



**1970 Festival of
American Folklife**

The Smithsonian Institution

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THE FOLK LIFE FESTIVAL PROGRAM

by S. Dillon Ripley



Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution,
S. Dillon Ripley.
Smithsonian photo

The Festival of American Folklife again this year presents for your enjoyment and study a few examples of the diverse oral and material cultures of the United States. The great public response to this Festival stems in part from the fact that all Americans share to some extent in the traditions represented by these grass root artists and craftsmen. The personal culture which we keep within our family reflects our most basic and immediate aesthetic expression. Our own personal folkways may be represented by proverbs, or superstitions, or a recipe for preparing food, or a song, or a joke. It may be reflected even in the manner in which we plant our gardens or decorate our homes.

Those who participate in the Festival come from many backgrounds and regions, and each participant is carefully selected by a system of field research which is conducted throughout the year. Field researchers are like cultural detectives who seek out the evidence of cultural retentions with trained eye and ear and evaluate what is discovered through reference and consultation, and who document these discoveries with written reports, tape recorded interviews, photographs and craft samples. The Festival itself is the public presentation of this research and documentation. But there are other purposes for the knowledge gained through field research. By the evaluation of this information, we can perceive social attitudes and beliefs, determine aesthetic values, develop increased historical perspectives, and study the little known cultural geography of our country.

Great cultural riches, with which we are only partially familiar, abound in the United States. The discovery of these treasures required vastly more research than we are presently able to undertake; therefore, we hope that your enjoyment and enthusiasm will lead to increased support for and interest in a more comprehensive program of research, the products of which will add immeasurably to our educational materials, our social understanding, and the quality of our lives.

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The Swiss and Italians who settled in Arkansas in the late nineteenth century with the black farmers of the delta and with the mountaineers, whose forebears hailed from Britain, are contributors to the patchwork of traditional cultures which characterize the State of Arkansas today. Each year the Festival focuses attention on a state to present an intensive picture of the stamina and variety of the area's folk cultural patterns.

Sponsorship for the Arkansas presentation has come from the Office of The Honorable, the Governor of Arkansas, Winthrop Rockefeller; from the State Parks, Recreation and Travel Commission and from a number of individuals and groups throughout the state.

A deeper insight into some of the participating craft workers and musicians as well as into the method of locating participants for the Festival can be found in the articles which follow: An Interview with Jimmy Driftwood, Ozark balladeer, founder of the Rackensack Folklore Society and Festival and creator of "The Battle of New Orleans", by James Morris, Director of the Smithsonian Institution, Division of Performing Arts; "Mister, Can You Tell Me Where This Road Goes?", by Mack McCormick, field researcher for the Festival.

Ralph Rinzler



Razor back hog, symbol of the state of Arkansas. Mother sow feeding her young. Wood carvings by northwestern Arkansas craftsman, Roy Harris.

JIMMY DRIFTWOOD INTERVIEW — 11 MAY 1970

by James R. Morris

somebody's style. For instance Bookmiller Shannon —people now are talking about going and tryin' to learn Bookmiller's style of banjo playing. We didn't ever have anything like that. A fellow just got a guitar or a banjo and might go and watch some fella and learn where to place his fingers, but not how to hit the strings. I didn't learn that way. I remember somebody tuned an old fiddle up for me and I can remember very well that I started in learnin' to play "Go Tell Aunt Nancy" or maybe you know'd it as "Go Tell Aunt Rhodie," and I learned how to play just the notes of that thing and I can remember that my mother was just, oh, she was so tired of this after a while, this same thing over and over and over. And I heard her tellin' my daddy, and he said, "What is this he's trying to play?" and I told her what I was tryin' to play, and she said, "That's 'Go tell Aunt Nancy her old gray goose is dead.'" And I remember Dad said, "Well, I wish it'd been Aunt Nancy'd been dead."

You know, and we learned to do this by ourselves pretty well and I think everybody else did. We just listened and then played our own way.

JRM: Tell me something about the traditional or folk culture of your area, both in the past and today.

JD: Now folk culture, the singing of the songs and the playing and everything that had to go with it, play parties and everything else—of course, when I was a child, that was really all the entertainment, except church, and I think you can just pretty well call church, too, a folk thing, 'cause in the early days, the songs that they sung was the songs that they knew from memory, and it was the same sort of old sermons that had been preached since Jesus Christ was here I guess. And so in the lives of our people when I was a kid it was a good thing because you met at people's homes and you sung, and you played and you visited—I think we ought to remember this word,—you *visited*—and we became closer together, and I think we loved each other. Of course we had fights, you know, but you know how it was back in those days. Two fellas had a fist fight and they shook hands and that was the last of it. They played together that night. We had a period in there when we didn't have so much folk singin' anymore. Now we have revived the same sort of thing we used to do. People again are playing at each other's houses and they are again, I think, getting closer together and they are loving each other more. I think a good example of what this can do is that people come to Mountain View to hear the music, especially for the spring festival. The kids from NY and Chicago and everywhere, they come and they hear that they can camp in my barn. They don't expect me to condescend to speak to them. But when they get here and I meet them, I shake hands with them, I bring them in the house, we give them their dinner; and we soon have them making their own coffee and washing their own dishes in the house or outside the house, and everybody being treated like somebody loved them. At first when they see this, some of them are afraid of it and wonder, "What's this guy fixin' "

JRM: When did you first begin to perform music?

JD: Now that depends on what you're talking about performing, you know, in big public or around little school houses and on the front porches and things like that.

JRM: I mean, when did you first begin to make music?

JD: I don't know how young. Just as young as a kid could learn. One of our most popular people down here is a little boy who's six years old and I know—I know I was singing when I was that old certainly.

JRM: When did you first begin to perform for a large public, Jimmy?

JD: Well, really, for real public, it would be after my first record was made. Of course, I always ran around to the schools and places like that and did programs, and in about nineteen and thirty-five in Phoenix, Arizona, I was in a contest—I was about to starve to death, and—I guess that's the reason I won—and I got on a radio program. That's really the first—I can remember that we had this darn thing in a high school in Phoenix and there was such a crowd it looked like acres and acres to me. You know, I never seen such a crowd, and I remember looking down—the only time I ever was affected in my life—and seeing that my britches' legs were shaking below my knees. Of course, you've got to remember in high school and all the country schools around, we always made up plays (I had been a school teacher), made up the songs for the plays and all that sort of thing. And that would have been the time I first started teaching school, which would have been when I was sixteen years old.

JRM: From whom did you learn songs and instrumental styles?

JD: I didn't learn instrumental styles. My father played, of course, and you know how he played. He bar-chorded across on the guitar. And I learned to do that too, but I don't do it exactly like Dad did. They're beginning to talk now of you learning

to do to me?" But finally they catch on that this is real and this is good, and we learn something about these kids and I think these kids go back home a little better than they were when they came. Now we're building a culture center, and millions will be comin' in the future, and if our people could all keep this thing that they've got now, being good to each other and being good to the people who come and being friendly and having a good time—just being friendly with people, I think this thing could spread, and I think a lot of the trouble of this world could disappear.

JRM: Tell me a little bit about your program in Mountain View.

JD: Well, every Friday night of the world we meet at the court house in Mountain View to have a program of folk music. Now we're not meeting to put on a performance. We are actually meeting to—well, we call it practice, the right word I suppose is rehearse, for the festival in the spring. We meet just to practice and if the court house is full, well that's all right. If there's not many people there, that doesn't make any difference. These are just the fiddlers, the guitar players, the banjo players, the mandolin players, the fellas who play the bow, the harmonica, the tunes that they have learned from their fathers. Sometimes our fathers and our mothers and grandfathers did a song that had at one time been a copyrighted song. But we don't know that. We don't know anything about it bein' copyrighted. Now last night, Bob Blair was askin' me to teach him, "It's a Long Way to Tipperary." He thought it was an old folk song because he heard his grandfather sing it and he didn't know it'd ever been copyrighted. His grandfather sung it and as far as he's personally concerned, this is a folk song. And we sing and we play and the people jig dance—this thing that people just jump up and do, you know, on the spur of the moment, if they like the music. It's kind of like the old-time church we had when if a preacher made a statement that thrilled some old lady or some old man, they jumped up and shouted. It's very close akin, the two things are. And of course we also have square dancing, but that's something that people can see anywhere, everywhere, on the TV or anywhere. But the jig dancing and things like that that we do, that you can only see in a place like Mountain View, I think, are the things that's important and that's why people keep comin' to see this sort of thing. The people come to see this music not because it is great music or anything like that, but they tell me because it's . . . these, this is real . . . this is just the people and just the people's music.

JRM: How many people in Mountain View actually make music?

JD: Oh my. I used to worry a little about when we got the folk culture center, I said to myself, the young folks are not playing and one of these days when we all die off, there will be a monument over there to those people who are gone and that's all you know, and that's bad. But for instance now



Jimmy Driftwood.
Smithsonian photo

when we have the annual folk festival, we have added a night and that's when the school children put on their own folk program. This year they had close to 200 school kids from all over the country. I was astounded. There was about fifteen British ballads sung during one performance. That's more than we as adults do in one of our performances.

JRM: Where did they learn them?

JD: They learned them from their grandparents and other people like that. And the interesting thing is that I had been to some of these grandparents and said, "We'd like you to teach us an old song," and they told us they didn't know any songs. But then their grandkids come home singing a song and grandpa starts singing one too. These kids have actually, well, they have mined; they've struck oil where we have hit dry holes. You know what I mean?

'MISTER, CAN YOU TELL ME WHERE THIS ROAD GOES?'

by Mack McCormick



SUNDAY MORNING: A brush arbor 'sing' in Stone County, Arkansas.

Photograph by Mack McCormick.

Hughes, Arkansas.

It's just about dusk.

Two men are standing on the porch of a small grocery store, telling things to a stranger.

"You'll probably find lots around here who do such things as make their own hominy. But I wouldn't know just who—"

"And there's some make wine for themselves," the other man put in.

"That's that scuppernong wine. They go out in a thicket and get these wild grapes and use them . . . but those grapes don't come in season till next fall."

The other man nodded. "That's just the same as going out and picking these wild greens like water-

cross and poke salit." He turned to the stranger. "If you come back in the right time of year I could carry you out in the bottoms and show you how to find some of the best food you'd ever put in your mouth."

A third man joined them, adding what he could to answer the stranger's questions.

"You're looking for people who do things, is that what?"

One of the men snapped his fingers, saying, "That fellow that makes John boats—what was his name?"

They glanced at one another. No one knew his name or what had become of him.

"I think he moved off somewhere," one said.

The talk covered a dozen or more possibilities. Mention was made of a lady who passes time making toys for children and of an herb doctor and of a garrulous fellow who tells an hour-long account of a wildcat chase. The conversation touched on a man who makes sorghum molasses and on a blacksmith and on house parties where youngsters make their own music with homemade instruments.

The talk continually verged on possibilities but somehow shied away from anything more definite. It never quite offered a lead or a set of directions to someone who might be induced to go to Washington this summer.

It looked like a dry run.

Goodnights and good wishes were passed around. The stranger walked down the steps and started along the road.

He was about thirty feet away when one of the men called after him, "Of course—there's that fellow out toward Forrest City that makes baskets."

The stranger stopped.

"He's right out there, about three miles down the road."

"What sort of baskets?"

"Those old time cotton-picking baskets. It's a man named Tim Sparks makes those."

"What kind of house would I look for?"

"You can't miss it. It's a white house on the left-hand side. You'll see a big post in front of his place where he splits the oak he uses. . . . He just weaves those baskets with his hands. It's amazing to me to watch it."

That conversation took place one evening last November. It's typical. And it's part of what might be offered in answer to the questions that come as people visit the Festival of American Folklife.

How do they get all this together? Where do they find the people?

If the undertaking is to represent, well and fully, the life and diversity and tradition of a state like Arkansas, where do they begin?

The answer, quite simply, is this: They go knocking on doors.

They ask questions. They go where the answers take them.

They talk to newspaper editors and deputy sheriffs and people in the state capitol and they talk to three men on the porch of a country grocery store.

And they begin, each of them, by asking questions of themselves:

Wonder if we can find someone who knows that classic bit of Americana with the lines

I read the evening paper until at last
I saw—Ten thousand men were wanted
in the State of Arkansas.

And then what about the song about that train that runs straight as the crow flies, the one that goes

"Flying Crow" takes water in Texarkana,
heads out for Ashdown . . .
"Flying Crow" got a red and a green
light behind
The red means trouble—the green
means a rambling mind!

Or could we find a team that can do that dialogue with the familiar punch line. "That road don't go nowhere—it just lays right there."

Each one marshals his questions, and finds there's too much to be learned, too much to ask, too much to wonder about:

Are there lumber-loading contests down around El Dorado?

What about rope tricksters and rodeo riders up at Conway?

And what of the Swiss community at Altus?

What will Helena offer? Dumas? Search? Hope? Jonesboro?

Who around Harrison makes acorn coffee and ties his fences with vine ropes?

What of tales of Stackolee and men who can hew timbers with a broadax?

What of Ozark fiddling families and Delta bluesmen—are they to be found?

What of a congregation with one great soaring voice?

Is there a chairmaker, a knifemaker, a quiltmaker or a man whose hands can shape a barrel?

Are there ragtime piano players in Texarkana—Scott Joplin's hometown? Is there a blues band in West Memphis? Or a western swing combo in Fort Smith?

What became of the Pearl Dickson who recorded "Little Rock Blues" in 1928, and what of the Arkansas Barefoot Boys who recorded that piece "Benton County Hog Thief?"

What of the roots of such people as Sister Rosetta Tharpe and Johnny Cash? What's to be found in their home communities?

What of some kids who play hambone?

Is there a gaggle of ladies who'd like to come and cook a church supper for thousands?

What of the storytelling families that Richard Dorson found in Pine Bluff?

And what of the mountain people who gave Vance Randolph his four-volume treasury of songs?

Is there a puppet show? Or a group of clog-dancers?

Are there adults who play marbles and old men who while their time playing croquet in the town square and children whose sly fingers will twist a bit of string into a "cat's cradle" and is there a horny-handed fellow who splices cables for the Mississippi River boats?

