives and colleagues.

For example, we have shared draft blog posts that reference people like Timi's uncle Tim, who is Frances and John's last living child, before publicly sharing our interpretations of findings. We have received very positive feedback from him as well as other family members and friends who have commented on the documentary sites or contacted us directly, and we would like to see more interactive engagement from our overall audience. However, it is still an emotional challenge to be responsible for telling not only the celebratory stories about the Reedys' historical impact but also the more intimate tales of struggle and heartache that lay the foundation for good Country music.

One story about Frances and John's marital relationship includes both public representations and surreptitious acknowledgement of their temporary divorce. Timi knew that her grandparents had briefly divorced and remarried shortly before she was born in the early 1960s and that her grandmother had continued to feel hurt about it after they reconciled.

However, we were able to discern and disclose some hidden narratives of their relationship through the discovery of and intimate interaction with various multimedia artifacts, including a particular photograph cut in two, a couple of newspaper clippings, and a couple of vinyl records that disclosed different details about the divorce. As part of our Community Scholar training, one of our assignments was an archival document analysis exercise, and we chose to analyze a picture of Frances and John that she had cut in half and never chose to put back together.

FIGURE 1 - WHOLE SIDE-BY-SIDE DOG PATCH IMAGE

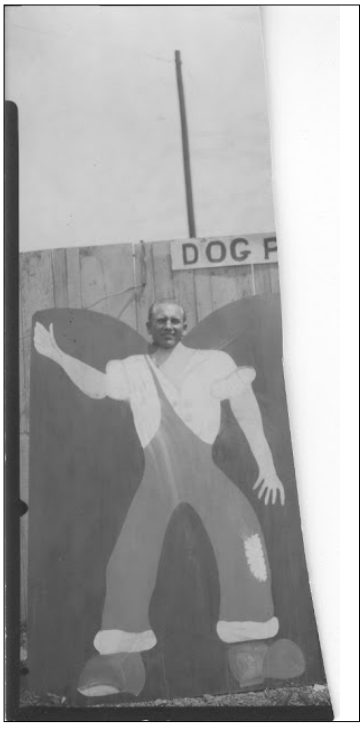

FIGURE 2: HALF IMAGE OF JOHN (DOGPATCH IMAGE)

FIGURE 3: HALF IMAGE OF FRANCES (IN DOGPATCH IMAGE)

Rather than reiterate our complete analysis (Clemons and Reedy 2009), for the purposes of this article we note that the photograph is interesting because its content shows us hillbilly stereotypes at the time the photo was taken and its form shows us how Frances secretly felt about their relationship even after they reunited.

More public representations of their divorce included a clipping of their remarriage announcement from an Ohio newspaper where they lived in 1961, and another of a story in the *Corbin Times-Tribune* when John's song "Somebody Touched Me" was included on the Rounder Records "Early Days of Bluegrass, Vol. 1" compilation recording of the emerging tradition's founding musicians. In the article, they also talk about another song, "Tiny Bitty Pieces," that Frances wrote and narrates in third person as the story about two friends whose marriage was "on the rocks" (O'Connor 1975). She actually wrote it for John to describe the state of her heart when they separated, and it points to another hidden history not referenced in the article, which is the fact that he also wrote and recorded his own break-up song to her called, "Knockin' on Your Door." It is also interesting to note that the Reedys' recorded a commercial record of "Tiny Bitty Pieces" on Jewel Records in 1973, but they also a self-produced an earlier vinyl record of the song as "Frankie and Johnnie Reedy," which is play on their names and references a well-known American break-up ballad from the turn of the last century about Frankie catching her lover Johnnie cheating on her and shooting him dead.

As part of public presentations for mostly scholarly audiences about our project, we have told this story by showing the Dogpatch photo(s) and playing a mash-up of Frances and John's mutual break-up songs that Tammy edited together with Audacity (available at: http://yourlisten.com/tabmbone/tiny-bitty-pieces-knockin-on-your-door). The overall (and somewhat intended) effect of the story, and particularly these audiovisual components, is amusing and entertaining as if constructed for public consumption at one of the live music and comedy variety radio shows where the Reedys early in their career.

By rendering the photo as both separate and whole and stitching their heartbreak songs together as a musical mash-up, we use them to weave together public and private stories and to mend metaphorically the lingering emotional distance that Frances felt toward her first, second, and only husband. Frances and John obviously chose to remain removed from their personal history in the public forum of the newspaper article in order to emphasize the celebratory nature of their inclusion on the Bluegrass album. However, the songs themselves and the permanently severed photograph help paint a more complex picture of the disruption and (at least partial) re-establishment of family unity as well as the role of cultural productions in mediating emotional conflict and suffering.

