



1986 Festival of American Folklife

Smithsonian Institution
National Park Service

Hanadaue performance of rice planting in the
village of Mibu, Hiroshima Prefecture. PHOTO BY
ISAO SUTOU

Split-oak baskets by Maggie Murphy, Cannon County
Tennessee. PHOTO BY ROBY COGSWELL,
COURTESY TENNESSEE ARTS COMMISSION

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The Twentieth Festival

by Robert McC. Adams,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

This year marks the 20th annual Festival of American Folklife, and as importantly, the 10th anniversary of the American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress. The Center, on whose board I am pleased to sit as an ex-officio member, is important because that birthday passed should presage its continued health and permanent collegial presence. The Smithsonian has collaborated with the Center on several folklife matters, among them the Federal Cylinder Project, which preserved and is currently making available to Indian communities the earliest sound recordings of American Indian music. Congratulations to the American Folklife Center and also to our colleagues at the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts, now in their 14th year, for your continuing good work.

Twenty years ago the Smithsonian's Festival announced in a national forum that study and conservation of living traditional cultures were a continuing part of the Federal government's engagement with arts, humanities and science. This idea has resonated outside the Institution in a way that helped to shape a coordinated Federal approach to traditional cultures.

The notion of resonance also helps to note something quite different about the presentation of living traditional cultures at the Festival, and that has to do with how we know and appreciate the art and craft of a culture not our own. An object or a song in isolation from its culture is difficult to understand, or rather can be understood only with the thoughts that we bring to it. Most often these are not the same ones the people who create the artifacts use to think about their work. If we wish to see in the world something more than our own image, to learn from the lifeways of others, to be stimulated by another's aesthetic thought, then we need to find ways of understanding what it means to turn a pot or sing a song in another's culture. Of course, if the living people are here, as they are at the Festival, you can ask them. Another way is to sense the resonances among several elements of a single culture presented.

In the area of the Festival devoted to Japan, for example, the 13 foot samurai figure, in isolation, might conjure in our minds ferocious thoughts of others' values. But note the rice field that the figure adorns and the festive planting ceremony enacted in the field and the rice straw hanging up to dry, the very material from which the figure is constructed. What emerges is a complex and beautiful resonance among these cultural practices that deepens our appreciation of each and opens the possibility for us to begin to understand the many ways that Japanese folk culture speaks and sings about that most important commodity, rice.

The Tennessee area also takes this approach, as music, craft and food together define a regional style of doing things, as well as each forms context for the other.

This year's Cultural Conservation program presents a variety of craftspersons who singly and together define what is traditional about their crafts, how these are practiced in our country today, and why they are worth preserving for the future. I think it will be evident that these crafts, in a sense, record the resonances between a crafts-person's skill and the aesthetics of a particular tradition. Traditional crafts also record the craftsperson's use of the local environment and his or her negotiation with a sometimes changing market. It is these layerings of meaning and tone that define the communal base of folk crafts and bring harmony to their ensemble at the Festival.

American Trial Lawyers builds upon the Festival's 14-year attention to the folklife of occupational groups through presentation of and discussions about working skills, social organization and lore. Moreover, lawyers are storytellers in a profound sense: the stories they construct in court — the narratives of events and the interpretations of them — are meant to resonate with values held by jury members. Through reason and eloquence, lawyers engage jurors' sympathies for one side or the other, and that resonance between courtroom argument and social values is a mechanism of justice.

In a very different vein, daily dance parties invite you to participate in resonances between traditional social music and dance. Here, as in other Festival areas, participation is the key to understanding. Whether your sympathetic chords are struck by music or craft, food or narrative, or a rich combination of these, we invite you to participate — through dancing, understanding, questioning, or just enjoying. I think you will find this Festival engaging in many ways.



Pride in America's Cultural Diversity

by William Penn Mott, Jr.
Director, National Park Service

The National Park Service welcomes you to share the historical, cultural and culinary exhibition of diverse life styles at the 1986, 20th anniversary, Festival of American Folklife on the National Mall. The Festival—traditionally held amidst picturesque museums, galleries, monuments and memorials in Washington, D.C.—culminates year-long efforts of the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service to produce a unique cultural display for your enjoyment.

This annual event embodies the national theme of "Taking Pride In America," developed by the Department of the Interior and other government agencies. It expresses achievements which make possible living displays of social institutions, crafts, foodways and musical traditions found in many of America's ethnic and cultural communities. The Festival brings you closer to understanding the variety of life styles found in our great country—particularly this year from the state of Tennessee. American traditions originating in foreign countries are portrayed in the music, food, crafts and other mediums to enhance your appreciation of our national diversity.

Japan is the featured foreign country at this year's Festival. More than 50 Japanese and Japanese-Americans will be demonstrating the cultivation and myriad uses of rice found in the traditional folk culture abroad and how many of them have been retained here at home.

The 1986 Festival of American Folklife is but a small taste of America's vast cultural, ethnic and natural beauty. Come see and enjoy it! We welcome you to our Festival, our Nation's Capital and our national parks.

The Midway on the Mall: Twenty Years of the Festival of American Folklife by Robert Cantwell

Robert Cantwell taught English at Kenyon College from 1970-1980. He is the author of Bluegrass Breakdown: The Making of the Old Southern Sound (University of Illinois Press, 1984), which won the ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award in 1985. He is currently writing a book on the folk revival.

By 1967, the year of the Smithsonian's first Festival of American Folklife, the folk revival of that decade had dissolved into a youth movement deeply alienated from its national culture. It had created a culture of its own, with its own music and literature, its own pantheon of heroes, its own way of life — all swiftly appropriated with characteristic voraciousness, by the nation as a whole. It seemed impossible, in 1967, still more so in 1968, to think or to do anything that was not somehow a declaration of allegiance to one side or the other, in the bitter and unseemly struggle which disrupted the delicate equilibrium of social forces by which our democracy had conducted its business. The issues, of course, were fundamental: racism and war. Still more fundamental was the sinister polarization along racial and economic lines which ultimately eroded the heady idealism that had given the epoch its grandeur and glory. But to have been alive in those times, still more to have been young, could be exhilarating, when good and evil seemed so easily distinguishable, when it seemed that hatred, intolerance, and stupidity could be swept away with an establishment that had become the sole owner and proprietor of them.

In 1967, the idea that a folk festival, with all of its associated bohemianism, could be attached to the federal government, was, like many good ideas in a difficult period, a controversial one. S. Dillon Ripley, the civilized and imaginative ornithologist who became Secretary of the Smithsonian in 1964, was sensitive to the optimism of the period and its festive mood, which he brought to the Mall in the form of evening concerts and play performances, extended museum hours, and, most conspicuously, the carousel which with cool irony he placed squarely in front of the romanesque Smithsonian castle. There it filled the atmosphere with the gilded strains of "After the Ball" and "The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze" — to the horror, of course, of a few members of Congress, who feared that Ripley planned to "make a midway of the Mall." But Ripley was more thoroughly cosmopolitan; he understood the Parisian character of Washington, where the spectacle of people at play, he thought, could plausibly become a national example — a suggestion that a culture which had learned to appreciate itself might be able to live at peace with itself again.



Jesse Fuller, a one-man band from San Francisco, performs at a workshop at the 1969 Festival of American Folklife.

That was the climate, then, in which the Festival of American Folklife took root. But times change, and youth is fleeting; the Festival of American Folklife has survived because, from the very beginning, it sought to transcend the moment and to attach itself to the history of the Smithsonian. Ripley had charged James Morris, soon to become Director of the Institution's Division of Performing Arts, to consider the feasibility of some sort of summer celebration of America's cultural diversity. Morris consulted folklorist and musician Ralph Rinzler, who as a fieldworker for the Newport Folk Foundation and friend of the North Carolina guitar picker Doc Watson had become a central figure in the folk revival. Rinzler had an instinct for authenticity, and a willingness to enlist in the project a community of men and women already distinguished as folklorists, ethnographers, and activists: Alan Lomax, the famous collector whose work with the world's folksong heritage had suggested the close connection between songstyle and social structure; Roger Abrahams, the folklorist who helped Rinzler to translate social scientific theory into practice; Henry Glassie, the young field researcher who returned folk crafts to the complex social, technological and aesthetic process which had produced them; Archie Green, San Francisco's shipwright-scholar who saw the traditional element in the lore of working men and women; Bernice Johnson Reagon, the lucid and outspoken Black activist who put Afro-American culture in the anthropological setting that revealed its unity and continuity; Ethel Raim and Martin Koenig, who saw that one of the richest veins of American folklore lay in the country's urban ethnic groups; and Clydia Nahwooksy, a Native American advocate from Oklahoma who taught that her



A portion of a tapestry of the 1976 Festival of American Folklife embroidered by Ethel Mohamed, a traditional needleworker from Belzoni, Mississippi.

ancient traditions were forces that informed the most immediate contemporary concerns of Indian life — these among many others.

Even the word “folklife,” adopted from European usage through the Pennsylvania folklorist Don Yoder, was a departure — it embraced both material and spiritual culture, that is, both the imaginative and the working life of a community — calling attention to what revivalists had sensed but could not embody, the wholeness and integrity of folk culture. The Festival of American Folklife was not, finally, a folk festival at all — not in the way that Newport or Philadelphia or Monterey, the great watering spots of the folk revival, had been folk festivals; rather it was an effort to extend into a new dimension — the dimension of living traditions — James Smithson’s original charge, “the increase and diffusion of knowledge” — or, as Ripley memorably expressed it, to “bring the instruments out of their cases and make them sing.”

Washington “had a ball,” to cite one newspaper account, at the first Festival of American Folklife. Its sheer variety and color, concentrated in the heart of a city which, more than any other in America, has the abstractness and impersonality of philosophy, seemed to bring the palpable national life, in microcosm, literally into the view of the body that presides over it — as if the whole of vernacular culture, regional, ethnic, occupational and familial, had undertaken a political demonstration on its own behalf. Not surprisingly, then, the Festival had an almost immediate influence upon government — which is, after all, the province of real people, people who happen to live where the Mall in addition to being a national shrine is also a public park.

The history of the American Folklife Preservation Act (1976), a bill which has engendered both the American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress and the National Endowment's program in the folk arts, began when a Texas populist named Jim Hightower, legislative aide to Senator Ralph Yarborough, visited the Festival when Texas was the featured state in 1968. Ripley himself was the first to speak for the bill to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in 1970, recalling the "fascinating glimmer of recognition" in the faces of festival audiences "when they hear a half-forgotten melody taught them by their parents or grandparents, or see an ancient and perhaps dimly remembered craft reappear before their eyes." By 1974, chiefly through the indefatigable lobbying of Archie Green, the bill had acquired over 200 sponsors in Congress, including half of the United States Senate, and in the second day of the Bicentennial year it was signed into law by Gerald Ford.

The Bicentennial Festival of American Folklife — 12 weeks long, with hundreds of folk communities from all over the world represented, 5,000 participants in all — was a virtual World's Fair of folklife. This event consummated the Smithsonian's folklife program and, through the immense effort of nine years required to produce it, created the dedicated community of fieldworkers, scholars, writers, photographers, filmmakers, sound technicians, artists, archivists and administrators, in Washington and in various cities and states — all of them public sector folklorists, who strive to carry out the letter and the spirit of the American Folklife Preservation Act: to "preserve, support, revitalize and disseminate" the "customs, beliefs, dances, songs, tales, sayings, art, crafts and other expressions of spirit" belonging to the American people. The leaders of this community — Bess Lomax Hawes at the National Endowment for the Arts, Alan Jabbour at the American Folklife Center, Joe Hickerson at the Archive of Folk Culture, Joe Wilson at the National Council for the Traditional Arts, Rinzler himself — had been among the pioneers of the urban folk revival; but many of the younger people, in the Endowment or at the Folklife Center, in the Smithsonian's Office of Folklife Programs, or in the various state and local agencies which with federal funding have created folklife programs of their own, found their careers as visitors, as volunteers, or as participants in the Festival of American Folklife.

In 20 years the Festival of American Folklife has at last bridged a generation, so that among our visitors and volunteers are young men and women who were here years ago, with their parents. For them the blacksmith, the woodcarver, the blues singer, the tribal dancer, the potter, basketmaker or banjo picker, the bright tents and melodious breezes are fulfillments of the impalpable wishes and vague designs that rise like a scent out of childhood memories. This should tell us, approximately, what in 20 years the Festival of American Folklife has become — not only a reservoir of culture but, because it has riven deep into the imagination, a fountainhead of it.

The work of the Smithsonian, our national museum, is to preserve the inward forms of American life — the forms whose resemblances, when we find them in our hearts, bring our experience home to us. Though rife with social and political implication, public folkore is not a social but a cultural program, one which begins and

ends with the fact that folklife and its productions, I mean the genuine folklore that is not in thrall to trade, to fashion, or to ideology, is originally and inherently beautiful, in a way that nothing else can be, at any level of culture. It is a national treasure, as much as the Gossamer Condor or the Star Spangled Banner, and warrants our attention, reflection, and care. It is a fine thing, of course, that we have a national culture and all the privileges that accrue to it, a melancholy thing, however, that access to it is not yet universal. But folk culture, the deep culture in which personality is rooted, is more domestic; it is shaped to the immediate conditions of life, to the influences of growth and nurture, work and play, people and place, privacy and society, and it is in the human scale. A culturally diverse society based upon the principle of individual rights must be a society dedicated to the conservation of cultures—for culture at every level is the imaginative medium, the body of codes and conventions, of signs and signals, dreams and fancies, in which we have our individuality. We have seen what happens to people when they are robbed of their way of life, and how utterly nugatory is the idea of individual rights when there is no culture in and through which to exercise them.

Maybe we have lost some of the passionate intensity of the 1960s, with all its righteousness and hope, when to love some people it seemed necessary to despise others—hardly a formula for domestic tranquility. Those were times for self-discovery; these are times for the discovery of others. It is a sign of our civilization that we can trust our cultural institutions to keep alive the consciousness of our folk heritage, which is as ancient as English ballads and as modern as “rap.” High and low, folk and popular, culture is really one thing, moving up and down in society, and to and fro within it, through an endless series of transformations that testify to human resiliency and genius. The Festival of American Folklife and all the work on behalf of beleaguered cultures undertaken in its name has been such a transformation; and when the folk revival comes again, as it has intermittently in various forms since the dawn of the modern era, to seal the fate of some future generation, we can hope that the Festival, with its love of human diversity and its global embrace, will have provided the pattern for it.

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Trial Lawyers as Storytellers

by Samuel Schrager

Samuel Schrager, curator of the American Trial Lawyers program, received his Ph.D. in folklore and folklife from the University of Pennsylvania. He is writing a monograph on the occupational culture of trial lawyers based on his fieldwork for the project.

American Trial Lawyers is supported by a two-year grant from the Association of Trial Lawyers of America.

Trial lawyers — that is, attorneys who regularly argue cases before juries — attain excellence in their work by learning how to perform for the only audience whose opinion finally matters: the twelve ordinary citizens of the community who make up the jury. Skilled lawyers know how to engage these men and women as a trial unfolds, how to appeal to them and move them while the opposing attorney attempts to do the same, until by the end of the trial they have communicated their version of the truth so well that these people decide to believe it and reject the other side's.

When lawyers attempt to describe their persuasive art, they often compare themselves to psychologists, salespersons, playwrights, or directors — occupations heavily involved in understanding human motivation. An even richer comparison can be made to storytellers, especially the oral raconteurs of folk societies, who could enthrall their audiences over long stretches of time with harrowing tales of life and death. For, like traditional storytellers, lawyers in jury trials have their own distinctive styles and approaches to telling stories; they compose them from a small stock of basic plots, using techniques perfected by generations of their predecessors; and they improvise from moment to moment as they perform. And, like storytellers, they address the great need societies have to comprehend the extremes of human action and human nature in a way that sustains belief in a moral order.

The primary concern of skilled lawyers when they encounter a new case is to construct what they call their "theory of the case" — a consistent and satisfying interpretation of what happened, a story that the jury can accept. From then until the trial, they keep refining the story by testing it against the evidence that could be brought out in court. They plan their strategy so that everything they do in the course of the trial will support their interpretation of the facts and blunt the force of the opponent's. Each side will be intensely aware of what the other wants to accomplish, but neither can be certain how original or how effective the other will be.

The strength of the story depends on how artfully the lawyer can use (or defuse) the standard plot conventions familiar to all lawyers. In criminal cases that rely on informants, for instance, the classic defense tactic is to argue that the "snitch" is a liar with a criminal past who is "cutting a deal" to avoid prosecution. The prosecutor's classic retort is that the informant came forward voluntarily: "We didn't choose this person as an associate, the defendant did." The defense attorney in a criminal trial typically tells a story about an innocent defendant who is on trial because the police and the district attorney are under pressure to get a conviction, whereas the prosecutor tells a story about the crime and its solution, with the D.A. and the police playing their proper roles as protectors of the



people. At an emotional level, the defense appeals to jurors' sympathy for an accused person and their distrust of institutional authority, the D.A. to their desire for retribution and a lawful society. In civil trials, the plaintiff typically argues that the defendant is responsible for the injury, while the defense contends that someone else is to blame — often, that it was the injured person's own fault — or that no one is responsible.

Although storytelling formulas are largely the same from one part of the United States to another, lawyers are also attuned to particular local environments and recent events. Among attorneys in Georgia, for example, there is a saying that juries in a homicide case ask two questions: "Did the person deserve to die? And did the right person do the killing?" A defense attorney whose story gets the jury to answer "yes" to both questions may win regardless of what the law or the judge says. Similarly, the news of the hour is sometimes important, as recently when New York City's "subway vigilante" briefly became a hero to many, causing attorneys in major eastern cities to think that vigilanteism might provide a viable homicide defense. Then there are inveterate prejudices about "those people" which jurors may hold about certain parties in the trial. "Those people" may be gang members, women, politicians, or any stereotyped group. Lawyers are keenly conscious that such preconceptions exist, and frequently attempt to undermine or subtly confirm them.

In the psychological dynamic of the trial, jurors transfer much of their interest from clients and witnesses to the lawyers. For the story to be believed, so must the storyteller. There is considerable sensitivity among trial lawyers to the common view that they are "acting" in the courtroom, in the sense of pretending or lying. Bad attorneys may dissemble, but good lawyers insist that they must be convinced within themselves of the case they are going to make before they can go before the jury. The feeling among leading trial lawyers is that sincerity is the *sine qua non* of their art. It is a matter of the presence and character that each lawyer has developed in the course of life and that the jury senses in all the lawyer does. For every lawyer it is the expression of a style that is unique, yet also contains cultural dimensions which jurors identify with specific groups. A midwestern lawyer who is easy-going may be perceived as a homespun rural

Opening statements to the jury in New Jersey v. Robert O. Marshall and Larry N. Thompson, January 1986. Left, Prosecutor Kevin W. Kelly outlines the State's case. Right, defense attorney Francis Hartman argues on his client's behalf. Note the similarity in hand gestures as each lawyer shapes his version of the case. Photos by Scott E. Stetzer



type; an eloquent Black lawyer may evoke the oratory of a southern preacher. The lawyer speaking to the jury is not Every-American, but a person with a cultural background and individual history that flow into the story that gets told.

"Don't mimic another's style," Judge Charles Becton of the North Carolina Court of Appeals advises aspiring trial lawyers. "But borrow or steal every good technique or style of delivery and adapt it to your own style." Your style is who you are; beyond it, what you need to master are countless techniques of effective persuasion. These skills are learned, as they are in other occupational cultures, through observation and practice. Customarily, novices are expected "to sink or swim" on their own in their first jury trials. They do not lightly seek advice from senior attorneys, but when they have the chance they watch one who is renowned, and if they are unlucky enough to draw such a lawyer as an opponent they can learn a great deal during the encounter. They are inheritors of a great tradition of oral rhetoric which is transmitted, not by law books, but mostly on the job. The techniques they need to acquire cover every aspect of trial work. There are such mundane matters as where to stand when questioning a witness and how to state the grounds for an objection. There are more sophisticated techniques such as when to feign disbelief when cross-examining a witness and how to make points that will be stricken from the record but that the jury needs to hear.

When trial lawyers exchange stories and lore with each other, the focus is usually on their trial experiences. No part of the trial is as hedged by superstitions as jury selection, where lawyers must make snap judgements based on initial impressions and fragmentary infor-



Closing arguments to the jury, March 1986. Left, Hartman pleads his client's innocence. Right, Kelly dramatizes his point with an accusatory gesture. Photos by Scott E. Stetzer

mation. They have rules-of-thumb about the attributes of the jurors they want and those they fear in a given case, and tales of disasters that resulted when someone picked for the jury turned out to be the wrong choice. Judges are a prominent conversational topic, their actions and idiosyncracies catalogued in humorous stories that also serve as practical guides for dealing with them to best advantage. Lawyers keep "book" on other lawyers, too, as athletes do on other teams. Many like to "scout" the strengths and vulnerabilities of upcoming opponents by watching them in court, getting colleagues' opinions, or reviewing transcripts of their past trials, and in the competitive heat of the trial they may exploit perceived weaknesses however they can. The trials and the circumstances surrounding them provide unlimited grist for "war stories," as lawyers dub accounts of their battles. Most often these are singular incidents, memorable because they distill something of the character of the vocation. They can also become full-blown chronicles that draw listeners far into the complexities of a case and the paradoxes of human conduct.

Like practitioners of other crafts, trial lawyers as a group are local in their orientation, proud of their past, and worried that modern trends will drastically alter their identity. A high proportion practice in the same area where they grew up, or at least in the same state or region. Even the most respected among them are seldom known beyond their own legal community. In many localities there are one or two who have become legends for the present generation: lawyers who were flamboyant, brilliant, and funny, and enjoyed uncanny success with juries. These figures have come to represent the individuality and creativity that seem endangered today. The problems

lawyers cite include ever-increasing amounts of technical evidence, which make attorneys overspecialized and boring to juries; misguided attacks on the jury system and attempts to curtail its use; and declining opportunities for young lawyers to get civil trial experience or to go into practice on their own. One response by the profession in recent years has been a movement to offer trial training workshops, where beginners can learn techniques by conducting simulated trials with guidance from accomplished attorneys.

In the course of successive trials during their career, skilled lawyers develop a formidable repertoire of verbal artistry and strategies for conducting cases. Mastery of the art of trial work, however, is not a state that can be permanently achieved. It has to be accomplished again and again, in the consuming task of reaching each new jury. All the rules of the law and all the preparation of a case only provide a structure for the trial. What actually happens in the courtroom depends on how the lawyers seize the dynamics of the situation and adapt to them as the trial progresses from moment to moment. To a large extent their actions will be planned. But in response to the moment — to the flow of testimony, the mood of the jury, openings left by the other attorney, their own instinct and rhythms — they improvise. Spontaneity is the dangerous heart of their art.

A story: In front of a jury determining whether his client would be put to death for murdering a police officer, James Ferguson rapped on the courtroom table, marking the footsteps the prisoner would take as he walked from his cell to the North Carolina gas chamber. The jurors could have rejected the gesture as a rank appeal to their emotions and proceeded to condemn the man, as most observers, when the trial began, were convinced they would. They did not. No one can know whether Ferguson's raps were what saved his client's life. Nor could Ferguson know, as he took this risk and others, whether his whole approach to the jury would have the desired effect.

People today remain close to the folk societies of the past in the need to make sense out of the inexplicable, fearful side of human experience. When binding judgements must be made about guilt and responsibility, trial lawyers are called upon to retell the unfortunate events in a dramatic contest for the community to decide.

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Japanese Village Farm Life

by Kozo Yamaji

(translated by Carey Giudici)

Travelers on Japan's coastal railway during the June rice planting season are treated to a vista of shimmering wet paddies that fill every flat plain all the way to the mountains. The importance of rice cultivation to Japanese villagers is still very real, and although less than 10 percent of the national work force is involved in agriculture — a reduction from 50 percent at the turn of the century — inevitably, many of Japan's traditions are still based on agricultural events and products.

Although various kinds of agriculture contributed to Japanese culture, rice-growing was at the center of village life in medieval Japan. Basic to survival, rice provided the main nourishment from each fall's harvest. The crop depended on the skill of farmers and the support of various gods who were encouraged through ceremonies and festivals to live in the fields.

Today's rice paddies, which need a dependable water supply at specific times in the season, probably date from 18th-century *daimyo* feudal estates, and from large-scale irrigation projects initiated during modernization in the 19th century. Until that time, rice crops were usually only large enough to meet the survival needs of a family, grown on paddies set on whatever land was available.

The first paddies were set on gently-sloping river banks, to provide them access to water. But farmers often saw their seed rice washed away during fall rains, so they moved the fields to well-irrigated volcanic soil. From the beginning, rice cultivation was a group effort because of the need to plant many seedlings quickly.

In early spring each farmer sowed seed rice in that part of his field designated as a seed bed. He timed this by following cues from nature, such as a certain flower's bloom or patterns formed in melting mountain snow. When the rainy season began in May or June, seedlings were transplanted in rows into the larger paddy. Traditionally, this had to be accomplished in a single day, which meant careful planning, coordination, and hard work. Fields belonging to the village shrine or a feudal lord were planted first, often requiring help from neighboring villages. Plowing and stooping over to plant made this the most difficult chore of the year for villagers, yet also their most festive.

For the rest of summer, farmers needed only to weed the fields a few times and hope for the right amount of sunshine. Weeding during the extremely muggy summers was very trying, but of more concern was the chance that fields would dry up from too much sun. Thus, songs for rain and rest were common during the summer. In the fall came harvest — another hard task, but with the promised reward of enough rice to see the village through the winter. The vil-

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lagers and their gods could then take a break until the cycle began again in early spring.

For each stage of the rice-growing season, villagers depended on the good will of the gods to provide them the sun and water to insure a good crop. Just as each individual in the well-organized village had a role in rice production, so did individual gods and their human representatives provide specific resources or skills.

The New Year gave villages a chance to establish contact with such primary gods as *Ta-no-kami* ("God of Fields") and to pray for a prosperous year. Prayers were made to *Toshi-toku-kami* (literally "bountiful year deity") in dances called *Ta-asobi* ("field play") and *Ta-ue Odori* ("planting dance"), which can still be seen today. *Ta-no-kami* reappeared at sowing time in the guise of the water god *Mizu-no-kami*, the deity providing plenty of water from mountain streams, who was prayed to at the field nearest to the source, called *Mina-kuchi*, or Water Gate. Certain village women were honored as "wives" of the god and were responsible for the actual planting. *Ta-no-kami* was asked to make the planting successful at the beginning of the rainy season in May; he was revered together with the village ancestors, during summer festivals like the *Obon* celebrations still seen in Japan.

A typical planting day in a medieval village surviving in present-day Hiroshima Prefecture imparts a feeling for the cultural importance of rice cultivation. As mentioned earlier, planting is accomplished in one day, before the god could disappear. This tradition is so important that even if planting lasted into the night, farmers would greet each other, saying "We finished before dark!"

Before daybreak, village women put on work clothes especially made for the occasion — plain blue for wives and red or pink for unmarried women. The latter group was the first to arise, making themselves as attractive as possible for the men, and showing that they were hard workers. Previously, those women who would act as "wives" of the god would have climbed into the mountains for ritual purification, wearing flowers as a sign of their important role. Meanwhile, men also looked forward to the social opportunities of the occasion, the day's plowing and the special music.

This well-organized cast of characters assembled in the morning to welcome *Ta-no-kami* in a ceremony called *Sanbai-san*, named after the three-tiered shrine on which three bunches of seedlings represented the deity. The leader of the day's activities (also called *Sanbai-san* for the occasion) sang alone as well as in a duet with a "wife."

Draft oxen decorated with peonies or the landowner's coat-of-arms grandly led the procession to the fields. While most farmers could muster only a few oxen, plowing the lord's fields required up to 50 head to be borrowed from neighboring villages. During the oxen's entrance, the maidens went to the seed bed to tie up bunches of seedlings with straw, while performing the appropriate song. Such a procession, following the lead cow, or *Yaku-ushi*, was as impressive a pageant as most villagers would ever see.

Once the plowing was finished, women, in groups of one or two dozen at a time, took turns going into the fields with seedlings. They were led by the day's *Sanbai-san* as conductor and followed by a



marching band of drums, flutes and gongs. Women took a break at about 10 A.M. for tea or to smoke. The landlord brought out rice balls wrapped in leaves, which were eaten in the fields, while his wife supervised the lunch with the help of priestesses, called *Onari*. Singing farewell to the *Onari* after lunch meant it was time to get back to work—and quickly. However large the rice paddy, planting was still finished in one day, while the *Ta-no-kami* was still in the field.

At day's end the villagers could relax. Men were jovially slapped with leftover sprouts, and one who had moved into his wife's household was a popular target. Then the women went to a nearby stream to wash. For a few rare hours, unmarried men and women were allowed relative freedom in making social contacts with each other. During this period, young villagers could make their feelings known, and even visiting cowherders or musicians were allowed to flirt with the village girls. Parents looked the other way, and if their daughters attracted no attention, they might even act ashamed.

A *tabayashi* performance in Mibu, Hiroshima Prefecture, referred to as *banadaue*. The performance includes rice planting accompanied by drums, flute, cymbals, and singing. Photo by Isao Sutou



In Akita Prefecture, rice straw effigies called *Kasbima-sama* are traditionally believed to guard a village from evil influences. Photo by Isao Sutou

Pageantry aside, planting rice was an extremely important act to medieval farmers in Japan. Strong parallels to human procreation made putting seed into the earth an emotional, spiritual, and physical event in which the “baby” born in the fall would mean another year’s survival. The connection between planting and sexual activity became more explicit during this time.

An endless supply of *sake* (rice wine) was provided by the landowner for adult men. Planting rice was not only the biggest job of the year for Japanese villagers, but also a kind of religious festival which rewarded workers for their labor and encouraged the gods to bestow a bountiful harvest.

Once all the planting was finished, the village took a full day’s rest, while *Ta-no-kami* returned to the mountains — some say on the lightning bolts which are common at this time of year. In order to avoid blight, straw figures representing evil spirits were carried out of town to musical accompaniment. But if no such threats appeared, villagers used this brief period of rest to perform memorial services for their ancestors. This was the forerunner of today’s *Obon* summer festival, during which practically every Japanese community prays to ancestors while having a good time as well. It was a time when farmers could “take a breather” and join together in a sense of accomplishment at having finished the arduous first half of the rice cultivation.

In the fall, harvest time approaches as the typhoon season begins. While some prayers for the end of typhoons were common, we have no record of ceremonies directly related to the threshing of dried rice plants.

As the staple of the Japanese diet, the nutritional value of rice is obvious. By-products of the rice plant have also provided artisans with many materials for their crafts. Rice straw, or *wara*, was carefully saved by farmers to be used during the long winter months in creating household items, such as woven rice sacks and mats, rope, raincoats, snow boots, coats and hats. Local shrines required woven dolls and symbolic ropes made from the same straw, and adult male villagers could make these items without relying on specialists to accomplish the task.

At this year's Festival you will see craftsmen from Yuzawa City in rural Akita Prefecture making a large woven doll. Such sacred dolls were usually made twice a year at the town's borders and placed at three locations to ward off sickness and evil spirits. Other *wara* crafts include small ceremonial horses and boats which were used to house the village's evil spirits until they could be carried outside the village for disposal in a river or fire.

While men were the artisans, women in Japan's villages were responsible for keeping their family members fed and clothed — much of the latter from scratch. Weaving was an important part of every woman's day, and because silk was reserved for royalty only, farmers' wives made cloth from cotton or hemp. Until the 17th century, when cotton spinning and weaving became common, hemp was the main source of thread. All weaving thread was homemade. White cloth or thread was dyed by professionals in patterns, such as *kasuri*, or "splashed pattern," or stripes using indigo and other natural dyes.

Dark blue kimonos were shaded to show off an unmarried woman's beauty. Popular patterns were achieved by tying up white thread or applying rice paste to woven fabric before the thread or cloth was dyed to keep sections white. The latter technique is similar to southeast Asian *batik* dyeing, except that the dye-resisting material in this case was paste made from rice powder. The paste was applied, either by squeezing a little bit at a time from a tube (a method still used in dyeing *furoshiki* cloths or flags), or by putting a stencil on the cloth and brushing paste over it. The latter technique is still used for light summer *kimonos* (*yukata*) in Tokyo.

Sake wine is another rice product. Fermented in winter, *sake* was brewed using traditional skills and pure mountain spring water. The large wooden and bamboo storage kegs, such as can be seen today at celebrations everywhere in Japan, contributed to the wine's flavor.

Village life in Japan has changed drastically during the last 20 years. Machines are taking over rice-planting chores; young women are no longer eligible to be gods' honorary wives, but neither do they have to weave cloth; full-time rice farmers are becoming increasingly rare, as automation allows office workers to become part-time cultivators. As nature's awesome power has been partially tamed by civil engineering projects, in the process, farmers have lost touch with the God of Fields and the God of Water.

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Rice Cultivation in Japan and *Ta-bayashi*

by Frank Hoff

Frank Hoff is a Fellow of Victoria College, University of Toronto. His teaching and research specialty is in the area of the performing arts of Japan. He holds a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from Harvard University.

Mechanization of planting, transplanting and harvesting rice in Japan began early in the century and entered a stage of spectacular growth in the 1970s. In less than a generation, traditional labor-intensive agricultural methods were replaced by a highly mechanized and capital intensive system. So effective has been this agricultural modernization that government planners now seek ways to reduce the size of the rice crop, thereby bringing it into closer accord with consumer demand. Consequently, large scale transplanting by hand, such as we see at the Festival this summer, has decreased since the late 1960s while examples of small, day-long transplanting by hand accompanied by singing and drumming, are reported to have almost vanished.

While the economic significance of traditional transplanting may be minimal today, manual cultivation of rice once helped determine the very contours of Japanese society. Japan still bears the imprint of rice harvesting through such enduring hallmarks as the work ethic and the extended family system. These evolved naturally within the context of a rice culture which required sophisticated water control and effective communal cooperation during the brief period of transplanting. Other by-products of Japan's rice cultivation attest to the elegant frugality of the system. For example, craftsmen use the residue of the process — stalks from the harvested rice — to make containers for the transportation and storage of rice wine (*sake*).

Rice is thought to have been first introduced to Japan by way of the southern island of Kyushu about 2,000 years ago. At first, it may have been seeded directly into paddy fields or used for dry field farming, but from about the fifth or sixth century A.D. seedlings were grown in nursery beds until ready to be transplanted. Though both rice growing methods were introduced early into Japan, it is the transplanting method which conditioned the development of *ta-bayashi*, a composite social, religious, work and performance event. It is possible that similar events once existed in other areas of the world which share with Japan topological and climatic conditions suitable for wet-field rice cultivation, although conclusive evidence is lacking. Yet, as a hypothesis, it is likely that the need to provide "excitement" to "energize fields" by music, rhythm, song, color, and spectacle — the implication of the word *bayashi* in the expression *ta* (field)-*bayashi* — was not an independent invention of the Japanese. In other areas of the world which shared the same agricultural system, preparing a field in a celebratory fashion to receive its seedlings was likely as much a precondition for the successful growth of transplanted seedlings as was a labor-intensive mode of mobilizing society and the central control of its water resources.

In Japan, as elsewhere, rice planting techniques differ from region



Ritual plowing of a rice paddy before a performance. Prize bulls that are decorated belong to wealthy families in the community. Photo by Isao Sutou

to region. Weather conditions in July and August have critical, though subtle, effects upon the duration of sunshine, atmospheric and water temperatures. But these are not everywhere the same in a country which, though narrow, extends approximately 1,675 miles from northeast to southwest. Even within a relatively limited geographical area, we find differences from place to place in how *hanadaue* (literally, "spectacular transplanting") was celebrated. What follows is a general account of a day-long transplanting event—a composite picture, based upon older practices including the many local variations which once existed. Because of modern agricultural practices, it is unusual for *ta-bayashi* groups to perform for an entire day.