In a bountiful state like Arkansas, there are too

many questions. Only some of them can be answered.

You knock on doors. You talk to people and they tell you about their neighbors. And you go and talk to them about spending the Fourth of July in Washington.

Gradually it comes together.

The questions are merely words, but the answers they bring are the people themselves—those who journey this long way to sketch for us a picture of Arkansas folklife.

Mrs. Grace L. Wilson and her granddaughter, Marvell, Arkansas. Putting finishing touches on a recently completed quilt.

Photo by Mack McCormick





Pokeweed (*Phytolacca americana L.*)
by M. J. Harvey, illustrator.

APPETIZING TRADITIONS OF ARKANSAS

by Ruth Moore Malone, Editor:

Holiday Inn International Cook and Travel Book
(sixth edition)

Where to Eat in the Ozarks—How it's Cooked

Swiss Holiday Recipes (Ozark Wine Recipes)

Dogpatch Cook Book (Dogpatch USA)

A mess of "salit," dipper gourd hoecake, ham and sweet 'taters, catfish and hushpuppies, wild duck with rice dressing, chicken and dumplings, buttermilk biscuits, sorghum gingerbread, hill country wedding cake and dozens of other recipes reflect the heritage of Arkansas. The people who live in each part of the state have shared recipes for this collection. Some were handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. Others were culled from old files. Included are cherished secrets from the yellowed pages of treasured "receipt books."

Pioneer Arkansas Wedding Stack Cake

A favorite wedding cake in early days when sugar was not plentiful was the stack cake. Folks going to a wedding each took along a thin layer of sorghum cake to add to the stack making the bride's cake. A bride took great pride in the height of her cake for it meant she had many friends if her wedding cake was high. Some say the footed cake stand became popular because it would make a bride's cake appear to be tall even if she did not have enough friends to bring stack layers for a high cake. The bride's mother furnished applesauce to go between each layer. Sometimes frosting was used to cover the top.

Stack Cake

This recipe for stack cake layers is similar to a rich cookie dough

- 1½ cups sifted flour
- ½ teaspoon salt
- ¾ cup sugar (½ sorghum, ½ sugar)
- ½ cup shortening
- 2 heaping teaspoons milk
- ½ teaspoon baking powder
- ½ teaspoon soda
- 1 egg
- 1 teaspoon vanilla

Sift together flour, baking powder, salt, soda and sugar. Cut in shortening until mixture looks like coarse meal. Blend in egg, milk and vanilla. Divide dough into 3 parts. Roll out on floured board. Cut size of round cake pan or dinner plate. Place on ungreased cookie sheet, and bake at 375 degrees for 8 minutes.

Central Arkansas

wild duck and rice dressing	German potato salad
catfish and hushpuppies	German cole slaw
strawberry shortcake	sweet potato pudding
rice pudding	

Central Arkansas where rice fields attract thousands of wild ducks.

Roast Wild Duck

Prepare duck for roasting in the same way other fowl are prepared. Wash well and place in pan of cold salted water for 1 to 2 hours. Wash again and place in small roaster. Stuff cavity of duck with apple or carrot. Either of these will absorb some of the wild taste. Season with salt and pepper. Cover breast with butter or thin slices of salt pork or bacon. Add 1 cup of water. Cover roaster. Cook in 450 degree oven. For rare duck allow 20 to 30 minutes. For well done duck allow 45 minutes to 1 hour. Take off roaster top to brown duck during last few minutes. Make gravy after removing duck. Add table-spoon flour to part of pan drippings and blend. Brown a little then add ½ to 1 cup water and cook until thickened. Serve with Arkansas rice dressing and fresh apple or grape jelly.

Arkansas Rice Dressing

Heat 1 tablespoon cooking oil and 1 tablespoon flour over low flame until brown. Add 2 cups duck or chicken broth and cooked, chopped duck giblets. Add 1 chopped onion and 2 tablespoons chopped parsley. Simmer for 20 minutes, then mix with 4 cups cooked Arkansas rice. Heat well. Some of the dressing may be placed in duck cavity opening when top of roaster is removed to brown duck.

Catfish and Hushpuppies

The streams and rivers of Arkansas teem with catfish, goggle eye, trout, perch, and bass, so fish dinners are popular. Arkansas folk like to try fish outdoors in big kettles of hot lard or cooking oil. Fresh caught fish are cleaned and washed well, then dried and dipped in cornmeal. (Dipping fish in flour is blasphemy!) Fish are dropped in hot oil and cooked until done. The cooking time depends on size and thickness of fish (or pieces of fish).

Hush Puppies

2 cups cornmeal	1 egg, beaten
2 teaspoons baking powder	2 tablespoons grated onion
1 teaspoon salt	1 cup milk, scalded

Sift dry ingredients. Add onion and hot milk, then the egg. Shape in finger lengths or drop by spoonful in lard where fish was fried. Drain on paper. Fresh ground cornmeal is best.

Strawberry Shortcake

Strawberries are grown in many sections of Arkansas, but there are strawberries in the north central area that are excellent.

Wash and hull fresh strawberries. Save a few to decorate the shortcake, and mash the rest, adding sugar to taste. Let set for at least 30 minutes before using so sugar will dissolve in juice. With pastry blender cut 1 cup flour and 1 stick butter. Moisten with 2 tablespoons ice water. Roll out as for pie. Cut in circles about size of saucer for tea cup. Place on cookie sheet. Prick and bake at 450 degrees for a few minutes until golden. (Watch closely as they burn easily!) Place circle on plate adding berries and sweetened whipped cream. Place strawberry on top of each serving. If no cream is desired, add another circle on top of first circle and berries, then spoon berry juice over top circle.

North Arkansas

mess of salit	mountain trout
fried chicken	Ozark apple pudding
dipper gourd hoe cake	Ozark wines
old water mill Buhr	Italian spaghetti
cornmeal bread	peach preserves

North Arkansas has free flowing rivers, mountain streams, lakes, and the picturesque Ozark Mountains.

Mess of Salit

The best time to pick a mess of salit greens is in the early morning while they are moist with dew and before the sun has risen enough to make the picker uncomfortable. The only tools needed are a case knife and a basket.

Some of the better known greens to look for are lamb's quarter, dandelions, old hen and chicken, plantain, hen pepper, narrow leaf dock, mouse ears, speckled breeches, old sage, wild lettuce, poke, wild mustard and watercress.

The secret of a good mess of wild greens is knowing how to blend them before putting them on to cook. A real wild-green picker uses extra care in mixing, so the greens won't be too slick from using too much poke or too hot from too much wild mustard. Wash greens thoroughly and place in iron pot with water. Add ham hock or hog jowl and seasonings to taste. Let come to boil, then simmer turning gently with fork while cooking. Cook water low unless "potlikker" (soup to be served separately) is desired.

Ozark Fried Chicken

Clean each chicken to be fried and cut at joints. Wash well and dry. Place in paper sack with flour and seasonings of salt and pepper. Place chicken in cooking oil or shortening which is at least 1 inch deep (or more) and is hot. Add chicken to pan and do not crowd. Cook large, thick pieces together. Place lid on skillet or pan and let brown before turning. Cook after turning until chicken is done, lowering heat as necessary to keep chicken golden brown when cooked. After all the chicken is cooked and is drained, pour off all of grease except 2 to 3 tablespoons. Add flour and blend. Add hot sweet milk and cook until thickened for cream gravy. (The secret of perfect fried chicken is clean, fresh fat or cooking oil).

Ozark Apple Pudding

The Ozark region is apple country, so many dishes have been made using the delicious fruit.

1 egg beaten until thick and lemon colored
¾ cup sugar

¼ to ½ cup flour

¼ teaspoon salt

1½ teaspoons baking powder

1 cup raw apples (peeled and chopped)

½ cup nuts (preferably Ozark black walnuts)

Add sugar gradually to beaten egg. Sift flour, salt and baking powder together. Add to egg mixture. Fold in apples and nuts. Pour into well-buttered pie pan. Bake at 350 degrees for 30 minutes, or until crisp. The pudding will rise, then fall a little. Serve with whipped cream.



Sorrel (*Rumex acetosella* L.)
by M. H. Harvey, illustrator.

South Arkansas

sorghum gingerbread	creole pralines
country ham and red eye gravy	shrimp creole
hominy grits	pound cake
candied yams	

South Arkansas, nestled in the piney woods, borders Creole country.

Sorghum Gingerbread

½ cup sugar	1 teaspoon soda
½ cup butter and shortening mixed	1 teaspoon cinnamon
1 egg, beaten	½ teaspoon cloves
1 cup sorghum (or molasses)	1 teaspoon ginger
2½ cups sifted flour	½ teaspoon salt
	1 cup hot water

Cream shortening and sugar. Add egg, sorghum, then dry ingredients which have been sifted together. Add hot water last. The batter is soft, but it makes a fine cake. Bake in moderate oven at 325-350 degrees in greased shallow pan. Serves 15 people.

Country Cured Ham and Red Eye Gravy

Heat a heavy iron skillet and grease lightly with ham fat. Place ham steaks in skillet and cook quickly. It is best not to crowd meat. Sear on both sides, turning once. Do not overcook, but if slices are thick a little water may be added to let ham cook until done without browning too much. Remove ham to hot serving plate. Pour 1 cup of water in skillet and stir well to get all of drippings. A little strong black coffee may be used for part of the water, to make gravy darker and flavor richer. Country cured Arkansas ham is a real treat. In olden days wild razorback hogs were often used. Today the choice hogs of the state are used, and there are a number of excellent places to obtain hams and bacon.

Hominy Grits

Early Arkansas cooks had to make their hominy before grinding it, to make hominy grits that can be bought prepared today. Hominy was made by boiling wood ashes (1 gallon for 30 minutes) with plenty of water. This was allowed to stand until it settled, then drained into an iron kettle. Last, ½ gallon of white corn was added and boiled for 1 hour. Then it was washed in clear cold water and the process was repeated until the water was almost clear. Then the corn was cooked until tender (about 6 hours). Next the corn was spread out on a dry cloth to dry and later was ground for grits. Grits is coarse and makes many excellent dishes. Hominy is excellent served with butter.

1 cup hominy grits
5 cups boiling water
1 teaspoon salt

Stir grits slowly into boiling, salted water in heavy saucepan. Return to boil. Reduce heat and cover. Cook slowly for 30 minutes, stirring occasionally. Serve with butter, salt and pepper, red eye gravy, or as a cereal with milk and sugar. Serves six.

Eastern Arkansas

Fourth of July picnic barbecue

cawn puddin'	peach pickle
cracklin' bread and crowder peas	white fruit cake
buttermilk biscuits	chess pie
peach brandy	chicken 'n dumplings

Eastern Arkansas, with the mighty Mississippi River as the state boundary line, is a land of rich delta plantation country.

Fourth of July Picnic Barbecue

Celebrations that include all day picnics have always been popular in Arkansas. This is especially true in the eastern part of the state where plantations made distances between neighbors far. All day get togethers are days set aside for friends to come from far and wide to visit. Often a Sunday School picnic on the bank of a river is a day for people to become better acquainted. Sometimes politicians speak at "a dinner on the ground." It does not matter what the occasion may be as long as the food is traditionally done—an old time barbecue. The day before the celebration pits are dug and hickory wood cut so whole hogs or large pieces of meat may be slowly barbecued over live coals to make the best barbecue in the world. Some barbecue sauce recipes have been passed down from father to son for several generations, and there are old black men who are well known over the state for their talents in preparing a perfect barbecue. The sauce is basted on the meat over a long period of time. Generally this is done with a mop made of a clean cloth tied on a long stick. This is dipped generously into the sauce and then spread over the meat.

Barbecue Sauce

½ pound butter	1 tablespoon hot sauce or Tabasco
1 pint water	1 tablespoon black pepper
½ cup vinegar	1 tablespoon paprika
1 teaspoon dry mustard	1 onion, chopped fine
1 to 2 tablespoons sorghum (or brown sugar)	1 tablespoon salt
1 to 2 tablespoons Worcestershire sauce	2 tablespoons chile powder
	½ teaspoon red pepper

Combine ingredients and simmer over low heat for 40 minutes to 1 hour. Stir occasionally while cooking. Sauce is sufficient for 12 pounds of meat or more.

Cawn Puddin'

7 to 8 ears sweet corn (cut corn off cobs)
5 to 6 whole eggs (beaten slightly)
1½ to 2 cups cream
sugar and salt to taste

Butter heavy casserole well. Pour in corn mixture in order given above. Place casserole in pan of hot water, and cook in 400 to 425 degree oven. After pudding has cooked 15 minutes, stir so corn will mix through pudding. Cook until pudding sets (about 45 minutes to 1 hour). If mixture seems too thick before cooking, add more milk.

Western Arkansas

Brunswick stew
squaw bread
watermelon rind pickle
fresh fruit cobbler

fried okra
pumpkin pie or cake
persimmon pudding
Indian pudding

Western Arkansas is well known for its famous hot springs, Ouachita Mountains, Indian mounds, game preserves and old river ports.

Brunswick Stew

Church suppers, bazaars and Brunswick stew go together and always have in Arkansas.

Cook 4 squirrels or 1 fat hen until tender and ready to fall off bones. (Squirrel and chicken may both be used for excellent flavor). Remove meat and cut in pieces. Cut 4 pounds Irish potatoes (peeled) into cubes. Cut up 1 pint okra and 3 large onions. Place in large kettle with water. Add 1 pint corn, 1 pint tomatoes, 1 can tomato paste, ½ hottle Worcestershire sauce, ½ pound unsliced bacon (take out before serving stew). If only squirrels are used, add ¼ pound butter. Last, add juice of 1 lemon and season to taste. Add meat and stock. Cook over low heat for 2 to 3 hours. Add more water if stew is too thick, but it should be quite thick. Stir with long handled spoon occasionally to keep stew from scorching. Makes about 4 quarts or more.