Another personal story of reconciliation and loss includes our own experience helping to be a caregiver for Timi's father Harold during the last couple of years of his life, which we shared publicly in a blog post a couple of months after his death (Clemons and Reedy 2011). We talked about trying to honor the person Harold was while learning new strategies for managing his severe short-term memory loss that grew worse over time. For example, we learned that listening to his parents' musical recordings helped comfort Harold and provided an expressive outlet (i.e., smiling, tapping his foot, gesturing with his hands) when he was no longer able to communicate verbally. We later learned that our experience connected with larger public conversations and research regarding the therapeutic effects of music for memory-related illnesses. It was difficult but also important to write these autoethnographic vignettes because they represent healing and reconciliation between Timi and her father at the end of his life.

These stories illustrate how emotional entanglement can be both a liability and resource in terms of representing family histories as public narratives. On the most basic level, there is tremendous emotional turmoil in sifting through a loved one's belongings, and some of Frances Reedy's things were discarded before Timi had a chance to look through them. Thus she experienced multiple levels of loss in losing her lifelong mother-figure and also losing some of her collected artifacts before determining their importance. There is also the emotional weight of interpreting and representing findings both honestly and respectfully for disparate audiences of immediate family members and a largely anonymous public.

FIGURE 4 - THIS BRIEF FOOTAGE SEGMENT FEATURES HAROLD REEDY DURING ONE OF HIS VISITS TO OUR HOME. THE SOUNDTRACK IS THE "SONG TITLE MEDLEY," IMPROVISED AND SUNG BY HIS FATHER JOHN REEDY AND DIGITIZED FROM A REEL-TO-REEL HOME RECORDING CIRCA THE 1960S.

While the emotional toll of watching Harold's memory and overall health deteriorate was great, we developed emotional resources like using music and photographs to soothe and anchor him when he visited, and Timi and her father gained emotional closure to resolve past hurts before his memory and speaking ability were completely compromised.

Multi-sensory interpretations and representations of these various material cultural productions include the ways they evoke feelings and memory of family: those of the Reedys now and in the past. Timi has her own memories of her grandparents and her dad, and we have shared memories of her Mamaw and now Harold. Timi has also had her own migration experiences, spending summers with her mom in Dayton or Harlan, going to school in Richmond, and temporarily moving back to Corbin to live with Frances when John died. We strive to honor and integrate the different voices we encounter, including our own, in such a holistic manner, though we are aware that our subjectivities are dominant as the living co-producers of the documentary project who control what content is presented and how. For example, our narrative about Frances and John's divorce and remarriage is no less selective nor any more true than Frances' telling. Her story in the newspaper about "friends" could just as well describe their own distance (in time, space, and emotion) from the feelings and experiences of that long-ago couple (and not) that they were. Our version documents it as a temporary but pivotal moment in their relationship and career when they chose to commercially record their private troubles. This project is reflexive not only because we are documenting the interpretation of family history, but also because we have to choose how much of ourselves to include, which became more of an issue when we were helping care for Harold and these memories became a link to the present and the past.

CONCLUSION: FINDING ANSWERS OR RAISING QUESTIONS?

We originally hoped to make a feature-length documentary about the Reedys' musical legacy and how it fits with the larger history of bluegrass and country-western music traditions and sub-cultures. While this is still a worthy and achievable educational goal, the documentary project has grown beyond the confines of a single, static, linear production of a single, static, linear narrative. Its intended and actual audiences have also continued and evolved. Our online documentation, community and institutional partnerships, and our revisiting of familiar topics through different lenses, all contribute to a more interactive, dialectical knowledge commons that both invites others to engage with this particular set of materials and to explore how they might organize and present their own family or community's history, material culture, and social reproduction. While we did not consciously understand or label our project as autoethnographic (Ellis et al. 2011) when we started it, we later realized

the multidisciplinary significance of our various methods, sources, and representational practices as cultural producers and mediators of others' voices alongside our own. As previously noted, we have presented the documentary project in formal educational settings such as archival institutions and regional studies gatherings, and we have also discussed our work with other community scholars at workshops in Kentucky and elsewhere.

However, we have learned that the project has a much broader educational scope and geographical reach beyond the audiences we interact with. For example, our documentary blog is cited as an "inspiration" and "model" for other music and community history projects and is included among oral history and music resources at Berea College and University of Wisconsin-Madison (Clemons and Reedy 2015). Our current Website analytics indicate that our project has been accessed from the District of Columbia and all 50 of the United States as well as 106 other countries around the world.