Well before dawn, workers gather in a special community shelter. Traditionally, there was general talk of courtship which, from the standpoint of fertility, plays an important role in the rice planting ritual. References to procreation are also included in the songs sung by the transplanting women. In certain regions seedlings are gathered early in the morning from the nursery-field where they have grown from seeds scattered some 40 days before. Seedlings are gathered to the accompaniment of a special group of songs. In other places seedlings are gathered not once but several times throughout the day to replenish the supply. Preceding the transplanting is a ritual invocation of the field god. The participants march out to song and music and gather before a temporary shelf set up in a field or on one of the narrow lanes between fields. An early form of this rite of calling down the field god may have been simply to place a tub in the center of a field or to put three rice seedlings on a stand. At present, the familiar sacred white Shinto wand—a wood stick or pole with white paper streamers affixed to the top—is a part of the reli-

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"Nihon No Minzoku Ongaku" [Japanese Folk Music] vol. 3, *Dengaku* (Victor SJL-2172).

gious decorations on most shelving, though Buddhist decorations also have their place. The genealogy and an account of the birth of the field god is sometimes read as a part of the ceremony. Otherwise, an ordinary Shinto prayer is recited.

As girls gather for this ceremony of invocation in a field where a ritual plowing has just been completed, the plowing and preparation of a second field may begin. Though local traditions and the topography of the area to some degree determine the actual order of events, a ritual plowing is a part of most transplantings of this type. Prize bulls are decorated and led into the fields; diagrams depicting traditionally prescribed patterns for plowing are used in planning the path of the bulls. Careful maneuvering is necessary to keep the animals out of each other's way in the narrow fields, but the patterns themselves may have ritual significance, for these configurations often differ from those in normal plowing. Many have names: "*sanbai's* rope," the pattern followed at the morning's invocation; a "sleeve of one-ply;" "a sleeve of two-ply;" "the dancing crane;" "crane in his nest." Some are prescribed for a certain time of day or for a field of a certain shape.

Bulls are prized for their strength and beauty, and it is an honor for a man to be chosen to lead the animals. The orderliness of the complex maneuvers in the field is in the hands of these drivers. (One consequence of mechanization, however, has been less need for, and, consequently, less interest in keeping prize bulls, hastening the demise of this event.) The decorations on the bulls are costly, and the line of animals, parading into the field and proceeding with the plowing, is a striking sight. Each animal carries the name of the house he represents. Keeping an animal for the festival is an expense that only the wealthy can afford, so that a public display of this sort reflects how the economy of the community and its festival are interlocked. From the community shelter where they have gathered before the invocation of the field god, the workers parade into the field, marching to the accompaniment of special music and song. The day's events thus combine a spectacular show with hard work. Historically, increasing affluence allowed a larger scope for display. A large-scale and costly transplanting event of this sort is traditionally reserved for special fields, such as those of a large landowner or one closely associated with deities. As part of the sacred nature of the event, only young women or girls do the actual work of transplanting.

After the field has been plowed by a line of bulls, men with rakes enter to break up clods of earth and smooth it over. Once the transplanting has begun, seedlings gathered from the nursery field are delivered to the girls as required.

The seedlings are inserted into the mud by a line of transplanting girls, *saotome*, which moves backwards across the field. A male leader, *sanbaisan* as he is called in some places in Hiroshima Prefecture, stands before the row of *saotome*. In some areas he beats two bamboo sticks together while singing responsorially with the *saotome*; in others he may rub one stick over the zig-zag surface of another like a rasp. Drums, flute and small cymbals played by young men in the field provide the music to which the *saotome* and the leader sing.



Synchronized movements of *taiko* drummers in a performance of *banadaue* in Mibu, Hiroshima Prefecture. Photo by Isao Sutou

The field work is hard, and rests are frequent. There is a longer pause for a meal brought into the fields for the workers in the late morning. Clearly an old custom, paintings from the late middle ages or early modern period show food and drink being brought out for a large-scale transplanting event. At one festival in Kyushu today women dressed in white, carrying boxes like those shown on the painted screens, still continue this practice. Tradition relates these women to the god of the field: in a sense both are mysterious visitors from afar bringing bounty, who must be sent off, as the songs say, after they have bestowed their gifts.

As the work draws to a close near dark, the workers' thoughts turn again to the courtship which has traditionally been a part of the event and is reflected in the poetry of their songs. In some places the *saotome* playfully scatter mud over the young men who have been preparing the fields, delivering the seedlings and providing the musical accompaniment for the singing.

Shigaraki Pottery

by Louise Allison Cort

Louise Allison Cort, a craft historian, is Museum Specialist at the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution. She has conducted field research on pottery and textiles in Japan and India and is currently preparing a monograph on the potters' community in Puri, Orissa.

The typical early Shigaraki-ware storage jar had a versatile shape that could be put to many uses. Unglazed Shigaraki jars are identified by the distinctive color and texture of their clay. This jar dates to the first half of the 15th century. Photo courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution



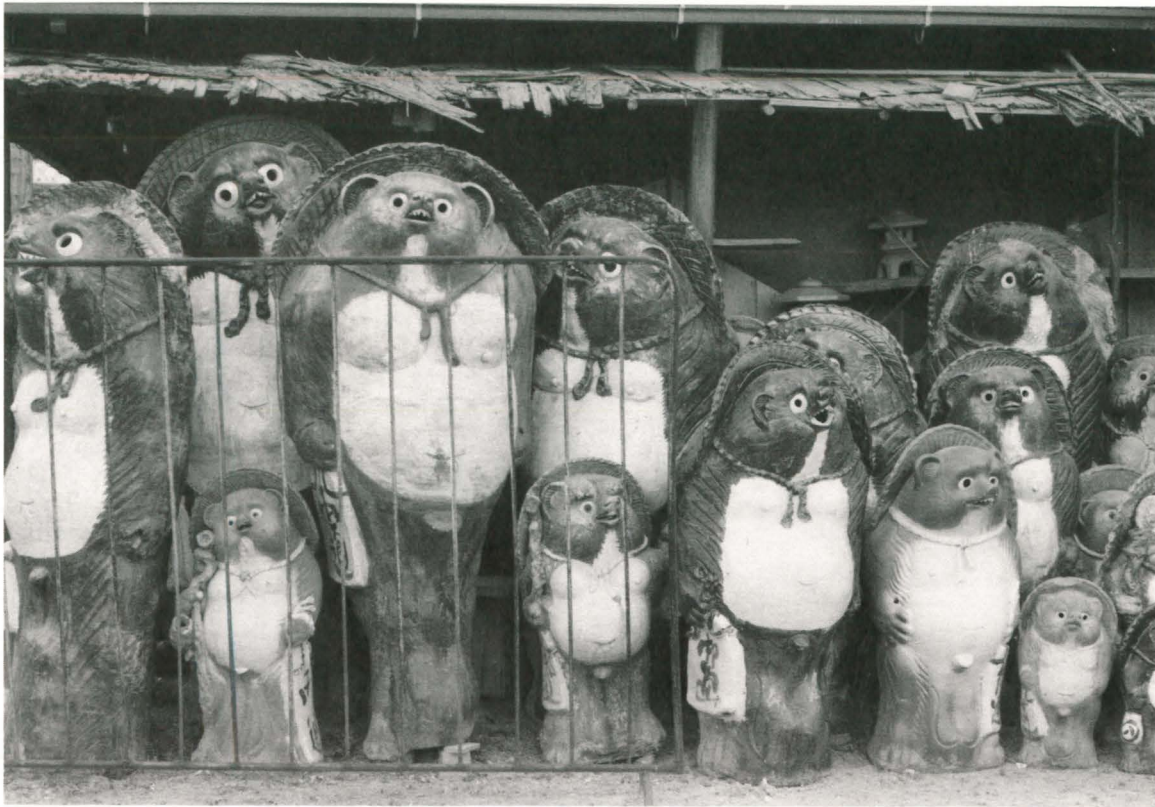
Pottery has been made continuously in the Shigaraki valley from the 13th century to the present day, but the name “Shigaraki” connotes different products to different Japanese. Many connoisseurs know the Shigaraki-ware vases and water-jars made in the 16th and 17th centuries for use in the tea ceremony, *chanoyu*. Other collectors covet the large unglazed storage jars of an earlier era. To most Japanese, however, the name “Shigaraki” brings to mind modern clay sculptures of the *tanuki*, the portly, grinning raccoon-like animal from Japanese folklore admired for his cunning ability to eat and drink forever on credit. Shigaraki *tanuki* welcome customers to countless bars and snack shops throughout Japan.

When seen as a whole, the backbone of Shigaraki’s 800-year-old tradition has always been the utilitarian vessel. The forms have changed over time, and glazes of increasing refinement have been applied in recent centuries, but most Shigaraki products have shared a common characteristic: they are large, sturdy containers meant for storage or other practical functions.

The predominance of such forms has been determined not by human choice so much as by the nature of Shigaraki clay, a coarse-grained stoneware that lends itself to large, simple shapes, whether coiled storage jars or molded *tanuki*. Beyond its practical limitations, Shigaraki clay is visually appealing: when fired without glaze, it turns a range of shades from golden-orange to ruddy brown, its tawny surface flecked with white grains of feldspar. Wood ash melting on the vessels during firing may create irregular patches of leaf-green glaze. The distinctive appearance of Shigaraki clay has been a key element in aesthetic appreciation of storage jars and tea-ceremony utensils by urban connoisseurs, who speak of the total effect of clay, ash, and glaze — never exactly the same on any two pieces — as the “landscape” of the vessel’s surface.

For the inhabitants of the Shigaraki valley, the abundance of clay in the surrounding mountains — an accident of local natural resources — determined that they would become potters. Pottery-making in what has since become one of Japan’s major ceramics centers began during intervals between the farming and foresting seasons. The earliest kiln was a simple tunnel excavated into a slope, with a firebox at the base and a chimney opening at the top. No glaze was applied to the ware. The potters used the jars themselves for storage of foodstuffs and seed, sold the surplus in local markets, and sent a certain number as annual tribute to the lord of their land, the head of a noble family in the capital, Kyoto.

As the pot-makers became more proficient and prolific, their market expanded to include Kyoto, the great center of culture and style. It was there that Shigaraki pots became caught up in the urban fashions of tea-drinking, first in the form of jars adapted for storage of tea leaves, and later as smaller vessels made specifically as tea utensils. The arrival of Shigaraki jars in the Kyoto market coincided with the emergence of a new aesthetic that located tea-drinking



within a carefully-constructed “rustic” setting and preached the use of native (rather than Chinese) utensils, however rough and unrefined. Unglazed Shigaraki jars with their subtle “landscapes” fit perfectly into this environment.

Meanwhile, however, by the late 16th century Shigaraki potters had mastered the use of simple glazes that were becoming common at all Japanese kilns. The Shigaraki valley changed hands, becoming a direct holding of the Tokugawa government that came to power in 1603. During nearly three centuries of Tokugawa rule, Shigaraki’s most important products were glazed tea-leaf storage jars made to order for the government. The “official tea jar” conformed to exacting specifications of shape and design, using a dark iron glaze on the upper body and a clear glaze around the foot. Each spring a supply of such jars was sent to the nearby Uji tea plantations to be filled with leaves for the government’s use. The filled jars were carried along the highway to the capital at Edo with all the pomp due a high-ranking warrior.

The “official tea jars” were made by a select group of potters who also occupied important positions within local society. The workshops of those “official potters” clustered in the village of Nagano, which became, and remains, the physical and cultural center among the 18 villages in the Shigaraki valley.

Other workshops in Nagano continued to make the mainstay utilitarian wares. The varieties of shapes and sizes multiplied as uses became more precisely specified. Most wares were glazed; simple iron and ash glazes were joined by brighter glazes in cobalt-blue, copper-green, “mirror black,” or white striped with blue and green. Together with the “official tea jars,” the ordinary wares were fired in a new sort of kiln built as a series of separate chambers, connected

Sightseers in modern Shigaraki are often surprised by the crowds of ceramic *tanuki* staring back at them.

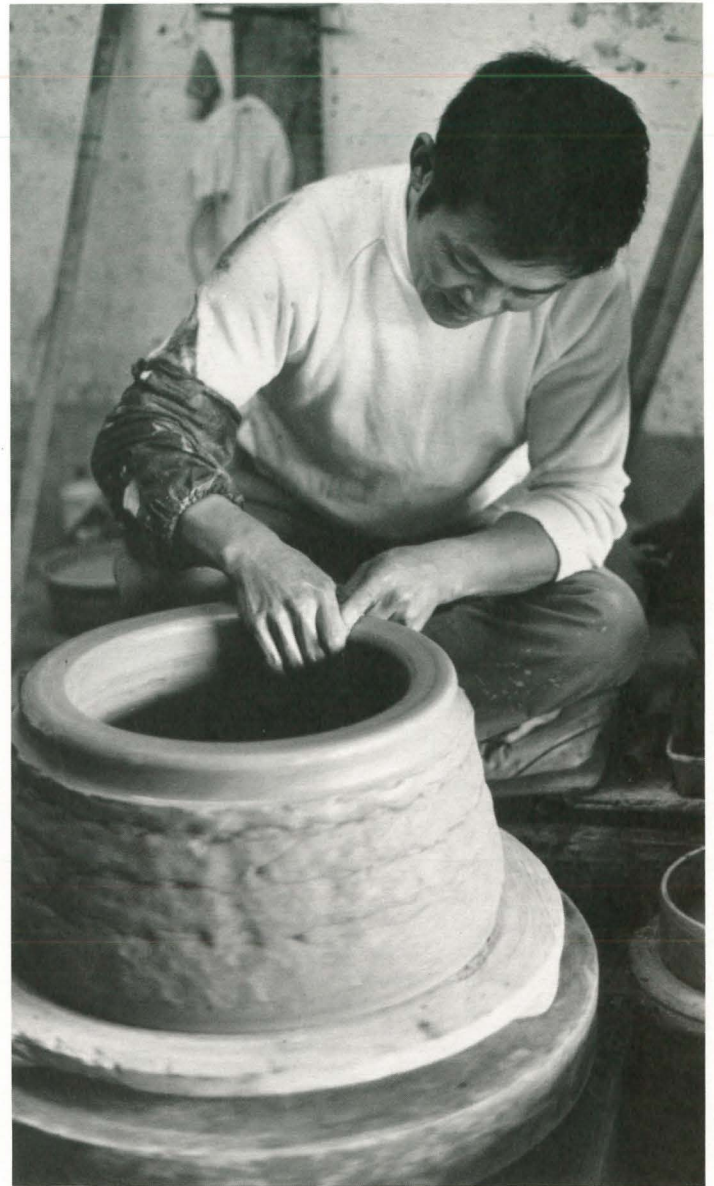
Photo by Louise Cort, Smithsonian Institution



An 1872 drawing of a potter forming a large jar. His assistant, probably his wife, turns the large wooden wheel.

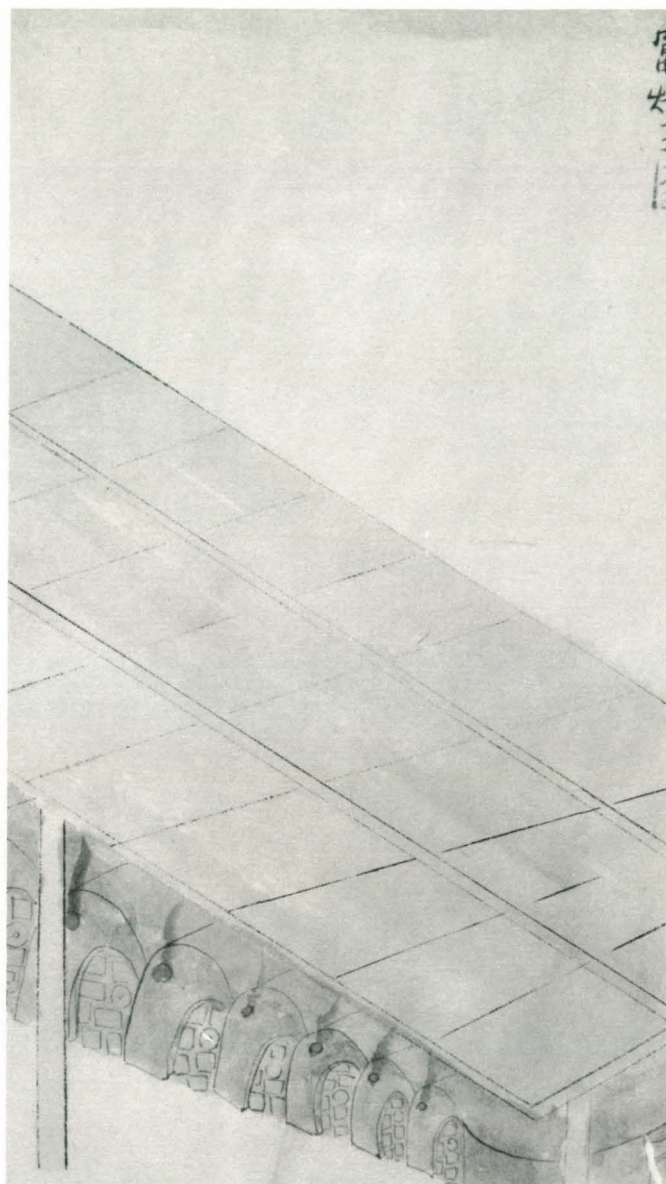
Photo by Louise Cort, Smithsonian Institution

Makers of large wares still use the same technique, a combination of coiling and throwing. Fat coils of clay are attached to a clay base and then stretched and shaped. The potter's throwing tools are strips of moistened cloth and several shapes of wooden ribs. (3 photographs)
Photos by Louise Cort, Smithsonian Institution



by flues, that rose up a slope. The giant “climbing kilns” allowed hundreds of pieces, with varying glazes, to be fired at one time. At the beginning of this century, over 100 such kilns operated in Shigaraki, spreading a continuous pall of woodsmoke across the valley.

While Nagano potters responded to an expanding market for “large wares,” potters working in several outlying villages began making glazed and simply decorated “small wares,” using refined clay. Their models were the tablewares and other household ceramics being made in Kyoto. The most distinctive Shigaraki “small ware” was a teapot with a quickly-brushed landscape design. Of all Shigaraki ceramics, this teapot alone was of interest to the 20th century “folkcraft” (*mingei*) movement that, under the guidance of philosopher and critic Yanagi Soetsu, sought to raise awareness of the beauty of rural crafts. The folkcraft movement, which had a profound impact on smaller and more isolated pottery-making communities, aroused little interest among the hundreds of potters in Shigaraki; they concentrated instead on the practical strategy of changing their products in response to changes in the market.



Firing the kiln, 1872. Starting at the bottom, each chamber has been fired separately to temperature and sealed. The stoker visible in this sketch is working in tandem with another man on the other side of the kiln. A child fans the flames away from the man's face. Illustrations from *Shigaraki-yaki Zukai*, manuscript owned by the Shiga Prefectural Library, Otsu, Japan. Photos by Louise Cort, Smithsonian Institution

Stirring the white-hot coals in the firebox of one of the last surviving wood-burning kilns, 1977. Photo by Louise Cort, Smithsonian Institution



The collapse of the Tokugawa government meant the end of special patronage for Shigaraki pottery. Japan's reopening to external trade also caused fundamental changes in patterns of living, including uses of ceramics. In the late 19th century, potters in Shigaraki groped toward new products, experimenting with novelty glazes and untried forms. Eventually a ceramic version of the standard household heating device, the charcoal-burning brazier, or *hibachi*, emerged as the new staple product for "large ware" potters. The most characteristic glaze was a dark mottled blue colored by cobalt and manganese. Shigaraki *hibachi* were distributed throughout Japan and exported as "flowerpot covers." The period from 1918 through the late 1950s is known to Shigaraki people as "the *hibachi* era." The Shigaraki *tanuki* also made his appearance at that time.

Some 30 years ago, as other forms of heating replaced the *hibachi* in postwar Japanese homes, blue-glazed flowerpots, ceramic garden furniture, and architectural tiles succeeded *hibachi* as the staple products of the large commercial enterprises. Around the same time, the wood-fired climbing kilns began to be replaced by gas-fired car-kilns constructed inside modern workshops. Certain Shigaraki potters chose, however, to move in a contrary direction. Aided by the information provided by postwar archaeology of ceramic sites, they set up individual studios and experimented with replicas of the earliest Shigaraki kiln in order to fire unglazed tea-ceremony ceramics and sculptural pieces. Shigaraki-born potters trained to inherit the family trade were joined by increasing numbers of outsiders, often graduates of urban art schools, who came to Shigaraki for the convenience of working within a town wholly devoted to all aspects of ceramic production.

Shigaraki today is more diverse than it has ever been in its past. The large utilitarian vessels that formerly were made of Shigaraki clay are now produced in metal, glass, or plastic, and Shigaraki workshops once again seek new products to sustain their industry. Studio potters also redefine their roles in an economy where pottery is less necessity than luxury. There seems to be no question, however, that Shigaraki's clay will continue to define the valley's destiny.

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Cort, Louise Allison. *Shigaraki, Potters' Valley*. Tokyo, New York and San Francisco: Kodansha International, 1979.

Diverse Influences in the Development of a Japanese Folk Drama

by Susan Asai

Susan Asai spent three weeks in Japan last summer selecting the folk craftsmen and performers at this year's Festival. Her area of specialization is Japanese folk performing arts. While continuing her doctoral degree in ethnomusicology at the University of California at Los Angeles, she was part-time production assistant at the Japan America Theatre in Los Angeles.

Her Augustness, Heaven-Alarming-Female hanging (around her self) as a sash, the heavenly clubmoss of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and making the heavenly spindle-tree into her head-dress, and binding the leaves of the bamboo-grass of the Heavenly Mount Kagu into posies to hold in her hands, and laying a soundingboard before the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling (where the sun goddess, Heavenly-Shining-Great-August-Deity had hidden herself), and stamping till she made (the board) resound and acting as if possessed by a Deity. . . . Then the Plain of High Heaven shook, and the eight-hundred myriad Deities laughed together. Hereupon the Heavenly-Shining-Great-August-Deity was amazed, and, slightly opening the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling. . .

This excerpt, entitled “*Ama no Iwato*” (Heavenly Cave Door), is taken from the *Kojiki*, or Record of Ancient Matters, the earliest historical chronicle of Japan and written in the year 712 A.D. “*Ama no Iwato*” is an account from the origin myth of Japan that describes how the goddess Heaven-Alarming-Female coaxed Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, the sun goddess, from the cave where she hid herself. Traditionally, the story serves to explain the beginnings of music, dance, and drama in Japan. Because the performance of Heaven-Alarming-Female is referred to in the *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan written in 720 A.D.) as *wazaogi*, an early mimetic tradition in Japan, theater historians mark it as the origin of Japanese drama.

Kuromori kagura drama featured at this year's Festival is a form of *yamabushi kagura*, known for its emphasis on the sacred and its retention of many ceremonial elements. The distinctiveness of *yamabushi kagura* lies in its synthesis. Melded into a single genre, the diversity of performing traditions which flourished in medieval Japan survive today.

Japanese drama found both its essence and form in rituals, many of which were centered around rice production and the natural environment. These rituals became identified with Shintoism, the oldest religion in Japan.

Shinto music and dance, together called *kagura*, came into being as a form of prayer intended to prolong life. The emergence of the sun goddess from the cave in the legend is symbolic of the revitalization of life, ritually achieved through the invocation of certain

deities by prayer. Music and dance function in this prayer ceremony to increase the effectiveness of the ritual, which concludes by sending these deities back to their abode.

The ritualistic character of *kagura* is tied to Shinto's worship of spirits in nature. But in its development, *kagura* has been combined with various types of dramatic arts from both Buddhist and secular origins to form hybrid performing traditions. One such tradition is *yamabushi kagura* (*kagura* of mountain priests), which took shape in the hands of itinerant Buddhist monks, called *yamabushi*, in the first half of Japan's medieval period (1250-1350 A.D.). *Yamabushi kagura* served as an important medium for the dissemination of *Shugendō*, a religious sect that combined ancient beliefs associated with the sacredness of mountains, with Buddhism. The tenth century marks the incipient stage of this genre, which was initially created from the ascetic discipline of *Shugendō*. The knowledge and training which mountain priests acquired in *Shugendō*—practices of music and prayer dances for longevity—were also formative elements in the development of this genre.

The ceremonial beginnings of *yamabushi kagura* can also be traced to two of three basic types of *kagura*, distinguishable from each other by the way in which a deity is manifested. Of the two types associated with *yamabushi kagura*, *Izumo kagura* is based upon performances at Sada shrine of Izumo in Shimane Prefecture. This *kagura* genre is characterized by two forms of dance: the first set of dances feature objects symbolizing offerings, which are held in the hand of the dancer; the second set includes masked dances referred to as *shinnō*. The second type of *kagura*, *shishi kagura*, is distinguished by its use of a wooden lion's head (*shishigashira*) to represent the presence of a deity in a dance called *shishimai* (lion's dance). The central purpose of this dance is to offer prayers to dispel evil spirits residing in a certain locale. The dance, together with singing and instrumental music, is also intended to prevent destruction by fire.

One practice traditionally associated with *shishi kagura* is *kado uchi*, in which dances and rituals were performed at individual homes during the New Year season to exorcise the inhabitants from evil influences. During the day, *shishimai* was given separately at each house in a village, but at night, other dances were presented for all the villagers in a room at the farmhouse where the performers were lodging.

The difference between *Izumo kagura* and *shishi kagura* is that in the former the deity is believed to be present only during the performance, while in *shishi kagura* the deity is believed to reside in the wooden lion's head for the entire New Year's season, which lasts up to three weeks. *Yamabushi* adopted the *shishi kagura* custom of traveling from village to village to perform a dance of exorcism at individual homes. In the evening, other dances were performed to serve not only as a medium for spreading *Shugendō* doctrine, but also as entertainment for the local population. Such practices today are still prevalent in the northeastern prefectures of Iwate, Aomori, Akita, and Yamagata.

The repertoire of *yamabushi kagura* has also retained earlier dance types, at one time performed in Buddhist rituals by monks,



Characters commonly portrayed in *Kuromori kagura* include (from left to right) an old woman, an old man, a warrior, and a young woman. Photo courtesy Miyako City Public Library, Iwate Prefecture

The New Year's custom of *kado uchi*. Performers travel from house to house in a village to exorcise evil influences through music and dance. Photo courtesy Higashidorimura Board of Education, Aomori Prefecture



called *shushi*, who specialized in artistic performances of exorcism and magic. Their dances included magical foot stomping and other rites to ward off evil. Additional features of these early dances include symbolic hand gestures, repeated interlacing or crisscrossing of lines of dances, and details of the costuming — paper rings on the fingers, swords, bells, offering wand, a branch of the sacred *sakaki* tree, or sticks which were struck together. Because these features are all aspects of magic used by *shushi* to repel evil, the dances are sometimes categorized by scholars as incantation dances, which are believed to have grown out of Buddhist ascetic practices.

Under the auspices of Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines in the provinces, a dramatic tradition known as *sarugaku* exerted its influence on *yamabushi kagura*. *Sarugaku* was performed for popular religious services and festivals throughout Japan by performers of low status who also worked in Buddhist temples. These performers specialized in tricks, acrobatics, magic, and imitations of comic characters and situations. To these, *sarugaku* actors gradually added theatrical enactments of myths celebrated during religious services. It is believed that the use of masks soon followed as a means of representing various deities and spirits.

By the 14th century, in an attempt to make performances more attractive to the common people, comic dances known as *dōkema*i were incorporated in *yamabushi kagura*. The added element of comic parody is said to reflect the medieval Japanese tendency to couple entertainment with religion and the comic with the serious.

Secular *sarugaku* troupes, performing mainly in the provinces, composed pieces that drew on various heroic legends from the medieval period. Their mimed plays were embellished with song and dance. The borrowing of these medieval tales is evident in *yamabushi kagura* beginning in the 15th century, when warrior dances (*bushimai*) depicting and glorifying heroes in battle became a part of the repertoire. A narrative art with a limited element of dance called *kōwakamai* was popular during this time and influenced *yamabushi kagura*. A reflection of the prevailing feuds and battles between powerful clans, the dances were a popular addition to the repertoire of *yamabushi kagura*, which formerly catered principally to the romantic tastes of a rural population. Other performing traditions that directly influenced the formation of warrior dances were *kōjakumai*, a style of acrobatic dancing, and plays adapted from *noh* drama, a masked dance drama tradition dating from the 14th century.

By the 14th century, *yamabushi kagura* was firmly established, coinciding with the development of medieval drama. The merger of Buddhism and Shintoism, a predominant force in medieval culture and drama, is reflected in *yamabushi kagura*. Particularly the use of masks in this genre reflects the tendency toward realism and heightened effects that characterizes medieval drama.

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Zenkoku minzoku geinō taikai — Higashi Nihon (Nation-wide General Assembly of the Folk Performing Arts — East Japan) (Victor [Japan] JV 1006-S).

Traditional Folk Song in Modern Japan

by David W. Hughes

David W. Hughes is an American ethnomusicologist specializing in Japanese music. He was in Japan from 1977-81, during the recent "folk song boom," conducting research for his doctoral dissertation. He was recently appointed Lecturer in Ethnomusicology at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

"Folk song is the heart's hometown" (*min'yo wa kokoro no furusato*) is an expression one hears or reads frequently in discussions of folk song in Japan. To a Japanese, the *furusato*—the home community or "native place," as it is sometimes translated—is a continual source of identity, a constant in a shifting world, a comfort amidst the ills of urban life. Even Tokyo-born Japanese may well identify their *furusato* as the rural village or country town where their grandparents were raised, where their second cousins may still live, where they may return once a year for the ancestral *Bon* festival dance. For those who have no *furusato* aside from the big city, folk song can help them imagine one, because Japanese folk song has now come to the city.

As in the West, there is debate in Japan as to exactly what constitutes a "folk song." Today's standard term, *min'yo*, is a literal translation of the German *Volkslied* (folk song) and has been in use since around 1890. Under the influence of European Romanticism, Japanese scholars and poets gradually adopted this term and came to view *min'yo* as a distinct song category with great cultural significance. The "folk" themselves, however, like their counterparts in the West, saw little reason to draw such artificial boundaries: a song was just a song—an *uta*—whatever its origins. Even today, with the term *min'yo* in general currency, one occasionally encounters a contradiction in its usage: urban enthusiasts may use the word to refer to the most "naive" or "unpolished" local folk performances, while elderly villagers ironically reserve the term for nationally known versions of rural songs arranged and performed by professionals. Indeed, it is almost exclusively the latter type that are heard in recordings, on television, and in *min'yo* bars, where patrons take turns singing to the accompaniment of the house musicians. *Min'yo*, in its "purest" form, survives less publicly in the countryside, as we shall see.

Despite the lingering debate over the boundaries of the category, *min'yo* is today an established genre of music, on a par with such traditional "art music" genres as *koto* music, court music and *noh* theater music. Aided by rapid urbanization and the increase in expenditures for leisure activities, *min'yo* has moved to the cities and become professionalized. Until recently, the more Western-oriented Japanese often viewed folk song as an embarrassing relic of their country's peasant past, with its frankly bawdy lyrics and raucous behavior to match them. That image has now largely been eliminated, as professional *min'yo* performers and teachers have earned for their art the same dignity accorded the more classical musics mentioned above.

As a means of increasing both the acceptance and profitability of *min'yo*, most teachers have adopted from the classical arts the

iemoto (“househead”) system. The *iemoto* is the artistic and administrative head of a school which, like a family or household, may consist simultaneously of several generations — in this case, of teachers and students. The kinship analogy extends to the practice of giving one’s top students “art names” which identify them with their teacher’s. Thus the renowned master from Akita, Asano Umewaka, who is performing at this year’s Smithsonian Festival, has bestowed his family name upon such outstanding students as Asano Kazuko and Asano Chizuko. (Family names are always given first in East Asia.)

Rural song traditions have survived — indeed, now flourish as possibly never before — only by adapting to the cultural patterns of modern Japan. After a century of music education devoted almost exclusively to Western art music and Japanese imitations of it, it is not surprising that a given *min’yo* is increasingly considered to have a “correct” form which can be studied and learned over time, often with the help of musical notation — just as one learns a song by Schubert or Brahms. Still, true *min’yo* enthusiasts take pride in the impossibility of reproducing in Western notation the incredibly intricate vocal ornaments (*kobushi*) of Japanese folk song.

Another adaptation has been the actual composition of “new folk songs” (*shin-min’yo*) with more contemporary lyrics, optimistic and internationalist in tone. The melodies are usually pentatonic with five-tone scales, like traditional *min’yo*, but they are set predominantly to Western major harmonic accompaniment. Although harmony in the Western sense is nonexistent in traditional Japanese music, the major mode is now considered to have a particularly optimistic and modern sound. Such *shin-min’yo* are recorded using traditional Japanese musical instruments, such as the *shamisen* (three-stringed lute), together with Western ones, such as violins. The recordings are then played for group dancing. Such songs, however, are considered by most *min’yo* fans to be unworthy of study or singing.

This, then, characterizes the urban *min’yo* world, with its professional teachers and performers, fee-paying amateur students, and record-buying consumers. The countryside, meanwhile, harbors a very different folk song world. Although rural mechanization and the disruptions of war contributed to the rapid demise of many local work and dance songs in the second quarter of the century, recent decades have seen a resurgence of interest in preserving such songs and dances. National and local governments now give designations such as “Important Intangible Cultural Property” to many performance traditions, encouraging the formation of Preservation Societies (*bozonkai*) by local residents to facilitate the “correct” transmission of these traditions to the next generation of villagers. Even on the edge of Tokyo, elderly residents of several communities have formed *bozonkai* to preserve their local barley-threshing songs from the pre-war years; in one community, the members periodically perform in public — complete with flails and barley!

Although work songs are often preserved in this fashion, it is the lively songs and dances of the ancestral *Bon* festival that attract the most support from villagers. The *Bon* dance — still a viable institution in most communities — is the occasion when former residents return to dance and to honor ancestors. Certain villages and towns,



Although increasingly an urban activity, *min'yo* retains its ability to symbolize traditional rural lifeways. Here a Tokyo television crew has posed a group of urban, semi-professional musicians somewhat incongruously in front of a barn. (Note the artificial daffodils in the foreground.) Photos by David W. Hughes

In Yanagawa Village, Iwate Prefecture (northern Japan), the pounding of ceremonial rice cakes is accompanied by song, the pestles providing the rhythm. Such work songs are now rarely heard in their original contexts, surviving mainly through the efforts of preservation societies and performed occasionally in arranged versions by professionals.