Squaw Bread

3 cups flour
3 teaspoons baking powder
1 teaspoon salt

1½ cups milk
deep fat

Combine flour, baking powder, and salt. Add enough milk to dry mixture to make biscuit dough consistency. Roll out on floured board ½ inch thick. Cut into 2 by 3 inch squares. Cut hole in center of each. Fry in deep fat. Serve while hot. Allow 1 cup flour for each 3 to 4 persons.

Watermelon Rind Pickle

Dice rind of watermelon in small pieces. Soak in mild salt water overnight. Drain, soak in fresh water 2 hours. Drain. Have ready for every pound of rind: 1 cup water, 1 cup cider vinegar, 2 cups sugar, 3 inches stick cinnamon, and 8 cloves without heads. Tie spices in bag. Place in kettle with other ingredients. Boil 5 minutes. Add drained fruit. Boil for 30 minutes or until clear. Remove spice bag. Place rind in jars, cover with vinegar mixture and seal.

Some of the finest watermelons are grown in this part of the state so this recipe to use the rind is a favorite.

Persimmon Pudding

Wait until after the first frost before gathering persimmons. Rub 1 quart of real ripe persimmons through colander with

1 pint of sweet milk
1 cup butter
1½ cups sugar

1 teaspoon cloves
1 teaspoon cinnamon
1 teaspoon nutmeg

3 well beaten eggs
3 cups flour

½ teaspoon ginger and
allspice (equal amounts)

Cream butter and sugar. Add persimmon mixture and eggs. Add flour which has been sifted with rest of dry ingredients. Place in well buttered dish and bake in slow oven (300 degrees) for 1½ to 2 hours.

Recipes not included in the text may be obtained by writing to Mrs. Rurth M. Malone; 1 River Ridge Road, Little Rock, Arkansas 72207, or from Where to Eat in the Ozarks, a Pioneer Press publication, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1964.



Dandelion (*Taraxacum officinale*)
by M. J. Harvey, illustrator.

THE COOPER

*Text and photos by
Mack McCormick*

A village, a town, a city . . .

They imply a people who have learned to store food
from one season to the next.

A people who make pots and boxes and jugs.

A people whose skills may include the impressive
art of the cooper:

The man whose hands can make a barrel.



Setting up the barrel.

Wide and narrow staves are set alternately.



The bilge and head rings are set (these are used in the assembly, later replaced by hoops).

The inner rim of the barrel (known as the chime) is beveled with a chamfer knife.



The barrel is turned over and the staves at the opposite end are pulled into shape using a loop of cable drawn up by a windlass.

A quick burning fire chars the barrels (when they're to be used for whiskey) midway in the assembly.



The bilge hoops are set.

"Working it off" as Joe Catlett calls it . . . Here he finishes the grooves and gets ready to fit the heads in place.

The last step is driving the head hoops into position, thus tightening the whole barrel.



THE CHAIR MAKERS

*Text and photos by
Mack McCormick*



Tradition is very often a family matter.

Mothers teach daughters to cook; fathers instruct sons; and nearly every musician talks of an uncle who started him off.

Or take the case of some chair makers from the mountain valleys of Arkansas:

- Dallas Bump learned to make chairs from his father and has taught his own son.
- Charles Christian married into a family of chair makers and learned from his father-in-law.

The familiar rockers and porch sitters they make are simple pieces, wrought from native woods—forthright in design and bearing the tool marks of men who touch and treasure each piece of their work.

A wedge-shaped knife known as a frow is struck with a maul to rive or split out the rough timber.

The pieces are turned in a lathe.

The completed pieces are kiln dried . . .

. . . and then bored.

And quickly assembled. Even though they've never met, Dallas Bump (seen above right) and Charles Christian (seen opposite) share not only a tradition but a vocabulary: They call the horizontal cross pieces "rounds" not rungs.

For the seat, white oak is dressed down . . .

. . . and then a split knife cuts the oak into thin, pliable strips.

The splits are woven to form the seat.

This is Dallas Bump's method. Charles Christian prefers using hickory bark—the soft under-bark of hickory which he gathers in giant balls—for weaving his chair seats.



A six year program displaying aspects of Indian American life is initiated at this year's Festival; climaxing with a large, nationally representative event for the Bicentennial in 1976. The programs will concentrate annually on a regional, in depth view of Indian cultural materials. Crafts, dance, music and foods plus an exchange of ideas on major aspects of Indian life comprise the programs.

This year, Indians of the Southern Plains are featured in a series of presentations directed by Mrs. Clydia Nahwooksy. The following articles provide some background on these programs: Dr. Ewers' article on the groups of the Southern Plains and Mrs. Joanna Scherer's review of Smithsonian research on American Indian traditions.

Ralph Rinzler

of the nineteenth century. In their new homes, they became neighbors of the Southern Plains tribes who had long lived on the Oklahoma grasslands.

What is now Oklahoma was Indian country when the Spanish explorer Coronado passed through the area in 1541 in his search for the fabulous cities of Quivira. He met Indians who hunted buffalo on foot, and who transported their portable skin-covered tepees and household goods on ingenious A-shaped drags pulled by dogs. By the time the United States acquired Oklahoma as part of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the Indians of the region owned large herds of Spanish horses. They were recognized as some of the best riders in the world, killing buffalo from horseback with bows and arrows or lances, and raiding distant enemy camps. No tribes of the Old West were more daring or aggressive than were the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache of the Oklahoma region.

For decades they prevented the white settlement of the Southern Plains, and raided far into Mexico. Then, in the middle 1870's, their staff of life, the buffalo, was exterminated. The Indians had no choice but to settle on reservations and to depend on the government for the necessities they previously had provided for themselves.

Only in recent years, since World War II, has the last generation of Southern Plains Indians that remembered life in buffalo days disappeared. Their descendants live in wooden houses, go to schools, shop in towns, travel by automobile, and usually dress much like other rural people in Oklahoma. But they have not lost their traditional skills. These are expressed in finely dressed buckskin clothing worn on ceremonial occasions, in picturesque dolls illustrating traditional costumes and accessories, in colorful beadwork, featherwork, and carving, and in other handicrafts.

None of their arts is more popular among the Indians of Oklahoma than are music and the dance. When Indians of all ages gather from far and near for a pow-wow, they indulge in their common love for singing and dancing, and find relief from the tensions of modern life. They compete with one another in the beauty of their costumes and the liveliness of their dancing. While older men sing and drum, the sprightly younger ones, gorgeously befeathered and painted, perform their intricate, fast-stepping dances. When one sees them dancing a war dance one is reminded of some of the paintings of Plains Indians by George Catlin, painted from life nearly 140 years ago. And when one sees the small children giving charming imitations of the young men's actions, one realizes that he is observing an American tradition that is immeasurably old, but still very much alive.

THE SOUTHERN PLAINS INDIANS

by John C. Ewers

Senior Ethnologist, Department of Anthropology
National Museum of Natural History

More Indian tribes live in Oklahoma than in any other state. Many of them are descendants of tribesmen who lived on lands east of the Mississippi, and who were removed to the old Indian Territory that later became Oklahoma as white settlements expanded westward during the early and middle years



Frances Densmore, working with the Bureau of American Ethnology in the field of Indian music, is shown with Mountain Chief, a Blackfoot, who is listening to a song and interpreting it in sign language. Her recordings are now in the Archive of Folk Song at the Library of Congress. The scene was photographed by Harris and Ewing in front of the original Smithsonian building in March 1916. (Negative NAA 55,300)

Photographs from the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN INDIAN RESEARCH AT THE SMITHSONIAN

by Joanna Cohan Scherer

*Museum Specialist, Smithsonian Institution
National Anthropological Archives*

The study of North American Indians was one of the original interests of the Smithsonian Institution. In fact, the first scientific report it published dealt with Indian remains in the Midwest. Such contributions by the Institution to the study of man were early and vital, and had much to do with the development of anthropology in America. Today, because of the unique material in its anthropology archives, the Smithsonian continues to be a prime source of information for scholars and others seeking knowledge of the original Americans.

In 1847, one year after the Institution was founded, the Smithsonian Board of Regents declared its interest in "ethnological researches, particularly with reference to the different races of men in North America, also explorations and accurate surveys of the mounds and other remains of the ancient people of our country". The Regents also proposed the publication of a series of scientific reports. The first accepted for publication was "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley", by E. G. Squier and E. H. Davis. It was published in 1848 in the *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*.

In the 1850s and 1860s, the Institution's principal role in anthropology was as the recipient of specimens from various parts of the world, as well as archeological, linguistic, and ethnological material from North America. One of the early contributors to the anthropological collections was George Gibbs, whose interest in Indian languages led him to begin the collection of Indian vocabularies. Another was James Swan, who collected Northwest Coast Indian artifacts. Charles Bird King's paintings of Indian delegates to Washington became the nucleus of the National Indian Portrait Gallery.

The Smithsonian's interest in Indian studies was given impetus in the 1870s partly as a result of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876. For this, several government agencies received appropriations to gather material illustrating native American cultures. The Smithsonian, with its large collection of Indian artifacts, was put in charge of preparing the exhibits. When the exhibition ended, all of the collections were sent to the Institution. Frank H. Cushing, Charles Rau, and Edward Foreman, who prepared and installed the American Indian collections at the exhibition, became the first permanent anthropological staff of the United States National Museum at the Smithsonian.

The principal focus of American Indian research at the Institution resulted from the efforts of Major John Wesley Powell. Major Powell, a one-armed Civil War veteran, was a dynamic man—a teacher, administrator, geologist, and ethnologist, and probably one of the most influential scientists in Washington in the 1870s. He organized and participated in the first scientific expedition down the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon in 1871 and was a founder of the United States Geological Survey. He was also a founding member of the National Geographic Society and of the Anthropological Society of Washington. Among his many dreams was the desire to "organize anthropologic research in America." By doing this he hoped to elevate the study of Indian cultures from the realm of curiosity and to correct numerous errors of earlier publications.

It was Major Powell, more than any other individual, who prodded Congress into creating a federal bureau to study the rapidly changing Indian cultures. In the early 1870s Congress had made

appropriations for an expansion of western explorations under the direction of the Smithsonian. The resulting United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region included provisions for Indian studies. It was put under the direction of Major Powell, then fresh from his successful Colorado River expedition. In July 1874 when the Survey was transferred to the Department of Interior, anthropological research was given greater emphasis. The Smithsonian supported this by transferring its ethnological and linguistic manuscripts to the Survey. This was in keeping with the Institution's policy of not duplicating the work another government agency could do. In March 1879 Congress established an appropriation for a separate bureau to study the history, languages, and cultures of North American Indians. The Bureau of Ethnology, later renamed the Bureau of American Ethnology, was made a branch of the Smithsonian, and Major Powell became its first director. Thereafter, until 1965 when the Bureau was absorbed into the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology, an



Frank H. Cushing, who was adopted into the Macaw clan at Zuni Pueblo, and given the name of Tenatsali or Medicine Flower. He became a prominent member of the tribe, and at its request wore Zuni clothing. Photographed by John K. Hillers at Zuni Pueblo about 1880. (Negative BAE Portraits 22)

Indian Images: Photographs of North American Indians 1847-1928, an exhibition of photographs from the National Anthropological Archives is on display in the Rotunda of the National Museum of Natural History. These photographs have been selected from the collection of approximately 50,000 black and white negatives and prints relating to the more than 350 Indian tribes of North America. This collection includes portraits of individuals, as well as pictures illustrating clothing, house types, ceremonies, and crafts such as weaving, basketry, and pottery-making. Prints may be ordered through the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C. 20560. A catalog of the exhibition may be ordered through the Smithsonian Institution Museum Shops, Washington, D.C.

annual appropriation was made by Congress for its research.

Although the permanent staff of the Bureau and the Museum was small, the personnel possessed the skills of ethnologists, linguists, and archeologists. In addition, a number of other persons working in various parts of the country collaborated with the Bureau and the Museum and were encouraged to collect data. As a result, vocabularies, texts, grammatical notes, maps, transcriptions of native music, native drawings and paintings, photographs, and items of material culture, such as baskets, clothing, and weapons, were deposited at the Smithsonian. These contributions came from government officials, army personnel, doctors, teachers, and missionaries, as well as from staff members. The ethnological and linguistic manuscripts on Indians became the concern of the Bureau, and the artifacts were catalogued, maintained, and displayed by the National Museum.

The vast accumulation of data pertaining to the young science of anthropology created a need for specialization. This was reflected in the formation of a new division within the Smithsonian, the Division of Physical Anthropology, formed in 1903 and headed by Aleš Hrdlička. Hrdlička was interested in the racial history and unity of the American Indian, especially in the study of early man in America. This led him to carry out extensive research in Alaska. Also, under his direction, measurements, casts, and busts were made of many Indian delegates who visited Washington.

It was essential that an archives be established to take custody of this collection of unique data. The material resulting from the early field work of professional and amateur anthropologists was collected and catalogued, at first on an informal basis. Some of the work of contributors such as Major Powell, Otis T. Mason (famous for his studies of basketry), William H. Holmes (whose interests were art and technology), Francis La Flesche (an Omaha Indian), I. N. B. Hewitt (who was part Iroquois), Hrdlička, and others had been published in the Bureau Bulletins and Annual Reports and other Smithsonian and National Museum publications. However, significant portions of the data remained unpublished. It was the responsibility of the Bureau archives to maintain the collection over the years and to make data available to qualified researchers. In addition, the staff of the archives has handled numerous inquiries from the public about Indian life and personalities.

The archives are now designated the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives. The collection is being expanded to reflect the entire range of interests included in the science of anthropology, and now includes photographs and manuscripts from Africa, South America, Oceania and the Near and Far East relating to ethnology, linguistics, archeology, and physical anthropology. However, the material relating to North American Indians remains the most important segment of the collection, and continues to provide an unequalled store of knowledge for scholars and others studying the first Americans.

SPONSORS AND CONTRIBUTORS

We would like to thank the following organizations and individuals for their interest and contributions to the 1970 Festival of American Folklife. Without their generous support the Festival could not have been produced.

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SPECIAL THANKS TO

the Offices of the Smithsonian and to the many volunteers without whose assistance, both prior to and during the event, the Festival of American Folklife would have been an impossibility.