The most common keyword searches that lead people to our site are about who wrote "Somebody Touched Me" and "John Reedy" with various configurations of the band's name over the years. People also search for Frances Reedy, which was an important goal for the documentary overall. Many people find our project by searching for general information about regional Appalachian and Kentucky music as well as other artists and bands documented on the blog. In this way, the documentary blog has taken on encyclopedic and educational roles defined by members of increasingly global audiences.

One of the most unexpected (though not surprising) outcomes of the documentary is the broader use of our discographies and research about various record labels and producers. There are various cultural associations with vinyl as an archaic analog medium, based on its sensory materiality, personal memories and nostalgic references, and sometimes conscious resistance to hegemonic media productions and commodification (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015). We have personally corresponded electronically with several collectors, discographers, and digital archivists of vinyl records produced by the Reedys and their contemporaries.

These collaborators have shared valuable information to fill in gaps or correct aspects of the discographies on our documentary blog, and we have likewise contributed images and information to some of their online databases. One interesting possibility would be to coordinate and curate a common online exhibit space (Underberg and Congdon 2007) where the contributions of different artists, archivists, collectors, and other cultural producers could be explored together in an experiential, non-linear format (Pink 2006). Through some of our personal communications, we have also learned about present-day Rock-a-Billy and other sub-cultures that have evolved from early country music traditions and continued to pay homage to more obscure recording artists like Frances and John Reedy. Therefore, we have discussed the potential for ethnographic participant observation among some of the people that we have only interacted with virtually.

However, there is temporal disadvantage that we have encountered in trying to access and document additional voices from the Reedys vinyl-pressing past: the difficulty (and sometimes impossibility) of capturing different people's memories and perspectives about cultural productions during the time period and the Reedys' particular contributions. For example, we intended to interview several record label founders that the Reedys recorded with, such as Jack Lynch of Jalyn Records in Dayton and Rusty York of Jewel Records in Cincinnati. We learned that one of them was deceased, and then a few years later, Jack Lynch passed away. We did manage to interview David Lundy who, to our knowledge, continues to operate an independent country and gospel record label in Barbourville, Kentucky (Lundy 2010). His oral history interview and our video tour of his recording studio are among the top five most viewed videos on Tammy's YouTube channel. We have collected names and contact information for additional family members who remember the Reedys' radio show on WHLN in Harlan and other important moments of their musical career, but various constraints in terms of time, money, and other family obligations always impact what we can actually accomplish as a two-person part-time production team.

In addition to the archives and discographies that we have already contributed to, we would also like to include a digital copy of John Reedy's Voice-O-Graph "To All the Family" in the PhonoPost online audio-visual archive (Levin 2011-2015). PhonoPost archive of similar recordings "represents the first systematic attempt to document an astonishingly important yet surprisingly neglected moment in media history: the practice of sending individually recorded audio messages as acoustic letters via the mail. The ... ongoing endeavor is both amassing and making available to scholars a vast archive of these highly fragile, rapidly disappearing and unique multi-media artefacts" (Levin 2011-2015). Both the digitized Reedy recording and the image of the actual record are important media artifacts that would contribute to documenting Appalachian migration within a larger global collection.

Finally, we have discussed some low-cost mini-production projects to continue featuring media that we have already digitized. For example, we have media playlists of presentation materials from our public talks at the Appalachian Studies Conference, and some of these individual media components are available on the documentary blog, but we do not yet have a comprehensive online digital archive to post a complete playlist of what we have shared with live audiences.

We have also talked about doing a New Year's Eve podcast to celebrate Frances Reedy's birthday and highlight her voice and story with tracks featuring her voice and/or lyrics. One of the main tensions we continue to work through in order to make more digital material available is between our questions and concerns about copyright issues and our desire to share information and media artifacts as openly and collaboratively as possible.

We have several allies who are scholars or practitioners with relevant expertise about the distinctions and responsibilities of copyright and Creative Commons licenses and hope to post additional content with more knowledge and confidence in the future.

In this article, we have discussed the ongoing production of our documentary project about Frances and John Reedy and their prolific cultural production during their lifetimes. Their musical history is clearly situated in their participation in migrational and musical flows between the Appalachian region, other U.S. geographies, and American imaginations. As pioneers of self-documentation practices, they also produced primary sources for counter narratives about the history and meaning of country music traditions and industries. These stories, the Reedys' voices, and our representation of them are audible and visible through documentary processes and products that are both personal and public. These multisensory media artifacts also invoke affective engagement and complexity as they are embedded with many mixed memories and emotions.

The very process of writing this article was more emotionally challenging than we anticipated, but it also provided another lens for exploring the project's theoretical, methodological, and educational implications. We hope that our experience producing a personal family project in the context of community participation and collaboration likewise enables productive reflection for other cultural producers, scholars, and family historians.

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