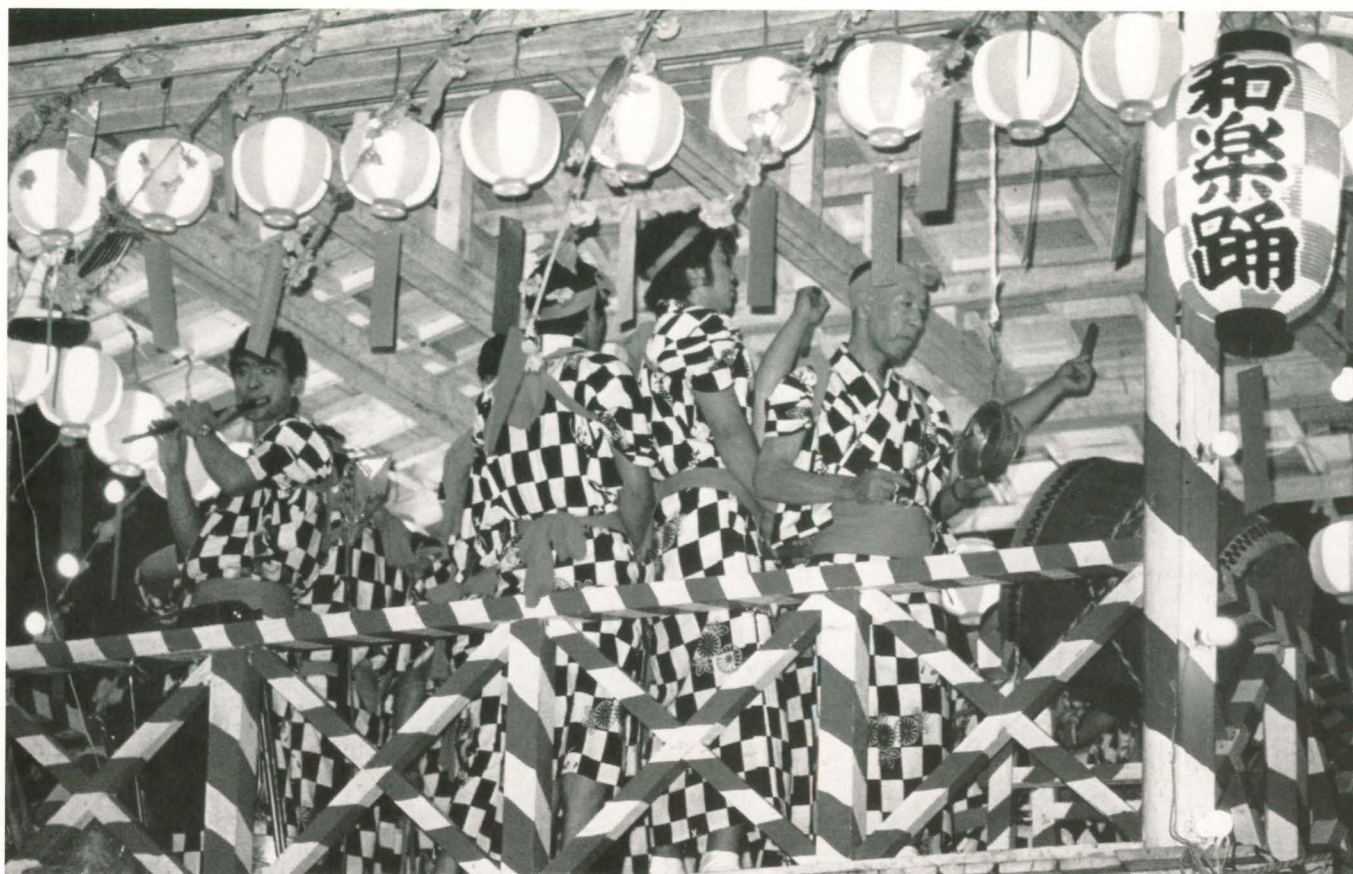




At the folk song bar "Hideko" in Tokyo, customers take turns, performing their favorite songs to the accompaniment of the resident musicians. At this particular bar customers can watch videotapes of their performance.



A songfest (*uta-asobi*) at the restaurant-bar "Mankoi" in Nase City, Amami Oshima. Those present take turns singing and playing the 3-stringed *sanshin*.



Lanterns light the musicians' tower at the *Bon* dance in the east-central mountain town of Nikko, beneath which dancers circle to the sound of drums, flutes, and gongs, joining in on the chorus as they dance.

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Seicho Min'yo: Furusato No Uta, 12 discs (NHK Service Center JK3161-3172, Tokyo). [wide-ranging mix of performances by professionals and local amateurs]

motivated by both local pride and a desire for income, have made the dance a focus for attracting tourists.

Regional stylistic differences in Japanese folk music still survive. The lively Tsugaru *shamisen* style has influenced the playing of Asano Umewaka in Akita Prefecture. The islands south of Kyushu also preserve a distinct tradition. In Amami Oshima (represented in this year's Festival), the *shamisen* is constructed with a membrane of snakeskin rather than cat- or dogskin as found on mainland Japan versions of the instrument. Amami also preserves much of the spontaneity, the improvisation and individual stylistic differences that are presumed to have characterized all Japanese folk song at one time.

Amid such diversity in styles, in performance contexts, and in attitudes toward the transmission of music, *min'yo* continues to flourish. Despite modernization, one thing at least has not changed: folk song is still the heart's hometown.

Tennessee Folklife: Three Rooms Under One Roof

by Robert Cogswell

"The Three Grand Divisions" is Tennessee's official designation for the diversity within its borders. Referring to East, Middle, and West Tennessee, it offers a suspiciously simple and balanced scheme for partitioning "The Volunteer State." Unlike the drawing of many political boundaries, however, this division corresponds to real differences in cultural geography and sectional identity, for Tennessee consists of three distinct folk regions, arranged symmetrically almost as if by conscious design.

Tennessee's regional alignment might be compared to a recurrent floorplan in Southern folk architecture, in which many houses are constructed with a series of three rooms joined side-by-side. This form is evident in the earliest dogtrot houses, which feature an open breezeway between two log pens, as well as in subsequent central-hall house types. Just as the architectural plan defined the spaces in which much of Tennessee folklife has been lived, so the state itself, in bracketing the arc of the Tennessee River Valley, houses three cultural rooms in a common structure.

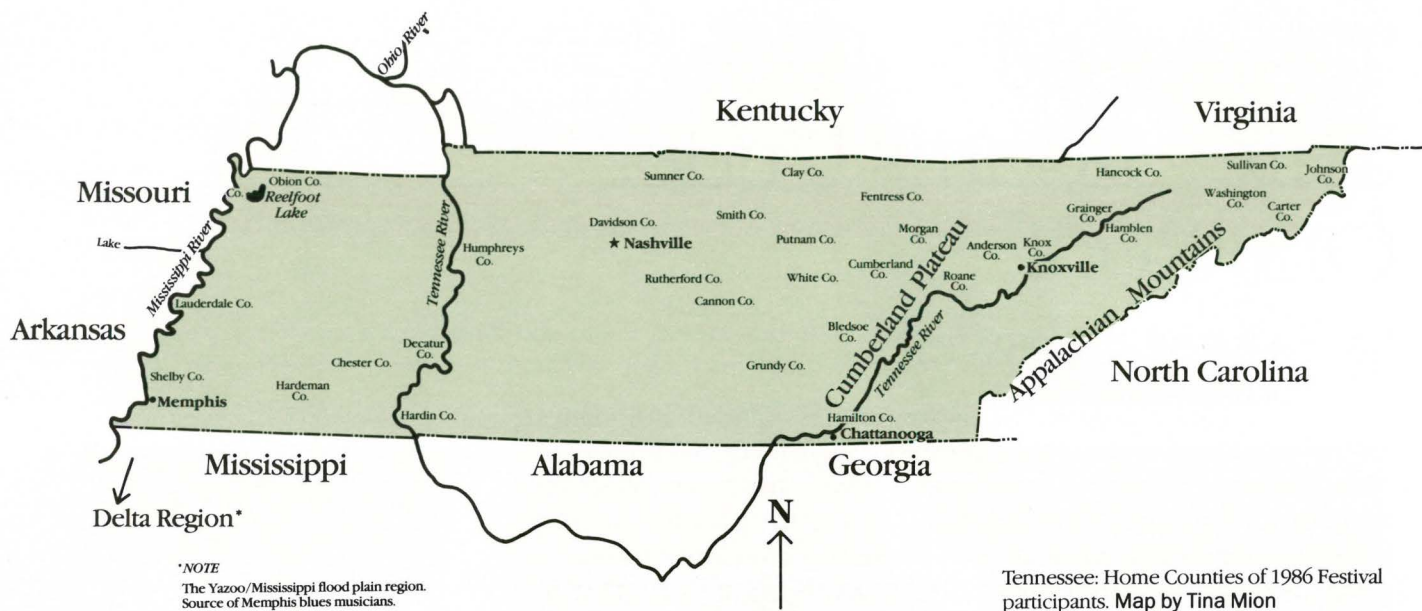
Like the roof of a dogtrot house running between two large stone chimneys, Tennessee is culturally situated between the dominant pillars of Southern folklife—to the east, the upland traditions of the Appalachian Mountains; and to the west, the folkways of the Deep South. Tennessee's regions form a continuum between these extremes, shaped by geography, settlement patterns, and cultural adaptation during the state's formative years.

East Tennessee was populated first, as the massive trans-Appalachian migrations beginning in the late 1700s brought settlers down the diagonal tributaries of the Tennessee River to its great eastern valley. Along these early arteries and in remote corners, like the coves of the Smoky Mountains, Scotch-Irish and Germanic traditions spawned archetypal Appalachian culture. Rugged terrain and relative isolation fostered a pattern of small, self-sufficient farms, close identification with kin and immediate community, and resourceful application of traditional skills. Elements of European folk heritage survived in the practices of midwifery and folk medicine, household handcrafts, and British ballads and instrumental music.

To the west, highland settlers and their folklife penetrated the Cumberland Plateau, which forms a geographical transition zone with Middle Tennessee. This broad escarpment presented an obstacle to successive waves of settlers, many of whom reached more hospitable expanses by river, following the route of the Tennessee's "Big Bend" through northern Alabama. Tidewater and Piedmont influences from the Carolinas and Virginia loomed stronger in Middle

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Support for the Tennessee program is provided by Tennessee Homecoming '86, a yearlong statewide celebration.



"I-House" on farmstead near Lynchburg, Moore County. Photo by Joe Clark, HBSS



Tennessee dogtrot house built on Belle Meade Plantation near Nashville in 1809. This photo, made ca. 1890, shows "Uncle" Bob Green, former slave and renowned horse trainer. Photo courtesy Tennessee State Library and Archives



Tennessee, where the Central Basin developed more stratified cultural affinities with Kentucky's Bluegrass region. Cash crop agriculture, tied to downriver trade, emerged on this prime farmland and on the rolling elevations of the Highland Rim that surround it. The region became known for the raising of stock, especially mules and horses, and, in the bow of the Cumberland River, for the cultivation of dark-fired tobacco, which differs from the burley grown elsewhere in the state.

The northward course of the Tennessee River marks the boundary of the Western Tennessee region, and with the Mississippi at its opposite flank, this region has felt varied cultural currents flowing between inland waterways and the Gulf. Its swampy bottoms and flat alluvial fields resemble the Delta region, to which it is culturally and ecologically linked. The territory opened for settlement in 1818, and the quick spread of cotton economy and the plantation system brought West Tennessee the state's strongest infusion of Afro-American culture. With the later swelling of its Black urban population, and the vibrant activity in the Beale Street entertainment district, the commercial hub of Memphis earned a claim as the "Home of the Blues." As tenant farming succeeded slavery, Black and white traditions maintained a rural coexistence. In peripheral areas, river occupations and subsistence agriculture lent diversity to regional folklife.

In the classic dogtrot house, interior doors facilitated easy and constant movement between rooms; similarly, despite their differences, Tennessee's regional rooms have shared traditions and exchanged cultural traffic. While certain traditions are unique to each region — Reelfoot Lake's "stump jumper" boats in the west, the "rolley hole" marble game of upper Cumberland counties, or the "Old Harp" sings and cantilever barns of East Tennessee — many folklife traits appear in all three. Tennessee's early reputation as the "Hog and Hominy State," for instance, grew out of preferences for both pork and corn which are still reflected in traditional agriculture and foodway patterns across the state. Fundamentalist folk religion, trapping and root-digging, and the making of sorghum molasses and moonshine liquor are among other general Southern features found throughout Tennessee. Even characteristics typical of particular sections can often be considered statewide cultural properties as well. For example, commercial fishing lore and traditions of Black music — both strongest in the west — have a secondary presence in East Tennessee. Although Anglo-American oak basketmaking is most closely associated with Appalachian folklife, Middle Tennessee's Cannon County may be the largest stronghold of this craft tradition in the entire nation. The craft has practitioners in West Tennessee as well. In this way, although from varied origins, through cultural sharing the occupants of Tennessee's rooms are part of an extended Southern family.

Just as dogtrot and other older folk house types have experienced changes over the years, with breezeways being enclosed, new windows created, and additions and siding applied, Tennessee's folk culture has experienced alteration and modernization. The process was underway even as present regions were being shaped. The displacement of Native American populations, culminating in the Cher-



Chairmaker Willie Doss and Ruth Doss, Jamestown, Fentress County. Photo by Robert Fulcher



Lexie Leonard in a traditional "stumpjumper" nets a fish on one of his snag lines, Reelfoot Lake, Lake County. Photo by Greg Hansen and Janet Norris, Weldon Library

Split-oak basketmaker Emanuel Dupre of Chickasaw, Hardeman County. Photo by Robert Jeffrey, Tennessee State Parks Folklife Project



okee "Trail of Tears" removal to Oklahoma in the 1830s, diminished the imprint of once-thriving Indian cultures, although their contributions lived on in place names, routes of travel, and more subtle aspects of traditional know-how.

Shifts in technology and commerce continually influenced Tennessee's folklife patterns, as versatility in traditional skills gave way to occupational specialties. During the 19th century, extraction industries profoundly altered folk practices in many areas. Timber trades assumed importance across the state, as log rafting linked secluded woodlands with regional markets. Broadaxes that once fashioned cabins and barns were put to work on railroad ties, and folklife gradually embraced mechanization, as sawmills cropped up everywhere. Coal mining changed much of East Tennessee, as ridges were deserted for company towns and European ethnic enclaves took root in the mountains. Elsewhere, marble and limestone quarrying and other mineral work emerged as focal points of local life.

Change has accelerated in the 20th century, some of it through conscious interventions in folkways. Especially in East Tennessee, settlement schools and other agents of social change sought to bring tenacious aspects of traditional life in line with national standards. Depression-era programs of road improvement and public works addressed similar goals, and the Tennessee Valley Authority harnessed the state's waterways and electrified its homes. Park and lake development encouraged outside contact through tourism, while resettlement programs were imposed that separated families from ancestral lands.

National trends have also increasingly affected the surface of regional life. Manufacturing has emerged as a common source of livelihood, from the pencil industry of Middle Tennessee's cedar glades to the widespread textile and garment plants that have drawn rural women into factory occupations. Since corporate America's rush to the Sun Belt, some Tennesseans supplement high-technology and factory work with weekend agriculture. Most full-time farmers have been forced to diversify crops. For example, burley tobacco growers across the state now face a potentially new way of life with the eminent demise of the domestic tobacco market. Jobs in Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, Memphis, and smaller regional cities lure young people from the surrounding countryside, but hometown ties remain strong. Adding to their older European ethnic communities, these urban centers have in recent decades absorbed an array of new immigrant groups, most notably Asian, Middle Eastern, and Hispanic. The growth of Nashville and Memphis as recording centers has both tapped and influenced regional folk music, making Tennessee a crossroads in the national synthesis of traditional and popular performing arts.

The log walls of Tennessee's folk house are no longer exposed, but its three-part traditional structure is still apparent. The rooms contain elements of acquired regional character, common heritage, and recent experience, reflecting and shaping life for the Tennesseans within.



Mike Bell in his tobacco-curing barn, Hamblen County, Appalachian region. Photo by Gilbert Rhodes, Tennessee Agricultural Extension Service

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Free Hill: A Sound Portrait of a Rural Afro-American Community (Tennessee Folklore Society, TFS-107).

The Hicks Family: A Cumberland Singing Tradition (Tennessee Folklore Society, TFS-104).

Historical Ballads of the Tennessee Valley (Tennessee Folklore Society, TFS-105).

Tennessee: The Folk Heritage, Volume 1: The Delta (Tennessee Folklore Society, TFS-102); Volume 2: The Mountains (TFS-103).

Suggested films

Alex Stewart: Cooper, by Thomas Burton and Jack Shrader. 14 min. color, 16mm. Tennessee Department of Conservation, Nashville, Tennessee.

Hamper McBe: Raw Mash, by Blane Dunlap and Sol Korine. 30 min. color videotape. Pie Productions, Atlanta, Georgia.

Showdown at the Hoedown, by Blane Dunlap and Sol Korine. 60 min. color videotape. Pie Productions, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Uncle Dave Macon Show, by Blane Dunlap and Sol Korine. 60 min. color videotape. Pie Productions, Atlanta, Georgia.

Country Music in Tennessee: From Hollow to Honky Tonk

by Joseph T. Wilson

Joe Wilson, a native Tennessean, is Executive Director of the National Council for the Traditional Arts.

Among the less jarring opinions of Tennessee's fire-breathing Parson Brownlow, editor, governor, and Rebel "ventilator," was that the state would "ever be plagued with fleas and fiddlers, singers of morose songs, and the depredations of Old Scratch." Though he clearly disapproved of it, the sour parson was right: Tennessee's favorite music is tenacious. It came in folk form with the first settlers and continues to the present in a variety of styles and contexts from country taverns to Nashville recording studios. An historical example illustrates the linkage from the earliest folk styles to the country music of today.

George Dotson and Henry Skaggs were among the first 18th century "long hunters" to view the sunny glades and hazy ridges of what is now east Tennessee. Today, a community called "Meat Camp" in Watauga County, North Carolina, takes its name from the spot in the Blue Ridge where each fall these far-ranging hunters salted and stored meat before it was carried to settlements east of the mountains. One of the lowest gaps in the Alleghenies, the one they called the "Trade Gap," is five miles from Meat Camp.

Henry Skaggs sought furs beyond the Trade Gap, and his explorations reached 150 miles west into Kentucky. Daniel Boone was a later traveler here and was assisted by Skaggs and his brothers. George Dotson remained near the Trade Gap and made a farm on the Bulldog Branch of Roan's Creek. Some of his descendants still live in Trade, Tennessee, the easternmost community in the state.

George's son Reuben was born in Trade in 1765 and lived there for 104 years. Among remembrances carried by descendants is his comment: "I've lived in four states but have never moved and live in the house I was born in." (Ill-defined boundaries led the first settlers to believe they were in Colonial Virginia, while actually they were in North Carolina, which in turn became the short-lived State of Franklin and ultimately Tennessee.) Reuben loved "the singing of hymns, the old ballit songs, and the playing of the fiddle." How well he loved fiddling and dancing is documented in the minutes of the Cove Creek Baptist Church. Reuben and his wife, Sarah Green, so offended the stern brothers and sisters that they were "sited to meeting" five times between 1811 and 1820. Their promises to sin no more were accepted, but in 1823, "a report taken up against Brother Reuben Dotson and Sister Dotson his wife that they both went to a frolic and stayed all night" resulted in their exclusion from the

church. This conviction, that the fiddle is the devil's box, continues among some Tennesseans, but others have resolved the ancient dispute. Among them is prominent Nashville country musician Ricky Skaggs, a devout Christian and descendant of Henry Skaggs.

The Anglicizing of names has masked the ethnicity of Tennessee's first carriers of country music. In contrast to the widely held view that the early settlers were all of "the purest English stock," George Dotson was of Ulster Irish extraction, and Henry Skaggs was descended from an English mariner. Many who crossed the mountains with the Scotch-Irish and English were of German or French Huguenot descent. The latter included Tennessee's first governor, John Sevier, who, like Reuben, was a devotee of balls and frolics.

The Appalachian dulcimer, derived from the German *Scheitholt* and now almost an emblem of Tennessee mountain culture, was actually rare until the craft revivals of the present century. It was the fiddle that remained the favorite Tennessee instrument until recent times, but highly skilled fiddlers who could play classics like "Rack Back Davy," "Arkansas Traveller," and "Forked Deer" have always been uncommon. On the other hand, the "ballit book" and religious songbook were open to all. Huge outdoor camp meeting revivals that began in 1801 sent a knowledge of hymnody and songbook throughout the Volunteer State in a wave of religious fervor. Within five years these songs and a new way of singing spread throughout the nation and even to Ireland and England—Tennessee's first musical influence beyond its borders.

Tennessee fiddling was modified by popular influences during the second half of the 19th century, principally through traveling circuses and stage shows that featured musical performers. Improved communication brought popular sheet music to the state. But the most important of these influences was the wave of minstrel performance that began in the 1840s and continued into the present century. Handmade banjos fashioned after slave prototypes were in Tennessee before the minstrels, but blackface performers improved on the instrument and developed new ways of playing in ensembles that featured several instruments. The old-time string band and even its modern manifestation, the bluegrass band, is heir to minstrel instrumentation and repertoire. In this way Tennessee country folk have long been in contact with commercial forces that have modified the old ballads, fiddle tunes and sacred music.

Tennesseans and other Americans were "busking" for coins and selling song "ballits" generations before technology made possible a country music industry. That technology was first applied to the music of rural Americans in the 1920s and soon created audiences for recordings, radio broadcasts and stage appearances. At first, Nashville was less important than Atlanta and Chicago as a country music center and largely ignored in the field recording forays of commercial record companies when rural musicians first found their way onto major labels in the 1920s. A single institution, the Grand Ole Opry, made the Tennessee capital a music center. Begun in 1925 and broadcast on the static-free, clear-channel 50,000 watt signal of WSM, it reached much of the United States. Opry founder George D. Hay, with a concern for variety, chose his acts carefully. The first was Uncle Jimmy Thompson, a fiddler with a 19th century style and rep-



Rockabilly music merged old-time country with blues; many of its early folk-based performers went on to careers in country music or rock and roll. Harold Jenkins (Conway Twitty) and his Rock Housers, 1958. Photo courtesy Michael Ochs Archives, Venice, California

Fiddler Belle Jones and her grandson, Jamestown, Fentress County. Photo by Ray Allen, Tennessee State Parks Folklife Project



Minstrel-influenced early Opry star, Uncle Dave Macon and his son Doris. Photo courtesy Ralph Rinzier



At a fiddler's convention, Mountain City, Johnson County, Tennessee, 1925. (left to right): John Hopkins, Joe Hopkins, A. E. Alderman, John Rector, Uncle Am Stewart, and Fiddling John Carson. Photo by A. E. Alderman, using a time-delay shutter



ertoire. Hays soon added Dr. Humphrey Bate's "hell-for-leather" stringband, the minstrel-influenced banjoist Uncle Dave Macon, barbershop quartets, and, beginning in the 1930s with the addition of "western" to country music, a variety of pseudo-cowboy style bands. Although the Opry in the early years paid virtually nothing to its artists, performers could sell stage appearances and recordings throughout the South, Mid-Atlantic states, and much of the Mid-West, as it became the apex of country music success to be a Grand Ole Opry performer.

Because so many musicians "worked out of Nashville," the first recording studios were built there. Country music with its folk roots was viewed as a specialty item for major companies, worth doing but not significant in the overall business. The best that could happen to a country music "hit" was a "cover" by a popular artist that would increase song publishing royalties. Increases in the expendable income of rural and urban blue collar workers encouraged an annual growth of country music as an industry throughout much of the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Part of what came to be called "The Nashville sound" was much influenced by the success of a small group of musicians in Memphis in the mid-1950s. The best known were Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, John R. Cash and Carl Perkins. Their "rockabilly" recordings merged rural Black blues and white "hillbilly" style with an electric studio sound. They, and Black artists such as Howlin' Wolf, B. B. King and Rufus Thomas, were recorded by Sam Phillips and his associates at Sun Records. The immediate popularity of the rockabillys and the later emergence of commercial rock and roll showed recordings produced in Tennessee to be far more than specialty items.

As country music in general moved further from its folk roots, the production of a Nashville record became formulaic. Sharp edges were eliminated, while the goal became a recording that could "crossover" to pop and youth markets. String sections and "doo-wah" choruses were used along with session musicians whose motto was, "Play as little as you can as well as you can."

This synthesis of blues, balladry, and stringband music is still largely the music of working class whites. Its development continues, but the past is recalled especially by well-known traditionalists such as Ricky Skaggs and Bill Monroe. Perhaps more important, much of Tennessee's country music is still for the consumption of local folk—distant from the recording industry—in fiddle contests, church meetings, house parties and honky-tonks.

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Tennessee Blues and Gospel: From Jug Band to Jubilee

by David Evans and
Richard M. Raichelson

Richard M. Raichelson received his doctorate in folklore from the University of Pennsylvania. He has done extensive research on jazz, blues, and gospel music and has taught in the Department of Anthropology at Memphis State University.

David Evans is a professor of music at Memphis State University where he specializes in blues. An accomplished guitarist, he is a producer for High Water Records, a recording company devoted to Southern blues and gospel music.

Sacred and secular Black music traditions have existed side-by-side in Tennessee since the arrival of large numbers of slaves to Mississippi River lowland plantations in the early 19th century. Although church-oriented music has remained separate from entertainment and work-related musics in performance, meaning and genre, it has influenced and, in turn, been influenced by them over time. Many well-known blues performers have "gone to God," and an equally large number of religious performers are attentive to the style, if not the ideology, of blues.

By far the most important Black secular folk music in Tennessee has been the blues. In the early years of this century, folk blues singers were probably active in every Black community in the state. Memphis was the largest of these and became the place where blues music first gained popularity. W. C. Handy, who led a Black orchestra that played the popular tunes of the day for Anglo- and Afro-American audiences, published his "Memphis Blues" in 1912, following it with many more blues "hits" in the next few years. Beale Street, the main Black business and entertainment street where Handy's publishing company was located, became renowned for its blues music; consequently, Memphis gained the reputation as the "Home of the Blues."

The blues of Handy and other songwriters were composed in the style of popular songs of the day and drew only some of their melodic and lyric material from folk blues. They were usually performed by popular vaudeville singers (mostly women) and accompanied by a pianist, a jazz combo, or a popular orchestra. A number of the more important vaudeville and cabaret singers came from Tennessee, including the great Bessie Smith from Chattanooga and Alberta Hunter and Viola McCoy from Memphis. Although they later settled in northern states, they frequently included Tennessee on their tours.

On Beale Street in the 1920s one could hear a great variety of blues styles. In the theaters were orchestras of musicians who read from scores, jazz bands who improvised, and vaudeville blues singers. In the smaller cafes there were usually blues pianists, small string combos and jug bands. Many of the string players, jug band musicians, and especially the solo blues guitarists had to play for tips on the street or in parks; they obtained paying jobs at private house parties and sometimes with traveling shows in the smaller towns.

Black field hands came to Memphis in large numbers from the

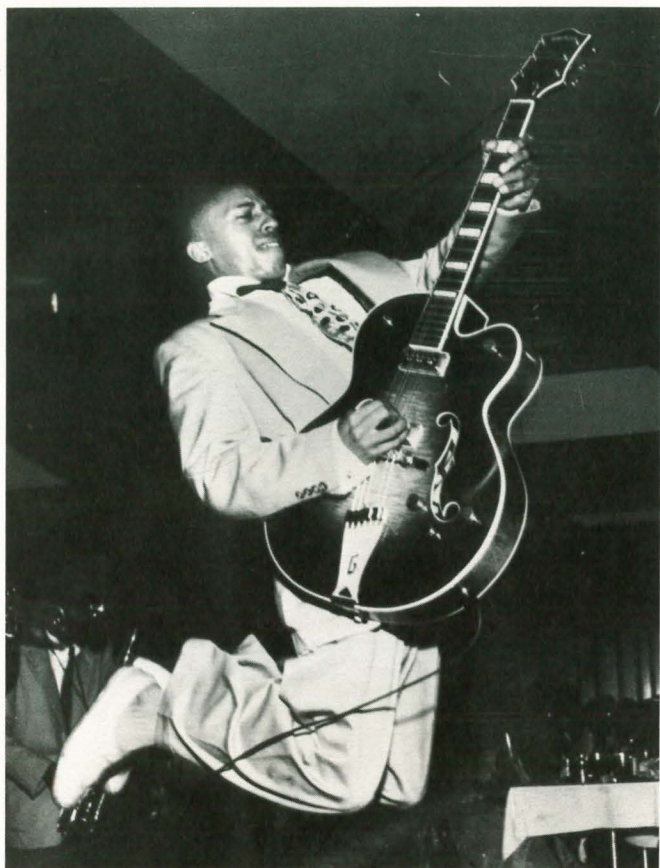
surrounding countryside, including nearby Arkansas and the Mississippi Delta region, for shopping, socializing, and entertainment. They made up the audience for those musicians who came there as well. A good many rural Blacks eventually settled in Memphis, contributing to the city's musical richness and variety by forming urban blues ensembles with strong country roots. Perhaps the most perfect expression of this convocation was the phenomenon of the jug band, which typically included one or two guitars, harmonica, kazoo and jug. Gus Cannon's Jug Stompers and the Memphis Jug Band were among the greatest exponents of this style.

Outside Memphis, Black fife-and-drum bands played at country picnics. Elsewhere in the state, much of the Black folk music repertoire and performance style of the time was shared with Anglo-American musicians and appealed to Black and non-Black audiences alike. For example, the repertoire of fiddler Howard Armstrong, originally from LaFollette, includes many folk and popular pieces from Anglo-American sources, while early Grand Ole Opry star DeFord Bailey entertained general audiences with his harmonica virtuosity.

During the late 1920s five major recording companies set up temporary studios in Memphis. They recorded an enormous variety of artists and styles, including rural self-accompanied blues singers, barrelhouse pianists, medicine show performers, jug bands, jazz combos and dance orchestras. These recordings, distributed nationally, remain extraordinary documents of the artistry of great figures in the blues, like "Furry" Lewis, the Beale Street Sheiks, Robert Wilkins, Memphis Minnie and Jim Jackson. Recording sessions in Nashville, Knoxville and Bristol turned up similar talent but on a lesser scale. Other blues artists, like pianist Leroy Carr from Nashville, left the state and achieved fame through recordings in the North. This pattern continued in the 1930s and 1940s, as artists like Sleepy John Estes from Brownsville and John Lee "Sonny Boy" Williamson from Jackson traveled north to record, others to seek wider fame, such as pianist "Memphis Slim" (Peter Chatman), Nashville pianist Cecil Gant, and Knoxville area guitarists Brownie and Stick McGhee.

In the years following World War II, as the guitar and harmonica became amplified, electric blues bands replaced the older jug bands in Memphis. Blues artists continued to migrate from the surrounding countryside into the city. B. B. King, originally from Mississippi, grafted an electric lead guitar sound to a large orchestra of professional musicians to create a blues style that remains popular today. Other smaller bands that played in neighborhood clubs were typically made up of one or two electric guitars, an electric bass (since the 1960s), piano or electric organ and drums, sometimes with saxophone added.

During the early 1950s, many great electric blues artists were recorded by Sam Phillips in Memphis for record companies in Chicago and the West Coast and later for Phillips's own Sun Record Company. Among these artists were Howlin' Wolf, Ike Turner, Bobby Bland, Little Junior Parker, Rosco Gordon and Rufus Thomas — still an active performer in Memphis. Blues artists were recorded by other companies based in Memphis during the 1950s and 1960s and by Bullet and Excello Records of Nashville. Blues also comprised an



Guitarist Calvin Newborn in a Memphis Club, ca. 1955. Photo courtesy Center for Southern Folklore



Fife player Ed Jones of Somerville, Fayette County. Photo by Robert Jeffrey, Tennessee State Parks Folklife Project

Memphis jug band including Will Batts (violin), Jab Jones (piano) and Dewey Corley (jug), ca. 1920. Photo courtesy Center for Southern Folklore





Memphis piano bluesman, Booker T. Laury.
Photo courtesy Center for Southern Folklore



Old-time jazz and blues fiddler, Howard Armstrong and his brothers L. C. (guitar), F. L. (mandolin) and Roland (bass), LaFollette, Campbell County, 1928. Photo courtesy Howard Armstrong



Gospel choir at Lambert Church of God in Christ, Memphis Photo by Ray Allen, Center For Southern Folklore

important part of the nationally successful soul music sound of Stax and Hi record companies of Memphis during the 1960s and early 1970s. Meanwhile, researchers and record collectors were rediscovering many of the great folk blues artists who had made recordings during the 1920s and 1930s. Among their "finds" were Furry Lewis, Robert Wilkins, Bukka White, and Gus Cannon of Memphis and Sleepy John Estes and Hammie Nixon of Brownsville, all of whom enjoyed successful second careers from this attention.

Integration in the 1950s and 1960s diminished the need for a separate Black business and entertainment district; consequently Beale Street experienced a period of decline. In the early 1980s, however, much of the street was rebuilt, and the city has hopes that it will once again become a major destination for tourists and others seeking entertainment. Today, as in the old days, the clubs on Beale Street tend to present the more popularized forms of music. But there is still an active street music scene that includes artists who are lured by the street's reputation and the opportunities it affords for wider exposure. Among the street musicians are such artists as Uncle Ben Perry, with his "rough-and-ready" small combo sound, and Jessie Mae Hemphill, with her Mississippi style of blues guitar.

In neighborhood clubs scattered throughout the city one can hear outstanding five- and six-piece electric bands, like the Fieldstones, Blues Busters, Hollywood All Stars, and Prince Gabe and the Millionaires. Large civic festivals, held since the 1960s, provide opportunities for these musicians to be heard by larger audiences, while giving exposure to such older musical styles as the barrelhouse piano of Booker T. Laury or Mose Vinson. Meanwhile, solo blues artists—Bud Garrett of Free Hill and Waynell Jones of Henderson for example—continue to perform in the smaller communities of Tennessee.

Equally rich as a source of gospel music, Tennessee has been well represented over the years by choirs, quartets, sanctified groups, street singers, and songwriters. After the ante-bellum era, the development of Afro-American sacred music in the state traces its beginnings to the Fisk Jubilee Singers. Their home, Fisk University, was founded in Nashville in 1866 through the efforts of the Freedman's Bureau. Having failed to attract attention with popular tunes, the Jubilee Singers successfully performed a program of spirituals. Beginning in October 1871, the group toured America and Europe, raising \$150,000 for the school. The importance of the Fisk Jubilee Singers rests with their preservation of spirituals, their influence on the ascendancy of the quartet as a performance tradition, and their general appeal to audiences outside the Black community.

During the first quarter of the 20th century, gospel quartets remained closely tied to community and church work. This relative isolation began to change in the 1920s with the commercial interest of the major record companies. During the 1930s and especially the 1940s, quartets began traveling outside their communities to perform at other churches, religious conventions, and gospel singing concerts. They were frequently given radio exposure—particularly in Nashville. The tendency, then, was away from localization to wider recognition and, for some, commercialization as full-time singers. A number of excellent quartets are still active in the state, many of them founded over 35 years ago: the Fairfield Four and

Fireside Singers from Nashville, and the Gospel Writers, Harps of Melody, Harmonizers, Pattersonaires, Spirit of Memphis, and Sunset Travelers from Memphis. In Nashville, Reverend Morgan Babb, formerly with the Radio Four, now performs as a soloist. Although no longer active in Knoxville, the Swan Silvertones and their superb lead singer, Claude Jeter, deserve special mention. These quartets run the gamut, from the older *a cappella* style, with its sharply defined four-part harmony, to performances accompanied by a full instrumental and rhythm section and exhibiting a greater use of vocal range and dynamics.

Sanctified gospel music, especially in the western part of the state, is represented by members of the Holiness or Pentecostal church, such as The Church of God in Christ founded by Charles Mason in 1897 near Memphis. One of its present ministers, Reverend Robert Wilkins, a practicing herbalist now 90, became active in church work after several years as a highly regarded blues singer. Sanctified singers perform in a "shouting" musical style, accompanied by hand-clapping, tambourines, guitars, and other instruments. A number of Holiness singers were recorded in Memphis during the 1920s, including Bessie Johnson and Lonnie McIntosh. Of the many Pentecostal churches presently in Memphis, that of Reverend J. O. Patterson is prominent, where the exceptional soloist Mattie Wigley still performs with the choir.

Among its many songwriters Tennessee has had three who were prominent in Black sacred music: Lucie Campbell and Dr. William Brewster from Memphis, and Cleavant Derricks from Nashville. Campbell (1885-1963) composed 45 gospel songs and was also music director of the National Baptist Convention, one of several annual convocations which, like that of the Church of God in Christ, are still important for the dissemination of songs as well as for individual singers to make their mark on gospel music.