EVENING PROGRAMS All programs at Sylvan Theater, 8:00 p.m. Nightly pow pow central mall area, 8 p.m. except July 4.

Wednesday, July 1

Ethel Raim and Mike Seeger, MC's
Square Dance
Old Time Fiddler's Club of Rhode Island
Bogan-Martin-Armstrong Band
Elizabeth Cotten
Georgia Sea Island Children
Lebre and Pimental Families
Ralph Stanley and the Clinch Mountain Boys
Chinese American Youth Club Dragon Dancers
Addington and Carter Families

Thursday, July 2

Norman Kennedy and Jim Rooney, MC's
Square Dance
Sacred Harp Singers
John Jackson
Ward-Brewer String Band
Happy Valley Boys
Blue Ridge Mountain Cloggers
Watson Family

Friday, July 3

Ralph Rinzler, and Topper Carew, MC's
Square Dance
Norman Kennedy
Pennywhistlers
Jerry Ricks
New Lost City Ramblers
Antonio Mosquera
The Blues
Jerry Ricks
Mance Lipscomb
Sleepy John Estes
Hammy Nixon
James Yank Rachel
Arthur Crudup
Booker White
Joe Willie Wilkins Blues Band

Sunday, July 5

MUSIC FROM THE ARKANSAS
Introduction: James R. Morris
Jimmy Driftwood and Tommy Simmons, MC's
Children's Game Group
Judy Clemonson
Cleta Driftwood
Copeland Family Band
Ohlen and Retha Fendley
Ollie Gilbert
Loving Sisters
Parrish and Emberton Families
Caroline Rainbolt
Almeda Riddle
Simmons Family
Avey-Mize-Shannon String Band
Blair Family
Ira Tillman Family
Sherman Ward
Phyllis Whitfield
Joe Willie Wilkins Blue Band

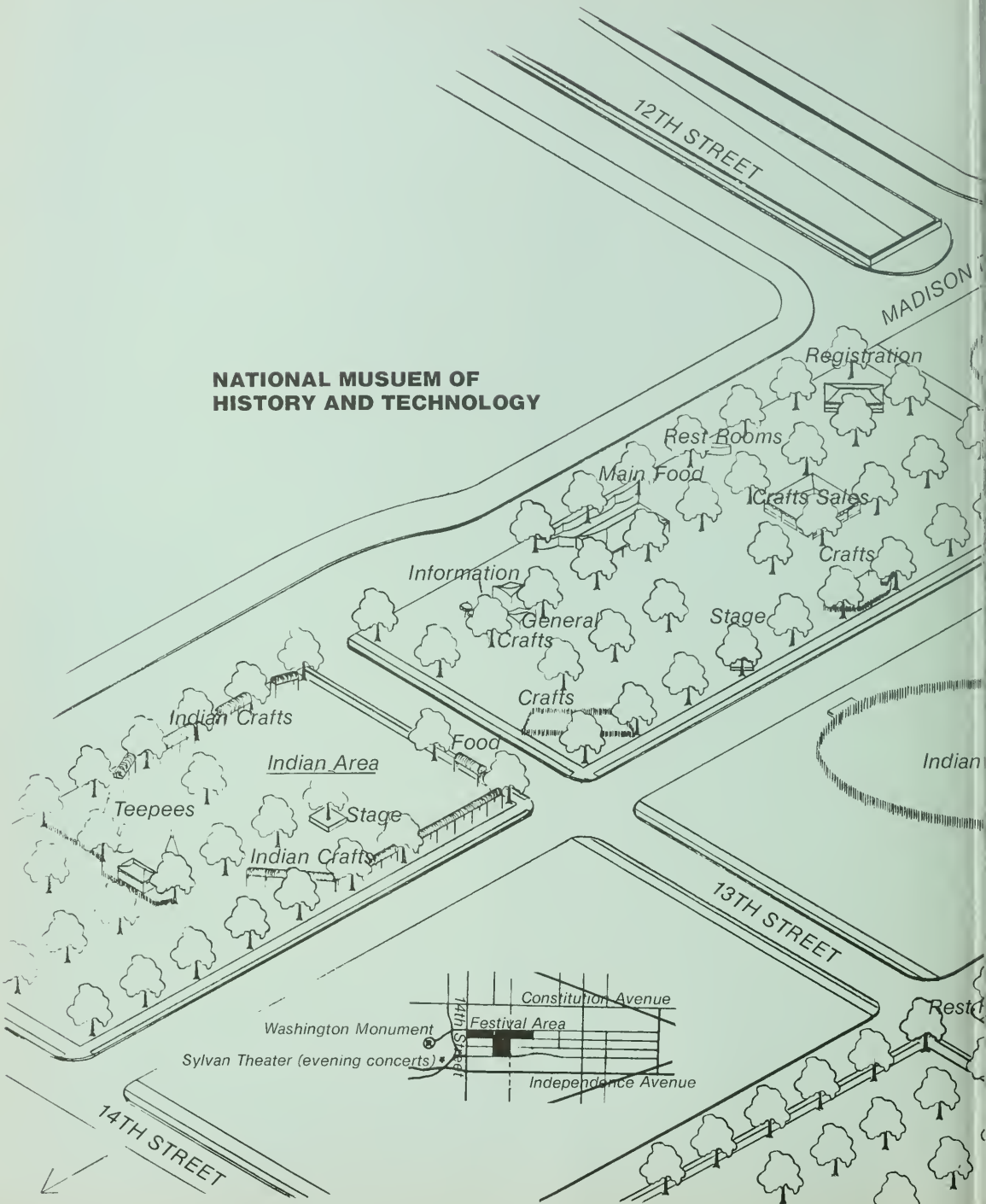
Special thanks to the National Park Service and the Shakespeare Summer Festival for the use of the Sylvan Theater for the Evening Concerts.

**FESTIVAL WORKSHOP
AND CONCERT MC'S**

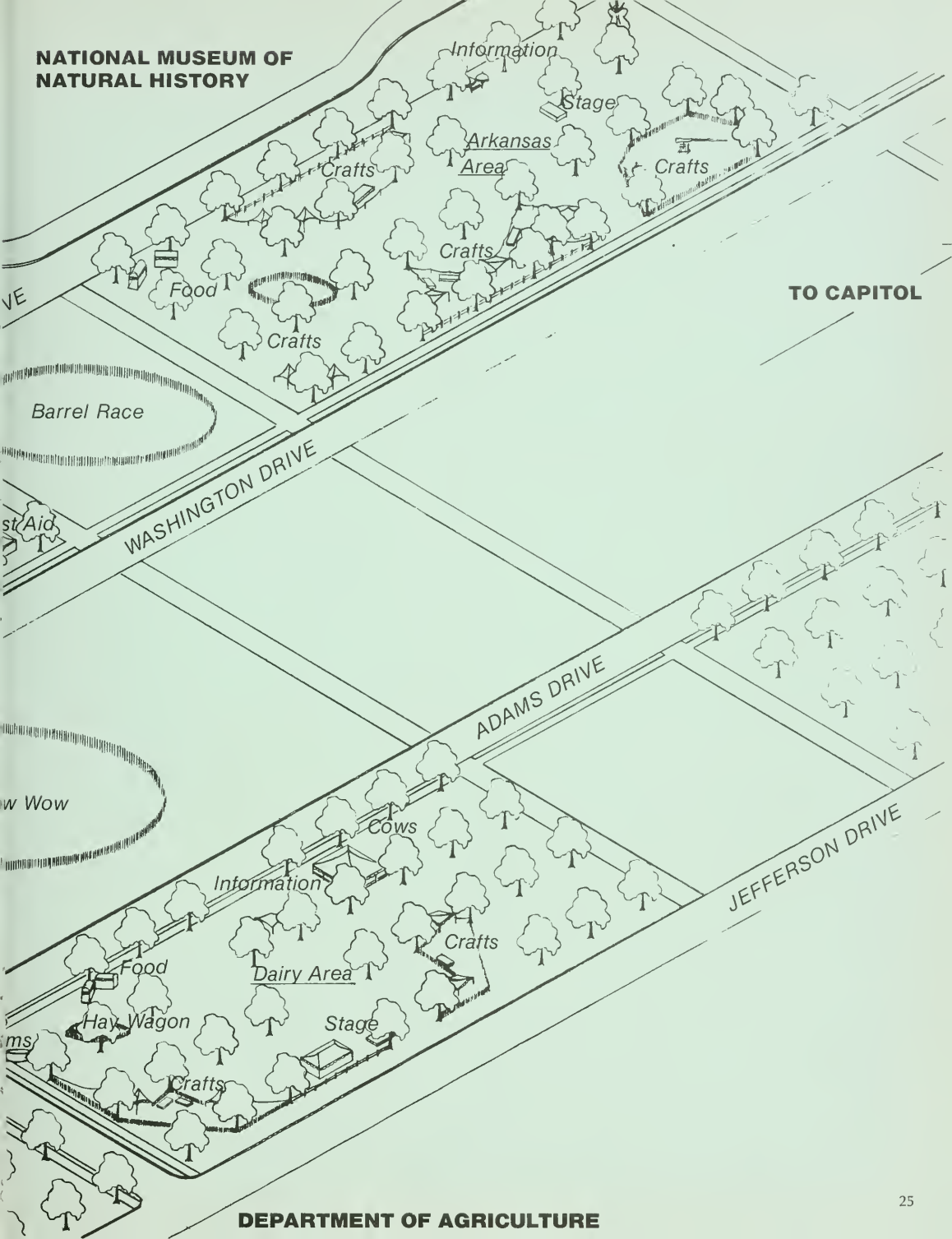
Jay Anderson
Joe Dan Boyd
Topper Carew
Mike Cooney
Josh Dunson
Joe Hickerson
Alan Jabbour
Norman Kennedy
Worth Long
Reed Martin
Mack McCormick

Guthrie Meade
Ed Morris
Hoyle Osborn
Ethel Raim
Jerry Ricks
Jim Rooney
Bob Siggins
Dick Spottswood
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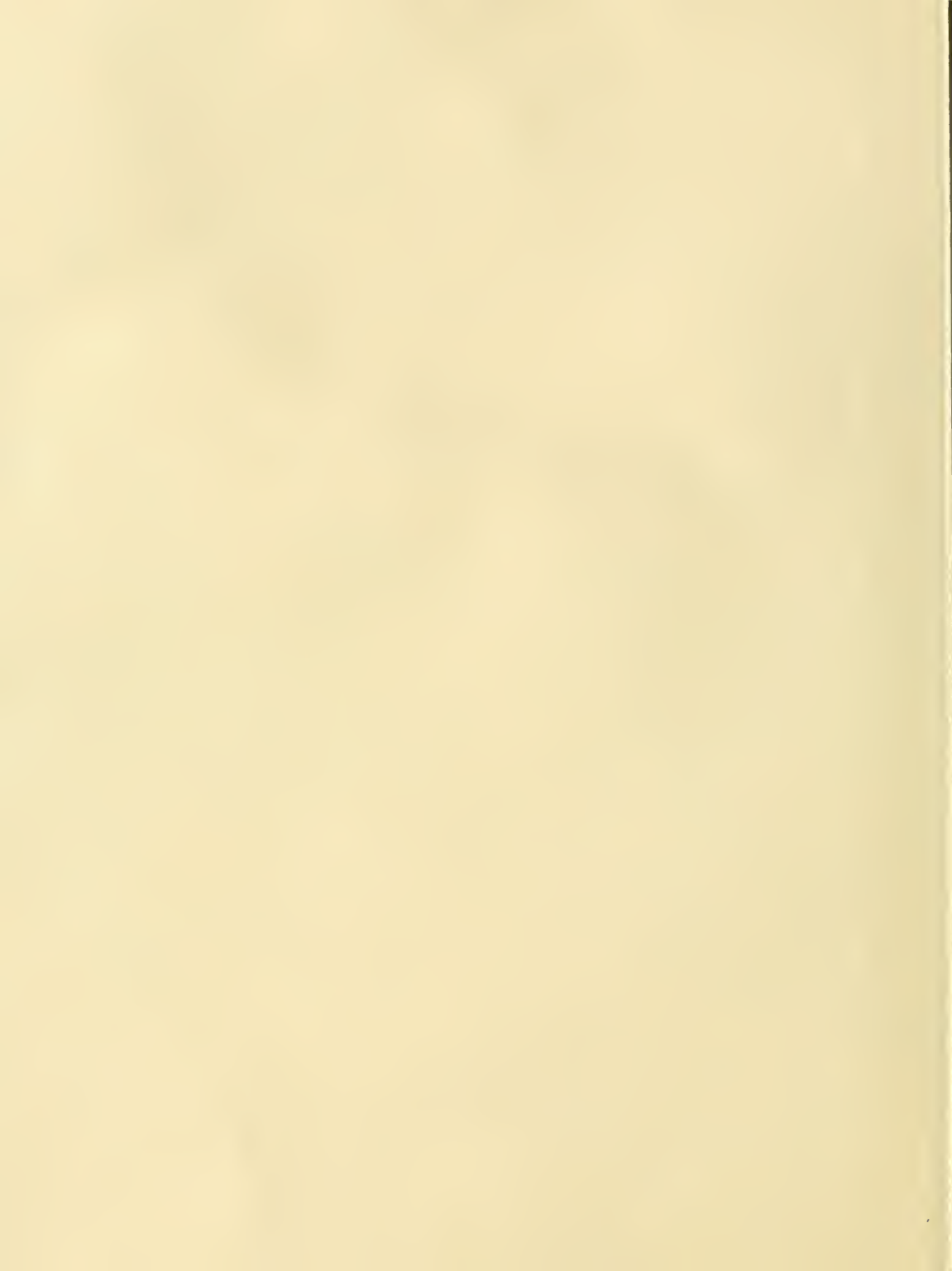
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WASHINGTON DRIVE

ADAMS DRIVE

JEFFERSON DRIVE

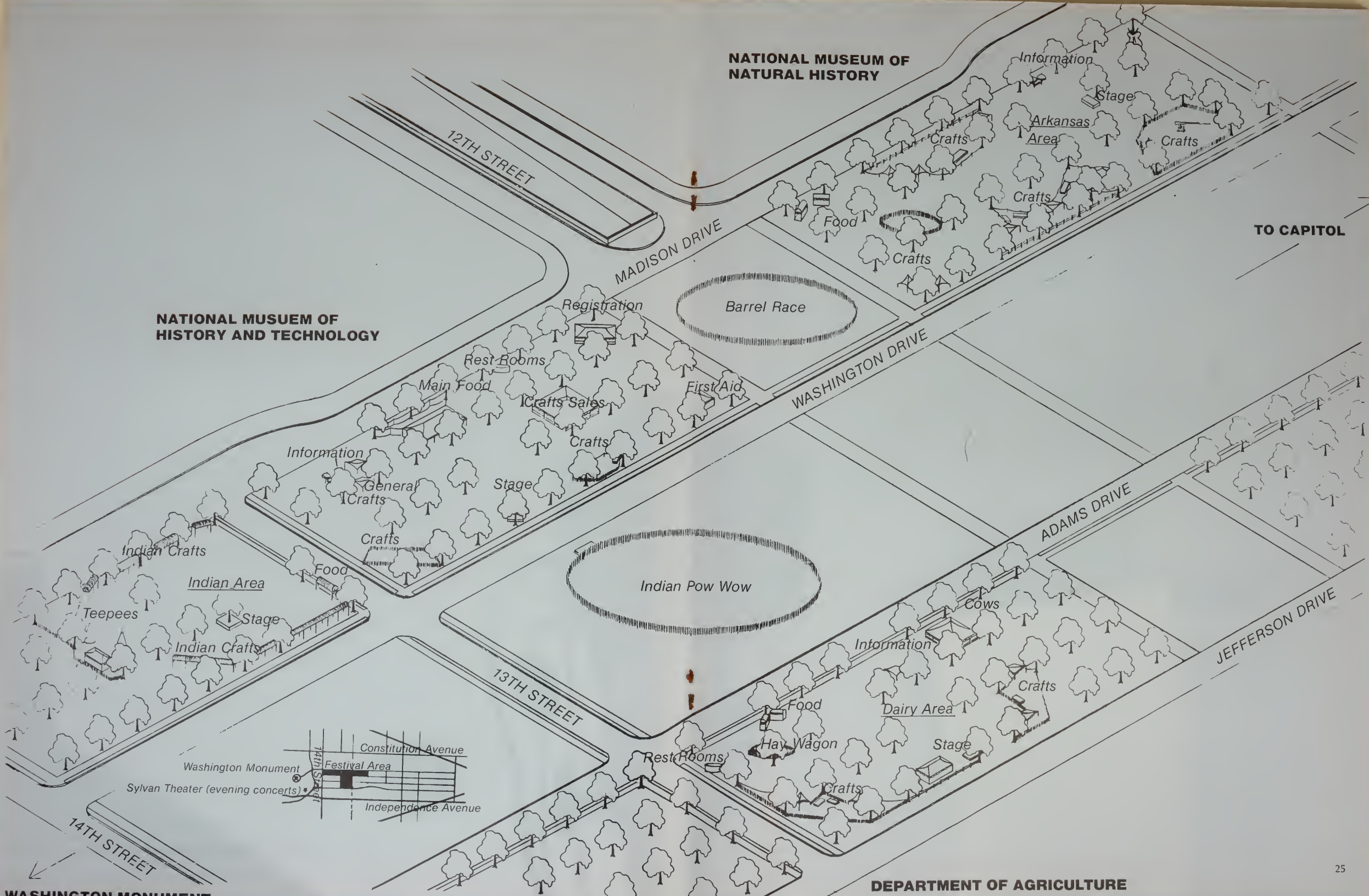
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TO CAPITOL



WASHINGTON MONUMENT

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

CRAFTSMEN

Herman Benton
 Margaret Daetwyler
 Cora Jackson
 Norman Kennedy
 Pike County Citizen's Association Sewing Committee
 Paul Shenk
 Erwin Thieberger
 Jaraslawa Tkach
 Ora Watson
 Willard Watson
 Silvio Zangrando
 Mary Zickefoose

New York grain scoop maker
 West Virginia cheese maker
 Virginia butter churner
 Virginia weaver-spinner
 Kentucky quilters
 Pennsylvania cheese maker
 Maryland coppersmith
 New York blintz maker
 North Carolina buttermilk biscuits
 North Carolina toy maker
 New York marble cutter and setter
 West Virginia cottage cheese maker

INDIAN CRAFTSMEN OF THE SOUTHERN PLAINS

Joseph Cheshewalla
 Maudie Cheshewalla
 Nelda Folsom Gallaher
 Bertha Green
 Levi Irontail
 Sophia Irontail
 Louis Jesepee
 Nema Kishketon
 Dana Knight
 Hepsy Knight
 Adam LeClair
 Bessie LeClair
 Bertha Little Coyote
 Rachel Little Coyote
 Lilly Nahwoosky
 Milton Noel
 Michelle Poafbitty
 Louise Redcorn
 Harold Redcorn
 Connie Secondine
 Dorothy Snake
 Grace Stevens
 Anne Tahmahkera
 Milton Toyebo
 Maggie Toyebo
 Berdie Mae Tointigh
 Thomas Tointigh
 Peggy Tsoodle
 Maxine Wahkinney
 Mary Wahwasuck
 Gina Ware
 Mattie Warden

Oklahoma (Osage) bone carver
 Oklahoma (Osage) bone carver, fingerweaving, shawl maker
 Oklahoma (Deleware) beadwork
 Oklahoma (Kickapoo) hide tanning, beadwork
 Oklahoma (Ponca) carver
 Oklahoma (Ponca) fingerweaving
 Kansas (Kickapoo-Potawatomi) bone carver, feather work, roaches
 Oklahoma (Comanche) beadwork, shawls
 Oklahoma (Ponca) carver
 Oklahoma (Ponca) beadwork
 Oklahoma (Ponca) leatherwork, roaches
 Oklahoma (Ponca) beadwork
 Oklahoma (Cheyenne) beadwork, leatherwork, teepees
 Oklahoma (Cheyenne) beadwork
 Oklahoma (Kiowa) cookery
 Oklahoma (Kiowa-Choctow) beadwork, featherwork
 Oklahoma (Comanche) shawl maker
 Oklahoma (Osage) babyboards
 Oklahoma (Osage) babyboards
 Oklahoma (Comanche) beadwork
 Oklahoma (Deleware) beadwork
 Oklahoma (Kickapoo) mat maker, beadwork
 Oklahoma (Comanche) beadwork
 Oklahoma (Kiowa) bows and arrows
 Oklahoma (Kiowa) cookery
 Oklahoma (Kiowa) beadwork, shawl maker
 Oklahoma (Apache) silverwork
 Oklahoma (Kiowa) shawl maker
 Oklahoma (Comanche) beadwork
 Kansas (Kickapoo-Potawatomi) ribbonwork, cookery, beadwork
 Oklahoma (Kiowa) beadwork, cookery
 Oklahoma beadwork, shawl maker

ARKANSAS CRAFTSMEN

Myra Adams
 Dallas Bump and Fred Bump
 Floyd Carter and Ruth Marie Carter
 Charles Christian and Betty Christian
 Junior Cobb and Jimmy Nelson
 Issac Doss
 Deborah Gibbs and La Vonne Gibbs
 George Gibson
 Ben Harris
 Roy Harris and Alma Harris
 Violet Hensley and Sandra Hensley
 John C. Hoovler
 V. Otis Johnson
 Len McSpadden and Elliott Hancock
 Alice Merryman
 Bill Phillips and Claude Phillips
 Tim Sparks
 Morbuert Stewart and Kevin Stewart
 Ira Tillman Family: Ira Tillman, Sr., Erma Jean Tillman,
 Harvey Lee Tillman, Ira Tillman, Jr., Johnny Lee Tillman,
 Fred Tillman, Willie Lee Tillman, Dorothy Tillman Husky
 Essie Ward
 Wiederkehr Family: Herman Wiederkehr, Al Wiederkehr,
 Brenda Wiederkehr, Gail Wiederkehr
 Grace Wilson

Arkansas corn cookery
 Arkansas chair makers
 Arkansas fishing lures
 Arkansas chair makers
 Arkansas wood carvers
 Arkansas blacksmith
 Arkansas silhouette cutters
 Arkansas basket maker
 Arkansas cooper
 Arkansas carver, doll maker
 Arkansas fiddle makers
 Arkansas knife and tool maker
 Arkansas turkey caller maker
 Arkansas dulcimer makers
 Arkansas corn husk broom and doll maker
 Arkansas log cabin builders
 Arkansas basket maker
 Arkansas corn millers
 Arkansas sorghum makers
 Arkansas country scene painter
 Arkansas wine makers
 Arkansas quilter

PERFORMERS

Addington and Carter Families: Dewey Addington and Maybelle Carter Doc Addington Helen Carter, Sarah Carter and Jeanette Carter Kelly	Tennessee Indiana Virginia	traditional old-time country singers and musicians
Blue Ridge Mountain Cloggers: James Kesterson, Arlene Kesterson, Sherry Keeter, Leonard Moody, David Moody, Jimmy Rathbun, Cindy Rumstock, and Margie Steele	North Carolina	square and clog dancers
Ted Bogan and Carl Martin Howard Armstrong and L. C. Armstrong	Illinois Michigan	blues string band
Chinese American Youth Club: Billy Guey, Dennis Lay, Way Lay, Eddie Lee, Harry Lee, Herbert Lee, Wallace Lee, William Lee, Wally Mah, Benny Moy, Eddie Moy, Teddy Moy, Jenning Wong	Washington, D.C.	dragon dancers
Ralph Stanley and the Clinch Mountain Boys Elizabeth Cotten "Big Boy" Arthur Crudup Sleepy John Estes	Virginia Washington, D.C. Virginia Tennessee	blue grass band country songsters and guitarist blues singers and guitarist blues singers and guitarist
Alice Foster and Hazel Dickens Georgia Sea Island Singers: Jerome Davis, Peter Davis, Bessie Jones, Jo Angela Jones, Rose Jones, Stella Jones, Vanessa Jones, and Emma Ramsey	Washington, D.C. Georgia	country singers shouts, spirituals, rings plays, and jubilees
Happy Valley Boys: Charley Bailey Danny Bailey Garry Henderson, Mary Morgan, Tom Morgan, and Dave Norman	Tennessee Delaware Tennessee Maryland	Tennessee string band mandolin guitarist bass, autoharp, guitarist, and banjo
Leroy Mumma John Jackson Casey Jones Antonio Lebre, Alice Lebre, Natalia Lebre, Gilberto Pimental, and Jose Pimental	Pennsylvania Virginia Washington, D.C. Massachusetts	fiddle blues singer and guitarist bagpiper-Scottish war pipes Portuguese fado musicians
Mance Lipscomb Antonio Mosquera and group Mountain String Band: Kahle Brewer, Fields Ward, Wade Ward New Lost City Ramblers: John Cohen Tracy Schwarz Mike Seeger	Texas New York Virginia New York Pennsylvania Maryland	blues singer and guitarist Gallician Spanish piper, drummers, and dancers old-time string band
Old Time Fiddler's Club of Rhode Island Pennywhistlers: Francine Brown, Shelley Cook, Joyce Gluck, Alice Kogan, Deborah Lesser, Ethel Raim, and Dina Silberman Artie Rose	Rhode Island Pennsylvania	fiddle band East European folk songs
James "Yank" Rachel Jerry Ricks Sacred Harp Groups: Dewey Williams, W. Columbus, Cleona Derry, Bernice Harvey, Nancy Hogan, Dovie Jackson, Japheth Jackson, Pauline Jackson, and Robby Reynolds Hugh McGraw, Buell Cobb, Ora Lea Fanning, Raymond Hemrich, and Charlene Wallace Ruth Denson Edwards, Elmer Kitchens, Nora Parker, Walter Parker, and Pernie Pelfry	Indiana Pennsylvania Alabama Georgia Alabama	accompanist blues mandolin player blues and country singer and guitarist spiritual singers
Tommy Standeven Watson Family: Gauthier Carlton Arley and Ora Watson Arthel Doc Watson Merle Watson Nancy Watson Rosa Lee Watson	New Jersey North Carolina	Irish uilleann bagpiper
Booker White Rev. Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick	Tennessee New York	fiddler guitarist and fiddler singer-string instrumentalist guitarist singer singer-guitarist blues singer and guitarist freedom songs

INDIAN PERFORMERS OF THE SOUTHERN PLAINS

James Cox and Marie Cox	Oklahoma (Comanche)	narrators
Daniel Cozad	Oklahoma (Kiowa)	dancer
Linda Kaye Geigamah	New Mexico	dancer
Levi Irontail	Oklahoma (Ponca-Sioux)	singer
Nemah Kishketon	Oklahoma (Comanche)	singer
George Kishketon	Oklahoma (Kickapoo)	singer
Dana Knight	Oklahoma (Ponca)	narrator, singer
Ralph Kotay	Oklahoma (Comanche)	singer
Raline Lasley	Oklahoma (Osage)	dancer
Rayburn LeClair	Oklahoma (Ponca)	dancer
Elizabeth Moore	Oklahoma (Kiowa)	dancer
Milton Noel	Oklahoma (Kiowa-Choctow)	dancer
Timothy Nestell	Oklahoma (Kiowa)	dancer
Michelle Poafbitty	Oklahoma (Comanche)	dancer
Connie Secondine	Oklahoma (Comanche)	dancer
Vance Tahmahkera and Anne Tahmahkera	Oklahoma (Comanche)	dancers
Sheron Toyobo and Janet Toyobo	Oklahoma (Kiowa)	dancers
Lee Tsatoke, Jr.	Oklahoma (Kiowa)	dancer
Fred Tsoodle	Oklahoma (Kiowa)	singer, narrator
Tim Tsoodle and Mabel Tsoodle	Oklahoma (Kiowa)	dancers
Maxine Wahkinney, Raymond Wahkinney, Sr., and Raymond Wahkinney, Jr.	Oklahoma (Comanche)	dancers
Jim Warden	Oklahoma (Arapaho)	singer