Dr. Brewster, born in Somerville, Tennessee, composed scores of songs which reflect the belief that a gospel song should be a sermon set to music. Three of his best known compositions were "Move on Up a Little Higher," "Surely, God Is Able," and "Just Over the Hill." He also wrote plays in commemoration of the Black struggle for civil rights. In the late 1940s, Brewster's weekly "Camp Meeting of the Air" was broadcast live from his church on East Trigg and featured his great protege, Queen C. Anderson, who sang with his choir until her death in 1959. Not surprisingly, Elvis Presley is reputed to have been a fan of Reverend Brewster.

Tennessee blues and gospel performers in general have had an enormous impact on the Anglo stringband, country, and rockabilly music for which the state is often known. While it is tempting to view Nashville as the country music capital and Memphis as the blues and gospel city, the strong presence of gospel in Nashville and the blues-influenced Anglo-American rockabillys of Memphis show a more complex musical picture. Regardless, blues and gospel traditions of Tennessee continue with increasing development of folk-derived commercial styles on records, radio, and television. At the same time, Afro-American folk musics continue to play an important role in Tennessee churches, nightclubs, and entertainment districts.

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- The Fieldstones, *Memphis Blues Today!* (High Water, LP-1001).
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- Happy in the Service of the Lord: Memphis Gospel Quartet Heritage—The 1980s*, Kip Lornell, ed. (High Water, LP-1002).
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Rolley Hole Marbles

by Robert J. Fulcher

Robert Fulcher received his degree in forestry from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He is currently regional naturalist for the Tennessee Division of Parks and Recreation and since 1979 has directed Tennessee's State Parks Folklife Project, a statewide effort to present and document the state's traditional folk artists.

In early spring the ground in Clay County, Tennessee is too wet to plow, and too wet to play marbles. In late fall the frosty nights are too cold for the game, and besides, tobacco is in need of stripping. But on warm, dry evenings between those seasons you will find men, young and old, surrounding the marble yards scattered through the woods and fields of this region. Their wives and children may be present, but they are only spectators. Should they wish to learn how to play, it is understood that they must wait until late in the night, when the men have finished.

The folk marble game of rolley hole comes with many such mutual understandings and traditions: there are no referees, even in money tournaments—"fudging" is kept in check by peer pressure or barbs leveled at suspect behavior; there are no written rules, which may vary from yard to yard—you play by the rules of the man who owns the yard; there are no specifications for the size or condition of the playing area—"it's as fair for one as it is the other," is the adage invoked by players faced with a rough, unkempt marble yard. This relaxed attitude prevails because the game is a social event for families and neighbors—people who live and work together, sharing a common history and value system outside the context of the game. In no way, however, does it suggest that the game is considered frivolous. In fact, many of the children who take it up will devote a large portion of their lives to learning its strategies and skills.

Clay County makes up a small section of Tennessee's northern border, midway between Knoxville and Nashville. From the air it looks like a green maze of hills and hollows, cut in half by the broad Cumberland River. The county is situated on Tennessee's Eastern Highland Rim, a ring of limestone hills surrounding the Nashville Basin, resistant to erosional forces because of their chert-rich layers. Chert, commonly known as flint, often occurs in round nodules that weather out of road cuts and stream banks. For more than a century in Clay County, this flint has been collected as the ideal material for making marbles.

Rolley hole players use only locally-crafted flint marbles in their games. Commercially-produced glass varieties would quickly be shattered by powerful shots, and steel ball-bearings are too heavy to handle properly. At one time, limestone and baked clay marbles were not uncommon, but they have always been considered inferior to the flint varieties. The problem of producing perfect spheres from this tough material has been solved in a number of ways. Before gas and electric motors were available the most common method utilized water power. After roughly shaping a chunk of flint with a file, the marble-maker placed the piece on a basin of abrasive rock and hemmed it beneath a small waterfall in a creek. After weeks of turn-



Rolley hole marble yard, Clay County.
Photos by Robert Fulcher, Tennessee
Department of Conservation

ing, a rounded marble was formed. This method, however, was sometimes frustrating. Noted one maker who followed this technique: "If it come a rain overnight while he's asleep, that marble got washed out. Sometimes he'd never find it, and he'd have to make another one and start all over again. It'd take them two or three years to make one!"

In the late 1940s Bud Garrett, of Free Hill, created his marble-making machine, based on the same principles as his father's traditional water-powered method. Bud's marbles, beautiful orbs of red, white, black, grey or yellow, are the most popular in the region and come with a lifetime guarantee: if an internal flaw results in a marble's breaking, Bud will replace it upon receipt of the fragments.

Rolley hole marble players recognize quality in their game pieces, and good marbles often become heirlooms, passed down from older players whose health forces them to quit the game. Players are equally particular about the quality of the court on which games take place. "Marble yards," the term for the playing areas, were once found beside every schoolhouse, as well as inside barns, on old roadbeds, woodlots and fields, adjacent to country stores, and even on the courthouse square in Celina, Tennessee. The ideal yard is constructed of compacted loam soil. It must be absolutely gravel-free, and players will pull an old automobile tire rim, weighted down with blocks, across the surface of the yard to smooth it before an evening's game. Small imperfections are scraped down with the edge of a board. Some yards have even been sifted to remove all bits of rock and debris. Ultimately, the yard should appear as level and unblemished as the top of a pool table.



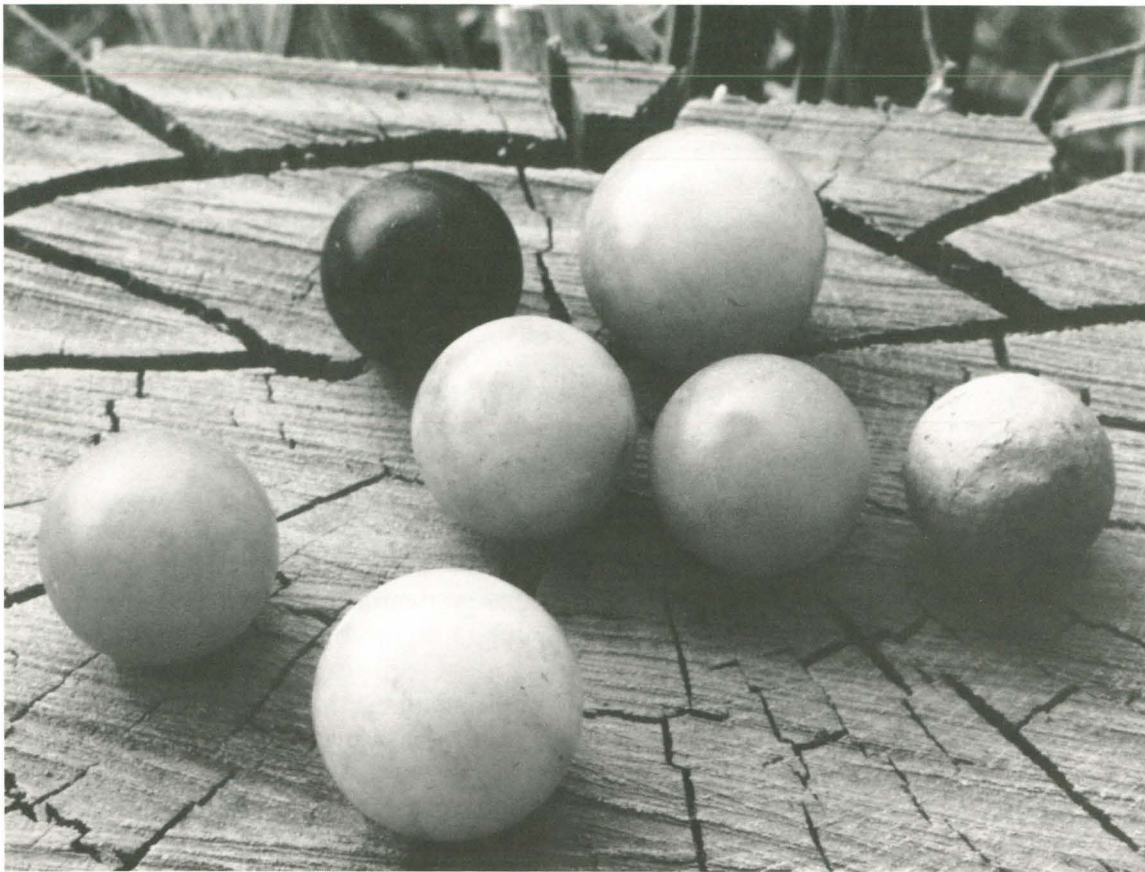
Rolley hole marble in shooting position.

Players attempt to control soil moisture by sprinkling the yard a few hours before their games with just enough water, so that a thin layer of dust, as fine as flour, appears on the surface. The dust controls the speed and bounce of a marble, and before each shot, with a circular sweep, a player will apply a thorough coating of it to his shooting hand. Just as chalk prepares a pool cue the dust will allow the marble to slip out of his fingers smoothly.

The sport of rolley hole requires technical shooting skills as well as thoughtful strategy. It shares features in common with golf, pool, and croquet. A centuries-old phenomenon, numerous variants of rolley hole have been documented worldwide. Shakespeare mentioned the game of Cherry Pit, which involved rolling a marble into a hole. Modern Tennessee variants, called "Poison" and "Granny Hole" are played using from one to six holes. Within Clay County, though the game has been known by many other names—rolley holey, three holes, holes, or just plain marbles (pronounced locally as "marvels")—the basic rules and arrangement of the hole has apparently remained constant for a hundred years.

The Game

In a rolley hole match two teams oppose each other. A team consists of two players, each using one marble. The object of the game is for both players on a team to travel up and down the three hole course *three times* by "making" the holes. They must prevent their opponents from making the holes by shooting their marbles away. When both teammates have made the 12 holes in the course, they



Locally made flint and clay marbles for rolley hole.

win the game. The holes must be made in a certain order, and players use special terms to tell each other the next hole they “are for” (need to make):

1. the first hole (middle hole);
2. the second hole (top hole);
3. third hole or rover one (middle hole);
4. taylor or first round (bottom hole);
5. first one up two’s (middle hole);
6. top hole two’s (top hole);
7. rover two’s (middle hole);
8. two rounds (bottom hole);
9. first one up outs, or going up rover (middle hole);
10. top hole outs (top hole);
11. rover hole, or rover out (middle hole);
12. out hole (bottom hole).

A player “makes” a hole by rolling or “spanning” his marble into it. A “span” is measured by each player as the distance from his thumb, placed at the spot where his marble lays, to the end of his farthest outstretched finger. Before each shot a player may move his marble one “span” from the spot at which his marble lays. When a player makes a hole he is “for,” he can take another shot. When a player rolls into a “dead hole” (a hole he is “not for”) he does not win an extra shot. When a player hits an opponent’s marble he may shoot again, but if he hits the same marble twice, the player becomes “dead” and his turn is over. Finally, a player may choose to “lay,” or give up his turn.

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Suggested videotapes

Mack Prichard and Bobby Fulcher on "Portfolio," by WDCN, Nashville, Tennessee. 15 minute color video. Tennessee Department of Conservation, Nashville, Tennessee.

1985 National Rolley Hole Marbles Championships, by Joe Davis. 50 minute color video. Dragon Productions, Livingston, Tennessee.

Teammates must use cohesive strategy to be successful. Usually one member is recognized as the "manager" and will direct his partner's shots through brief conferences or gestures. In this way older players tutor younger ones in the art of the game. Partnerships commonly last for decades, though some players never develop strong allegiances. Numerous accepted strategies of a formulaic nature are employed by players. For example, most will not advance more than three holes ahead of their partner. If one is ahead, he will try to help his partner by "laying" in a hole to defend it or attacking his opponents. The ability to estimate an opponent's shooting skill is essential, for often a player will roll his marble close enough to an opponent's marble so that opponent will shoot at him, but far enough away so that he may miss. One player tells of winning a game without ever hitting an opponent's marble — his proof that, when good players are on the yard, "managing is what wins games."

Because there are no movie theaters in Clay County, nor skating rinks, bowling alleys or dance halls, those involved in the sport of rolley hole recognize its value as an institution binding together families and communities. Still, the game has had periodic declines in popularity over the years. The most serious of these occurred in the late 1960s, when schoolchildren dropped the game as a recess activity, and most adults put their marbles aside as well. By 1983 only one active marble yard remained in Tennessee and the Monroe County Fair offered the only annual tournament, but just across the state line in Kentucky. Recently the Standing Stone State Park constructed a marble yard, and, along with "Honest Abe" Log Homes of Moss, Tennessee, began to cosponsor the National Rolley Hole Marbles Championships each August. Such actions have provided the impetus to bring interest back to full strength. Since the organization of that event, 20 new yards have been constructed, including one at the Celina High School, and the Celina newspaper now provides full coverage of numerous rolley hole tournaments. This revival may lead to some standardization of the rules, vocabulary, and structure of the game, but it has also initiated a new generation of players into the language, history, ritual, and lore of this engaging traditional sport.

Moonshining and Herb-Doctoring

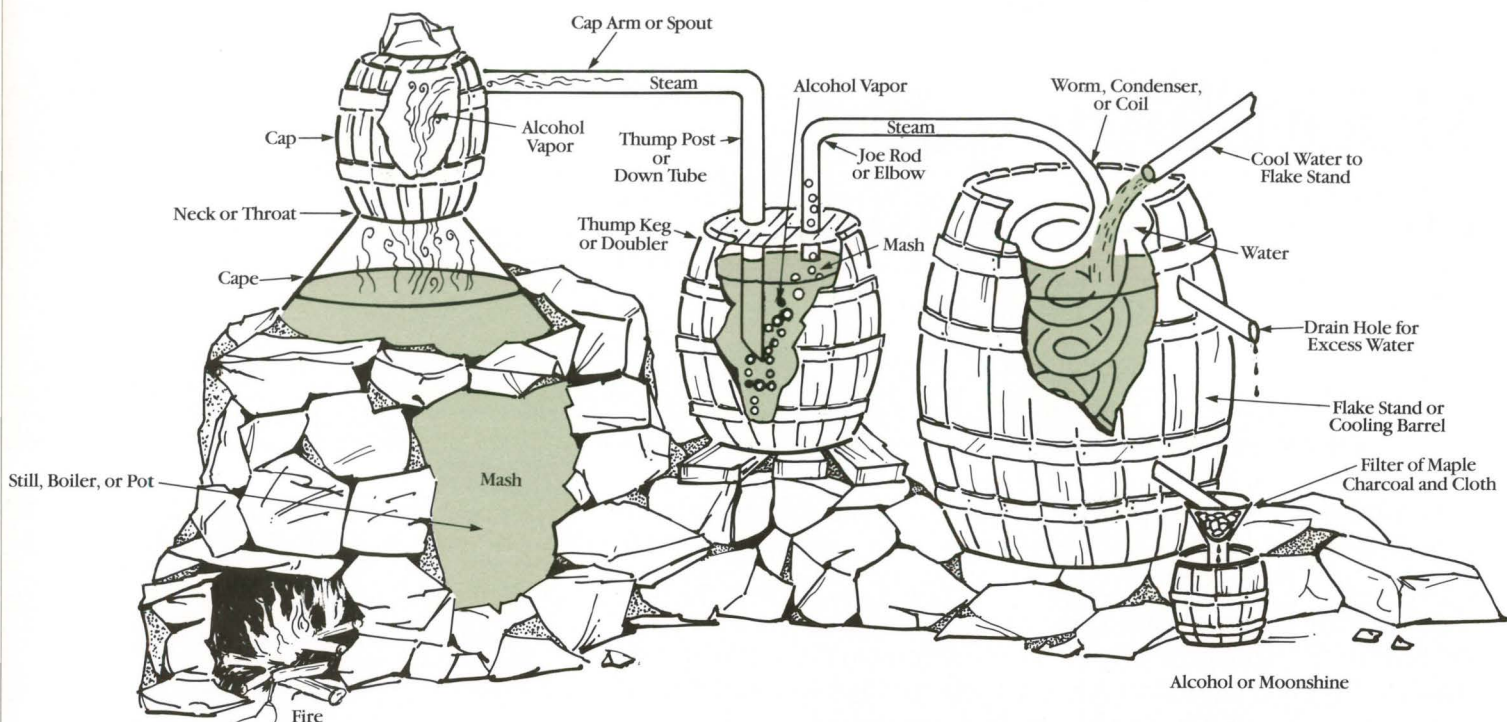
by Richard Blaustein

In the popular imagination, the fierce, furtive moonshiner and the wise, gentle herb gatherer are part of the pantheon of southern mountain folklife. But illicit manufacture of alcoholic beverages and the preparation of medicinal herbal teas and infusions are ancient and widespread traditional practices by no means unique to Tennessee. While moonshining and herb-doctoring still persist in isolated, peripheral communities, neither should be considered typical of cultural life in the complex and rapidly changing Tennessee of today. Indeed, if these practices share anything in common, it is that both are largely confined to marginal sub-cultures within the larger community. The shift from a largely rural, subsistence-oriented economy to an industrial, consumption-oriented one, however, is still an ongoing process, and there are many older Tennesseans (and quite a few younger ones) who have more than nostalgic recollections of moonshining and herb-doctoring.

What else do these marginal folk traditions have in common? On the surface, both could be considered forms of "folk chemistry." They involve the acquisition of specialized skills and knowledge through informal, direct contact with experienced practitioners and the application of such traditional knowledge in the preparation of potions "which cure what ails you." Even more to the point, is the fact that both are marginal occupations by necessity. Moonshining is, of course, strictly illegal, and not a summer season passes in Tennessee and neighboring states without reports in local newspapers of smashed stills and "busted" moonshiners. The tradition is deeply rooted, however, and the battle against the unregulated production of white whiskey seems an attempt at control rather than outright eradication, which appears to be impossible. While the gathering and preparation of herbs for medicinal purposes is perfectly legal, the practitioner who dispenses such herbal remedies for payment runs the risk of prosecution for practicing medicine without a license. Consequently, like the dispenser of illegal liquor, the bona fide herb doctor must operate on a clandestine, word-of-mouth level. Otherwise he must seek protection behind some form of legal disclaimer which denies the medical efficacy of his or her potions and remedies.

On the grassroots level, both the moonshiner and the herb doctor cater to clientele with little patience for governmental regulation. Such customers, having inherited or developed a preference for the home-manufactured product, would rather deal with people they know and trust than subject themselves to the commercialism of the liquor store or the impersonal, high-priced doctor's office. In this sense, both the moonshiner and the herb doctor can be considered key figures within folk groups, defined by shared beliefs, values, attitudes and customs which serve to distinguish them from the larger

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Moonshine still. Adapted from still at 1982 Knoxville World's Fair Folklife Festival by Tina Mion

Traditional herbalist Jim "Catfish II" Gray by his homemade sign, Bluff City, Sullivan County. Photo by Richard Blaustein

Tonics made by "herb man" W.L. "Willie" Burchette, Putnam County. Photo by Betsy Peterson, Tennessee State Parks Folklife Project



community. Though both practices are of marginal legal status, both can be seen as expressions of larger traditions of self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

In considering herb-doctoring, it is essential to realize that most people, including older, seemingly old-fashioned country folk, have a practical, eclectic attitude towards medicine and health maintenance. Many will use herbal remedies to relieve chronic, non-critical complaints, but nearly all will resort to modern medicine when faced with major, life-threatening situations. The attitude of most older people familiar with home remedies and herbal medicine seems to be, "If it makes me feel better, I'll use it. If I find something new that works better, I'll use that."

Medicinal herbs, however, still play a significant role in modern pharmacology, and it is still common to find Tennessee mountain people who continue to augment their incomes by gathering and selling plants. They are sold in bulk to traveling herb buyers or wholesale dealers, who often buy hides and scrap metal as well. These dealers, in turn, sell the herbs to major pharmaceutical companies. Some of these medicinal herbs—particularly ginseng—fetch very high prices on the commercial market and are now in danger of extinction due to over-picking. While cultivated ginseng does not bring as much as the wild plant, an increasing number of Tennessee mountain farmers are attempting to ensure its survival and their continued income from it by growing ginseng in protected frames. Most ginseng, whether wild or cultivated, is still shipped to markets in the Far East, where it is traditionally considered a potent tonic and aphrodisiac.

Appalachian herb doctors and gatherers seem well aware of the purported powers of ginseng but do not believe in them; the most frequently reported use of ginseng in the mountains of East Tennessee is to soothe irritations of the mouth and throat. This is very much in accord with the general attitude towards herbal medicine pervasive in the southern Appalachians: while contemporary practitioners of herbal medicine continue to express the traditional belief that God put medicinal plants on earth for the benefit of human beings, they do not believe that the plants themselves have magical or supernatural properties. Instead, they make a clear distinction between herbal medicine and faith healing—a distinction not always clear to outsiders.

It is important to stress the differences between the two major types of folk medicine. Herb-doctoring entails the gathering, preparation and dispensing of wild plants, generally in the form of teas. Virtually all of the plants used by herb doctors have long-established medical functions, as indicated by their inclusion in popular home medical dictionaries published by 19th- and early 20th-century medical doctors. In this sense, herb-doctoring represents the adaptation and continuation of what was once generally accepted medical practice. By contrast, faith healing rests on the belief that the healing process is divine in nature and origin, that certain individuals are endowed with the gift of spiritual healing, which is a concrete manifestation of God's grace to the faithful. While faith healing is carried out through prayer, the anointing of the sick with holy oil, and also the laying on of hands, no such religious activities are entailed in

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herb-doctoring, which is generally considered to be a pragmatic alternative to conventional modern therapeutic techniques.

Herb doctors may acknowledge the efficacy of some forms of faith healing and will often couch their underlying approach to medicine and healing in religious terms. However, they generally do not claim religious or supernatural powers or properties for their herbal remedies. Most seem to be philosophically allied with the modern holistic medicine movement in stressing the importance of rest, diet, and positive emotional attitude in contributing towards recovery from sickness. The appeal of the herb doctor to his or her clientele may therefore stem from their preference for traditional, familiar and inexpensive alternatives to the offerings of the licensed physician and pharmacist. They rely to a greater degree on interpersonal communication between patient and practitioner and a more personal involvement in the process of the cure. The emphasis which herb doctors place on stimulating the self-healing properties of the body through natural, organic means seems also in accord with the rural Southern ethic of self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

Moonshiners may share this traditional philosophy of self-sufficiency and self-reliance, but there is no evidence to suggest that their product is any more beneficial to their clientele than the legal, taxed variety. Because of lack of control and the pressures imposed by law enforcement agencies, the quality of illicitly produced whiskey ranges from palatable to lethal, and the cautious consumer of moonshine needs to be sure that the supplier is not out to make a few quick dollars at the expense of the customer's health (or life). Large-scale producers are primarily concerned with turning as large a profit as quickly as possible, without much regard to the quality of the product or the health of the customer. Consequently, a good deal of moonshining is a small-scale, backyard industry which serves the needs of a highly restricted local clientele of old friends and neighbors.

Moonshining persists because it is profitable, however risky. There are people who have come to prefer the taste and wallop of the home distilled product, and partaking of moonshine serves to reinforce their sense of identity with a rowdy, authority-defying subculture which has never fully accepted the right of government to tax and regulate what they deem to be their own private business. Moonshining and herb-doctoring, however, are the least of the problems facing law enforcement authorities in Tennessee today. As long as moonshiners and herb doctors can manage to satisfy the needs and desires of their clients without attracting the attention of the legally constituted authority, it is likely that these largely clandestine, marginal traditions will survive as living aspects of the state's folk culture.

Hogmeat, Corn and Catfish: Tennessee Foodways

by Phyllis M. May

Food traditions are often taken for granted, but like music, housing styles, and language, they often characterize regions, representing the confluence of history and environment into a distinctive culture. The state of Tennessee, part of a region often called the Upland South, has been influenced by the Midwest, Deep South, Appalachian mountain, and vigorous river and lake cultures. While few food traditions are exclusive to the state, its daily foods blend these influences and the resources of the local southern environment with the foodways of West European, African and Native American peoples in ways characteristic of this region.

The foodways of Tennessee are rich and diverse. In typically Southern fashion, many families in rural regions of the state maintain small gardens next to their homes. In them are leaf lettuce, tomatoes, radishes, onions, cucumbers, corn, and a variety of peas, beans, and greens—ready for consumption at family dinners. Throughout the summer, seasonal fruits and vegetables are canned and frozen for later use, so that jellies, jams, fruit butters and sauces, preserves, pickles, relishes, and stewed fruits grace the table year round. In many households, a salad consists simply of a plate of fresh tomatoes, onions, peppers, and cucumbers marinated in a vinegar dressing. Beans, peas, or greens are simmered with a piece of salted pork for seasoning. Fresh pies and cakes accompany every dinner. Some Tennesseans supplement their diets with wild plants, such as poke “sallet,” creasie and dandelion greens, fresh herbs, “dryland fish” (morel mushrooms), and various nuts and berries. They may also eat wild game, hunted or trapped for subsistence rather than sport. Rabbit, possum, raccoon, squirrel, frog, turtle, deer, various birds, and even groundhog are regularly mentioned meats in the diets of a number of Tennesseans. People in the river and lake regions of the state capitalize on the water-based foods not only as a source of income but also as an integral part of their daily diet, preparing them in a variety of stewed and fried meat dishes. Canned carp, which tastes like salmon, is a special river delicacy. Although southern-fried chicken is extremely popular throughout Tennessee, the delicate tastes of fried catfish or whiting rival its standing in some parts of the state.

Two of the most significant foodstuffs for Tennessee are corn and hogs. Corn is a staple food of this region and is used in a variety of ways: as a food for human and animal consumption, as a fuel, as a primary ingredient for making whiskey and medicines, as a material from which tools and toys are made, and as a source of barter. As a food, it is served on the cob—parched and boiled—or off the cob—



Sam Page cleaning groundhog, Free Hill, Clay County. Photo by Tom Rankin, Southern Arts Federation

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Dora Bowlin with her pantry of preserves, Hancock County. Photo by Chris Hale

fried, steamed, boiled, or baked. It is the basic ingredient in hominy and grits; dried, it is milled into cornmeal. For many Tennesseans, bread means cornbread, a food that can be eaten at every meal.

Pork is as versatile a foodstuff as corn. One of the most popular methods for cooking it is as barbecue. Memphis claims to be "The Pork Barbecue Capital of the World" since it supports an enormous number of barbecue businesses and hosts the "Memphis in May" barbecue contest. However, barbecue flourishes throughout the state in backyards, home-built pits, small commercial establishments, and community contests and festivals as a major means of meat preparation. Anyone who is truly acquainted with barbecue knows that discussions of it evoke strong sentiments. Everyone knows the best barbecue place or someone who makes the most spectacular sauce. Any great sauce contains one or more time-tested secret ingredients that distinguish it from "ordinary" sauces and make the real difference. Within the state of Tennessee, barbecue may be accented by sweet sauces, vinegar-based sauces, tomato-based sauces, beer or alcohol-based sauces, doctored-up, store-bought sauces, hot, peppery sauces, or a dry mixture of spices to be rubbed directly on the meat or mixed in with the meat juices and used for basting. Flavors (and opinions) also vary concerning whether the meat is cooked as whole-hog barbecue or as pork shoulder or ribs. Furthermore, the style of the pit and the material out of which it is made, the type of charcoal or wood used to make the fire, whether the meat is cooked prior to being placed in the pit, and the appropriate length of time for cooking it to the desired point of doneness all enliven personal testimonies about barbecue.

Another product for which Tennessee has gained a well-deserved reputation is country ham. By salting down a freshly butchered hog and dry-aging it or smoking fresh or salted meat with hickory wood or dried corncobs, Tennesseans have preserved hog meat flavorfully throughout the winter without the necessity of refrigeration. Across the state, this process occurs as both a home-based and commercial activity.

Food is part of most family and community celebrations. In northwestern Tennessee, several communities have organized annual festivals around those particular foods which provide an economic base for the area, such as "The World's Biggest Fish Fry" in Paris (featuring local catfish), "The Strawberry Festival" in Humboldt and "The Okra Festival" sponsored by the town of Bells. In Black communities across the state, barbecues are standard fare for homecomings, family reunions, and Fourth of July and Emancipation Day celebrations. These events furnish economical and socially intensive ways to prepare food for large numbers of people.

Food facilitates social interaction and the expression of cohesiveness, both to the group itself and to outsiders who may be permitted to share in such festivities as community festivals. Among the Choctaw of Tennessee, for instance, *banaba*, a bread of dried peas and cornmeal wrapped in cornhusks, is not only a source of nutrition but also a reaffirmation of their traditional lifestyle and culture in the face of change. All humans process, prepare and eat foods in culturally specific and prescribed ways as part of their daily activities. It is precisely because of this that food traditions serve as an



effective avenue for the expression of identity, tastes and values, symbolism, etiquette, artistry, sensory stimulation, and creativity. Tennessee's food traditions serve as an important way to express and maintain identity at the state and community level. Anyone who has missed a chance to explore the infinite varieties of dishes based on corn or to delve into a plate of Tennessee country ham, barbecue, or fried catfish, has truly overlooked one of the state's most essential, pleasurable experiences.

Country barbecue of domestic and wild meats, including groundhog, squirrel, frog, and chicken, Free Hill, Clay County. Photo by Tom Rankin, Southern Arts Federation

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Traditional Crafts: A Lesson From Turkish Ceramics

by Henry Glassie

Henry Glassie is Professor of Folklore and American Civilization and Graduate Chairman of the Department of Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. Among his major books are Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, All Silver and No Brass, Passing the Time in Ballymenone, and Irish Folktales.

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Tradition builds the future out of the past. Craft shapes nature into culture. Traditional crafts record the twisted flow of time and the continual alteration of the physical world.

Traditional crafts depend entirely upon individuals who answer a personal call to creativity while serving society through the reconstruction of the environment. At work in a web of connection, the creator of craft is surrounded by problems. The young potter who has lost direct contact with the old practitioners of his trade and must push on unguided by deep knowledge, the woodworker whose local market has died and who must learn to respond to whimsical new clients, the old basketmaker who has outlived his co-workers, cannot find an apprentice, and must struggle on alone, the weaver who cannot find the tools or materials to continue her craft—each faces one of the host of problems posed in a world no longer dependent on the hand and heart of the artisan. As an American student of traditional craft, I too was beset by these problems. They preoccupied me, confused my view, and urged me to Turkey, where I carried out field research in 1984 and 1985 to learn the nature of a tradition at the fullness of its energy. Inspired by brave American potters who have held steady and by the scholars who have lovingly documented their craft, I choose to tell you about Turkish pottery. We begin in the market.

In the cities of millions and the small country towns, vast quantities of pottery are sold in shops and stalls by men who form the crucial middle link in the chain that connects the potters to their customers. These small entrepreneurs, who buy at the kiln and sell on the street, power the Turkish economy and function as the craft's natural critics. Their evaluations are not confused by facile distinctions between art and craft. We may accept academic distinctions, conspicuously based on medium, subtly based on social class, and then extend them inappropriately to the whole world, calling painting on cloth "art," while terming painting on pottery or stitching on cloth "craft," so that the creations of working people are denied the status of art. But Turks begin with a more egalitarian vision. They have one word, *sanat*, that brings together all handwork, art and craft. Then they make more difficult discriminations based on excellence. The manager of a stall full of pottery points easily to those pieces which are *bakiki sanat*, "true art," and those which are but the result of necessary labor. Works of true art carry the impress of their maker, displaying eternally the care of the hand, the vitality of the soul, the capacity of the designing mind.

Excellence appears in both of the great varieties of traditional

Turkish pottery. Divided by technique, pottery is either earthenware or it is *çini*, painted underglaze on a composite body. For centuries the center for *çini* has been the city of Kütahya. Unglazed earthenware — useful jugs and pitchers, chimneypots and flowerpots — is made in hundreds of small shops across Anatolia. Glazed and decorated utilitarian earthenware flourishes particularly in northwestern Anatolia, at the western edge of Asia, with its finest and most widely distributed made in one agricultural village in the mountains that lift south of the Sea of Marmara: Kinik.

There are 75 wood-fired kilns and pottery workshops attached to half of the 300 houses in the dazzling whitewashed village of Kinik. Across from the teahouse next to the mosque, we enter the shop of Osman Kaya and Mustafa Baydemir. When they were lads, they learned their trade from Mustafa's father, Aptullah, who learned it from the younger brother of the man, Şahkir Aga, who brought the knowledge with him out of Bulgaria during one of the massive shifts of population that marked the contraction of the Ottoman Empire. They are in direct touch, along intimate family lines, with the source of their tradition, and they work as part of a communal enterprise, making, they say, the same ware that everyone does in Kinik. A mile from the village, six feet underground, they find the earth that they stir and mill, which Osman turns and Mustafa decorates. He dips each piece in a thin white slip, and while the surface slides, he runs color over it in trim patterns of green, red, and black, that gravity pulls into surprising, endlessly variable designs. The technique, mixing control and chance, calls to mind marbled paper, one of Turkey's gifts to world art. Osman and Mustafa hire laborers to help with the preparation of their "mud"; the rest of the work is theirs alone. They must decide whether the weather requires the turned ware to be fired before decoration and how long the ware must wait after decoration before it is glazed and fired finally. Old partners, day after day they work serenely side by side, preparing the next load for the trucks hauling north to Istanbul, south to Kütahya, east to Gaziantep. Their skill — Osman's ability to turn with speed ware of great size and perfect form, Mustafa's command over a drippy liquid medium — marks them as masters, producers of excellence. Their control over the whole of their technology — from mining to sales, their direct connections with the source of their art, their co-workers, and their market — makes their work for us an ideal instance of traditional craft.

In Kütahya, municipal center of a mountainous state in west-central Anatolia, there are 23 major ateliers for *çini*, an ever varying number of smaller shops, and scores of individuals who use the larger ateliers to help process special lines of pottery. Kütahya's key institution is the atelier — *atehçe* or *fabrika* in Turkish — a building of humming wheels, gigantic, cylindrical kilns, and wide, shadowy spaces broken by banks of shelves bent under drying ware. Here novices are trained to be workers and workers are trained to be masters and masters coordinate production.

Of masters, most revered is the designer. Kütahya's great designer is Ahmet Şahin. He went to work in the potteries when he was ten. A master at 18, and now 79, Mr. Şahin owns six chests full of designs and can claim to have created 75 percent of the designs currently in



Earthenware *Sürabi* turned by Osman Kaya, decorated by Mustafa Baydemir in the village of Kinik, near Bilecik, in 1985. Photos by Henry Glassie



Çini plate turned, glazed, and fired by Ihsan Erdeyer, and painted after his own design by İbrahim Erdeyer, Süsler Çini, Kütahya, in 1984. For sale in the shop of the Kilic brothers in the Covered Bazaar, Istanbul.

use. Out of a lifetime of working experience, he draws plans onto white paper. Copies provided to the master of an atelier are placed over sheets of paper, so that holes pricked through the design pierce the pages beneath to create patterns that are placed upon tiles or plates at the biscuit stage. Charcoal rubbed over the paper runs through the holes, and when the paper is lifted, the master's design has been transferred to the ceramic surface.

Up to this point, men have done the work. At a cooperative factory men combined five kinds of clay from three separate locations with chalk and quartz and delivered the mix to the masters, who added dashes of their own ingredients. Boys milled the mud and squeezed it pure to be pressed into molds for tiles or turned into plates. These were fired, marked with the design, and now they are given to women who first outline the design in black with long, swift strokes and then paint it full of color. Afterward, men will glaze the pieces and fire them a second time. The tiles will sheathe the walls of new mosques with gleaming color. The plates will be selected from the outlets that line Kütahya's main streets to become the stock of shops throughout Turkey. With their intricately geometric, lavishly floral, or sacred calligraphic designs, the plates will ultimately hang on the walls of Turkish homes.