ARKANSAS PERFORMERS

Children's Game Group	Arkansas	black singing games
Judy Clemonson	Arkansas	dulcimer player
Jimmy Driftwood and Clela Driftwood	Arkansas	Ozark ballad singers
Family Band: Percy Copeland, Ida Copeland, Dale Copeland, and Betty Copeland	Arkansas	harmonica with string accompaniment
Ohlen Fendley and Retha Fendley	Arkansas	jig-dancers
Ollie Gilbert	Arkansas	ballad singer
Walter Gosser	Arkansas	banjo picker
Loving Sisters: Gladys McFadden, Josephine Dumas, Anna James, and Lorraine Leeks	Arkansas	gospel singers
Leonard Givens		organist
Rev. Myron Parrish, Wanda Parrish, Patti Jane Parrish, Gene Emberton, and Fay Emberton	Arkansas	gospel singers
Caroline Rainbolt	Arkansas	jig dancer
Almeda Riddle	Arkansas	Ozark ballad singer
Jean Simmons, Pam Simmons, and Tommy Simmons	Arkansas	dulcimer players
String Band:	Arkansas	
Lonnie Avey		guitarist
Seth Mize		fiddler
Bookmiller Shannon		banjo player
String Band:	Arkansas	
Bob Blair		fiddler
Wesley Blair		guitarist
Dean Hinsley		mandolin
Ira Tillman Family	Arkansas	shape note singers (7-shape)
Sherman Ward	Arkansas	guitarist and singer
Phyllis Whitfield	Arkansas	dulcimer player
Joe Willie Wilkins Blues Band	Arkansas	
Joe Willie Wilkins		lead guitar
Theophlies "Fat Hurd" Hessensha		drums
Houston Stackhouse		rhythm guitar
Willie Kilgrew		bass
Sammy Lewis		harp

INDIAN PANEL DISCUSSANTS

Bob Carr	Laguna Pueblo
Rupert Costo	Cahvilla
Lionel DeMointigny	Chippewa
Frank Ducheneax	Sioux
George Kishketon	Kickapoo
Robert Lewis	Zuni Pueblo
Adelthena Logan	Onondaga
Reaves Nahwoosky	Comanche
Edison Realbird	Crow
Kathryn Redcorn	Osage
Abbott Sekaquaptewa	Hopi
Bob Stopp	Cherokee
Buffalo Tiger	Miccosukce
Sylvester Tinker	Osage
Bruce Wilkie	Makah
Duffy Wilson	Tuscarora
Gerald Wilkerson	Cherokee

In past years, the Festival has featured products and related processes which have a rich background of folk technology and folklore—most recently, the Folklife Festivals have stressed wool and corn products. This year, the presentation of dairy products as well as the related exhibit of present day milk production in the lobby of the Department of Agriculture (adjacent to the Dairy area on the Mall) have been sponsored by the Dairy Industry Committee for Greater Metropolitan Washington.

A variety of pamphlets on dairy products are available from: University of Maryland, Dairy Department, College Park, Maryland. These include "Home Made Cultured Buttermilk," "Home Pasteurization of Milk," "Bulgarian Milk or Yoghurt," "Farm Butter Making," and the article which follows, "Farm Cottage Cheese Making."

Don Yoder is a noted scholar and author of numerous articles on Pennsylvania folklife. He was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, edits the Society's exceptional Journal (Pennsylvania Folklife, Box 1053, Lancaster, Pa.), and has held a key role in planning and directing the annual Pennsylvania Dutch Folklife Festival at Kutztown (also held annually on the July fourth weekend). In addition he is the chairman of the graduate and undergraduate programs in Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. Yoder leads American scholars in drawing on the examples of northern European folklife research programs. His contribution to this program, which unfortunately necessitated editing to fit the confines of this book, can be obtained in its original form by writing to: The Division of Performing Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560. The article typifies the breadth of Dr. Yoder's thorough and knowledgeable approach to his subject, providing the full range of regional terms, material and spiritual culture references and colorful anecdotes.

Ralph Rinzler

FARM COTTAGE CHEESE MAKING

by W. S. Arbuckle
Professor Dairy Manufacturing



A pierced tin cheese colander and mold from Pennsylvania.
Photo by Karas.

—Preparing the Milk—

The making of cottage cheese in small quantities for home use is not a complicated project but requires careful attention at certain points. The method is essentially the proper souring of milk, removal of the whey, and the treatment of the curd. One should use strictly fresh skim milk which has been produced and handled under the best sanitary conditions. In determining the amount of milk to use in making cottage cheese one may expect to obtain about one and one half pound of cottage cheese curd from a gallon of skim milk.

Pasteurization: The skim milk should first be pasteurized by heating to 142° to 145°F. and maintaining that temperature for 30 minutes. This may be done with a double boiler arrangement or home electric milk pasteurizer. It is essential that the temperature of the skim milk does not get above 145°F.

After the skim milk is pasteurized it should be cooled quickly to 70° - 75°F. if it is to be used immediately, or to 40°F. if it is not to be used immediately for cheese making.

—Equipment and Ingredients—

The equipment necessary for the making of cottage cheese includes a large double boiler or home electric pasteurizer, dairy thermometer, colander, large spoon, curd knife, large spatula, fresh commercial buttermilk or clabbered milk for starter, junket tablets, cream and salt.

—Making Cheese—

1. Sanitize all equipment with hot water or chlorinated cold water just before use.
2. Adjust the temperature of the pasteurized skim milk to 70° to 75°F.
3. Add ½ cup of cultured buttermilk or clabbered milk per gallon of skim milk. Stir the milk thoroughly so that the cultured buttermilk or clabber is well distributed. If clabber is used it should be obtained from the natural souring of the cleanest milk possible.

4. Dissolve ¼ junket tablet in two tablespoons of cold water and add one tablespoon of this solution to each gallon of skim milk used. Stir the milk thoroughly.

5. Cover the milk and let it stand undisturbed for 12 to 16 hours (overnight) at 70° - 75°F. It should coagulate into a firm curd.

6. Cut the firm curd into squares of about one inch with a large knife.

7. Allow the cut curd to stand undisturbed for 10 minutes. Then heat very slowly to 110° - 155°F. It should take about 30 minutes. A quart of warm water (100° - 110°F.) per gallon of skim milk may be added to help raise the temperature. Stir the curd gently every five minutes.

8. Drain the whey by pouring the curd into a clean colander. Handle carefully to prevent breaking the cubes. The whey should be drained from the curd within 15 to 20 minutes.

9. Wash the drained curd in two successive waters at about 50°F. and allow to drain.

10. After the curd has been drained and washed it may be salted and creamed to taste. About one to two teaspoons of salt per gallon of milk used or pound of cheese made and about ⅓ cup of fresh pasteurized cream per pound of cheese made is suggested.

—Storage—

Cottage Cheese spoils easily. The use of pasteurized skim milk and pasteurized cream in making it will reduce spoilage. It should be made often and consumed in a fresh state. Place cottage cheese in a clean closed container and keep cool until ready to consume or market.

References:

1. Cottage Cheese Recipes—Clemson Agri. Ext. Service Circular 426. 1957
2. How to Make and Use Cottage Cheese—N.C. Agri. Ext. Service Misc. Pamphlet No. 160. 1956



Hand carved Pennsylvania Dutch butter mold.
Earl and Ada Robacker Collection.
Photos by Karas

COME, BUTTER, COME!

by Don Yoder

Chairman, Department of Folklore and Folklife
University of Pennsylvania

The study of regional foods and cooking traditions is an important part of folklife research. A large number of these traditions in regions of the United States relate to dairy products of European origin, which go back to prehistoric times, when men first domesticated milk-producing animals. One of the problems posed by a perishable product like milk is its preservation in forms that can remain edible. Early in man's development, three processes capable of dealing with this problem were discovered: the souring of milk, the production of butter, and the chemical reconstruction of the solid ingredients in milk into cheese, a durable product that lasts for months.

The soured foods produced in the cultures of Europe and Asia are very ancient. Adopted by our primitive ancestors from necessity, they became staples and some have remained so to the present. Sour cream is a popular food in America today. It comes to us from European peasant cultures via the Jewish emigration from eastern Europe.

A more widespread food in early America was curdled sour milk, which in various forms is also an "in" food at the present time. It was known by a fascinating variety of names. The principal authority on America dialects, Hans Kurath, says that there is no national or literary term for curdled sour milk. Instead, he notes, we use a number of regional and local terms. These include *clabber* in the South, *clabbered milk* in the Ohio valley, *bonny-clabber* in the Philadelphia area and central Pennsylvania down into the upland south, *bonny-clapper* in eastern New England, *lobbered milk* or *loppered milk* in western New England and parts of New York, *cruddled milk* (a Scotch-Irish term) in western Pennsylvania, and *thick milk* in eastern Pennsylvania (from Pennsylvania German *dicke Millich*). The words *clabber*, *clapper*, and *lobbered*, *loppered* are anglicized forms of Gaelic *hlaber*, meaning "thick" or "mud"; *bonny* is from the Gaelic word for milk.

Yogurt is a similar dish that arose in the pastoral cultures of Central Asia. In the nineteenth century it entered the urban culinary culture of western Europe via Paris, and is now a stylish health food in the United States—another example of a primitive or folk food of lowly origins which has been graduated into general use on another level of culture.

Butter Technology

Butter technology is a fast-disappearing art of the American farmwife. Butter, of course, is made from cream. In the days before the invention of the DeLaval separator, the cream was skimmed from the top of cooled milk with a skimming spoon and placed in a cream crock until there was enough for a churning. Until it was ready to skim, the milk was stored either in the dairy rooms of the farmhouse, in ground cellars, in springhouses, or in crocks in the kitchen during the winter, usually near the stove in a milk cupboard. Churns were of two main traditional patterns. One was the vertical upright model, with a dasher which one thrust up and down until the butter began to "come". The other was the barrel-type churn, with a crank attached to a reel with four paddles inside that churned the cream into butter. The process of churning took from half an hour to two hours, depending on the stubbornness of the cream in assuming the desired consistency.

In older times when the butter was stubborn and refused to come, our forefathers sometimes attributed the recalcitrance to a witch's spell. There were supposed to be "butter witches" who specialized in such operations. To make counter-witchcraft, one sure-fire method was to plunge a red-hot poker into the churn. It was believed that this released the butter from the spell, and damaged the witch at the same time. Based on European prototypes, such stories are common among the folk tales of every American region.

A simpler, less occult method of "helping" the butter to come was to recite a butter charm. These

were sung or chanted and, in addition to their original purpose, provided a pleasant accompaniment to the laborious task of churning. One example, from Georgia, is:

Come, butter, come!
Peter's waiting at the gate,
Waiting for his butter cake.
Come, butter, come!

Butter was a basic item in the farm economy, one of the principal offerings of the farmer or farmer's wife to the network of farmers' markets in the nearby cities. In earlier days farmers in outlying areas salted down their butter in crocks or tubs and wagoned it to the market town once a year, or traded it to the local storekeeper. Others who lived nearer town "tended" market week after week with fresh butter. In the nineteenth century "Philadelphia butter" produced in the springhouses of the Quaker and Pennsylvania German dairy areas near Philadelphia had an extremely high reputation. The Philadelphia market system produced several advancements in butter technology, such as butter tubs and other gear which were pictured in the farm



Pennsylvania churn and crock from the Earl and Ada Robacker Collection.
Photo by Karas.

periodicals and adopted in other areas. In New York state, which was also renowned for dairying, Orange County had the reputation of producing the finest butter.

A byproduct in churning was the very rural drink called buttermilk. In pasteurized form this has now become a popular food for diet-conscious city and suburban dwellers. It was not always a favorite drink. One seventeenth century New Englander, complaining at having to drink water, left us this testimony to the low status of buttermilk: "I dare not preferre it [water] before good Beere as some have done, but any man would choose it before Bad Beere, Wheay or Buttermilk." Buttermilk was not wasted in those times, however. It was fed to the pigs or used in cooking. Housewives used it instead of milk as an ingredient in pies, biscuits, cookies, cakes, pancakes (buckwheat cakes and flannel cakes), and other everyday American foods.

Cheese Production

Cheese production in rural America was more complicated than butter production, because it

involved a variety of products with varying techniques and equipment. The cheese products of America were inherited from the highly developed dairy cultures of Europe and the British Isles.

Technically, cheese is manufactured by isolating the solids in milk (casein, fats, and ash) into a product that can be preserved and is easy to transport. A catalyst known as "rennet" renders the casein insoluble, thus freeing the watery portions of the milk. As the nursery rhyme about Little Miss Muffet explains, two elements are involved, curds and whey. The curds are the basis of cheese, which ranges from the hard cheeses which are grated for use in soups and hot dishes, through moderately hard cheeses like cheddar, to the soft or white cheeses, of which cottage cheese is the best example.

Cottage cheese is the simplest of all American cheeses to produce. The traditional procedure, once known by heart by most American housewives, was given in an 1856 cookbook:

Take one or more quarts of sour milk, put it in a warm place and let it remain until the whey separates from the curd; then pour it into a three-cornered bag, hang it up, and let it drain until every particle of whey has dripped from it; then turn it out, and mash with a spoon until very fine, after which add a little milk or cream, with salt to taste; before sending it to table (if liked) dredge a little black pepper over the top.

In the summer, the curd bag was hung up out of doors, often under the grape arbor which adjoined the kitchen porch.

"Cottage cheese" is the commercial name. It reflects British origins where the term cottage means a small farmhouse and cotter a farm laborer with a small holding. Another regional term for it is *Dutch cheese*, found in western New England and referring to the Hudson Valley Dutch culture. This term was carried westward with the New England migrations into New York state, the Western Reserve area of Ohio, and northern Pennsylvania. Below the Dutch cheese area, from southeastern Pennsylvania to the Midwest, is an area where the commonest name for cottage cheese is the Pennsylvania German loanword *smearcase* (German *Schmierkäse*). However, in the original Holland Dutch area, the Hudson Valley and adjoining parts of New Jersey, cottage cheese is called *pot cheese*, based on the Dutch *pot kees*. In eastern New England the most common term is *sour milk cheese*, and on the New Hampshire coast and in Maine one says simply *curd* or *curd cheese*. In the Carolinas the term *clabber cheese* is used.

Related to cottage cheese are the fancier soft cream cheeses. The principal American variety is now known commercially as Philadelphia cream cheese. This was once a country product and is related to the soft *petit suisse* and *neufchatel* cheeses of Alpine Europe.

Of the traditional cheese-producing areas of the eastern seaboard, those in New England, New York and New Jersey had the highest reputations. Rhode

Island cheese was particularly celebrated, and was exported to England and Barbados in great quantities. Cheshire, Massachusetts, produced a cheese of record size in America, the famous "mammoth cheese" weighing 1,450 pounds, which was sent as a gift to President Jefferson on New Year's Day in 1802. He graciously returned a portion of it to New England to let its Yankee donors see how good their cheese was.

The cheese culture of the Pennsylvania Germans is complex. The center of the cheese-producing area is the eighteenth century settlement of the Swiss Mennonites in Lancaster and Lebanon counties, where at least half a dozen traditional cheeses are known. Among them is one called *Tsieherkees*, which some scholars connect with European *Ziegenkäse* (goat cheese) because of its yellow color. In English it is called *egg cheese*. The ingredients include boiling milk, curdled milk, eggs, salt, and saffron. This cheese is associated with the Pentecost season in the spring, and is also found in the Pennsylvania German settlements of Ontario.

The Pennsylvania Germans also produce some examples of the "riper" type of cheese whose principal commercial type is *limburger*. One of them is a soft cheese familiarly known in the Dutch country as *Schtink-kees*, or in English "stink cheese." Another of the Pennsylvania cheeses is rumored to have acquired one aspect of its flavor from the fact that it was "aged" in a pile of horse manure. Neither of these, unfortunately for the world, has been graduated into a commercial variety.

The nineteenth century Swiss settlements in Ohio, Wisconsin, and other parts of the Midwest have transplanted Swiss cheese technology and Swiss varieties of cheese into our diet. Among these is the common "Swiss" or *Emmentaler* cheese. Cheese factories were established early in these settlements.

Today, the home production of dairy products has been largely replaced by the dairy industry with its creamery and cheese factory complex. One agricultural historian reports that between 1840 and 1900, the dairy industry was transformed from a simple home enterprise, conducted mostly by farm women, into a highly organized commercial industry conducted almost wholly by men.

The Dairy Cow

The cow and its care and feeding provide another important chapter in American rural life. This topic includes such areas of study as barn and stable architecture, the milk house, the meadow and grazing systems, haymaking with its wagons and hayforks and other tools, fencing, veterinary folk medicine, and the lore of the cow.

Of interest to linguists is the wide variety of names used for cows. Among my own favorites are the names given to his cows by an imaginative Missouri cousin of mine: "Dessie" for a cow born in December, and "Phoebe" for a cow born in February. Cow calls are also fascinating, since they vary from region to region. When one calls cows in the pasture, the most common New England call is *Boss!* or *Bossie!* sometimes preceded by *so* or

come. In the Middle Atlantic states down through Appalachia, one calls *sook!* or *sookie!* or *sook cow!* In the south, the call used is *co-wench!* or *co-inch!* or *co-ee!* More localized variations are seen in the New Jersey *kush!* or *kushie!* and the Pennsylvania German *woo!* or *whookie!* and in the German calls *komm da!* and *seh!* (Pennsylvania German cows understand Pennsylvania German). Equally varied are the calls to cows during the milking process, to calm them, or to urge them to stand still. These include *so!* *saw!* *sto!* *stehn!* and *hoist!* (with the vowel sound in "high"). According to Hans Kurath, the call is often accompanied by the pet name of the cow, or an affectionate word for "cow" (*bossie*, *wench*, *sookie*, etc.). Calls to calves involve the terms *bossie*, *sookie*, *sookie*, *bossie*, *cossie*, *cussie*, *co-alfie*, *cubbie*, *co-dubbie*, *hommie*, *hommilie*, *tye*, *kees* and *kish*.

Calling the cows home from pasture at the end of the day was once a pleasant chore for older farm children. They tracked the animals in upper pastures or nearby woods by listening for the bell which was worn by the lead cow. Cowbells also had regional



Pennsylvania milk pitchers from the Earl and Ada Robacker Collection.
Photo by Karas

patterns. As late as the early years of this century, some farmers also marked or branded their young cattle and left them to range in the mountain pastures for the summer. This system, transhumance or seasonal nomadism, is an ancient pattern in Alpine Europe and was also found in some areas of the British Isles, especially Ireland.

The material culture of dairy technology, including the tools and vessels used in connection with milking, is another field of folklife research.

Milking was done by hand until the invention of the milking machine, which one agricultural historian described as a wedding of cow and pump. There is a curious division of labor insofar as milking is concerned. Among New Englanders it was the men who normally did the milking, but among Pennsylvania Germans it was the women. This may reflect the earlier division of Swiss rural culture into two main branches, the farmers and the herdsman, each of which disliked the other.

Milking was a basic chore, no matter whether it was done by women or men. In the early twentieth century, when many farmers still milked their own

herds, city children visiting country uncles were always instructed on the etiquette of approaching the cow on the proper side, on the use of the milking stool, on the reassuring calls to give to make the cow stand still, and on the various methods of keeping the switching tail out of the milker's face. If they were lucky, they could witness a demonstration of how to feed the patiently waiting barn cats with a jet of milk, direct from cow to cat.

Milking stools varied in form. Some had four legs and were called "milk benches." Others had three legs and a round seat—the true "milk stool." Others, for the daring and the sober, were made by attaching a square board to one leg or peg in the middle. Milking on these one-leggeds was a balancing feat that took some skill. Other milkers simply squatted by the cow.

Butter molds are among the most attractive reminders of the world of the farm dairy in nineteenth century America. Carved in traditional or Victorian designs ranging from the wheat sheaf to the cow, they "printed" the farmer's butter for sale at the market house, or simply were used to decorate the roll of butter for table use. In some cases families had their own distinctive designs by which customers could tell their product, but in most cases the designs were just designs. Today, the neatly carved molds are highly sought-after American rural antiques. The hand-carved ones were often produced by the farmers themselves as winter work. Later on, they were factory-made with victorianized designs, but were still attractive.

The butter and cream crocks made by the old rural potteries have also become collector's items, as have articles of old gray stoneware with blue designs. The woodenware associated with the farm dairy is interesting too. Butter tubs and churns have fallen into disuse, but those preserved in museums are important examples of the rural cooper's art.

The lore of the dairy has left us a heritage of many proverbs and sayings. Examples are "don't cry over spilt milk" and "butter wouldn't melt in her mouth." Our folksong repertoire includes the "pretty milkmaid" category and its parallel, the "broken-hearted milkman" songs. A few examples still current in Virginia include "Butter and Cheese and All," "The Milkman, or Pretty Polly Perkins" (which begins "I'm a broken-hearted milkman"), and "Mother, Buy Me a Milking Pail."

Other examples could be cited "till the cows come home," but these should be sufficient to show the permanent impression farm dairying has made in American folk traditions.

Readers may wish to learn more about the traditions of farm dairying by consulting some of the following references used in preparation of this article.

For a discussion of the souring method of preserving foodstuffs in Swedish peasant culture and its great antiquity, see "Kost" by Brita Egardt in *Schwedische Volkskunde* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1961), pp. 376-378.

The basic butter technology is described historically in *The English Dairy Farmer, 1500-1900*, by G. E. Fussell (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1966). Chapter V, "Butter and Cheese Making"; see also Paul V. Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815-1860* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), Chapter XI, "Dairy Farming."

For the European folk beliefs and customs associated with butter and butter making, see the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, I, 1723-1763. Examples from America can be found in *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina*, II (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1964), pp. 439-446, Nos. 7531 ff.; *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, VII.

Butter charms were collected by interviewing rural informants and through a query published in the *Atlanta Constitution*. For the butter chants of the Pennsylvania Germans, see *Songs Along the Mahantongo*, Walter E. Boyer, Albert F. Bueffington, and Don Yoder, editors (Hatboro, Pennsylvania: Folklore Associates, 1964), p. 120.

One of the most complete European works on cheesemaking is Von Klenze's *Handbuch der Käseerei-Technik* (Bremen, 1884). It lists 156 different varieties of cheese from Europe and America. Also see *Milk and Its Products: A Treatise Upon the Nature and Qualities of Dairy Milk and the Manufacture of Butter and Cheese*, by Henry H. Wing (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911). Wing's classification (pp. 199-200) includes (1) hard or soft cheeses, from the amount of water retained in the cheese; (2) skimmed or cream cheeses, from the amount of fat removed or added, and (3) fermented cheeses.

The procedure for making cottage cheese is from *Widdfield's New Cook Book*, by Hannah Widdfield (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, T. B. Peterson and Bros., 1856), pp. 357-358.

For a recipe for "Old-Fashioned Stink Cheese," see *The Menonite Community Cook-book: Favorite Family Recipes*, by Mary Emma Showalter (Scottsdale, Pennsylvania: The Menonite Community Association, 1950), p. 113. The recipe comes from Oregon, but the finished product smells just like the Pennsylvania variety.

A magnificently researched monograph on animal bells is "Herdengelaute und seine Bestandteile," by Konrad Hörmann in *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, Volumes XII-XV (1913-1916).

For information on the Irish practice of "booleying," see *Irish Heritage*, by E. Estyn Evans (Dundalk: W. Tempest, Dundalgan Press, 1942), Chapter VI, "Village and Booley." Transhumance is also referred to as seasonal nomadism; as parallels to "booley" in other European cultures, compare the terms, *alp*, *saeter*, and *summer shielings*.

For the elaborate variety of Pennsylvania German designs in butter molds, see "Butter Molds," by Earl R. Robacker in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, VI, 1 (June 1954) pp. 6-8, also "Philadelphia Butter," in an issue of the same publication, VIII-2 (Fall-Winter 1956-1957), pp. 8-13.

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A "FREIGHT TRAIN" PICKER: ELIZABETH COTTEN

An interview by Mike Seeger

Have you ever wondered how a person in a community happens to become a good folk musician? After you've talked about this with a number of singers and instrumentalists, you find that the process is a fairly constant one, no matter what the type of community, what the size of it, where it is, whether it is black or white. Perhaps the most common pattern is this: a person grows up in a situation in which there is music made by people he or she knows, perceives music as something you do (rather than sit through), gets occasional use of someone else's musical instrument and manages to learn some basic techniques, then begins to do a little experimenting, and finally, in the best cases, comes out the other end with a style that is at once in the tradition and expressive of the person making the music, public and private.

In 1966 Mike Seeger taped an interview with Elizabeth Cotten in the course of which much of this was finely illustrated and illuminated. Libba has been an influence on a wide range of performers in recent years as well as an important member of the folk scene in her own right. One can use the same words to describe her as a person and the music she makes: delicate, gentle, expressive, lovely. We thought the conversation with Mike would interest you, so parts of it are presented here.

My mother's father had ten children and he was a hard worker. He worked the children very hard. She was the second child and he just about made a boy out of her. You know: 'cause he needed another boy so bad. He was a man who loved to have plenty of everything. They had cows, horses, plenty of butter, chickens, eggs, everything that farming people had, he had plenty of it. My mother was raised up on a plenty to eat but she worked very, very hard for that. My grandfather had a granary, a smokehouse. My grandmother never had to go to the field, she was the housewife. . . .

My father's people was Indians, my father's mother was a slave. My mother's people were not slaves.

What kind of work did your grandfather and grandmother on your mother's side do?

They were farmers. That's about the onlyest thing at that time for colored people to do. They didn't live close nowhere that they could work for nobody. They just kind of had to sow their grains and reap

them. 'Cause there was no other way to make a living.

I used to hear my mother say she used to go so far to help somebody—to scrub, clean and churn, and right at that time I don't think they had a car—and she had one or two kids I'm sure. And they'd give her milk and butter to pay her with, meal, a piece of meat. Money was never involved in it. . . . I used to hear my mother say how far she'd have to go and come; but she would go. And saying this white lady would be very nice, would always give her a hunk of meat, meal, as much as she could bring—sweet potatoes and all that kind of stuff—home to the children. And she'd go and work near about all day for that. . . .

After we came to Chapel Hill (my father) worked in a mine . . . it must've been a iron mine, I guess it was. That's the onlyest thing I reckon it would be in Chapel Hill. It was right off the railroad track that you've heard me talk about so much. . . . And my daddy he was the dynamite setter.

My father was a man; he never wanted a easy job. If somebody offered him a easy job he'd say, "Oh that's a boy's job." He wouldn't take it. He liked a hard job—looked like he worked very hard. (If he) didn't he felt like he weren't a man or something. My father was very tall, kind of a raw-bone man. What I mean by that, he wasn't fat. He was big bones, gray skin, beautiful hair, and his hands was nice and thin, he had nice thin foot. But he wouldn't take no easy jobs.

. . . When my brother left home I didn't have nothing to play—nothing to pick, rather—no strings. So I wanted me a guitar. I wasn't twelve years old and I goes to work for this lady; her name was Miss Ada Copeland. . . . I'd give anything to find those people again. She paid me seventy-five cents a month. She said I was very smart, I was a lot of help to her. The kids liked me; she had two children, a boy and a girl, and sometimes they'd cry when I'd leave to go home. So she said to my mother, she says, "We're going to raise little Sissie's wages," says, "we're going to give her more money." So they gave me a dollar a month, twenty-five cents raise. That was a pretty good high raise, wasn't it? And if you think about it, it sounds like a little money, but in them days for a child not twelve years old, if you think about it, it might've been a good price, I don't know. 'Cause my mother was one of the top cooks in Chapel



Elizabeth Cotten.
Photo by Mark Power

Hill, one of the best, and she didn't make but five dollars a month.