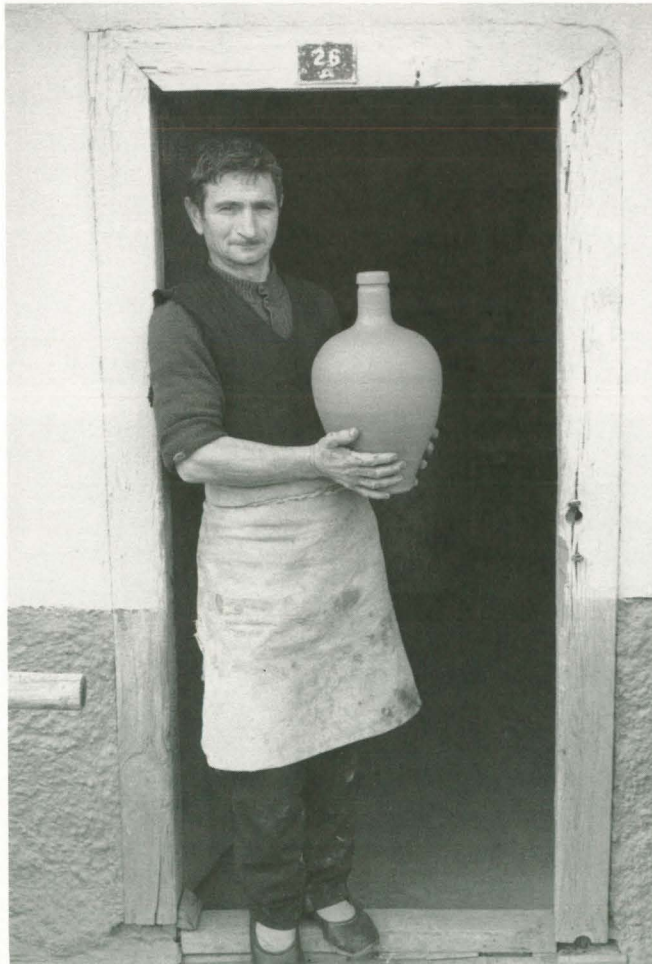
The process of *çini* is complex. Each piece has absorbed the effort of eight to 20 people, of boys who mix mud, masters who turn the plates, mind the kiln, who mix and apply the lead glaze, women who paint, men who sell. The process extends beyond the control of any individual, and while it yields a cheap "people's" ware that serves an enormous market, it raises problems.

To the Turkish worker, objects, even if lovely, are not art if their makers lacked freedom. So the Kütahya tradition contains a variety of ware that grants the worker control. This is *dik mal*, "standing ware," the jars, bowls and vases athletically thrown by men, shaped handsomely, then given a second turning to "shave" their surfaces and perfect their forms. When these pieces are painted, the women use no pounced designs but improvise *kafadan*, "from the head," recombining motifs learned from the older women in the potteries. In concept and execution their free-hand compositions repeat the dynamic of the great women's traditions of embroidery and rug weaving. Turned and painted by the workers, *dik mal* is *canlı*, alive with spirit.

But the masters of Kütahya fear a decline in quality. They are responsible for a city's economy and a 600-year-old tradition, so the masters cooperate to produce works that represent their art at its peak. Ahmet Şahin supplies designs to all the manufacturers, but he also paints tiles and plates using his own designs, taking time to create masterworks. His plates are turned, glazed, and fired by Ihsan Erdeyer, master of Süsler Çini, famed for shaping clean forms, for glazing neatly, and managing the big earthen kiln he built in 1950. If the heat rises too quickly it will crack the "raw" ware stacked near the top. If the fire gets too hot, colors will run and smudge. The master must build the fire slowly for four hours, then add wood, pushing the fire, judging its temperature solely by its color, waiting for the great flame that will rise about the twelfth hour, rolling over and "cooking" the ware to perfection. Mr. Erdeyer's Süsler Çini



Mustafa Baydemir, master potter, Kinik.



Osman Kaya, master potter, Kinik.



Kinik



Ahmet Şahin, the great designer of Kütahya.



Meryem Kurbaş and friends painting, Metin Çini, Kütahya.



Ibrahim Erdeyer and Mehmet Gürsoy, young masters of Kütahya.



produces its own line of *çini* and serves 20 painters of “special” lines, most notably his son, Ibrahim, and Ibrahim’s dear friend, Mehmet Gürsoy. Mehmet is 36, Ibrahim is 25, and with Ahmet Şahin’s son, Faruk, they are leaders in a youthful movement within Kütahya dedicated to the maintenance of excellence in their tradition. They visit the noble old mosques to learn from the tiles of the 15th and 16th centuries. They draw and paint their own designs with precision and create works of the highest quality to inspire their working community, to embody their national tradition, to express their personal styles.

When traditional crafts fail, the problem is survival; when they thrive, the problem is the survival of excellence. The struggle is worth it. Without excellent crafts, workers will find no joy amid labor, they will be reduced to tools, and our environment will lack quality, except as it chances to endure from the past.

At work conserving their own heritage, the master potters in the modern nation of Turkey teach a lesson to the world. They establish ateliers within which apprentices are trained and new masters rise to direct the manufacture of a useful, attractive, inexpensive product that meets the needs of a wide market. The masters charge their workers with tasks that allow a satisfying measure of creativity. Then, they do not retreat into the role of mere manager or isolate themselves as designers only. They keep their hands in, cooperating to create magnificent instances of traditional craft.

Kütahya

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Southern Pottery Tradition in a Changing Economic Environment

by Charles G. Zug, III

Charles G. Zug, III, received his Ph.D. in folklore and folklife from the University of Pennsylvania in 1968. An Associate Professor of English at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, he is Acting Chairman of the Curriculum in Folklore. His major research interests are in folklore and literature, and folk art — particularly Southern folk pottery.

From the middle of the 18th century through the early decades of the 20th, potters of North Carolina produced thousands of sturdy, utilitarian earthenwares and stonewares. The bulk of their output — jars, jugs, milk crocks, and churns — was used for the preservation of home-grown meats, vegetables, fruits, and dairy products. Other forms, such as baking dishes or pitchers, were designed for the preparation of foods and their consumption at the table. The potters also maintained a broad sideline of flowerpots, pipes, grave markers, chamberpots, and other useful wares. On rare occasions, they turned a whimsey or two, perhaps a face vessel to parody the looks of some neighbor or a ring jug* to demonstrate their virtuosity.

Their craft was by nature conservative, regional, and utilitarian. Essential ideas and basic practices were rooted in community life and passed on informally with relatively little change from one generation to the next. The family was the key unit of production and transmission: the Coles and Cravens, for example, settled in the eastern piedmont of North Carolina in the 18th century, and their descendants, now in the ninth generation, remain at pottery wheels today. The forms and glazes employed closely reflected the locales in which they were made. Of necessity, potters had to rely on nature's bounty, so they gathered their raw materials from the surrounding river bottoms, fields and forests; ultimately, the wares they produced from such materials were valued entirely for their utility, not for their appearance. Most were sold by the gallon — that is, according to their capacity, not their aesthetic appeal — and they were purchased by a rural, self-sufficient people who depended on them for survival.

Starting about 1900, however, large-scale economic, technological and social changes made it increasingly difficult for the traditional potter to sell his wares. Commercial dairies eliminated the need for churns and milk crocks in the home. An abundance of cheap, mass-produced glass and metal containers combined with improved methods of transportation and refrigeration to lessen the importance of home food preservation. Increasingly restrictive Prohibition laws greatly reduced the demand for whisky jugs. And, finally, the young men who left their communities to fight in two World Wars discovered new and more financially rewarding occupations than that of the potter.

* Ring jug — a pottery container in the form of a hollow ring with a spout on the top

Many of the old family shops closed, but some, like the Coles and Aumans, stayed at their wheels and learned to adapt to the new conditions and demands. In order to survive, potters reinterpreted their traditional craft for a new market outside of their farming communities. Particularly during the 1920s and 1930s they became active innovators and radically altered their products, technologies and marketing strategies.

Unquestionably the most visible evidence of the new order was an explosion of fresh forms and glazes. About 1932 Jacon B. Cole of Montgomery County published a catalog in which he offered no less than 524 different forms, ranging from tiny candlesticks and pitchers to massive urns. On the whole, the new wares were much smaller than their predecessors, mere “toys,” as some of the old potters scornfully referred to them. Many were still associated with food, but their primary function now shifted from preservation to consumption, that is, they were designed to be used at the table. In addition, the potters produced a greatly expanded repertory of horticultural and art wares by drawing on diverse sources of inspiration, such as Oriental ware and the products of the Arts and Crafts Movement.

Closely coupled to the innovations in form was a dramatic expansion in the variety of glazes. The earlier potters had a very limited palette, one that was severely restricted by the local materials available to them. By the mid-1920s, however, potters had begun to experiment with commercial oxides of iron, cobalt, copper, tin, manganese and other metals. In his catalog Jacon Cole declared that

any article shown herein may be supplied in any of the following colors: yellow, white, rose, dark blue, Alice blue, periwinkle blue, turquoise, blue-green, enamel green, peacock blue, blue and white, orange, rust and antique.

One can well imagine one of the oldtime potters contemplating this dazzling array of possibilities and puzzling over whether to glaze his molasses jugs Alice or peacock blue.

The new pottery was brightly colored and carefully finished; it was made to be seen, not hidden away in a springhouse or a cellar. The potters had to master new technologies, such as mechanical devices to mix and purify the clays, or electric wheels to increase the output and quality of these decorative wares. Even the old wood-fired groundhog kiln became a casualty. While it worked well for the large utilitarian pieces, it proved a poor choice for the more numerous and smaller pots that required a carefully controlled firing to attain proper texture and color. Gradually, kilns were shortened and raised so that the wares could be stacked on shelves or set in protective saggars.* Using new fuels, such as coal, oil and electricity, these redesigned kilns assured a more even flow of heat and hence more predictable results.

To market their output, potters had to develop new strategies to attract tourists and a more urban clientele. Some relocated their businesses. In 1934 Arthur R. Cole left rural Randolph County, moved to the town of Sanford and set up shop on Route 1, which was heavily traveled by tourists heading to and from Florida. Others issued cata-

* Saggars — a protective container in which wares were set inside the kiln

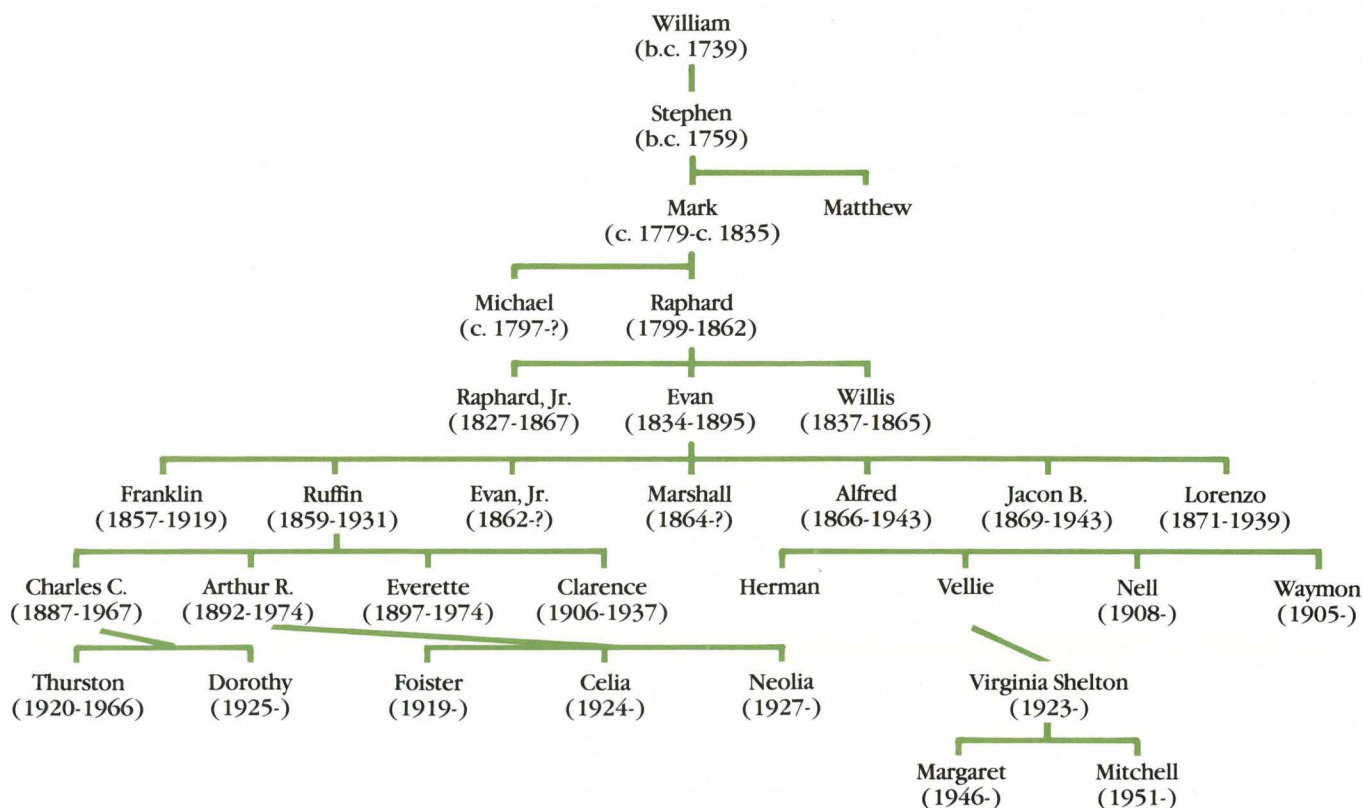


Nell Graves and Waymon Cole, the present owners of J. B. Cole's Pottery, Montgomery County, as illustrated in their father's catalog, ca. 1932.



A sample page from the catalog issued by J. B. Cole's Pottery, Montgomery County, ca. 1932. Photos courtesy Walter and Dorothy Auman

Cole Genealogy





Dorothy Cole Auman, an eighth generation potter, turns a pot in her shop in Seagrove, North Carolina.
Photo courtesy Randolph Technical College

Two salt-glazed stoneware five-gallon storage jugs made by Ruffin Cole, Randolph County, ca. 1890.

Photo by Charles G. Zug, III, courtesy Walter and Dorothy Auman

Suggested reading

Burrison, John A. *Brothers in Clay: The Story of Georgia Folk Pottery*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983.

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Suggested films

Jugtown: Pottery Tradition and Change. 28 min. color. Smithsonian Institution.

The Meaders Family: North Georgia Potters. 30 min. color. Smithsonian Folklife Series.

Potters of the Piedmont. 19 min. color. Halycon Films, Raleigh, North Carolina.



logs, went into wholesaling and shipped their wares as far as New York, Florida and California. They also added display rooms to their shops and stamped their names on all of their pots to identify them for the purchasers.

One subtle consequence of these changes was a new pattern of work. Because the earlier potters were also farmers, the practice of their craft had to dovetail with nature's cycle of planting and harvesting. Now the potter's peak periods were weekends and summers; he had, in effect, become a full-time craftsman, one who responded to clock time rather than the old seasonal rhythms.

Change is a constant process in all societies. At times it occurs so rapidly that it tears apart the earlier cultural fabric; yet just as frequently, in retrospect, it seems to proceed in a sane and orderly fashion, creating new principles and procedures out of the old. Clearly this latter sort of change is apparent in North Carolina pottery, where the innovations in product, technology and marketing flowed naturally out of the older folk tradition.

Over time, innovation largely replaced conservatism; eclectic inspiration, the old regionalism; and conscious artistry, the once pervasive utilitarianism. Yet many elements of earlier days remain. The potters dig and process their own clays and retain time-honored forms and glazes. They remain production potters, who replicate large numbers of useful forms at very reasonable prices. Most important, the informal, cluttered shops continue under the firm control of the old families. As Jacon Cole proudly affirmed in his catalog,

I have made pottery all of my life, and so did my father before me. Then I taught my son and daughter, whom you see at their wheels. Later as business increased, extra workers were required. So I taught my two sons-in-law.

Through the persistence and wisdom of families, such as the Coles and Aumans a healthy new hybrid tradition has evolved, one built on the old southern folk tradition but also infused with contemporary American ceramic tastes and addressing new needs.

Contemporary North American Indian Crafts

by William C. Sturtevant

Crafts as a specially recognized kind of activity are phenomena of industrial societies, as is the realization that the survival of traditional craft skills and knowledge may be endangered.

North American Indians have long been users of manufactured goods, which began to replace Indian handmade objects as soon as Europeans arrived in America as explorers, traders, settlers, and conquerors. With the increasing integration of Indian communities and Indian individuals into the general American economy and society—especially during the 20th century—the substitution of manufactured products for local handmade objects became more pervasive. Indians involved in the market economy usually found it preferable to buy rather than make the tools, implements, clothing, and other articles needed for daily life. When they continued to make objects for their own use, they usually incorporated some commercial materials such as cloth, thread, paints and dyes, metal and beads, and they nearly always shaped and worked the traditional raw materials as well as the newer materials with imported knives, needles, axes, and other manufactured tools.

Handicrafts of European origin were also taken up and became Indian, such as beadwork, silverwork, splint basketry, and some styles of cloth garments. Quilting, for example, is preserved in many Indian rural communities as it is in non-Indian ones, and the star quilt has become a particular specialty of the Sioux.

In early American history many Indian crafts were adopted by the settlers from across the Atlantic. Some modern American manufactured goods originated in this way but have lost their specific associations with Indians. Canoes, kayaks, snowshoes, pack baskets, lacrosse sticks, anoraks (pull-over windbreakers), and moccasins are examples. The borrowers introduced changes—birchbark canoes became aluminum canoes, moccasins had hard leather soles added and lost their beaded or quilled decoration. Craft products that continued to be made by Indians underwent similar changes. New materials, new forms, and new functions were adopted; traditional crafts are never completely impervious to change.

At present most material objects used by Indians are identical with those of non-Indians. Traditional crafts and handmade objects do remain for special purposes, particularly for occasions when Indian identity is significant, and some persist for sale to non-Indians. Indians, like non-Indians, also produce handmade objects for aesthetic reasons, as a form of recreation or a hobby. The do-it-yourself movement is old in Indian communities, and often has the added aim of preserving traditionally Indian skills and attitudes.

Objects continue to be made by hand when there are no appropriate factory-made substitutes for them. This is the case for some things needed for distinctively Indian uses, such as items required

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Basketweaver Emma Taylor, a member of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, weaves a basket from oak splints in Cherokee, North Carolina, ca. 1970.
Photo courtesy U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board



Zuni water jar, collected 1884-1885.
National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, #111,700



Zuni water jar made by Randy Nahohai in 1986.
Photo courtesy Pueblo of Zuni Arts and Crafts

by Indian religions. Among southwestern Indians the Navajos still require sandpaintings for religious purposes and the Pueblos use special costumes, masks, altars, and other ritual objects made in traditional forms. The Native American Church, the so-called Peyote Religion, uses a special waterdrum, distinctive jewelry, beaded feather fans of a particular form, and other handmade objects. The Longhouse religion of the Iroquois requires wooden and cornhusk masks and special musical instruments.

Less religious, more social ceremonies in many Indian communities are responsible for the growth and persistence of particularly Indian crafts. Especially prominent are the finely made, often very elaborate costumes that are traditionally worn at pow-wow celebrations. Special musical instruments are required by many Indian rituals — waterdrums, whistles, rattles — and the songs for dances at Indian pow-wows are accompanied by a special drum (often a modified commercial bass drum).

Nearly everywhere Indian clothing for daily wear is indistinguishable from that worn by non-Indians. An exception is Florida, where Seminole women still ordinarily wear homemade long skirts decorated with one or more bands of fine, bright-colored patchwork made on a sewing machine. But many Indians, at least occasionally, wear some distinctively Indian ornaments or jewelry, such as a beaded neck ornament or a silver buckle or bracelet. And on special occasions where Indian identity becomes important, more elements of traditional Indian dress and ornament are often worn. The crafts of beadwork, featherwork, quillwork, silverwork, finger-weaving, and ribbon applique work are preserved to produce garments and ornaments for wear on such occasions as well as for sale.

In Florida during this century, Seminole women have developed sewing into an art, to make clothing both for Seminole wear and for sale to outsiders. Skirts, shirts, blouses, and aprons bearing decorative bands of complex patchwork are readily recognizable as typically Seminole. This is one of the few Indian crafts that has remained economically viable, producing a reasonable return for its makers. It



Hamatsa dancers wearing two Crooked Beak and a Raven mask at a Kwakiutl potlatch, Alert Bay, British Columbia, November 1, 1980. The masks, carved by the well-known contemporary Kwakiutl artist Tony Hunt, were donated by him to the U'mista Cultural Centre at Alert Bay. Photo by William C. Sturtevant

does not depend on non-Indian middlemen or dealers, and the local south Florida market absorbs nearly all the output. Yet commercial and non-Seminole imitations have failed to duplicate Seminole skills and do not compete with Seminole products. The craftworkers continually change and develop the designs, and new forms of garments have been invented to attract customers. Some of these changes have been adopted for Seminole wear.

The persistence and change of crafts has everywhere been affected by the economic situation. An instructive example is Navajo weaving. It first developed to produce garments for Navajo wear using a weaving technique originally learned from the neighboring Pueblo Indians and wool from Navajo sheep. Towards the end of the 19th century, home-woven garments were replaced by clothing made from commercial fabrics, while Navajo weavers began producing blankets and rugs for export. The craft was a major source of income for most Navajos until the mid-20th century, even though the returns per hour were well below the national minimum wage. With gradual improvement in the Navajo economy, weaving declined in importance. At the same time, the market shifted away from crafts towards art: much higher prices for far fewer examples of fine quality.

A similar change occurred with Pueblo pottery. Very little has been made for Indian use in recent decades, but the craft has persisted and developed in response to a changing but divided market: quickly-made examples continue to sell as inexpensive souvenirs, while excellent wares made by a few artists draw high prices from collectors. Some modern Acoma and Zuni pottery is among the very best art pottery in the world.

Indian paintings on paper and canvas and Indian sculpture are recognized as art — perhaps because these are the traditional media of the fine arts — with the specialized marketing, exhibiting, collecting, and formal instruction that normally accompany art. Northwest Coast sculptors continue to produce some masks for Indian use, at the same time as the tradition in which they work has gained recog-

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Cohodas, Marvin. *Degikup: Wasboe Fancy Basketry 1895-1935*. Vancouver: The Fine Arts Gallery of the University of British Columbia, 1979.

Holm, Bill. *Smoky Top: The Art and Times of Willie Seaweed*. (Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum Monograph 3) Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983.

Parezo, Nancy J. *Navajo Sandpainting: From Religious Art to Commercial Art*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1983.

Tanner, Clara Lee. *Southwest Indian Craft Arts*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968.

Wade, Edwin L., ed. *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1986.

Whitehead, Ruth Holmes. *Micmac Quillwork: Micmac Indian Techniques of Porcupine Quill Decoration: 1600-1950*. Halifax: The Nova Scotia Museum, 1982.

inition as a distinctive and evolving fine art of world class.

The better known Indian market crafts have aroused competition from non-Indian makers. There are factory-made pseudo-Navajo rugs and silver jewelry and pseudo-Indian beaded moccasins, and non-Indian artists and printmakers have sometimes adopted Indian motifs and Indian forms.

Conservation of Indian crafts depends on several factors. Uses for the products must continue or develop. Indians will make things for their own use as long as manufactured goods are not adequate substitutes; the crafts will continue to be recognizably Indian as long as the uses are distinctively Indian. The non-Indian market is also important. The motives of consumers in this market are rarely practical, since manufactured goods are usually cheaper and easier to obtain. Craft products mainly serve decorative and aesthetic functions, as items of clothing and jewelry, as household furnishings, and as art to be collected and displayed.

Successful crafts require special skills not quickly acquired. Traditional methods of instruction, mostly informal and by imitation and long practice, can however be supplemented. Classes in Indian crafts have often been organized by teachers and community developers, sometimes soliciting assistance from tribal elders with traditional knowledge. Non-traditional sources of knowledge and inspiration may also be called on. Marketing and craft specialists can sometimes advise on changes that may make craft products more attractive to non-Indians, increasing sales and thus encouraging the learning and practicing of traditional skills. The forms and colors of Cherokee and Choctaw river-cane baskets were modified in this way during the 1960s; the outside specialists could not improve upon the skilled traditional twilling technique, but they did suggest replacing commercial dyes with vegetable dyes and changing the shapes of baskets to meet the standards of a wider and wealthier market. Similarly, the traditional commercial dyes of Navajo rugs were supplemented in the 1940s and 1950s by the introduction of new (but local) vegetable dyes and new patterns suited to changed tastes in interior decoration. However, such improvements must stay within the boundaries of consumer recognition of Indian products. Obviously non-Indian techniques, forms, and materials often do not succeed even when the makers are identified as Indian.

The maintenance and revival of recognizably Indian crafts now depend partly on museum collections of traditional Indian objects and on published descriptions and illustrations of them. Anthropologists have sometimes aided in the renewal and preservation of craft traditions. In recent years non-Indian artists and folklorists have also assisted in educating both Indians and non-Indians about traditional Indian arts, as have Indian professional anthropologists, artists, and folklorists interested in Indian crafts. Demonstrations and sales by Indians at fairs and festivals, and museum exhibits of modern as well as older Indian arts and crafts, have played a role as well. The survival and development of traditional Indian crafts will continue to be affected by the state of knowledge among Indians and non-Indians, as producers and consumers of crafts, and as participants in America's multi-ethnic society.

Championing Crafts in the Workplace

by Archie Green

The ancient word “craft” holds intricate patterns of meaning which shift about as we turn from work to worker and custom to community. Dictionaries explicate “craft,” carrying it far back to Old Norse notions of strength, skill, dexterity, and artistry. Today, potters and weavers, quilters and carvers, and a multitude of other skilled artisans together breathe life into the joined language of work and art. Hence, crafts continue to be important while technological change alters work’s social setting, as craftspeople match their skills against computers and robots.

I see craft as a set of configurations within a personal kaleidoscope — each twist reveals new significance in old practices. Like other adults, I cannot dip far enough into memory to recall when I first heard the word “craft.” My father had learned harnessmaking in his youth, but had left his lumbercamp bench behind when trucks displaced oxen and draft horses. I have never looked nostalgically at the stable or leather shop; they belong too far back in family experience to touch me directly.

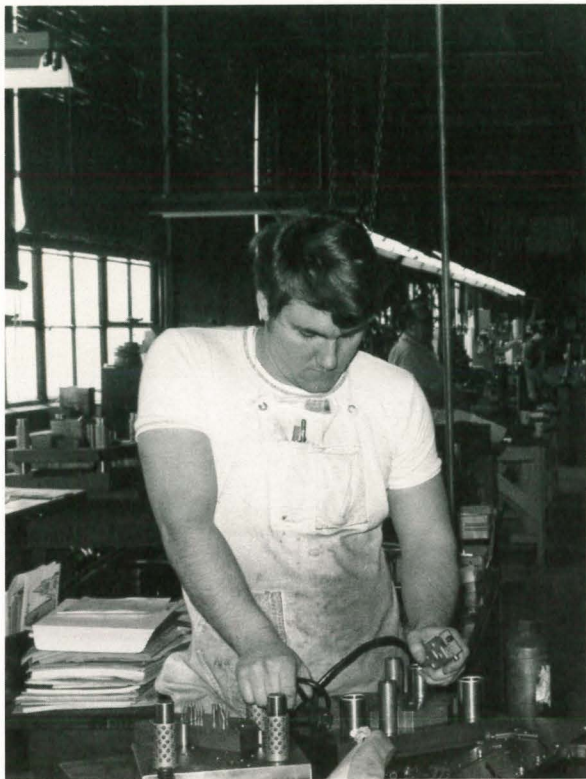
In college years, however, I knew that I, too, wanted to take up a skilled trade and to become a trade unionist to boot. Accordingly, in 1941 I began as a shipwright’s helper on the San Francisco waterfront. At once I plunged into the realm of old-country mechanics as crafty as Merlin, as wise as Solomon. The journeymen who took me in hand — Ben Carwardine, Art Scott, Billy Dean, Jimmy Allan, Jock McIvor — were Scots and Clydesiders.

My mentors had learned their skills in Scotland’s yards on the River Clyde, serving long apprenticeships in wood and steel. Also, some had sailed in the “black gang” on coal-fired steamers or on deck as seamen and ship’s carpenters. Bringing a sense of experiential reality to the ever-present abstract drawings in the shipyard, they knew that a vessel had to be buoyant, graceful, strong. To place a keel plate, to set a mast, or to shape deck camber was to strike a close bargain with Father Neptune.

The journeymen who introduced me to template and adze, to blueprint and maul, were members of Shipwrights, Joiners, and Boatbuilders Local 1149: United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. None, then, could separate craft skill from union consciousness. One observed trade and safety rules, guarded jurisdictional territory, and honored labor’s sense of solidarity. Apprentices with mechanical aptitude were pushed ahead; those with rhetorical capacity were encouraged to attend union meetings.

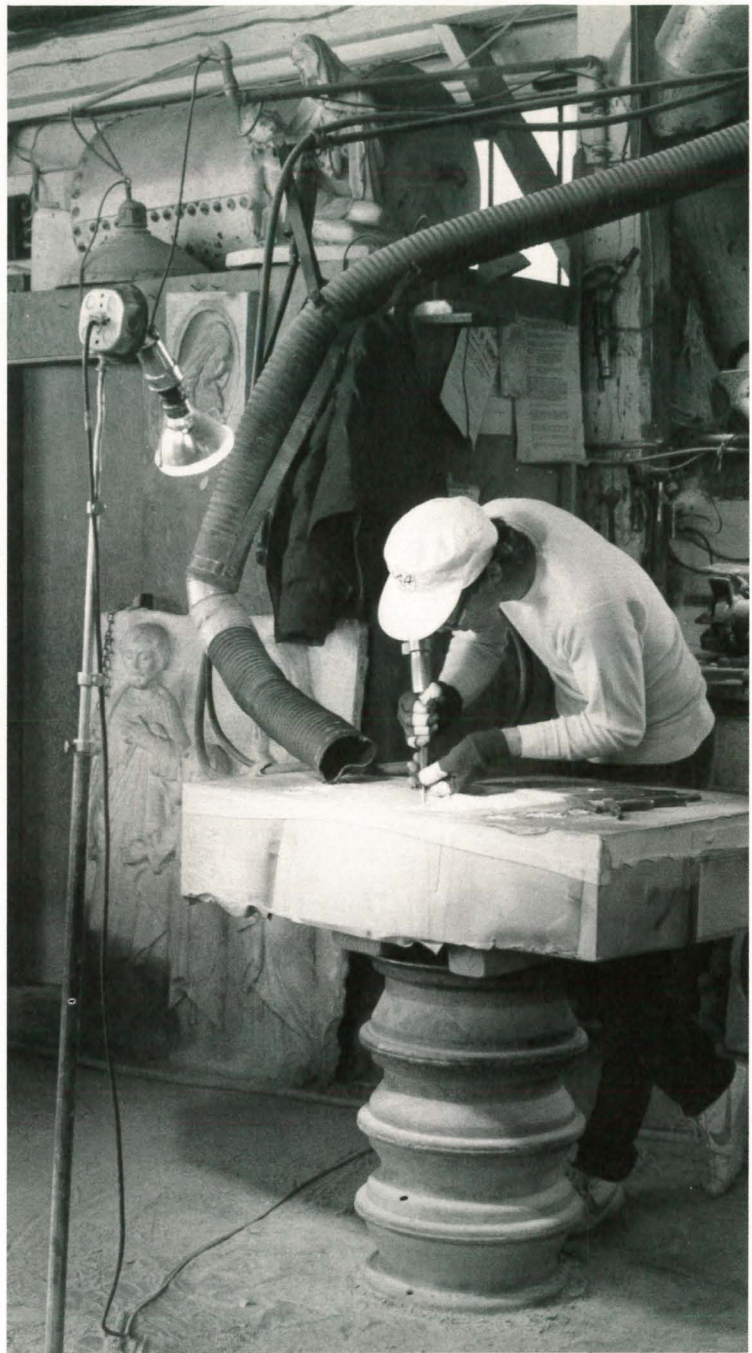
From the beginning, I faced the power of customary practice and expressive code on the job. Along with other learners I was told to wear blue, not white, overalls, for “housejacks” — construction carpenters distant from the docks — favored white overalls. In those

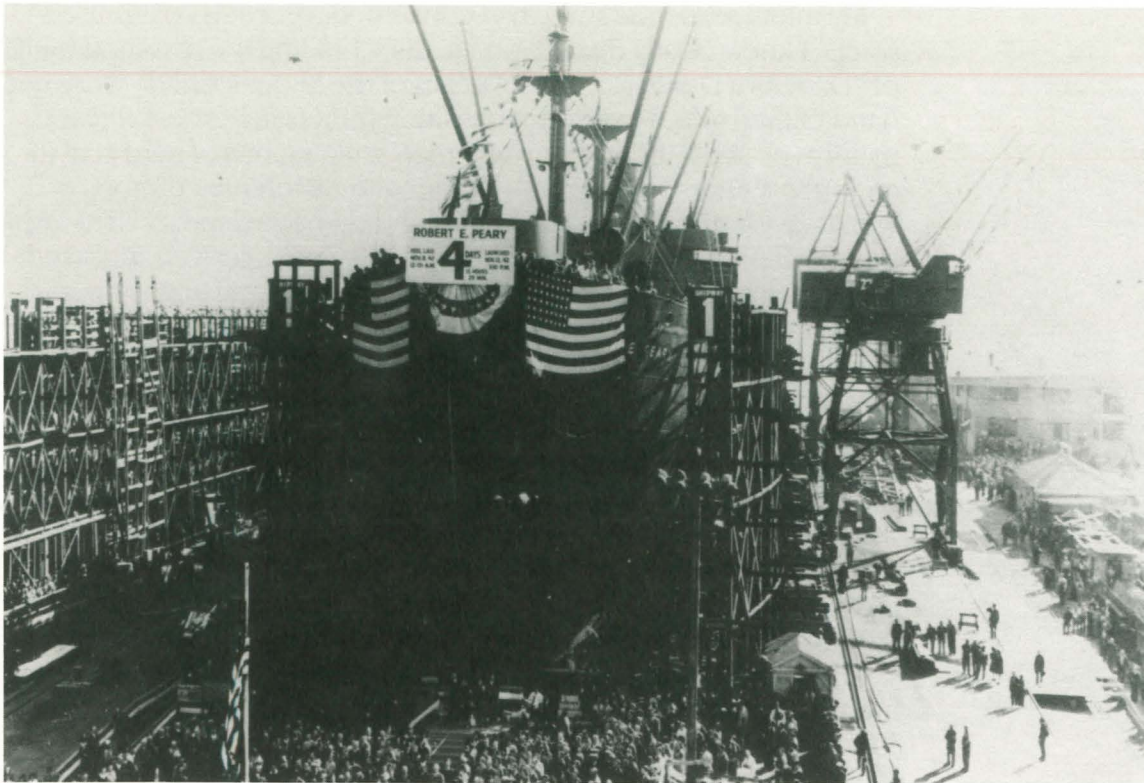
Archie Green retired in 1982 from teaching folklore at the University of Texas, Austin. During the decade 1967-1976 he lobbied for passage of the American Folklife Preservation Act. Currently he edits a multi-album (LPs) reissue set, Work’s Many Voices, which treats occupational culture and laborlore.



A journeyman machinist at work.
 Photo by Robert McCarl, Smithsonian Institution

Italian-American stone carver Gary Sassi carves
 a granite memorial in his father's stone shop,
 Celestial Memorial Granite Co. in Barre,
 Vermont.
 Photo by Marjorie Hunt, Smithsonian Institution





years no one had made hard hats mandatory. We wore visored white cotton caps common to the maritime trades. Elders told us to display our union buttons on these caps and admonished: “To be a shipwright, you gotta look like a shipwright.” We were proud to conform and belong.

I knew, of course, that friends in sister trades — boilermakers, electricians, steamfitters, riggers, cranemen — were similarly indoctrinated in job custom and union belief. The phrase “to shape up or ship out” resonated, for the hull towered above daily tasks. Beyond our launching basin we could see ships at anchor in the Bay — the fruit of our toil. To become a craftsman involved a symmetrical relationship between the hull’s growth on the ways* and one’s reach for personal maturity.

Pearl Harbor marked a watershed in rites of passage for trade craftsmen. Young men, usually indentured for long apprenticeships, were quickly advanced to journeymen status; young mechanics, overnight, became leadmen and foremen. Along with many waterfronters, I joined the Navy, continuing work in drydocks and on repair tenders across the Pacific to the Whangpoo River.

During post-War years I moved slowly into “uptown” building trades and subsequently to the academy. With new credentials as a folklorist, I shifted away from a focus on craft skill within modern industry to an attention to “old-fashioned” crafts within folk society. Like fellow scholars, I asserted frequently the importance of weaving and quilting. With other teachers, I tried an instructional formula: at home the quilt articulated beauty as it kept family members warm; on a museum wall, the same quilt commented upon the large society’s aesthetic codes and power relationships.

Built by skilled shipbuilders, the Robert E. Peary Liberty ship is ready on the launching ways, November 12, 1942.
Photo courtesy Department of Transportation, Smithsonian Institution

*way(s) — An inclined structure usually of timber upon which a ship is built or upon which a ship is supported in launching.

My initial academic study had concerned recorded coal-miners' songs. I knew clearly that the plastic discs holding the texts and tunes of "Dark As a Dungeon" and "Dream of the Miner's Child" were not hand-crafted gifts. However, on visiting miners at home, I did see handiwork and learned that some men sculpted bits of hard coal into art forms. Other coal diggers — working in maintenance shops or with heavy equipment — used welding rod or acetylene torch to fashion metal sculpture. In their transition from pick, shovel, and hand-drill to giant machines, miners often channeled craftsmanship into home hobby or surreptitious art.

During 1962 I met cowboy singer/storyteller/saddlemaker Glenn Ohrlin. As a folklorist, I helped him issue a recorded album of his songs while urging him ahead with his book, *The Hell-Bound Train*. Few teachers saw Glenn as a craftsman. Instead, they reserved this rubric for those working by hand, not upon the stage. Yet I knew intuitively that Ohrlin crafted every song he presented "back of the chutes" or on a festival platform. This cowboy's ease with song and saddle serves as an example of a folk artist from an occupational community who, everyday, defies norms for conceptualizing craft.

The word "craft" can hold no single meaning. At its core it will always convey strength and skill, but it cannot be restricted as a label for the medieval armorer, the handworker in a traditional society, the building or metal tradesman, the contemporary urban hobbyist, nor the fine arts practitioner functioning as a craft revivalist. Even in showing craftsmanship's array we know that a technological society, committed to rapid alteration in work, seldom pauses to honor the folk artisan. Hence, folklorists wisely focus their efforts to present traditionality in festival, monograph, and classroom.

Teachers must always explore the categories — conventional or pioneering — which govern their disciplines. Accordingly, I have been helped in the preservation/presentation of folklife by recalling the wise Clydesiders who taught me their craft. From them I learned to plumb a stern post on the ways and face controversy on a union floor. Later, from coal miners in Appalachia, I learned that demanding machines neither deskilled nor dehumanized all workers. Meeting Glenn Ohrlin, I learned that one who rode horseback for a living might also enjoy saddlemaking as a parallel to ballad singing.

Each turn of the kaleidoscope brings dazzling new patterns into sight, and each shift requires imaginative projection. In this manner, by turning and marveling, we rework fixed meanings for "craft" and its cognate terms. Old skills, newly explicated and employed, serve well to temper modernity. Time-tested values in craft artistry complement a community's wisdom. To have learned an ancient trade and to have championed craftlore on the campus and in the public sector is to have experienced the kaleidoscope's wonder.

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Ohrlin, Glenn. *The Hell-Bound Train*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.
"Apprenticeship: Past and Present." Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, 1982.

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- The Stone Carvers*, by Marjorie Hunt and Paul Wagner. 29 min. color sound. Paul Wagner Productions, Washington, D.C.

Tradition and Survival: Kmhmu Highlanders in America

by Frank Proschan

Most traditional cultures are intimately connected to the natural environment in which they are grounded — technical artifacts are shaped by the availability of materials and resources, and expressive and intellectual traditions are influenced by environment directly and through the mediation of those material objects. But what happens to a people's traditional life when they are uprooted, torn from their nurturing homeland and forced to flee across the globe? Such cultural disruption and dislocation are part of the heritage of many Americans — those whose ancestors left the savannahs of Africa or the steppes of central Europe, as well as Native Americans relocated from their ancestral homeland. When we look at these peoples today to discern the contributions that they have made to our common heritage of traditional crafts and folklife, we see cultural practices that have managed to survive over time. When our glance turns to those more recently arrived, however, we see the processes of cultural survival in action.

America's legacy of traditional crafts is a rich and vital one, but it is, in a sense, merely a small remainder of what once was. How can these two statements, seemingly contradictory, be uttered in the same breath? How can we balance the remarkable persistence of so many folk crafts and practices against the fragility and transitory nature of so many other folklife traditions? And, most important, what can we learn from the survival of traditional crafts in the United States, what lessons can folk craftspeople teach us regarding our own survival in a world where our enveloping environment is subject to a disruption so massive as to threaten our continued existence as a species? The experience of some of our newest neighbors, Kmhmu highlanders from northern Laos who have come to this country as refugees over the last dozen years, allows us to see in action the processes of accommodation and adaptation, of loss and replacement, of cultural traditions in a new environment.

The journey that brought the Kmhmu here began more than 30 years ago, when they and their cousins served as front-line troops for both sides in the battle of Dienbienphu, near Vietnam's border with Laos. The next decade saw a gradual but unending conquest of the hills of northern Laos by communist insurgents. Many of the Kmhmu now living here have been refugees since the early 1960s, when they fled their home villages in Muong Sai (north-central Laos) for internal refugee camps located in areas still under control of the Royal Lao Government.

In 1975, as Cambodia and then Vietnam fell to the communists, the pretense of a coalition government in Laos was dropped and



A Kmhmu weaves a bamboo basket.
Photo by Frank Proschan

Frank Proschan is a doctoral student in folklore at the University of Texas at Austin. Since 1983 he has been conducting field research among Kmhmu refugees in the United States, with support from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Social Science Research Council's Indochina Studies Program. His research focuses on Kmhmu verbal art in tales, songs, and ceremonies.



For Kmhmu in America, the annual New Year celebration provides an opportunity to practice traditions, such as playing the bamboo flute, that have few other performance occasions. Photo by Frank Proschan

Keo Rathasack spins cotton for the first time since she left Laos a decade ago. Photo by Frank Proschan



communist control was consolidated. The Kmhmu remained, but increasing taxes, crop losses, and fears for their own safety led many to cross the border into Thailand in the next few years. After two to four years waiting in the Thai refugee camps, those accepted for resettlement in this country took the last, largest step of their journey, leaving behind the rice fields and bamboo groves of Southeast Asia for the garden apartments and duplexes of Stockton and Richmond, California.

Despite the turmoil that characterized their lives in the refugee camps, the natural surroundings in which they found themselves were at least familiar to the Kmhmu. In Laos, they were able to reestablish farms and to practice their hunting and fishing traditions despite being moved from their home villages. In the camps in Thailand and the Philippines, space and mobility were both restricted, but every family had a garden plot to grow vegetables, and it was possible to leave the camps to get bamboo or other natural materials needed for one or another folk craft. But the Kmhmu realized that the journey to America would take them to new and unfamiliar surroundings. In the space of an overnight airplane flight, the Kmhmu would travel from a land of subsistence agriculture to one of post-industrial technology, from a land of water buffalo and canoes to one of automobiles and speedboats, from a land of stories and songs to one of television, and from a land of bamboo to one of plastics.

For most, it was difficult to anticipate what awaited them in their new homeland, so some would even lug 50 pounds of rice with them, skeptical that it could be obtained in modern-day America. Others had a better idea of what lay in store: preparing to leave the camps for their new lives, many Kmhmu affiliated with the Catholic Church. (As one explained, "We knew that in America we wouldn't have water buffalo to offer to the spirits, and we didn't want to be left unprotected.") Families that had carefully, over many generations, bred and selected vegetable strains for desirable qualities, brought along seeds of purple long-beans and tiny white eggplants, fiercely hot peppers and pungent herbs. Some brought heirlooms of silver or bronze, and a few had photographs of family and friends. They carried knives and tools, some musical instruments and cooking utensils. The most important thing they brought, many would now tell you, was their knowledge of Kmhmu tradition and belief, their sense of what it means to be a Kmhmu, their expertise in Kmhmu folklife, their technical skills in Kmhmu crafts. Despite



the radically different environment that awaited them in California, their traditional knowledge would survive, helping *them* to survive in the process.

Compared to other elements of traditional folklife, crafts are particularly dependent on natural resources. A story or song might be performed outside its normal context, and it can survive, relatively intact, even if the generating environment of its origin is remote. To be sure, Kmhmu children growing up in Stockton do not have first-hand knowledge of the red-necked gecko, *daaq throol*, who is said to have stolen his voice from the *tkam* mole. But when Kmhmu elder Ta' Cheu Rathasack tells the story, playing on the *brôdq* Jew's harp to demonstrate what the *daaq throol* sounds like, listeners can gain a sense of how the story fit into daily life in a Kmhmu village. What is much more difficult is to demonstrate the snare in which the *daaq* would be trapped, or to make the *pui* flute through which a young Kmhmu girl would answer her boyfriend's entreaties on the *brôdq*. The *pui* flute requires a long piece of *tlaa* bamboo, one of some 30 varieties of bamboo the Kmhmu can name. None are cultivated here, however, and few American varieties are suited to anything except landscaping.

For the Kmhmu in Laos, no part of their natural environment was more crucial than bamboo. It was used for baskets and fish traps, mouth organs and percussion orchestras, foodstuff and utensils, house-building and rice-planting, ceremonial paraphernalia and marriage contracts. When it was not itself the primary material for a folk craft, it was still necessary to make the tools to fashion some other material. Kmhmu textile crafts, for instance, require bamboo for the spinning wheel and the backstrap loom on which cotton is transformed from boll to shoulder bag. No matter how much they knew about what to expect from life in their new country, no

Several members of the Kmhmu community from Stockton, California, demonstrated their craft traditions as part of the Cultural Conservation program at the 1985 Festival of American Folklife.

Photo by Kim Nielsen, Smithsonian Institution

Kmhmu ever dreamed of living in a land without bamboo.

How, then, do Kmhmu crafts fare, uprooted from the natural context in which they had evolved over centuries? And what motivates Kmhmu artisans to perpetuate their craft traditions when deprived of the resources on which those crafts depend? Kmhmu in California will drive three hours to get the rice husks they need for the ceremonial rice wine, or spend weekends seeking out species of bamboo inferior to those they had known in Asia but needed as substitutes. They will struggle to adapt strange materials to familiar tasks, refusing to accept the notion that cultural bankruptcy is their inevitable future. What message does their stubborn tenacity hold for the rest of us, what place do they — and their craft traditions — have in the larger American society?

Visitors to the 1985 Festival of American Folklife had an opportunity to encounter Kmhmu craft traditions first-hand. A Kmhmu garden on the National Mall replicated the small plots that every family cultivates in Stockton, with snake gourds and bitter melons, winged beans and hot peppers. Alongside, a craftsman forged knives and swords, while another made a serviceable flute from some *Bambusa oldhamii*. Ta' Lay Sivilay fashioned bamboo into offertory baskets while his son Maw made hunting snares. A model Kmhmu house was constructed as were children's toy whirligigs. What Festival visitors did *not* see, however, was how the experience encouraged the participants to return home to the difficult task of maintaining those traditions away from the appreciative gaze of Washington viewers.

The forces that impel most Kmhmu elders to conserve their craft traditions are usually personal ones, difficult for them to enunciate in words and sometimes difficult for strangers to understand. It is easier to make a basket, despite all the difficulties in getting bamboo and rattan materials, than it is to explain *why* those difficulties must be transcended. And so most Kmhmu are content to persist in their traditions, usually invisible to the larger community, steadfast in their confidence that even if they are unable to explain why it is so important to do so, they have no choice but to continue. If pressed, they will say that they do it for their children, or for their new neighbors, so that they will know what it is to be a Kmhmu, and what it was like to live in their homeland of Laos. If pressed a little further, they will acknowledge that they also do it for themselves, because they know that the survival of their folk traditions is vital to their survival as human beings. For Kmhmu in America, as for so many other traditional craftspeople, cultural conservation is necessary because there is no other alternative.

Suggested reading

Izickowitz, Karl Gustav. *Lamet: Hill Peasants in French Indochina*. New York: AMS Press, 1979.

Lindell, Kristina, Hakan Lundstrom, Jan-Olof Svantesson, and Damrong Tayanin. *The Kammu Year: Its Lore and Music*. London: Curzon Press, 1982.

Lindell, Kristina, Jan-Ojvind Swahn, and Damrong Tayanin. *Folk Tales from Kammu—III: Pearls of Kammu Literature*. London: Curzon Press, 1984.

Roux, Henri and Tran Van Chu. *Les Tsa Kbmui*. Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient 27(1927):169-222.

Hmong Textiles and Cultural Conservation

by Marsha MacDowell

Our cultures are so different. . . . It is difficult since we are not Americans. We were not born here, we have migrated here. There is no good way for us [elders] to look to the future . . . the only way is through the young. It is the hope of all the heads of the families that the youngest sons and daughters will learn so that they will help us.

— Neng Vang, Hmong refugee, Lansing, Michigan

The Hmong, a tribal people from highland Laos, are recent immigrants to the United States. During the Vietnam War, many Hmong villagers were recruited by the United States to fight against the communist forces in Laos. When the United States forces withdrew from Vietnam and Laos, the Hmong became the target of violent reprisals by the Lao government, and thousands of Hmong were forced to flee across the Mekong River to seek refuge in Thailand. Now almost 50,000 Hmong live in semi-permanent Thai refugee camps, where they await church, civic, or family sponsorship for resettlement in France, the United States, or other countries.

Like the many immigrants and refugees who settled this country before them, the Hmong brought with them a distinctive and highly developed traditional culture, including an elaborate textile tradition called *paj ntaub*, or “flower cloth,” comprised of embroidery, appliqué, and batik work. For centuries the Hmong have been closely identified with a strong textile tradition. According to one ethnographic study, the Hmong at one time referred to themselves as *M’peo*, or “embroidery people.” This association with a needlework tradition persists today. Because the skill, patience, and diligence required in making textiles has been transportable, it has made it easier for the Hmong to continue their textile production in the face of cultural disruption and displacement. The form and meaning of Hmong handicrafts have changed, however, because of the pressures exerted on traditional Hmong ways of life by the totally new and different American social and economic context.

In Laos, the Hmong were subsistence farmers — an independent, economically self-sufficient tribal people. The production and use of textile arts was an integral part of everyday and ceremonial life. The creation of *paj ntaub* was associated with the ceremonial cycles of the village and with rites of passage, such as birth, marriage, and death. Hmong babies were carried in intricately decorated backpacks; their first toys were small mobiles made of *paj ntaub* and beads. Decorated pieces of clothing were exchanged as forfeits during the new year’s courting games. A woman sewed special squares of *paj ntaub* for her parents to be buried with them. In their highland villages, *paj ntaub* was also a major expression of a woman’s initiative, hard work, and creativity. In preparation for a special holi-

Marsha MacDowell received her doctorate in education at Michigan State University. For the past 12 years she has served as Curator of Folk Arts at the Michigan State University Museum and is now an Assistant Professor in Agriculture Extension and Education. She has directed a variety of state folk arts projects, including several focusing on the Michigan Hmong.



Pang Xiong Sirirathasuk teaches young Hmong apprentices the techniques of applique and embroidery during the 1985 Philadelphia *Paj Ntaub* Apprenticeship Program. Photo by Chakarin Sirirathasuk, courtesy Hmong Community Folklife and Documentation Project

day, a young girl might spend a whole year creating an elaborate piece of *paj ntaub* for her costume, an effort which would command great respect, recognition, and praise.

However, as the Hmong experienced cultural displacement, the conditions for making and using traditional *paj ntaub* also went through changes. In the Thai refugee camps the Hmong were divorced from their traditional occupations as subsistence farmers. Upon arriving in the United States they became immersed in a post-industrial, high-technology society where they lacked the language and technical skills necessary to find a job. In an effort to promote alternative means for supporting their families in these new contexts, the Hmong have been encouraged to make use of their traditional textile skills — first by missionaries and refugee camp workers in Thailand, later by sponsors and social workers. Under the direction of CAMA (Christian and Missionary Alliance) and other groups, Hmong have been supplied with materials and given suggestions for producing and marketing such non-traditional Hmong articles as aprons, wall-hangings, pillow covers, and bookmarks. Still, such items relied heavily on the traditional geometric and abstract Hmong motifs and patterns.

The differences in items made for Hmong people and those for non-Hmong are considerable. The most notable changes have been: the use of colors, such as blues and beiges, to match those popularly used in American home interiors; the enlargement of stitches and patterns to reduce production time; and the use of new designs, such as quilt patterns and floral motifs more familiar to a Western audience. Although many of these changes have been prompted by outsiders, Hmong women themselves have been consciously changing their textiles to attract new buying audiences.

As refugee camp workers sought new products to market they began to encourage the Hmong to use their needlework skills to represent scenes from traditional Hmong culture as well as from their recent experiences. Templates were drawn up and sample pictorial cloths or textiles were produced so that the images and words could be easily copied. Thus an almost formulaic format to these textiles emerged, one which can be grouped into several styles according to their pictorial content. Portraying a narrative text or a sequence of activities, they depict Hmong folk tales, scenes of traditional activities remembered from their Laotian homeland, recollections of the war and the exodus to the Thai camps, and descriptions of the events associated with their immigration to the United States.

At first, this type of textile was sold primarily to non-Hmong, who were either especially interested in southeast Asian culture or who had had direct experience with the Hmong. Now, however, Hmong have begun to display these pieces in their own homes and cultural centers, as visual props which help explain their history and traditions. The textiles clearly demonstrate a mastery of community knowledge and technical skills — both achieved through a lifetime of practice. They summarize a knowledge of activities, objects and events with which only Hmong of a certain age group have had experience. In several instances it has been observed that the pictorial embroideries, like family photograph albums, serve as memory aids in helping some Hmong to reconstruct their past.



A Hmong girl wears her traditional White Hmong ceremonial clothing for the New Year's festivities in Hunting Park, North Philadelphia, 1985. Photo by Chakarin Sirirathasuk, courtesy Hmong Community Folklife and Documentation Project

Suggested readings

Campbell, Margaret, Nakorn Pongnoi and Chesak Voraphitak. *From the Hands of the Hills*. Hong Kong: Media Transasia, 1978.

Dewhurst, C. Kurt and Marsha MacDowell, eds. *Michigan Hmong Arts*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Museum, 1984.

Downing, Bruce and Douglas Olney, eds. *The Hmong in the West*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1982.

Hmong Art: Tradition and Change. Sheboygan, Wisconsin: John Michael Kohler Arts Center, 1986.

Johnson, Charles, ed. *Myth, Legends and Folk Tales from the Hmong of Laos*. St. Paul: Macalester College, 1985.

Suggested films

Great Branches, New Roots, by Rita LaDox, Kathleen Laughlin and Nancy Haley. 42 min. color sound. Hmong Film Project, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1983.

Miao Year, by William Geddes. 16mm, 90 min. University of California, Extension Media Center, Berkeley, California, 1976.

Contact with western refugee workers prompted the initial production of these pictorial textiles and has since influenced all aspects of production and marketing. But, true to their reputation as adaptable people, the Hmong have begun to use this traditional medium to conserve their own cultural knowledge, while producing income and providing information to outsiders. By marketing and exhibiting these pictorial and narrative textiles, non-literate Hmong artists have been able to express vital individual and community knowledge and provide a visual record for future generations of Hmong. The validity of content within these narrative textiles and the long-range implications of their use in preserving Hmong cultural knowledge are only now beginning to be recognized and studied.

As Hmong elders and younger Hmong work hard together to record and preserve their past, they will succeed in finding alternative ways to maintain their cultural traditions. Perhaps it is true that, for Hmong elders such as Neng Vang, the hope of the future is in the hands of the young, but it is evident that young and old alike are struggling with the responsibility of preserving their cultural heritage.

Afro-American Quilters from the Black Belt Region of Alabama

A Photo Essay by Roland Freeman

The Clinton Community Club of the Retired Senior Volunteer Program meet to quilt together at the community center in Eutaw, Alabama. Left to right, seated: Edna Mae Rice, Addie M. Pelt, Gertrude Eatman. Left to right, standing: Juliette Noland, Mary Jones, Mary Crawford, Louella Craig, Mary Freeman, Martha Ann Busby, Ethel Mae Barnes, Margreat Rice, Fannie L. Edwards, and Annie Mobley.



The Clinton Community Club of the Retired Senior Volunteer Program piecing quilts together at the community center in Eutaw, Alabama. Left to right: Mary Freeman, Fannie L. Edwards, Annie Mobley, Ethel Mae Barnes, Mary Jones, Mary Crawford, and Louella Craig.



Roland Freeman is a documentary photographer conducting research in Black culture throughout the African Diaspora. Since 1972, he has been a field research photographer for the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife.



Mamie McKinstry's quilts airing on the clothesline.



Mable Means piecing a quilt in her living room.

Three generations of quilters in one family. Left to right: Mary K. Williams demonstrating quilting to her daughter, Delois Ann Smith, and her granddaughter, LaChandria Smith.



Mamie McKinstry storing her quilts in a trunk.





Delois Ann Smith with her mother, Mary K. Williams, and her daughter, LaChandria Smith, who is peeking from under the right-hand corner of the quilt.



Minnie Kimbrough resting with a quilt made by her mother.

Lucius and Mary Scarbrough relax in bed under the double wedding ring quilt made by Mrs. Scarbrough and her daughter, Geraldine Scarbrough Atmore.



George and Beatrice Gosa relaxing on their couch under quilts.





Beatrice Gosa in her front yard.



George Gosa resting under a quilt made by his aunt.



Flower basket quilt made by Mary L. Scarbrough and her mother, Charity Noland Shambley.



Chanta Powell sleeping in bed under a quilt.

Annie Lee Harris's quilt storage trunk.



Musical Performance at the Festival: Developing Criteria

By Thomas Vennum, Jr. and
Nicholas Spitzer

Since its inception in 1967, the annual Festival of American Folklife has had musical performance at the core of its programming. While crafts, foodways and other facets of folklife continue to be integral parts of the Festival, musical performance unquestionably attracts the immediate attention of the casual passersby and draws the largest crowds. Recognizing its essential role, we have often enhanced its prominence within the program through such events as evening concerts and dance parties. At this year's 20th anniversary of the Festival, a special music stage offers a retrospective—a cross-section of the musical styles and performers presented at the Festival in previous years. This would seem an apt time to review the criteria of choice, which have shaped our musical programs over the years.

Music in one form or another provides enjoyment for nearly everyone. Most people develop their musical tastes early in life. Some perform it with varying degrees of talent; only a handful study its technical or historical side seriously. People generally restrict themselves to their subjective reactions of liking or disliking a particular performance or style. And while most of us *like* the music with which we are familiar, rarely do we think about it beyond its entertainment value to recognize symbolic meanings of music in ritual contexts and celebrations or its use in expressing collective identities. This deeper role music often plays is important to stress, particularly in today's world where the mass media so often shape the public's musical opinions. Most Americans are constantly exposed to only those musical styles selected, created and manipulated by the recording, radio, and television industries. Because of this, many unmarketable musical traditions have been eclipsed or allowed to become extinct, *not* because they lacked validity or richness, but simply because they were largely outside the commercial system.

One aim, then, of the Office of Folklife Programs is to enhance the public's musical understanding by presenting neglected performance traditions which, in turn, can encourage their appreciation "back home." The Smithsonian is in a unique position to do this under its general mandate for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge." Thus it is with considerable care that we research and select the performance traditions to be offered and the persons to present these traditions and performers to the public. When we do this successfully, audiences become more receptive to enjoying new

tastes and are encouraged to pursue traditions beyond those offered on radio and television.

What criteria does the Office of Folklife Programs use in identifying folk music? The debate over what constitutes some "authentic" folk music is a continuing one. Organizers of early folk festivals, in seeking out what they felt to be true folk music, sometimes chose to focus upon stylized interpretations of folk traditions by well-meaning "folk-pop" performers outside the culture. Others selected only archaic traditions which reflected their own restricted, somewhat romantic view. Folk singers to them, for example, were only to be found in some relatively isolated rural area. The notion that a folk music tradition might be viable in the midst of a large city was foreign to some, and they tended to ignore the many urban ethnic musics whose richness we have since come to recognize at our Festivals such as Greek-American, Italian-American, and Polish-American among others. The debate was given focus by the eminent American musicologist Charles Seeger in the 1960s when he pioneered an attempt to describe all musical activity by dividing it into four categories, which he called "music idioms": tribal, professional, folk, and popular. Seeger readily admitted that these were not sharply defined categories, that there were hybrid, grey areas between them; still, much of what he wrote at the time is a useful starting point for anyone considering the problem.

Seeger was principally concerned with the social dimension of music in culture, who its audience was, and the mode of training of the tradition bearers. Some of his arguments are important here, as the criteria we apply have in part evolved from them. The professional (e.g., "classical") idiom Seeger sees as lying outside the mainstream of musical activity; its composers are constantly striving for stylistic innovation, and their products are mainly based on theoretical and notational systems. At the other end of the spectrum is tribal music, which he considers to be principally functional music, where the performers are their own audience — an entire village, for example, singing ceremonial songs for a bountiful harvest. Though passed down orally, tribal music is intended to remain consistent over time. This tradition is consequently the most conservative of the four idioms.

In Seeger's view, folk music, originally associated with ethnic and regional groups as part of a national culture, is also conservative by nature. Based essentially (although not exclusively) on oral tradition, fewer of its genres involve a communal performance standard, in that its repertoire tends to be maintained through generations of certain families or is borne by only a handful of individuals in a community who perform informally. Like professional and popular music, the audience as receivers of the music is separated from the performers, but unlike professional and popular music, commercial mechanisms are not traditionally involved (symphony orchestra tickets, television sponsors, recording royalties). Like tribal music, folk music intends to conform to a tradition, but less exactly so than tribal music; it permits some innovation, but *within* the general style of the tradition, so that change is limited and slow.

Popular music, notes Seeger, is seen by musicologists and folklorists as a large repository controlled in part by non-musical com-

mercial interests, absorbing as the market demands from the other three idioms in the production and distribution of newly created products which, though widely disseminated, are often soon forgotten and easily replaced.

As part of its general commitment to cultural conservation, the Office of Folklife Programs is less oriented toward the consciously innovative musical traditions represented by Seeger's professional and popular idioms. Instead, our programming has included performances from the folk and tribal idioms. In acknowledging Seeger's grey areas, we are aware of the problem of rigid definitions. Usually, however, it is more a matter of degree than substance. Among the Pima and Tohono O'odham (formerly called Papago) Indians of Arizona, for example, are several musical traditions — among them their ceremonial music, which can properly be considered tribal; their secular pan-Indian powwow dance music, which in essence functions as folk music; and a hybrid style of music called "Chicken Scratch," or *waila*, which uses non-Indian musical instruments (saxophone, accordion, traps), rhythms, melodies and song forms reflecting a melange of cultural influences — Mexican, German, Bohemian — but a performance style which has distinctively Indian qualities to it. In effect, for these peoples, such music functions today as their "popular" social Saturday night dance music in local nightspots. Still, Chicken Scratch has been repeatedly featured at a number of "folk" festivals, including the Smithsonian's. This is cited as an example because it suggests that there are no hide-bound rules in selecting performance traditions. Chicken Scratch is accepted as appropriate, being considered a relatively "new" folk tradition, perhaps less than a century old, and uniquely restricted to one group of people, and certainly worthy of exposure in a national forum, as it demonstrates well how synthesizing forces have operated to reflect the cultural history of a certain region.

The problem of recognizing musical traditions as being truly "folk" is admittedly complex. Beginning with the folk music revival in the 1950s many people began consciously to apply themselves to learning what they perceived as archaic and "authentic" American rural traditions. This revival has never fully tapered off, as many today continue to take up the dulcimer, banjo or blues guitar. Additionally, since then, revival interest has been sparked in various ethnic traditions, so that, regardless of one's own ancestry, a love of Irish music might induce, say, a German-American to take up the penny-whistle and learn Irish jigs, housewives to study the Japanese *koto*, or university students to play in the music department's Balinese *gamelan*. This ability to cross cultures musically has occurred largely in this century, as "bi-musicality" has emerged through cultural contact, the media and study of ethnomusicology. A number of gifted performers have become outstanding carriers of traditions into which they were not born.

While Seeger's criteria were a useful starting point, we continue to develop criteria for recognizing appropriate tradition bearers to present at the Festival. Expanding upon Seeger's criteria to include increasingly layered and reflexive communication and aesthetic systems, we broaden our search for appropriate folk performers. Questions we address are increasingly less involved with the particular

idiom or category a performer falls into. Instead, we pay attention to the degree a particular tradition is reflective of the value and aesthetic systems *controlled* by its home community. What impact have these culture bearers had with their home audiences? Are the roots of certain popular styles today still alive, have they mingled with other styles, and where do we find them? For instance, the many commercial white blues bands so popular today owe the very essence of their style to those often relatively unknown Black Delta bottleneck guitar and piano performers who moved into northern cities. Many of them are still viable musicians and appropriate to perform at the Festival of American Folklife.

A few examples show the sort of selection decisions we would make (in some cases have made), were we presented with options from within a given culture, country, or state. We would opt for: Japanese *min'yo* (folk) performers over *koto* ensembles (classical); Indian *sarangi* players (folk) instead of *sitar* performers (classical); mountain string bands from Appalachia in place of commercial bluegrass groups; unaccompanied Anglo-American ballad singers (oral tradition) rather than guitar-accompanied quasi-operatic ballad singers who have learned "Barbara Allen" from sheet music; a Swiss farmer's orchestra (folk) over a Swiss men's civic chorus featuring yodelling (professional, arranged, directed); a Black country or city blues guitarist before a pop rhythm and blues performer.

Clearly, then, each performance tradition must be carefully considered on its own, but within a wider context of world music traditions. Only this way can the Festival hope to provide the equal time badly needed by many musics if they are to survive what folklorist Alan Lomax has called the "cultural grey-out" which threatens the many-hued pluralism of world music.

20th Annual Festival of American Folklife



Festival Hours

Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held on the Tennessee music stage at 11:00 a.m., Wednesday, June 25. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties every evening, except July 4, 5:30 to 7:00 p.m.

Food Sales

Traditional Tennessee and Japanese food will be sold. See the site map for locations.

Sales

A variety of crafts, books and records relating to the 1986 Festival programs will be sold in the Museum Shops tents on the Festival site.

Press

Visiting members of the press are invited to register at the Festival Press tent on Madison Drive at 12th Street.

First Aid

An American Red Cross mobile unit will be set up in a tent near the Administration area near 12th Street on Madison Drive. The Health Units in the museums of American History and Natural History are open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

Rest Rooms

There are outdoor facilities for the public and disabled visitors located in all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional restroom facilities are available in each of the museum buildings during visiting hours.

Telephones

Public telephones are available on the site opposite the museums of American History and Natural History, and inside the museums.

Lost and Found/ Lost Children and Parents

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer tent in the Administration area. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer tent also. We advise putting a name tag on youngsters.

Bicycle Racks

Racks for bicycles are located at the entrances to each of the Smithsonian museums.

Metro Stations

Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible to either the Smithsonian or Federal Triangle stations on the Blue/Orange line.

Services for Disabled Visitors

Sign language interpreters will be available at the Festival each day in a specified program area. See schedule for particulars. Oral interpreters will be available upon advance request if you call (202) 357-1696 (TDD) or (202) 357-1697 (voice). There are a few designated parking spaces for disabled visitors at various points along both Mall drives. These spaces have the same time restrictions as other public spaces on the Mall.

Dance Parties

Dance bands performing traditional music will perform on the 20th Anniversary Music Stage every evening, except July 4, from 5:30 to 7:00 p.m.

Film Series

A series of documentary films on traditional crafts in the United States and Japan will be shown daily in the National Museum of Natural History, Baird Auditorium. See schedule for details.

Program Book

Background information on the traditions presented at the Festival is available from the Program Book on sale for \$3.00 at the Festival site, or by mail from the Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institution, 2600 L'Enfant Plaza S.W., Washington, D.C. 20560.

Festival Staff

Director, Office of Folklife

Programs: Peter Seitel

Festival Director: Diana Parker

Japan Program Curator:

Alicia Mariá González

Program Coordinator:

Susan Asai

Coordinator in Japan:

Kozo Yamaji

Assistant Program Coordinator: Karen Brown,

Todd DeGarmo

Fieldworkers: Susan Asai,

Todd DeGarmo, Ralph

Samuelson, Kozo Yamaji

Architect: Shun Kanda

Assistant Architect: Greg Knowles

Smithsonian Liaison in

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Festival Aide: Ellen

Shohara

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Ryuta Imafuku, Yoko

Kurokawa, Diedre

Lammers, Leila Philips,

Yoko Pusavat, Barbara

Stephan, Setsuro Tagami

Photo Research: Todd

DeGarmo

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Spitzer

Program Coordinator:

J. Mark Kenoyer

Assistant Program Coordinator: Francesca McLean

Foodways Coordinator:

Phyllis M. May

Clerk/Typist: Cecily Cook

Fieldworkers: Richard

Blaustein, Greg Bow-

man, Roby Cogswell,

David Evans, Robert

Fulcher, Robert Gates,

Bill Kornrich, Tommie

Lewis, Phyllis M. May,

Nancy Michael, Lisa

Moody, Jay Orr, Judy

Peiser, Richard Raichel-

son, Doug Seroff,

Merikay Waldvogel,

Charles Wolfe

Presenters: Drew Beiss-

wenger, Betty Belanus,

Roby Cogswell, Robert

Fulcher, Joyce M. Jack-

son, Peter Lowry, Phyllis

M. May, Jay Orr, Barry Lee

Pearson, Elizabeth

Peterson, Tom Rankin,

Nicholas Spitzer, Joseph

T. Wilson

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Assistant Program Coordinator: Ann Dancy

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Henry Glassie, Bess

Hawes, Alan Jabbour,

Suzi Jones, Ralph

Rinzler, William Sturte-

vant, Robert Teske,

John Vlach

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Robert Hart, Myles Lib-

hart, Leslie Prosterman,

Geoff Stamm, Nancy

Sweezy, Terry Zug

Fieldworkers: Jane Beck,

Carole Boughter,

Charles Briggs, David

Brose, Charlie Camp,

Doug DeNatale, Roland

Freeman, Margaret

Hardin, Marjorie Hunt,

Geraldine Johnson,

Phyllis M. May, Sally

Peterson, Jim Ustler

Presenters: Jane Beck,

Charles Briggs, Carole

Boughter, David Brose,

Olivia Cadaval, Charlie

Camp, Doug DeNatale,

Betty DuPree, Etta Edwards, Gladys-Marie Fry, Rayna Green, Geraldine Johnson, Alice Killackey, Helen Lucero, Phyllis M. May, Sally Peterson, Gregory Sharrow, John Vlach
Festival Aide: Gretchen Frick

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Program Coordinator: Joanne Mulcahy

Committee Chairman, Association of Trial Lawyers of America: Bruce Desfor

Consultants: Germaine Ingram, Harold Rosenthal, Barry Scheck, Laura Schrager, Lawrence Schwartz, Herbert Shore, Edward Stein

Fieldworker: Samuel Schrager

Presenters: Germaine Ingram, Harold Rosenthal, Barry Scheck, Edward Stein

Special Session Presenter: Rayna Green

20th Anniversary Music Program Curators: Nicholas Spitzer, Thomas Vennum, Jr.

Consultant: Phyllis May
Program Coordinator: Arlene Liebenau

Presenters: Horace Boyer, Dan Sheehy, Nicholas Spitzer, Thomas Vennum, Jr.

Dance Parties Coordinator: Peter Magoon

Consultant: Phyllis M. May

Presenters: Bobby Fulcher, Jay Orr, Dan Sheehy, Nicholas Spitzer

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Designer: Daphne Shuttleworth

✓*Assistant Designer:* Joan Wolbier

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Technical Coordinator: Richard Derbyshire

Assistant Technical Coordinator: Vandon Mertz

Grounds Crew Chiefs: Beth Curren, Carl Zwanzig

Grounds Crew: Christopher Anderson, Eric Annis, James Batchelder, Dennis Baylor, Donald Boyce, Robin Galbraith, Kory May, Paul McFarland, Terry Meniefield, Elizabeth Morris, Noaa Shareak, Jimmie Strong, Tyrone Stuart, Raphael Worrick

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Assistant Participant Coordinators: Daniel Center, Wanda Montgomery, Carolyn Weary

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Volunteer Coordinator: Tinika Ossman

Assistant Volunteer Coordinator: Sukanya Mukherji

Chief Volunteers: Bob Attarde (Loggers), Annie Bell (Tennessee, Music Stage, Dance Parties), Mary Cliff (Evening Hospitality), Taeko Goto (Japan), Linda Groff (Visitors' Hospitality), Catherine Jacobs (Cultural Conservation, American Trial Lawyers), Pete Manos (Driver), Johari Rashad (Participants' Hospitality), Nicole Ruffine (American Trial Lawyers), Nancy Beth Stollnitz (Program Sales & Information), Carolyn Ware (Tennessee, Music Stage, Dance Parties), Neville Waters (Driver)

Supply Coordinator: Sallie Bodie

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✓*Logistics Coordinator:* Dorothy Neumann

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✓*Festival Aide:* Ed Nolin

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Freeman v. Amerifun
Earl Strickland
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of John Peter Zenger*
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Stage and Dance Parties
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Japan: Rice in Japanese Folk Culture
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The Tennessee Program has been
made possible by Tennessee Home-
coming '86, a yearlong statewide
celebration.

American Trial Lawyers is supported
by a two-year grant from the Associa-
tion of Trial Lawyers of America.

Cultural Conservation: Traditional
Crafts in a Post-Industrial Age has
been made possible in part by the
generous support of the Laborers'
International Union of North America
and the National Italian-American
Foundation, in memory of Andrew E.
Bernasconi.

The 20th Anniversary Music Stage and
Dance Parties have been made pos-
sible by the generous support of the
Music Performance Trust Funds, a
non-profit organization created by
U.S. recording companies to fund live
and free performances. Trustee:
Martin A. Paulson

Wednesday, June 25

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the Tennessee area.

20th Anniversary

Japan Program

				Children's Area			Ongoing Presentations	Shrine Stage		
		Rice Paddy	Craft Demon-strations	Taiko Drum Stage	Activities Stage	Craft Area				
11:00									11:00	
12:00				Taiko Drum Workshop	Bon Festival Dance	Temari (hand-woven balls)		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)		
1:00	Irish Tradition	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)	Special Presenta-tion: Sakadaru (wine cask)		Traditional Games & Songs	Origami (paper folding)	Foodways: Mochi (rice cakes) Susbi (raw fish & vinegared rice) Bento (portable lunch) Tempura (deep-fried foods) Crafts: Waraninyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaiku (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls), Sakadaru (wine casks), Shigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)		
2:00	Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely				Bon Festival Dance	Kami ningyo (paper dolls)		Kagura (masked dance drama)	1:00	
3:00	Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four					Temari			2:00	
4:00	Cajun Music: Beausoleil		Special Presenta-tion: Waraninyo (rice-straw effigy)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Origami		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	3:00	
5:00	Gospel: Kings of Harmony				Bon Festival Dance	Kami ningyo			4:00	
5:30-7:00	Piedmont Blues: John & James Jackson	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)			Traditional Games & Songs	Temari		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)		
Dance Party	Cowboy Ballads: Brownie Ford		Special Presenta-tion: Somemono (dyeing)	Taiko Drum Workshop		Origami		Kagura (masked dance drama)	5:00	
						Kami ningyo				

American
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Cultural Conservation:
Traditional Crafts in a
Post-Industrial Age

Tennessee Program

Courtroom	Discussion Area	Ongoing Craft Demonstrations	Film Series		Stage 1 Tennessee Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Tennessee Talk	Presentations	Stage 3 Tennessee Music
				11:00					
				12:00					
Direct and Cross Examination	Zuni Olla Maidens	Demonstrations all day: Hispanic weaving, Stone carving, Afro-American quilting, Zuni pottery making, Southern pottery making, Hispanic wood-carving from New Mexico, Hmong needlework, Split-oak basket-making, Rag rug weaving, Cherokee basket-making Learning Center: The exhibition explores the ways in which traditional crafts-people preserve their cultural heritage			Old-Time String Band: Blizzard & Keys			Ongoing: Sawmilling, Moonshine Still, River Life, Hunting & Call making, Wood-carving, Instrument making, Chair-making, Cooperage, Broom-making, Anglo-American & Native American Basketry, Weaving, Anglo- and Afro-American Quilting, Boat making, Stone-masonry, Rolley Hole (a traditional marbles game), Chert Marble Making	Memphis Rhythm & Blues: The Fieldstones
	Conserving American Indian Crafts			1:00	Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill	Ongoing: A variety of foodways demonstrations representing Tennessee traditions including Barbecue; Afro-American; Anglo-American; Fish and Game Foods; Western and Eastern Tennessee Foods; Choctaw (Native American)			Memphis Rockabilly: Sun Rhythm Band
Opening Statement	The Lopez Family: Hispanic Woodcarvers from New Mexico		Living Treasures of Japan		Ballads: Hicks, Birchfield, Rector				Old-Time String Band: The Roan Mountain Hilltoppers
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Hmong Crafts: Conserving Cultural Heritage		Handmade Needles	2:00			Story-telling		Country Jazz String Band: Armstrong, Bogan & Armstrong
Direct and Cross Examination	McCrobies: Split-Oak Basket-makers		Bashofu Weaving		Country Songster: Roy Harper		Tennessee Regions		Sanctified Gospel: The Hemphill Singers
			Mashiko Village Pottery	3:00			Fishing, Turtle Trapping, & Cooking		Old-Time String Band: Frazier Moss Band
Closing Argument	Family Tradition: Southern Pottery				Banjo & Guitar Duo				Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet
	Zuni Olla Maidens			4:00	Country Gospel Duo: The Straightway Singers		Folk Medicine		
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Revival of Traditional Crafts: Cherokee Basketry				Country Blues: Garrett, Jones		Woodcrafts		
Direct and Cross Examination	Workshop Community: Stone Carvers			5:00	Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas		Barbecue		Memphis Barrelhouse Blues: B.T. Laury

Thursday, June 26

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the American Trial Lawyers area.

20th Anniversary

Japan Program

	Music Stage	Rice Paddy	Craft Demonstrations	Children's Area			Ongoing Presentations	Shrine Stage	
				Taiko Drum Stage	Activities Stage	Craft Area			
11:00									11:00
12:00	Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four			Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Origami (paper folding)		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	12:00
	Cowboy Ballads: Brownie Ford					Kami ningyo (paper dolls)			
1:00	Tex-Mex Conjunto: El Huracán del Valle	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)	Special Presentation: Warazaiku (rice-straw craft)		Bon Festival Dance	Temari (hand-woven balls)	Foodways: Mochi (rice cakes) Sushi (raw fish & vinegared rice) Bento (portable lunch) Tempura (deep-fried foods) Crafts: Waraningyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaiku (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls), Sakadaru (wine casks), Sbigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	1:00
2:00	Country Jazz String Band: Armstrong, Bogan & Armstrong				Traditional Games & Songs	Origami		Kagura (masked dance drama)	2:00
	Pueblo Music & Dance: San Juan Pueblo								
3:00	Piedmont Blues: The Jacksons		Special Presentation: Orimono (weaving)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Bon Festival Dance	Kami ningyo		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	3:00
	Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely							Temari	
4:00	Cajun Music: Beausoleil	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)			Traditional Games & Songs	Origami		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	4:00
	Gospel: Kings of Harmony							Bon Festival Dance	
5:00	Irish Tradition		Special Presentation: Wagasa (Japanese umbrella)	Taiko Drum Workshop				Kagura (masked dance drama)	5:00
5:30-7:00	Dance Party					Temari			
	Old-Time String Band: Roan Mtn. Hilltoppers								

**American
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**Cultural Conservation:
Traditional Crafts in a
Post-Industrial Age**

Tennessee Program

Courtroom	Discussion Area	Ongoing Craft Demonstrations	Film Series		Stage 1 Tennessee Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Tennessee Talk	Presentations	Stage 3 Tennessee Music
Jury Selection				11:00	Banjo & Guitar Duo		Hunting & Call Making		Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill
Direct and Cross Examination	Zuni Olla Maidens	Demonstrations all day: Hispanic weaving, Stone carving, Afro-American quilting, Zuni pottery making, Southern pottery making, Hispanic wood-carving from New Mexico, Hmong needlework, Split-oak basket-making, Cherokee basket-making Learning Center: The Cultural Conservation exhibition explores the ways in which traditional crafts-people strive to preserve their artistic and cultural heritage		12:00	Country Blues: Garrett, Jones		Shape Note Singing		Old-Time String Band: Blizzard & Keys
Closing Argument	Revival of Hispanic Crafts in New Mexico			1:00	Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas		Woodcrafts: Basketry	Ongoing: Sawmilling, Moonshine Still, River Life, Hunting & Call making, Wood-carving, Instrument making, Chair-making, Cooperage, Broom-making, Anglo-American & Native American Basketry, Weaving, Anglo- and Afro-American Quilting, Boat making, Stone-masonry, Rolley Hole (a traditional marbles game), Chert Marble Making	Memphis Rockabilly: Sun Rhythm Band
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Hmong Crafts: Conserving Heritage		The Stone Carvers		Old-Time String Band: The Roan Mountain Hilltoppers	Ongoing: A variety of foodways demonstrations representing Tennessee traditions including Barbecue; Afro-American; Anglo-American; Fish and Game Foods; Western and Eastern Tennessee Foods; Choctaw (Native American)	Tennessee Regions		Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet
	Rag Rug Weavers from Maryland		Slim Green: Saddlemaker	2:00			Quilting		
Direct and Cross Examination	Southern Pottery: Tradition in Change		Alex Stewart: Cooper		Country Songster: Roy Harper		Moonshine		Memphis Barrelhouse Blues: Booker T. Laury
	Master to Apprentice: Stone Carvers		In the Barnegat Bay Tradition	3:00	Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill		Rolley Hole & Marble Making		Old-Time String Band: Frazier Moss Band
Death Penalty Hearing	Zuni Olla Maidens			4:00	Country Songsters: Harper, Shipley		Folk Medicine		Sanctified Gospel: The Hemphill Singers
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Marketing Traditional Crafts: Cherokee Basketry				Old-Time String Band: Blizzard & Keys		Story-telling		Memphis Rhythm & Blues: The Fieldstones
Direct and Cross Examination	Family and Community: Black Quilters from Alabama			5:00	Country Gospel Duo: Straightway Singers		Rockabilly		Country Jazz String Band: Bogan & Armstrong

Friday, June 27

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the Cultural Conservation area.

20th Anniversary

Japan Program

	Music Stage	Rice Paddy	Craft Demonstrations	Children's Area			Ongoing Presentations	Shrine Stage	
				Taiko Drum Stage	Activities Stage	Craft Area			
11:00									11:00
12:00	Tex-Mex Conjunto: El Huracán del Valle			Taiko Drum Workshop	Bon Festival Dance	Kami ningyo (paper dolls)		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	12:00
	Country Jazz String Band: Armstrong, Bogan & Armstrong					Temari (hand-woven balls)			
1:00	Irish Tradition	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)	Special Presentation: Shigaraki pottery		Traditional Games & Songs	Origami (paper folding)	Foodways: Mocchi (rice cakes) Sushi (raw fish & vinegared rice) Bento (portable lunch) Tempura (deep-fried foods) Crafts: Waraningyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaiku (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls) Sakadaru (wine casks), Shigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	1:00
2:00	Gospel: Kings of Harmony				Bon Festival Dance	Kami ningyo		Kagura (masked dance drama)	2:00
	Cowboy Ballads: Brownie Ford								
3:00	Piedmont Blues: John & James Jackson		Special Presentation: Hariko Ningyo (papier mache)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Temari	Waraningyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaiku (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls) Sakadaru (wine casks), Shigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	3:00
	Pueblo Music & Dance: San Juan Pueblo					Origami			
4:00	Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)			Bon Festival Dance	Kami ningyo		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	4:00
5:00	Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four		Special Presentation: Takezaiku (bamboo craft)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Temari		Kagura (masked dance drama)	5:00
5:30-7:00	Dance Party					Origami			
	Cajun Music: Beausoleil								

**American
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**Cultural Conservation:
Traditional Crafts in a
Post-Industrial Age**

Tennessee Program

Courtroom	Discussion Area	Ongoing Craft Demonstrations	Film Series		Stage 1 Tennessee Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Tennessee Talk	Presentations	Stage 3 Tennessee Music
				11:00					
Jury Selection					Ballads: Hicks, Mcbee, Rector		Woodcrafts: Sleds & Wagons		Black Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four
	Zuni Olla Maidens			12:00					
Direct and Cross Examination	Conserving American Indian Crafts with New Institutions	Demonstrations all day: Hispanic weaving, Stone carving, Afro-American quilting, Zuni pottery making, Southern pottery making, Hispanic wood-carving from New Mexico, Hmong needlework, Split-oak basket-making, Cherokee basket-making	Special Presentation: Louise Cort, Center for Asian Art, Smithsonian Institution presents films on Japanese village pottery		Banjo & Guitar Duo		Occupational Lore: Stone & Sawyer		Old-Time String Band: The Roan Mountain Hilltoppers
Opening Statement	The Lopez Family: Hispanic Woodcarvers from New Mexico			1:00	Country Blues: Garrett, Jones		Fishing, Turtle Trapping & Cooking	Ongoing: Sawmilling, Moonshine Still, River Life, Hunting & Call making, Wood-carving, Instrument making, Chair-making, Cooperage, Broom-making, Anglo-American & Native American Basketry, Weaving, Anglo- and Afro-American Quilting, Boat making, Stone-masonry, Rolley Hole (a traditional marbles game), Chert Marble Making	Old-Time String Band: Frazier Moss Band
Stories from Native American Law	Hmong Crafts: Conserving Cultural Heritage			2:00	Old-Time String Band: Blizzard & Keys	Ongoing: A variety of foodways demonstrations representing Tennessee traditions including Barbecue; Afro-American; Anglo-American; Fish and Game Foods; Western and Eastern Tennessee Foods; Choctaw (Native American)	Gospel		Memphis Barrelhouse Blues: Booker T. Laury
Direct and Cross Examination	McCrobies: Split-Oak Basket-makers				Guitar Styles: Bogan/ Brown Garrett/ Harper/ Birchfield		Folk Medicine		Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet
	Family Tradition: Hispanic Weavers from New Mexico			3:00	Country Jazz String Band: Armstrong, Bogan & Armstrong		Harmonica Workshop		Sanctified Gospel: The Hemphill Singers
Closing Argument	Conserving Crafts in a Changing Economy: Southern Pottery	The Cultural Conservation exhibition explores the ways in which traditional crafts-people strive to preserve their artistic and cultural heritage		4:00	Country Songster: Roy Harper		Hunting, Call Making & Game Cookery		Memphis Rhythm & Blues: The Fieldstones
	Zuni Olla Maidens						Old-Time Radio		
Clarence Darrow and Legends of the Law				5:00	Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill		Story-telling		Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas
	Family and Community: Black Quilters from Alabama				Old-Time Strings: Frazier Moss Band		Instruments & Instrument Making		Memphis Rockabilly: Sun Rhythm Band

Saturday, June 28

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the 20th Anniversary Music Stage.

20th Anniversary

Japan Program

	Music Stage	Rice Paddy	Craft Demon- strations	Children's Area			Ongoing Presen- tations	Shrine Stage	
				Taiko Drum Stage	Activities Stage	Craft Area			
11:00									11:00
12:00	Irish Tradition			Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Temari (hand-woven balls)	Foodways: Mochi (rice cakes) Sushi (raw fish & vinegared rice) Bento (portable lunch) Tempura (deep-fried foods) Crafts: Waraninyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaiku (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls) Sakadaru (wine casks), Shigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	12:00
	Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)	Special Presentation: Sakadaru (wine cask)			Origami (paper folding)		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	
1:00	Tex-Mex Conjunto: El Huracán del Valle					Bon Festival Dance			Kami ningyo (paper dolls)
	Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four	Traditional Games & Songs	Temari						
2:00									
3:00	Pueblo Music & Dance: San Juan Pueblo		Special Presentation: Waraninyo (rice-straw effigy)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Bon Festival Dance	Origami		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	3:00
	Piedmont Blues: John & James Jackson					Kami ningyo			
4:00	Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)			Traditional Games & Songs			Temari	Min'yo (folk music from Akita)
	Gospel: Kings of Harmony					Bon Festival Dance		Origami	
5:00			Special Presentation: Somemono (dyeing)	Taiko Drum Workshop					
	Cajun Music: Beausoleil								
5:30-7:00	Dance Party								
	Memphis Rhythm & Blues: The Fieldstones								

**American
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**Cultural Conservation:
Traditional Crafts in a
Post-Industrial Age**

Tennessee Program

Courtroom	Discussion Area	Ongoing Craft Demonstrations	Film Series		Stage 1 Tennessee Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Tennessee Talk	Presentations	Stage 3 Tennessee Music
				11:00					
Direct and Cross Examination					Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill		Tennessee Regions		Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet
	Zuni Olla Maidens			12:00	Old-Time String Band: Frazier Moss Band		Women in Blues and Gospel		Country Jazz String Band: Armstrong, Bogan & Armstrong
Closing Argument	Conserving American Indian Crafts: Zuni Pottery	Demonstrations all day: Hispanic weaving, Stone carving, Afro-American quilting, Zuni pottery making, Southern pottery making, Hispanic wood-carving from New Mexico, Hmong needlework, Split-oak basket-making, Cherokee basket-making Learning Center: The Cultural Conservation exhibition explores the ways in which traditional crafts-people strive to preserve their artistic and cultural heritage	One Family, Knock on Wood	1:00	Country Blues: Garrett, Jones		Old-Time Radio	Ongoing: Sawmilling, Moonshine Still, River Life, Hunting & Call making, Wood-carving, Instrument making, Chair-making, Cooperage, Broom-making, Anglo-American & Native American Basketry, Weaving, Anglo- and Afro-American Quilting, Boat making, Stonemasonry, Rolley Hole (a traditional marbles game), Chert Marble Making	
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Reviving Traditional Crafts: Hispanic Woodcarving & Weaving		Part of Your Loving		Country Gospel Duo: The Straightway Singers	Ongoing: A variety of foodways demonstrations representing Tennessee traditions including Barbecue; Afro-American; Anglo-American; Fish and Game Foods; Western and Eastern Tennessee Foods; Choctaw (Native American)	Woodcrafts: Cooper, Chairmaker, Broommaker		The History of Country Music
Direct and Cross Examination	Hmong Crafts: Conserving Cultural Heritage		One Generation is Not Enough	2:00	Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas		Moonshine & Medicine		
	Rag Rug Weavers from Maryland		Agueda Martinez		Country Songsters: Rector, Shipley		Hunting, Call Making, & Game Cookery		Sanctified Gospel: The Hemphill Singers
Closing Argument	The Workshop Community: Stone Carvers from Barre, VT		Our Lives In Our Hands	3:00	Banjo & Guitar Duo		Story-telling		Memphis Rockabilly: Sun Rhythm Band
Direct and Cross Examination	Zuni Olla Maidens			4:00	Country Songster: Roy Harper		Quilting: Anglo & Afro		Black Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Marketing Crafts: Cherokee Basketry			5:00	Old-Time Gospel Quartet: Duck Creek		Dance		Memphis Barrelhouse Blues: B.T. Laury
Direct and Cross Examination	Family Tradition: Southern Pottery						Old-Time Country Music		

Sunday, June 29

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the Japan area.

20th Anniversary

Japan Program

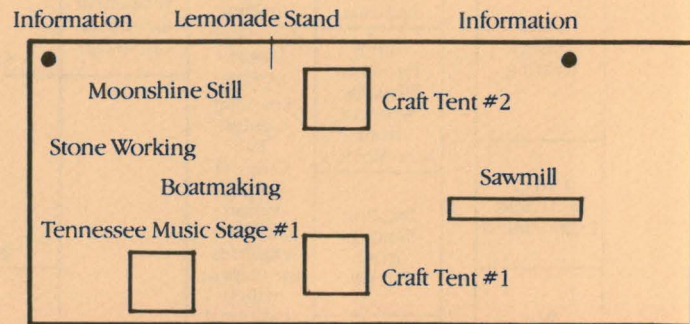
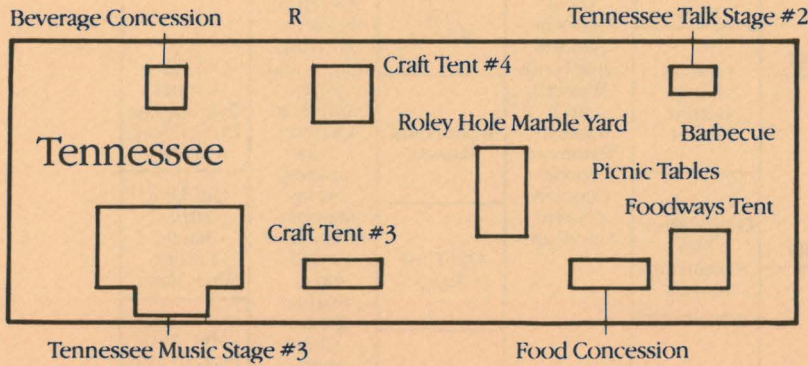
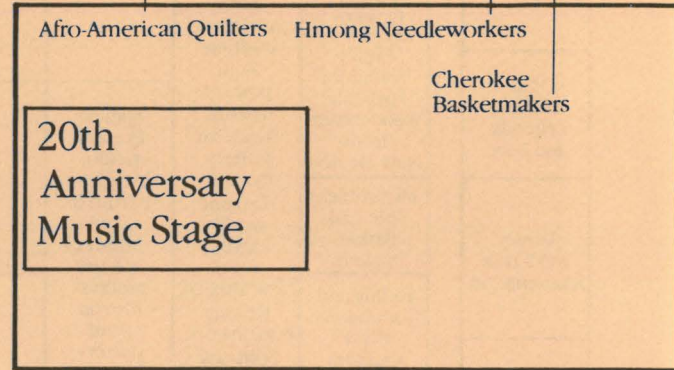
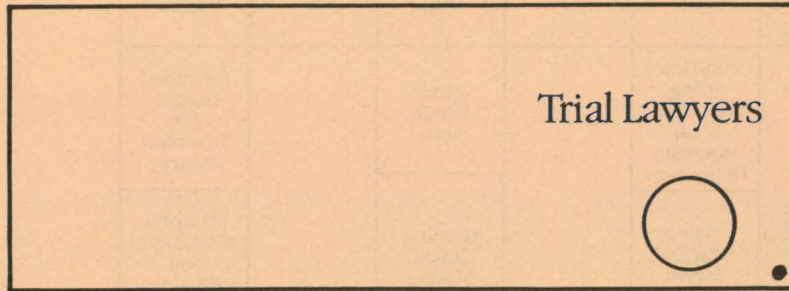
	Music Stage	Rice Paddy	Craft Demonstrations	Children's Area			Ongoing Presentations	Shrine Stage	
				Taiko Drum Stage	Activities Stage	Craft Area			
11:00	Piedmont Blues: John & James Jackson			Taiko Drum Workshop	Bon Festival Dance	Origami (paper folding)		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	11:00
12:00	Cowboy Ballads: Brownie Ford	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)	Special Presentation: Warazaiku (rice-straw craft)		Traditional Games & Songs	Kami ningyo (paper dolls)	Foodways: Mochi (rice cakes) Sushi (raw fish & vinegared rice) Bento (portable lunch) Tempura (deep-fried foods) Crafts: Waraningyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaiku (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls), Sakadaru (wine casks), Shigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	12:00
1:00	Irish Tradition					Temari (hand-woven balls)			1:00
2:00	Gospel: Kings of Harmony		Special Presentation: Orimono (weaving)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Origami		Kagura (masked dance drama)	2:00
3:00	Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely					Kami ningyo			3:00
	Pueblo Music & Dance: San Juan Pueblo	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)			Bon Festival Dance	Temari		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	
4:00	Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four					Origami			4:00
5:00	Cajun Music: Beausoleil		Special Presentation: Wagasa (Japanese umbrella)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Kami ningyo		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	
	Tex-Mex Conjunto: El Huracán del Valle					Temari			5:00
5:30-7:00	Dance Party							Kagura (masked dance drama)	
	Andean & Central Am. Music: Rumisonko & Izalco								

**American
Trial
Lawyers**

**Cultural Conservation:
Traditional Crafts in a
Post-Industrial Age**

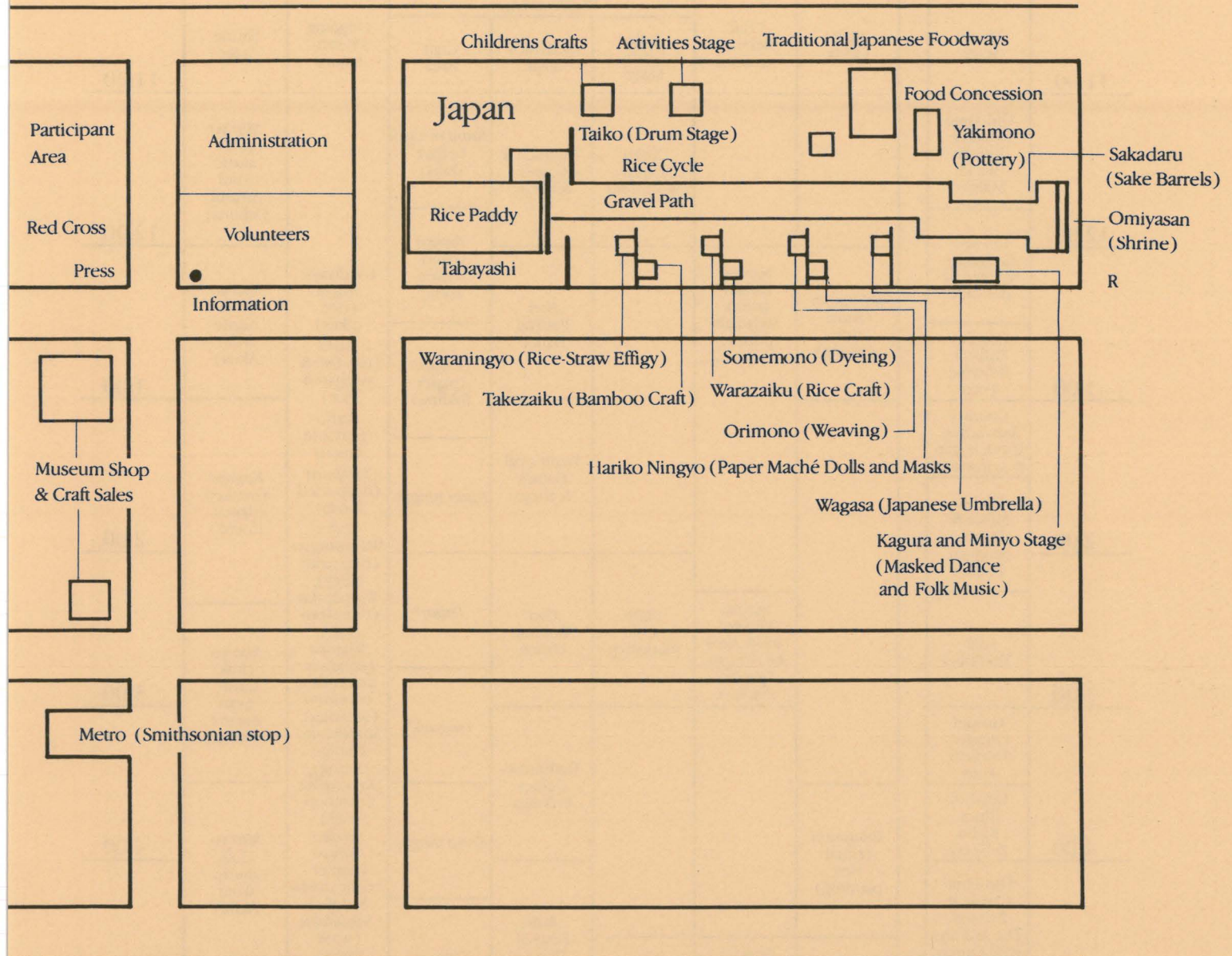
Tennessee Program

Courtroom	Discussion Area	Ongoing Craft Demonstrations	Film Series		Stage 1 Tennessee Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Tennessee Talk	Presentations	Stage 3 Tennessee Music
Direct and Cross Examination				11:00	Old-Time String Band: The Roan Mountain Hilltoppers		River Life & Lore		Sanctified Gospel: The Hemphill Singers
Closing Argument	Zuni Olla Maidens			12:00	Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas		Hunting & Call Making		Memphis Rockabilly: Sun Rhythm Band
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Revival of American Indian Crafts: Cherokee Basketry			1:00	Ballads: Birchfield, Hicks, Rector		Rolley Hole & Marble Making	Ongoing: Sawmilling, Moonshine Still, River Life, Hunting & Call making, Wood-carving, Instrument making, Chair-making, Cooperage, Broom-making, Anglo-American & Native American Basketry, Weaving, Anglo- and Afro-American Quilting, Boat making, Stonemasonry, Rolley Hole (a traditional marbles game), Chert Marble Making	
Direct and Cross Examination	Family Tradition: Hispanic Woodcarvers from New Mexico			2:00	Country Songster: Roy Harper	Ongoing: A variety of foodways demonstrations representing Tennessee traditions including Barbecue; Afro-American; Anglo-American; Fish and Game Foods; Western and Eastern Tennessee Foods; Choctaw (Native American)	Dance		The History of the Blues
Death Penalty Hearing	McCrobies: Split-Oak Basket-makers				Fiddle Styles: Birchfield, Blizzard, Douglas, Moss		Folk Medicine		
Direct and Cross Examination	Family and Community: Black Quilters from Alabama			3:00	Country Blues: Garrett, Jones		Fishing & Boat Making		Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Family Tradition: Hispanic Weavers from New Mexico			4:00	Country Gospel Duo: The Straightway Singers		Woodcrafts: Baskets		Old-Time String Band: Frazier Moss Band
Direct and Cross Examination	Rag Rug Weavers from Maryland			5:00	Banjo & Guitar Duo		Old-Time Radio		Memphis Barrelhouse Blues: Booker T. Laury
	Zuni Olla Maidens						Story-telling		
	Crafts in a Changing Economy: Southern Pottery				Old-Time Strings: Blizzard & Keys		Shape Note Singing		Memphis Rhythm & Blues: Fieldstones



12th Street

Museum of Natural History



Wednesday, July 2

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the American Trial Lawyers area.

20th Anniversary

Japan Program

	Music Stage	Rice Paddy	Craft Demon- strations	Children's Area			Ongoing Presen- tations	Shrine Stage	
				Taiko Drum Stage	Activities Stage	Craft Area			
11:00									11:00
12:00	Old-Time Country: Julia & Wade Mainer			Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Kami ningyo (paper dolls)	Foodways: Mochi (rice cakes) Sushi (raw fish & vinegared rice) Bento (portable lunch) Tempura (deep-fried foods) Crafts: Waraningyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaiku (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls) Sakadaru (wine casks), Shigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	12:00
		Tex-Mex Conjunto: El Huracán del Valle				Temari (hand-woven balls)		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	
1:00	Cowboy Ballads: Brownie Ford	Tabayasbi (ritual rice planting)	Special Presen- tation: Shigaraki pottery	Bon Festival Dance	Origami (paper folding)			1:00	
2:00	Country Jazz String Band: Bogan & Armstrong			Traditional Games & Songs	Kami ningyo			2:00	
	Pueblo Music & Dance: San Juan Pueblo								
3:00	Irish Tradition		Special Presen- tation: Hari- ko Ningyo (papier mache)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Bon Festival Dance	Temari			3:00
4:00	Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four			Traditional Games & Songs		Origami			4:00
	Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely	Tabayasbi (ritual rice planting)				Kami ningyo		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	
5:00	Old-Time Creole & Zydeco: The Ardoins with Canray Fontenot				Bon Festival Dance			Temari	
	Piedmont Blues: John & James Jackson		Special Presen- tation: Takezaiku (bamboo craft)	Taiko Drum Workshop					Origami
5:30-7:00	Dance Party	To be announced							

**American
Trial
Lawyers**

**Cultural Conservation:
Traditional Crafts in a
Post-Industrial Age**

Tennessee Program

Courtroom	Discussion Area	Ongoing Craft Demonstrations	Film Series		Stage 1 Tennessee Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Tennessee Talk	Presentations	Stage 3 Tennessee Music
Jury Selection				11:00	Country Blues: Garrett, Jones		Moonshine		Old-Time String Band: Frazier Moss Band
Direct and Cross Examination	Zuni Olla Maidens			12:00	Old-Time String Band: Frazier Moss Band		Shape Note Singing		Memphis Rhythm & Blues: The Fieldstones
Opening Statement	Zuni Pottery: Continuity and Change	Demonstrations all day: Hispanic weaving, Stone carving, Afro-American quilting, Zuni pottery making, Southern pottery making, Hispanic wood-carving from		1:00	Country Songster: Roy Harper		Women in Blues and Gospel		Memphis Rockabilly: Sun Rhythm Band
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Family Tradition: Southern Pottery		Zuni Ovens, Breadmaking		Country Gospel Duo: The Straightway Singers	Ongoing: A variety of foodways demonstrations representing Tennessee traditions including Barbecue; Afro-American; Anglo-American; Fish and Game Foods; Western and Eastern Tennessee Foods; Choctaw (Native American)	Story-telling	Ongoing: Sawmilling, Moonshine Still, River Life, Hunting & Call making, Wood-carving, Instrument making, Chair-making, Cooperage, Broom-making, Anglo-American & Native American Basketry, Weaving, Anglo- and Afro-American Quilting, Boat making, Stone-masonry, Rolley Hole (a traditional marbles game), Chert Marble Making	Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas
Direct and Cross Examination	Hmong Crafts: Conserving Cultural Heritage		Weaving a Blanket	2:00			River Life & Lore		Memphis Barrelhouse Blues: Booker T. Laury
	McCrobies: Split-Oak Basket-makers	New Mexico, Hmong needlework, Split-oak basket-making, Cherokee basket-making	Breadmaking & Corn		Banjo & Guitar Duo: The Forsters		Gospel		Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet
Closing Argument	Family Tradition: Hispanic Weavers	Learning Center: The Cultural Conservation exhibition explores the ways in which traditional crafts-people strive to preserve their artistic and cultural heritage	Pueblo Pottery	3:00	Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas		Hunting, Call Making, & Game Cookery		Country Jazz String Band: Armstrong, Bogan & Armstrong
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Zuni Olla Maidens		Box of Treasures	4:00	Ballads: Hicks, Mcbee, Rector		Woodcrafts: Sleds, Wagons, & Boats		Sanctified Gospel: The Hemphill Singers
	Traditional Crafts: Cherokee Basketry		Our Lives In Our Hands		Country Songsters: Harper, Shipley		Folk Medicine		Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill
Direct and Cross Examination	Family and Community: Black Quilters from Alabama			5:00	Old-Time Strings: Blizzard & Keys		Old-Time Radio		

Thursday, July 3

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the Cultural Conservation area.

20th Anniversary

Japan Program

	Music Stage	Rice Paddy	Craft Demonstrations	Children's Area			Ongoing Presentations	Shrine Stage	
				Taiko Drum Stage	Activities Stage	Craft Area			
11:00									11:00
	Tex-Mex Conjunto: El Huracán del Valle			Taiko Drum Workshop	Bon Festival Dance	Temari (hand-woven balls)	Foodways: Mochi (rice cakes) Sushi (raw fish & vinegared rice) Bento (portable lunch) Tempura (deep-fried foods) Crafts: Waraninyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaikeu (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls), Sakadaru (wine casks), Shigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	
12:00	Country Jazz String Band: Armstrong, Bogan & Armstrong	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)	Special Presentation: Sakadaru (wine cask)		Traditional Games & Songs	Origami (paper folding)		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	12:00
						Kami ningyo (paper dolls)			
1:00	Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely								1:00
2:00	Pueblo Music & Dance: San Juan Pueblo				Bon Festival Dance	Temari		Kagura (masked dance drama)	2:00
	Piedmont Blues: John & James Jackson		Special Presentation: Waraninyo (rice-straw effigy)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Origami		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	
3:00	Old-Time Country: Julia & Wade Mainer					Kami ningyo			3:00
4:00	Cowboy Ballads: Brownie Ford	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)			Bon Festival Dance	Temari		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	4:00
	Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four				Traditional Games & Songs	Origami			
5:00	Irish Tradition		Special Presentation: Somemono (dyeing)	Taiko Drum Workshop					5:00
								Kagura (masked dance drama)	
5:30-7:00	Dance Party					Kami ningyo			
	Old-Time Creole: The Ardoin with Canray Fontenot								

**American
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**Cultural Conservation:
Traditional Crafts in a
Post-Industrial Age**

Tennessee Program

Courtroom	Discussion Area	Ongoing Craft Demonstrations	Film Series		Stage 1 Tennessee Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Tennessee Talk	Presentations	Stage 3 Tennessee Music
Jury Selection				11:00	Country Blues: Garrett, Jones		Occupational Lore: Stonemasons & Sawyers		Old-Time String Band: The Roan Mountain Hilltoppers
Direct and Cross Examination	Zuni Olla Maidens			12:00	Banjo & Guitar Duo:		Quilting: Afro- & Anglo-American		Black Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four
Closing Argument	Zuni Pottery: Continuity and Change			1:00	Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill		Harmonica Workshop		Old-Time String Band: Frazier Moss Band
Stories from Public Interest Law	Workshop Community: Stone Carvers		Mashiko Village Pottery		Country Gospel Duo: The Straightway Singers		Woodcrafts: Cooper, Broommaker, Chairmaker		Memphis Rhythm & Blues: The Fieldstones
Direct and Cross Examination	McCrobie's Split-Oak Basket-makers		Potters at Work	2:00	Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet		Dance		Old-Time String Band: Blizzard & Keys
Death Penalty Hearing	Revival of Hispanic Crafts in New Mexico		The Meaders Family: North Georgia Potters	3:00	Country Songster: Roy Harper		Rolley Hole & Marble Making		Country Jazz String Band: Armstrong, Bogan & Armstrong
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Family Tradition: Southern Pottery		Pueblo Pottery	4:00	Old-Time String Band: Blizzard & Keys		Tennessee Regions		Memphis Rockabilly: Sun Rhythm Band
	Zuni Olla Maidens		Zuni Pottery Making	5:00	Ballads: Birchfield, Hicks, Rector		Ballads		Memphis Barrelhouse Blues: Booker T. Laury
Direct and Cross Examination	Cherokee Basketry				Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas		Fishing & Turtle Trapping		Sanctified Gospel: Hemphill Singers
	Rag Rug Weavers from Maryland						Story-telling		
	Family and Community: Black Quilters								

Friday, July 4

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the Japan area.

20th Anniversary

Japan Program

	Music Stage	Rice Paddy	Craft Demonstrations	Children's Area			Ongoing Presentations	Shrine Stage	
				Taiko Drum Stage	Activities Stage	Craft Area			
11:00	Old-Time Creole & Zydeco: The Ardoins with Canray Fontenot			Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Origami (paper folding)		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	11:00
12:00	Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely					Kami ningyo (paper dolls)			12:00
	Irish Tradition	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)	Special Presentation: Warazaiku (rice-straw craft)		Bon Festival Dance	Temari (hand-woven balls)	Foodways: Mochi (rice cakes) Sushi (raw fish & vinegared rice) Bento (portable lunch) Tempura (deep-fried foods) Crafts: Waraningyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaiku (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls), Sakadaru (wine casks), Sbigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	
1:00	Old-Time Country: Julia & Wade Mainer				Traditional Games & Songs	Origami		Kagura (masked dance drama)	1:00
	Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four								2:00
2:00	Tex-Mex Conjunto: El Huracán del Valle		Special Presentation: Orimono (weaving)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Bon Festival Dance	Kami ningyo		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	3:00
3:00	Piedmont Blues: The Jacksons				Traditional Games & Songs	Temari			
	Pueblo Music & Dance: San Juan Pueblo	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)				Origami		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	4:00
4:00	Cowboy Ballads: Brownie Ford				Bon Festival Dance	Kami ningyo			
5:00	Country Jazz String Band: Armstrong, Bogan & Armstrong		Special Presentation: Wagasa (Japanese umbrella)	Taiko Drum Workshop		Temari		Kagura (masked dance drama)	5:00

American
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Cultural Conservation:
Traditional Crafts in a
Post-Industrial Age

Tennessee Program

Courtroom	Discussion Area	Ongoing Craft Demonstrations	Film Series		Stage 1 Tennessee Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Tennessee Talk	Presentations	Stage 3 Tennessee Music
Jury Selection				11:00	Old-Time String Band: Blizzard & Keys		River Life & Lore		Memphis Rhythm & Blues: The Fieldstones
Direct and Cross Examination	Zuni Olla Maidens	Demonstrations all day: Hispanic weaving, Stone carving, Afro-American quilting, Zuni pottery making, Southern pottery making, Hispanic wood-carving from New Mexico, Hmong needlework, Split-oak basket-making, Cherokee basket-making Learning Center: The Cultural Conservation exhibition explores the ways in which traditional crafts-people strive to preserve their artistic and cultural heritage	Billy Moore Chesapeake Bay Boatbuilder	12:00	Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill		Folk Medicine		Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet
Opening Statement	Conserving American Indian Crafts: Cherokee & Zuni		The Stone Carvers	1:00	Mandolin Styles: Armstrong, Bogan, Rector, Shipley	Ongoing: A variety of foodways demonstrations representing Tennessee traditions including Barbecue; Afro-American; Anglo-American; Fish and Game Foods; Western and Eastern Tennessee Foods; Choctaw (Native American)	Tennessee Regions	Ongoing: Sawmilling, Moonshine Still, River Life, Hunting & Call making, Wood-carving, Instrument making, Chair-making, Cooperage, Broom-making, Anglo-American & Native American Basketry, Weaving, Anglo- and Afro-American Quilting, Boat making, Stone-masonry, Rolley Hole (a traditional marbles game), Chert Marble Making	Sanctified Gospel: The Hemphill Singers
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	The Lopez Family: Hispanic Woodcarvers		Lakota Quill Work		Country Blues: Garrett, Jones		Story-telling		Old-Time String Band: The Roan Mountain Hilltoppers
	Hmong Crafts: Conserving Cultural Heritage		Agueda Martinez	2:00			Women in Blues and Gospel		
Direct and Cross Examination			Leon Clark: Basketmaker		Banjo & Guitar Duo:		Hunting, Call Making, & Game Cookery		Memphis Barrelhouse Blues: Booker T. Laury
	Southern Pottery: Tradition in Change			3:00	Country Songsters: Harper, Shipley		Moonshine & Medicine		Country Jazz String Band: Armstrong, Bogan & Armstrong
Closing Argument	Comparative Quilting Traditions				Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas		Shape Note Singing		Memphis Rockabilly: Sun Rhythm Band
	Zuni Olla Maidens			4:00	Country Gospel Duo: The Straightway Singers		Old-Time Radio		Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill
	Rag Rug Weavers from Maryland			5:00					
The Zenger Trial and Freedom of Speech					Country Songster: Roy Harper		Barbecue		Old-Time Strings: Frazier Moss Band

Saturday, July 5

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the Tennessee area.

20th Anniversary

Japan Program

	Music Stage	Rice Paddy	Craft Demonstrations	Children's Area			Ongoing Presentations	Shrine Stage	
				Taiko Drum Stage	Activities Stage	Craft Area			
11:00									11:00
12:00	Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four			Taiko Drum Workshop	Bon Festival Dance	Kami ningyo (paper dolls)	Foodways: Mochi (rice cakes) Sushi (raw fish & vinegared rice) Bento (portable lunch) Tempura (deep-fried foods) Crafts: Waraningyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaiku (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls) Sakadaru (wine casks), Shigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	12:00
	Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely					Temari (hand-woven balls)			
1:00	Irish Tradition	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)	Special Presentation: Shigaraki pottery		Traditional Games & Songs	Origami (paper folding)		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	1:00
2:00	Piedmont Blues: John & James Jackson				Bon Festival Dance	Kami ningyo		Kagura (masked dance drama)	2:00
	Pueblo Music & Dance: San Juan Pueblo								
3:00	Old-Time Country: Julia & Wade Mainer		Special Presentation: Hariko Ningyo (papier mache)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Temari		Min'yo (folk music from Akita)	3:00
4:00	Tex-Mex Conjunto: El Huracan del Valle	Tabayashi (ritual rice planting)			Bon Festival Dance	Origami		Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	4:00
5:00	Cowboy Ballads: Brownie Ford				Traditional Games & Songs	Kami ningyo			5:00
	Old-Time Creole & Zydeco: The Ardoins with Canray Fontenot		Special Presentation: Takezaiku (bamboo craft)			Temari			
5:30-7:00	Dance Party			Taiko Drum Workshop				Kagura (masked dance drama)	
	Memphis Rhythm & Blues: The Fieldstones					Origami			

**American
Trial
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**Cultural Conservation:
Traditional Crafts in a
Post-Industrial Age**

Tennessee Program

Courtroom	Discussion Area	Ongoing Craft Demonstrations	Film Series		Stage 1 Tennessee Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Tennessee Talk	Presentations	Stage 3 Tennessee Music
Direct and Cross Examination				11:00	Banjo & Guitar Duo:		Story-telling		
Closing Argument	Zuni Olla Maidens			12:00	Old-Time String Band: Frazier Moss Band		Harmonica Workshop		Musical Crossover: Black & White
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Zuni Pottery: Continuity and Change	Demonstrations all day: Hispanic weaving, Stone carving, Afro-American quilting, Zuni pottery making, Southern pottery making, Hispanic wood-carving from New Mexico, Hmong needlework, Split-oak basket-making, Cherokee basket-making		1:00	Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet		Woodcrafts: Basketry	Ongoing: Sawmilling, Moonshine Still, River Life, Hunting & Call making, Wood-carving, Instrument making, Chair-making, Cooperage, Broom-making, Anglo-American & Native American Basketry, Weaving, Anglo- and Afro-American Quilting, Boat making, Stonemasonry, Rolley Hole (a traditional marbles game), Chert Marble Making	
Direct and Cross Examination	Revival of Traditional Crafts: Hispanic Woodcarving		Special Presentation: Nancy Sweezy and traditional potters, Walter and Dorothy Auman, discuss films on Southern pottery	2:00	Country Blues: Garrett, Jones	Ongoing: A variety of foodways demonstrations representing Tennessee traditions including Barbecue; Afro-American; Anglo-American; Fish and Game Foods; Western and Eastern Tennessee Foods; Choctaw (Native American)	Rolley Hole & Marble Making		Old-Time String Band: The Roan Mountain Hilltoppers
Closing Argument	Hmong Crafts: Conserving Cultural Heritage			3:00	Ballads: Birchfield, Hicks, Rector		Fishing & Boat Making		Black Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four
Direct and Cross Examination	Master to Apprentice: Stone Carvers			4:00	Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill		Dance		Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Family Tradition: Hispanic Weavers			5:00	Old-Time String Band: Blizard & Keys		Occupational Lore: Stonemasons & Sawyers		Memphis Barrelhouse Blues: Booker T. Laury
Direct and Cross Examination	Zuni Olla Maidens				Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas		Quilting: Afro- & Anglo-American		Sanctified Gospel: The Hemphill Singers
	Marketing Traditional Crafts: Cherokee Basketry				Country Gospel Duo: Straightway Singers		Instruments & Instrument Making		Memphis Rockabilly: Sun Rhythm Band
	Family and Community: Black Quilters						Moonshine		

Sunday, July 6

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the 20th Anniversary Music Stage.

20th Anniversary

Japan Program

	Music Stage	Rice Paddy	Craft Demon- strations	Children's Area			Ongoing Presen- tations	Shrine Stage	
				Taiko Drum Stage	Activities Stage	Craft Area			
11:00									11:00
12:00	Old-Time Country: Julia & Wade Mainer			Taiko Drum Workshop	Traditional Games & Songs	Temari (hand-woven balls)	Foodways: Mochi (rice cakes) Sushi (raw fish & vinegared rice) Bento (portable lunch) Tempura (deep-fried foods) Crafts: Waraninyo (rice-straw effigy), Warazaiku (rice-straw craft), Wagasa (Japanese umbrella), Orimono (weaving), Somemono (indigo dyeing), Takezaiku (bamboo craft), Hariko Ningyo (papier mache masks & dolls), Sakadaru (wine casks), Shigaraki pottery	Min'yo (folk music from Amami Oshima)	12:00
		Irish Tradition	Tabayasbi (ritual rice planting)	Special Presen- tation: Sakadaru (wine cask)		Bon Festival Dance		Origami (paper folding)	
1:00	Cowboy Ballads: Brownie Ford					Kami ningyo (paper dolls)			1:00
		Old-Time Creole & Zydeco: The Ardoins with Canray Fontenot			Traditional Games & Songs	Temari			
2:00									2:00
		Piedmont Blues: John & James Jackson		Special Presen- tation: Waraninyo (rice-straw effigy)	Taiko Drum Workshop	Bon Festival Dance		Origami	
3:00									3:00
		Pueblo Music & Dance: San Juan Pueblo				Traditional Games & Songs		Kami ningyo	
4:00	Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four	Tabayasbi (ritual rice planting)				Temari			4:00
		Cowboy Blues: Kirbo & Neely			Bon Festival Dance	Origami			
5:00			Special Presen- tation: Somemono (dyeing)					5:00	
5:30-7:00	Tex-Mex Conjunto: El Huracán del Valle			Taiko Drum Workshop		Kami ningyo	Kagura (masked dance drama)		
Dance Party	Andean & Central Am. Music: Rumisonko & Izalco								

American
Trial
Lawyers

Cultural Conservation:
Traditional Crafts in a
Post-Industrial Age

Tennessee Program

Courtroom	Discussion Area	Ongoing Craft Demonstrations	Film Series		Stage 1 Tennessee Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Tennessee Talk	Presentations	Stage 3 Tennessee Music
Direct and Cross Examination				11:00	Country Gospel Duo: The Straightway Singers		Tennessee Regions		Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet
Closing Argument	Zuni Olla Maidens			12:00	Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill		Occupational Lore		Sanctified Gospel: The Hemphill Singers
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Conserving American Indian Crafts				Old-Time Gospel Quartet: The Duck Creek Quartet		Rolley Hole & Marble Making		Black Gospel Quartet: Fairfield Four
Direct and Cross Examination	The Lopez Family: Hispanic Woodcarvers		Living Treasures of Japan	1:00	Country Songsters: Harper, Shipley	Ongoing: A variety of foodways demonstrations representing Tennessee traditions including Barbecue; Afro-American; Anglo-American; Fish and Game Foods; Western and Eastern Tennessee Foods; Choctaw (Native American)	Quilting & Weaving	Ongoing: Sawmilling, Moonshine Still, River Life, Hunting & Call making, Wood-carving, Instrument making, Chair-making, Cooperage, Broom-making, Anglo-American & Native American Basketry, Weaving, Anglo- and Afro-American Quilting, Boat making, Stonemasonry, Rolley Hole (a traditional marbles game), Chert Marble Making	Memphis Barrelhouse Blues: Booker T. Laury
Death Penalty Hearing	Hmong Crafts: Conserving Cultural Heritage		Box of Treasures	2:00	Fiddle & Guitar Duo: Brown & Douglas		Old-Time Radio		Old-Time Country: Blizzard, Brown, Douglas, Keys
Direct and Cross Examination	Family Tradition: Southern Potters		In the Barnegat Bay Tradition	3:00	Country Blues: Garrett, Jones		Moonshine		Beale St. Blues: Jessie Mae Hemphill
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Family Tradition: Hispanic Weavers				Banjo & Guitar Duo:		Women in Blues and Gospel		Old-Time String Band: Frazier Moss Band
Direct and Cross Examination	Zuni Olla Maidens			4:00	Banjo Styles: Birchfield, Forster, Keys, Sallee		Shape Note Singing		Old-Time String Band: The Roan Mountain Hilltoppers
War Stories, Legends, and Lore	Family and Community: Black Quilters from Alabama			5:00			Story-telling		
Direct and Cross Examination					Old-Time Strings: Blizzard & Keys		Hunting, Call Making & Game Cookery		Memphis Rockabilly: Sun Rhythm Band



Participants in the 1986 Festival of American Folklife

Tennessee Participants

Crafts and Occupations

Jewel Allen, chairmaker —
Whiteville
A.J. Anderson, sawmill —
Pikeville
Minnie Bell, basket-
maker — Ripley
C. Kyle Bowlin, wagon/
sled maker — Thorn Hill
Dale Calhoun, boat
maker — Tiptonville
Gene Cowort, stone-
worker — Crossville
Ida Pearl Davis, basket-
maker — Woodbury
D. Wayne Doss, chair-
maker — Jamestown
Parris Doss, chairmaker —
Jamestown
Larry L. Edmons, saw-
mill — Pikeville
Edith Garrett, quilter —
Celina
Robert Garrett, marble
maker — Celina
Mary Frank Dougherty
Helms, weaver —
Russelville
Thelma Hibdon, basket-
maker — Woodbury
Homer C. Hooks, hunter/
trapper — Wartburg
Charles J. Horner, instru-
ment maker —
Rockwood
Ransom Howard, broom
maker — Walling
Fred L. Hudson, chair-
maker — Whiteville
Bennett Johnson, turtle
trapper — Union City

Nora Crabtree Ladd,
quilter — Kingston
Hamper McBee, distiller —
Monteagle
Charles R. Myers,
sawmill — Pikeville
Ted Norris, stone-
worker — Crossville
John H. Pettigrew,
fisherman — Parsons
Robert Rains, sawmill —
Pikeville
Maggie Sayre, fisher-
man — Parsons
Rick Stewart, cooper —
Sneedville
Vacie M. Thomas,
quilter — Chattanooga
Parks M. Townsend,
woodcarver — Johnson
City
Tim Waggoner, herbal-
ist — Knoxville
R.O. Wilson, distiller —
Cullowhee, North
Carolina
Foodways
Betty Edmons, Anglo-
American foods —
Pikeville
Bill Howard, Afro-
American barbecue —
Henderson
Helen Howard, Afro-
American barbecue —
Henderson
Mildred Johnson, fish and
turtle cook — Union City
Patsy Thompson, Choctaw
cook — Ripley
Games
Rolley Hole Marbles
Russell Collins — Moss
Doyle Rhoton — Moss
Wayne Rhoton — Moss
Ralph Roberts — Moss
Performance
Black String Band
Howard Armstrong, man-
dolin player/fiddle
player — Detroit,
Michigan
Tommie Armstrong, bass
fiddle player — Chicago,
Illinois
Ted Bogan, guitar player —
Chicago, Illinois
Duck Creek Quartet —
Old-Time Gospel
Calvin C. Hurley, vocal-
ist — Sneedville

Ralph T. Hurley, guitar
player/vocalist —
Sneedville
Hubert J. Wilder, vocal-
ist — Sneedville
Tim R. Wilder, guitar
player/vocalist —
Sneedville
Fieldstones — Memphis
Rhythm and Blues
Lois Brown, bass —
Memphis
Otto "Bobby" Carnes,
organ/guitar player —
Memphis
Joe Hicks, drummer —
Memphis
Wordie Perkins, guitar/
piano/keyboard player
— Memphis
Willie R. Sanders, guitar
player — Memphis
The Hemphill Singers —
Sanctified Gospel
Larrice Byrd, bass
guitar — Nashville
Earl Gaines, III, drum-
mer — Nashville
Gertie Hemphill, vocal-
ist — Nashville
James Hemphill, vocal-
ist — Nashville
Edward Jenkins, piano
player — Nashville
William Mills, guitar
player — Nashville
Margaret Spence, vocal-
ist — Nashville
Robert Tolliver, organ
player — Nashville
Brown and Douglas —
Old-Time Fiddle and
Guitar Duo
Ray Brown, guitar —
Chattanooga
Robert M. Douglas,
fiddle/guitar player —
Chattanooga
The Forsters — Old-Time
Banjo and Guitar Duo
Lee Armstrong Forster,
guitar player — McEwen
William Omer Forster,
banjo player — McEwen
The Frazier Moss String-
band — Old-Time
Country Stringband
J. Frazier Moss, fiddle
player — Cookerville
Red Rector, mandolin
player — Knoxville
Jack D. Sallee, banjo —
Cookeville

Reece Shipley, guitar
player — Church Hill
Old-Time String Band
H. Ralph Blizzard, fiddle
player — Blountville
Phil Jamison, guitar
player — Blountville
Will A. Keys, banjo
player — Limestone
The Original Sun Rhythm
Band — Rockabilly
Sonny Burgess, guitar/
harp player — Newport,
Arkansas
Paul Burlison, guitar
player — North Walls,
Mississippi
Stanley Kesler, bass
player — Memphis
Jerry Lee "Smoochy"
Smith, piano player —
Memphis
J.M. Van Eaton, drum-
mer — Collierville
Marcus Van Storey,
vocalist/guitar/
harmonica player —
Memphis
Roan Mountain Hill-
toppers — Old-Time
Country String Band
Bill Birchfield, guitar
player — Hampton
Creede Birchfield, banjo
player — Roan Mountain
Janice Birchfield, washtub
bass — Hampton
Joe Birchfield, fiddle
player — Roan Mountain
Straightway Gospel
Singers — Black Country
Singers
Callis Robb, guitar player/
vocalist — Gallatin
Willie Mae Robb, vocal-
ist — Gallatin
Solo Performers:
Ethel Mae Birchfield,
storyteller — Roan
Mountain
Roy Harper, country
songster — Manchester
Jessie Mae Hemphill,
Beale Street blues guitar
player/vocalist —
Memphis
Ray Hicks, ballad singer —
Clarkrange
Waynell Jones, country
blues guitar player/
vocalist — Henderson

Booker T. Laury, Memphis
blues piano player/
vocalist — Memphis

Japanese Participants

Crafts

Akira Handa, *takezaiku*
(bamboo craftsman) —
Miyagi

Hiroji Hashimoto,
bariko ningyo (papier
mache dollmaker) —
Fukushima

Jisho Inamori, *toki*
(potter) — Shiga

Torataro Ishikawa,
waraningyo (straw doll
maker) — Akita

Kazuko Kano, *orimono*
(Japanese weaver) —
Tottori

Sotaro Kato, *warazaiku*
(rice straw craftsman) —
Yamagata

Yoshichi Matsubara,
somemono (indigo
dyer) — Tokyo

Keichi Sato, *sakadaru*
(*sake* barrel maker) —
Kyoto

Yuichiro Takahashi,
waraningyo (straw doll
maker) — Akita

Kyujiro Watanabe,
waraningyo (straw doll
maker) — Akita

Shozo Yamaguchi, *wagasa*
(umbrella maker) —
Kyoto

Performance

Akita Minyo — Folk Music
from Akita

Yoshie Akutsu, vocalist —
Akita

Yasuji Asano, vocalist/
shamisen player — Akita

Sanae Yabumuki, vocal-
ist — Akita

Amami Oshima Minyo —
Folk Music from
Amami Oshima

Kazumi Nishi, vocalist —
Kagoshima

Yutaka Tsuboyama, vocal-
ist/*shamisen* player —
Kagoshima

Shunzo Tsukiji, vocalist/
shamisen player —
Kagoshima

Hanadaue — Ritual Rice
Planting

Akiko Hiranaka, dancer —
Hiroshima

Emiko Ishii, dancer —
Hiroshima

Kunichi Kaneko, musi-
cian — Hiroshima

Seiso Kono, musician —
Hiroshima

Michiyo Maeoka, dancer —
Hiroshima

Yoshio Maeoka, musi-
cian — Hiroshima

Gunzo Maruoka, musi-
cian — Hiroshima

Teruto Matsushima, musi-
cian — Hiroshima

Masaru Miyake, musi-
cian — Hiroshima

Suzue Miyake, dancer —
Hiroshima

Akira Nishio, musician —
Hiroshima

Tsutomu Sasaki, musi-
cian — Hiroshima

Miho Takafushi, dancer —
Hiroshima

Susumu Yoshimoto, musi-
cian — Hiroshima

Kuromori kagura —
Masked Dance-Drama
from Kuromori

Kinsaku Hatakeyama —
Iwate

Yoshio Hatakeyama —
Iwate

Ichihei Maekawa — Iwate

Saburo Matsuura — Iwate

Hironori Saeki — Iwate

Katsuji Sasaki — Iwate

Zenichi Sasaki — Iwate

Masajiro Takeda — Iwate

Choichi Yamamoto —
Iwate

Japanese- American Participants

Children's Activities

George Abe, *taiko* drum-
mer — Los Angeles,
California

Yoko Harada King,
dancer — Riverdale,
Maryland

Katsumi Kunitsugu,
games/songs — Los
Angeles, California

Crafts

Eiko Hatamiya, *temari*
(hand-woven ball
maker) — North Holly-
wood, California

Akiko Keene, *kami*
ningyo (paper doll
maker) — Bowie,
Maryland

Daniel Wayne Nakamura,
origami — Whittier,
California

Foodways

Akira Hirabe, *mochi*
maker — Los Angeles,
California

Shinya Toyoda, *sushi*
maker — Montebello,
California

Henry Wakabayashi,
mochi maker — Rock-
ville, Maryland

Seiko Wakabayashi, *mochi*
maker — Rockville,
Maryland

Ikuko Yuge, *mochi*
maker — Los Angeles,
California

American Trial Lawyers Participants

Tom Alexander —
Houston, Texas

Roy R. Barrera, Sr. — San
Antonio, Texas

Charles L. Becton —
Raleigh, North Carolina

Anthony Bocchino — Phil-
adelphia, Pennsylvania

James J. Brosnahan — San
Francisco, California

Jim R. Carrigan — Denver,
Colorado

Bobby Lee Cook —
Summerville, Georgia

Penny Cooper — Berkeley,
California

Stephen R. Delinsky —
Boston, Massachusetts

William L. Dwyer — Seattle,
Washington

James E. Ferguson —
Charlotte, North
Carolina

James H. Goetz —
Bozeman, Montana

Jo Ann Harris — New York,
New York

Douglas W. Hillman —
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Boyce Holleman — Gulf-
port, Mississippi

James W. Jeans, Sr. —
Kansas City, Missouri

Robert J. Kane —
South Dartmouth,
Massachusetts

Roger E. King — Phila-
delphia, Pennsylvania

Ralph I. Lancaster, Jr. —
Portland, Maine

Arthur Mallory — Lagrange,
Georgia

Diana E. Marshall —
Houston, Texas

Thomas J. McNamara —
Grand Rapids, Michigan

R. Eugene Pincham —
Chicago, Illinois

Lorna Propes — Chicago,
Illinois

Arthur G. Raynes — Phila-
delphia, Pennsylvania

Keith E. Roberts, Sr. —
Wheaton, Illinois

Kenneth M. Robinson —
Washington, D.C.

Frank D. Rothschild —
Kauai, Hawaii

Murray Sams, Jr. — Miami,
Florida

Henry F. Schuelke III —
Washington, D.C.

Lawrence H. Schwartz —
Washington, D.C.

J. Tony Serra — San Fran-
cisco, California

James E. Sharp — Wash-
ington, D.C.

John C. Shepherd — St.
Louis, Missouri

Gerry L. Spence — Jackson,
Wyoming

Jacob A. Stein — Wash-
ington, D.C.

John D. Tierney — Min-
neapolis, Minnesota

Michael E. Tigar — Austin,
Texas

David N. Webster — Wash-
ington, D.C.

Patrick A. Williams — Tulsa,
Oklahoma

William R. Wilson, Jr. —
Little Rock, Arkansas

Special Narrative Sessions

Robert T. Coulter — Wash-
ington, D.C.

Judith Lichtman — Wash-
ington, D.C.

Mario Moreno — Wash-
ington, D.C.

Anthony Roisman — Wash-
ington, D.C.

Paula Scott — Washington,
D.C.

W. Richard West, Jr. —
Washington, D.C.

Cultural Conservation Participants

Crafts

Angelo L. Ambrosini, stone carver — Barre, Vermont
 Eppie Archuleta, Hispanic weaver — Alamosa, Colorado
 Dorothy Cole Auman, Southern potter — Seagrove, North Carolina
 Walter S. Auman, Southern potter — Seagrove, North Carolina
 Mary A. Brennenman, rag rug weaver — Accident, Maryland
 Yeu Chang, Hmong needleworker — Detroit, Michigan
 Alex López de Ortiz, Hispanic woodcarver — Córdova, New Mexico
 Sabinita López de Ortiz, Hispanic woodcarver — Córdova, New Mexico
 Alberta Dewa, Olla Maiden — Zuni, New Mexico
 Eloise Dickerson, Afro-American quilter — Aliceville, Alabama
 Tracy Dotson, kiln builder — Mt. Gilead, North Carolina
 Louise Goings, Cherokee basketmaker — Cherokee, North Carolina
 Rowena Him, Zuni potter — Zuni, New Mexico
 Jenny L. Laate, Zuni pottery teacher — Zuni, New Mexico
 Anna Mae Loar, rag rug weaver — Lonaconing, Maryland
 Julia Loar, rag rug weaver — Lonaconing, Maryland
 George T. López, Hispanic woodcarver — Córdova, New Mexico
 Ricardo T. López, Hispanic woodcarver — Córdova, New Mexico
 Silvianita T. López, Hispanic woodcarver — Córdova, New Mexico
 Agueda Martinez, Hispanic weaver — Medanales, New Mexico
 James W. McCrobie, Sr., split-oak basketmaker — Oakland, Maryland
 Vida McCrobie, split-oak basketmaker — Oakland, Maryland
 Mamie McKinstry, Afro-American quilter — Aliceville, Alabama
 Delores Marie Medina, Hispanic weaver — Albuquerque, New Mexico
 Norma Medina, Hispanic weaver — Medanales, New Mexico
 Josephine Nahohai, Zuni potter — Zuni, New Mexico
 Milford Nahohai, Zuni potter — Zuni, New Mexico
 Randy Nahohai, Zuni potter — Zuni, New Mexico
 Neolia Cole Perkinson, Southern potter — Sanford, North Carolina
 Anderson Peynetsa, Zuni potter — Zuni, New Mexico
 Felix Rubio, stone carver — Barre, Vermont
 Gary Sassi, stone carver — Barre, Vermont
 Gino John Sassi, stone carver — Barre, Vermont
 Mary L. Scarbrough, Afro-American quilter — Eutaw, Alabama
 Thelma Sheche, Olla Maiden — Zuni, New Mexico
 Mitchell Shelton, Southern potter — Seagrove, North Carolina
 Pang Xiong Sirirathasuk, Hmong needleworker — Upper Darby, Pennsylvania
 Emma S. Taylor, Cherokee basketmaker — Cherokee, North Carolina
 Mai Vong Xiong, Hmong needleworker — Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
 Xai Kao Xiong, Hmong elder — Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Bao Yang, Hmong needleworker — Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Music Stage Participants

Old Time Creole

Alphonse "Bois Sec" Ardoin, accordion player — Eunice, Louisiana
 Morris Ardoin, guitar player — Eunice, Louisiana
 Russell Ardoin, bass guitar player — Eunice, Louisiana
 Sean David Ardoin, drummer — Lake Charles, Louisiana
 Canray Fontenot, fiddle player — Welsh, Louisiana
 Paul Thomas, triangle player — Eunice, Louisiana
Beausoleil — Cajun Music
 Tommy Alesi, drummer — Lafayette, Louisiana
 Tommy Comeaux, guitar player — Lafayette, Louisiana
 Michael Doucet, fiddle player — Lafayette, Louisiana
 player — Crowley, Louisiana
 Billy Ware, triangle player — Lafayette, Louisiana
Cowboy Ballads
 Brownie Ford — Hebert, Louisiana
Cowboy Blues
 Larry Kirbo, guitar player — Austin, Texas
 Bill Neely, guitar player — Austin, Texas
El Huracán del Valle — Tex-Mex Conjunto
 Noe de los Santos, guitar player — Brownsville, Texas
 Rudy Garza, *bajo sexto* player — Sabastian, Texas
 Narciso Martinez, accordion player — San Benito, Texas
 Juan Viesca, upright bass — San Antonio, Texas

Fairfield Four — Gospel Quartet
 Isaac Freeman — Nashville, Tennessee
 Robert L. Hamlett — Nashville, Tennessee
 James Hill — Nashville, Tennessee
 Reverend Samuel H. McCrary — Nashville, Tennessee
 Willie L. Richardson — Nashville, Tennessee
 Wilson "Lit" Waters — Nashville, Tennessee
Irish Tradition
 Myron Bretholz, *bodhran* (Irish drum) player/bones — Arlington, Virginia
 Billy McComiskey, Irish accordion player — Baltimore, Maryland
 Brendan Mulvihill, fiddle player — Baltimore, Maryland
 Chris Norman, flute player — Baltimore, Maryland
 Andy O'Brien, guitar player — Baltimore, Maryland
Kings of Harmony — Gospel
Old-Time Country
 Julia Mae Mainer, guitar player — Flint, Michigan
 Wade Mainer, banjo player — Flint, Michigan
Piedmont Blues
 James Jackson, guitar player — Fairfax Station, Virginia
 John Jackson, guitar player — Fairfax Station, Virginia
San Juan Pueblo — Pueblo Music and Dance
 Bennie Aguino, gourd player — San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico
 Neomi Baldonado, gourd player — San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico
 Cipriano Garcia, drummer — San Juan Pueblo, New Mexico
 Irene Garcia, dresser — Espanola, New Mexico
 Sandy Garcia, drummer — Espanola, New Mexico

James Marvin Povijua,
gourd player — San Juan
Pueblo, New Mexico

Dance Parties

Participants

Izalco— Salvadoran and
Central American Music
Enrique Diaz, *requinto*/
violin/guitar/accordion
player — Washington,
D.C.

Victor Gonzales, guitar/
percussion/accordion
player — Washington,
D.C.

Hector Aquiles Magaña,
guitar player — Mt.
Ranier, Maryland

Herbert Quiñonez, guitar
player — Washington,
D.C.

Rumisonko— Bolivian
and Andean Music
Carlos Guillermo Arrien,
quena/ *zampoña*/
guitar player — Wash-
ington, D.C.

Alvaro Encinas, *charango*/
quatro/ *tiples*/ flute
player — Washington,
D.C.

Alberto Luis Lora, percus-
sion/ *quena*/ *zampoña*
player — Washington,
D.C.

Oscar Ordenes, guitar
player — Arlington,
Virginia

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Assistant Secretary for Research: David Challinor

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