But anyway, I saved my money and bought me a guitar. Only one place in Chapel Hill at that time you could buy a guitar. That was Mr. Gene Kates—he's there yet. I think the store is in the same spot. And my mama carried me there to buy this guitar. So he says, "Aunt Lou, bring your little girl back tomorrow and I've got the guitar I think is for her." Went back the next night and sure enough, there was my guitar. I knowed it was mine laying on the showcase. So he says, "Well, Aunt Lou, I got your little girl a guitar." And she says, "Well, Mr. Kates, I don't know how." She thought it was going to be a whole lot of money, I reckon. She says, "I don't know whether I can get it or not. How much money is it, Mr. Kates?" He says, "Aunt Lou, I'll tell you the truth, as long as you and your little girl wants a guitar as bad, you can have it for \$3.75." And mama had that much money of mine where I'd done worked I don't know how many months

for it. And the name of that guitar was Stella. . . . And I liked my guitar so very, very much, and that's when I began to learn how to play a guitar.

Is that the first guitar you ever played?

My first guitar.

You'd only played banjo before . . .

Banjo. My brother had a banjo.

He didn't have a guitar?

Yes, he had one later, I think. . . . It might've been one he borrowed from somebody.

Can you remember what kind of style you played first?

The first thing I'd do, I layed the guitar flat in my lap and I worked my left hand 'til I could play the strings backwards and forwards. And then after I got so I could do that, then I started to chord it and get the sound of a song, a song that I know, and if it weren't but one string I'd get that. Then, finally, I'd add another string to that . . . and kept on 'til I could work my fingers pretty good. And that's how I started playing with two fingers. And

after I played with two fingers for awhile, I started using three. . . . I guess all that was learning me how then, I was just trying to see what I could do. I never had any lessons, nobody to teach me anything—I just picked it up.

After I bought Stella, I wasn't too long learning. I played all the time. My brother used to play, but he didn't play like me. And the friends of his that owned guitars and come in there to play, they didn't play like me. . . . I didn't hear nobody picking no strings, they sang to the music and made chords. My brother played very, very pretty. . . . The strings would just say what he was going to sing.

And then when I started my finger picking, his friends sometimes would come over to play with me and I was always the leader and they'd play like my brother played—behind me. I would lead the song and then they would, what you call it, strum. They didn't pick it. And they used to say to me, "Sis, how in the world do you get your fingers to pick all them strings?" Well, I wouldn't know.

I just loved to play. That used to be all I'd do. I'd sit up late at night and play. My mama would say to me, "Sis, put that thing down and go to bed." "Alright, mama, just as soon as I finish—let me finish this." Well, by me keep playing, you see, she'd go back to sleep and I'd sit up thirty minutes or longer than that after she'd tell me to stop playing. Sometimes I'd near play all night if she didn't wake up and tell me to go to bed. That's when I learned to play. 'Cause then when I learned one little tune, I'd be so proud of that, that I'd want to learn another. Then I'd just keep sitting up trying. I tried hard to play, I'm telling you. I worked for what I've got. I really did work for it.

. . . and then you dropped the guitar for awhile?

I did on account of religion. . . . When I was in my teens I got religion on that song you hear me play—"Holy Ghost Unchain My Name." And I was baptized. Where I was baptized was something like a creek. The pastor would have somebody to kind of dam it up so the water could get deep at a certain place. . . . The deacons, if any of them people see you or hear tell of you doing something that's not Christian, they would report it at the church. So they told me, "You cannot live for God and live for the devil." If you're going to play them old *worldly* songs, them old rag-time things, you can't serve God that way. You've either got to do one or the other. . . . "Well, I got to thinking of it, I got religion, I joined the church for better and . . . I want to do the right thing. I didn't stop all at once 'cause I couldn't, I loved my guitar too good. I just gradually stopped playing. And then it weren't too long 'til I got married. And when I got married that helped me to stop because . . . then I started housekeeping, and then it weren't too long before I had a baby and my baby and my housework and my husband, I loved that so much, until I just kind of drifted away from the guitar. I just didn't do it much. And then, to keep from going out to work and leaving my baby, I taken

in washing and ironing at home. Had about three families' wash that I'd do at my home. And by doing that, and my cooking and taking care of her, I was busy, I just forgot about the guitar, and to tell the truth I don't know what happened to the guitar. I've tried to think. I don't know whether it was left or whether somebody borrowed it, I don't know what happened to that Stella. . . .

I came back (to Washington years later) to be with my daughter when her baby was born so I could take care of the family . . . and I started going out there and doing day work. And I applied at Lansburgh's Department Store for work before the holidays. That must have been in '47 or '48 . . . and they hired me and they give me a job up on the fifth floor with the dolls. They couldn't have pleased me no better in the world. . . .

And Mrs. Seeger came in the store. She bought two dolls from me and a little lamb. I think the little old lamb, it laid around for the longest time. She brought two girls with her. While the dolls were getting wrapped at the counter, Peggy wandered off—she was the oldest little girl with her—and she got lost in the store. So me and her other little sister was running around to find her. And I found Peggy, she was crying. 'Course tears came in my eyes 'cause the child was crying. Then when I brought her back to her mother, her mother says to me, "Have you worked here long?" and I told her, "No." And she says to me, "If you ever decide to stop working here, here's my telephone number—give me a ring sometime." I told her, "Yes, ma'am, I'd be glad to." But when she came in the store I just said within . . . "Now I would love to work for that lady." . . . not knowing I was ever going to work for them.

So when I stopped working for Lansburgh's store and decided to look for work, I did call her, and so I took the job to give them lunch on Saturdays and dinner plus the other work I was doing. . . .

And she had all kinds of instruments around there . . . guitars, two pianos. So when she'd go in to start her lessons I'd get Peggy's guitar and go into the dining room and play myself a little tune. So I was there playing one day and Peggy and Michael overheard me and they said, "Why Elizabeth, we didn't know you could play a guitar." Well, I was standing with the guitar and nothing for me to say. I just played the guitar. Peggy said, "That certainly was a pretty song, would you play it for me? Would you learn me how to play that?" So then I started learning Peggy how I know to play it, and she wasn't very long picking up "Freight Train." And then I showed Mike; he played "Freight Train." And when I knowed anything the two of them could play the same songs as I could just like I played them.

And that was my first guitar between all that time, I don't know how long it was, but it was a long time. And that guitar, the lost child at Lansburgh's store, is what made me what I am today—a "Freight Train" picker. That's the truth.

THE SACRED HARPERS AND THEIR SINGING SCHOOLS

by Joe Dan Boyd

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"This is not listener's music. It is singer's music." Thus Dr. George Pullen Jackson explained not only the perplexity experienced by the urban listener when first exposed to Sacred Harpers' "dispersed harmony," but also the fervor of the traditional singer—whose feeling for this old-timey, unaccompanied singing is a form of non-denomination "old-time religion."

Also known as *shape-note*, *four-note*, and *fasola music*, Sacred Harp singing (a term derived from the song book used) stands alone as the survival of a tradition which saturated the South after first being disseminated through similar books by "Yankee singing school masters" of the colonial Northeast. Their art was derived from elements in mid-seventeenth century European "polyphony," Old English solmization, and the uniquely American shaped, patent or character note heads. Though in the Northeast this cultural antique surrendered with little struggle to the subsequent seven-shape do-re-mi invasion, which in turn lost the all-out war with the unshaped "round head" notes, Southern resistance via the Sacred Harp simply went "underground"—or, more accurately, was ignored by that community of reformers which Dr. Jackson labeled the Better Music Boys. And not until publication in the 1930s of Dr. Jackson's patient, thorough scholarship did it become clear that the singing would endure with the ancient song tunes, whose durability was probably never seriously threatened.

Dr. Jackson's scholarship, which resulted in the tradition's "white spiritual" designation, and that of his disciples, has created a Sacred Harp "mysti-

que" which has filtered into the folk tradition itself, adding strength to an already persistent survival of these folk hymns, religious ballads and camp-meeting choruses. Fasola folk sing today, as always, primarily for the pure joy of voicing praise to God, but with the added knowledge that their rite preserves and perpetuates an important stream of this nation's cultural history.

The Sacred Harp singers use only four note names (fa, sol, la, mi) for the seven tones of the scale. Each has its characteristic shape for rapid reading, the position on the printed staff indicating its pitch (since there are two fa's, two sol's and two la's in the scale). Songs of the Sacred Harp are written in four harmonic parts: bass, alto, tenor (melody), and treble (high harmony), with all parts except bass sung by both men and women. Since the melody-carrying tenor is accorded only token dominance, casual listeners sometimes complain of a "chanting noise with no tune," while devotees invariably praise the strong "austere, manly sound." As Dr. Jackson phrased it, "There is no effeminate ear-tickling in the Sacred Harp songs."

Since four-shape composers include a separate staff for each voice, and arrange harmony by placing voices in a "four-staff-ladder" fashion, the *Sacred Harp* pages have retained that traditional oblong shape characteristic of early singing-school manuals. And, as Dr. Jackson explained: "The twenty pages or so of 'Rudiments of Music' at the beginning of the book represent a feature brought to America from England over 200 years ago."

These "rudiments" were intended to facilitate both self-instruction and the courses of study arranged by the traveling singing school teachers who set up shop for days or weeks at a time. It is to such singing schools that we may attribute the growth and survival of Sacred Harp singing. Dr. Jackson called the singing schools "the beginning of all group singing" and "the cradle of musical democracy in the South." While no longer widespread, Sacred Harp singing schools nevertheless continue to strengthen the tradition and introduce youngsters to it.

For instance, Hugh McGraw, executive secretary of the Sacred Harp Publishing Company (Denson Revision), taught a week-long night school last year at Double Springs, Alabama. And, despite the ethnic limitations suggested by George Pullen Jackson's "white spiritual" term, Negro Dewey Williams teaches a Sacred Harp singing school "every year or so" at Slocomb, Alabama.

Black singers have adopted or adapted the "white spiritual" tradition in at least three geographic areas, the three-corner juncture of southeast Alabama, southwest Georgia and northwest Florida; Union County, New Jersey (via Alabama migration), and northeast Texas. In fact, Judge Jackson (1883-1958) spearheaded publication in 1934 of a *Colored Sacred Harp*, featuring compositions largely by Alabama blacks. Though out of print, his book continues to supplement use of the "standard" *Sacred Harp* (Cooper Revision) at some of that state's black singings.

Actually, four versions of the *Sacred Harp* are used today: the J. L. White edition to a limited extent around Atlanta, Georgia; the James edition at some south Georgia singings; the Cooper edition along the Gulf Coast from Florida to Texas, and the Denson edition in most of Georgia and Alabama. Users of the Cooper and Denson editions far outnumber the others, and the Denson book appears to be the most dynamic, having been revised as recently as 1960 and 1966.



Japheth Jackson, son of Judge Jackson, who compiled the Colored Sacred Harp in 1934, leads 'Concord' at the annual Judge Jackson Memorial Singing, in April 1969 at the Union Grove Baptist Church near Ozark, Alabama

Photograph by Joe Dan Boyd

It is the purpose of the *Sacred Harp* section of the Smithsonian Institution's 1970 Festival of American Folklife to introduce the entire tradition, with emphasis on the singing school aspect. Each day, members of the *Sacred Harp* community will conduct a "mimi-lesson" in fasola "rudiments" just as they have always been taught. In addition, authentic *Sacred Harp* singers will present a daily abbreviated singing, allowing visitors to participate.

Thus, Festival visitors may attend singing schools, ask questions, see and hear actual singings, or—with sufficient motivation—begin a journey toward becoming proficient four-shape singers and composers. While each day's singing school will be conducted by a qualified instructor, all participating singers welcome discussions with visitors.

The tradition beckons!

The Folklife Society of Greater Washington has a group which meets one Sunday a month to sing *Sacred Harp* hymns and to share a pot-luck supper. Residents of the Washington area who are interested should write to P.O. Box 19303, Washington, D. C. 20036. Others around the country who would like to start their own singing gatherings may write for hymnals and records to: *Sacred Harp Book Co.* (for Cooper revision)

P.O. Box 46
Troy, Alabama 36081
Hugh McGraw (for Denson revision)
P.O. Box 185
Bremen, Georgia 30110

"This Festival is like the visible part of an iceberg," notes James Morris, Director of The Division of Performing Arts and originator of the event. The non-visible support is the research, documentation and direction supplied by countless scholars, institutions and interested, creative people across the nation. A few such programs are reviewed here both to under-score our gratitude for their aid and in the hope that those who enjoy the Festival and seek a deeper understanding or involvement with the fields of folklore, folklife, cultural anthropology and history will be aware of a few of the avenues open for work in these areas.

The Smithsonian's Office of Academic Programs provides a number of research positions at the Institution annually. Richard Lunt, grant recipient for the 1969-1970 year surveys his field research leading up to his doctoral dissertation on an aspect of folk technology and its relation to a regional industry and tradition; Alan Jabbour and Joe Hickerson of the Library of Congress Archive of Folksong review programs and services of this unique section of the Music Division; Richard Dorson, Director of Indiana University's Folklife Institute provides insight into undergraduate and graduate programs in folklore and folklife; and Peter Smith, research associate in the American Studies Program, introduces a relatively new area of research and documentation, industrial archeology.

Ralph Rinzler

THEY STILL TAILOR MAINE LOBSTER BOATS

by C. Richard K. Lunt
University of Indiana Folklore Institute

Boatbuilding may seem unrelated to the banjo playing, storytelling and Indian dancing that are presented at the 1970 Festival of American Folklife. However, the same traditional body of ideas that motivates and influences the folk performer, narrator, or dancer also is manifested in the enduring evidence of craftsmanship.

The author of this article has been working under a research appointment from the Smithsonian Office of Academic Programs in a field of investigation that includes the study of lobster boat building on the Maine coast as a traditional, community-related industry in which the correlation of craftsman to client, or maker to user of a traditional artifact, can be examined.

Maine lobstermen have remained independent enough to retain for themselves a precious service in this industrial age—the privilege of commissioning the individually tailored building of their own lobster boats.

Professional, traditional boatbuilders provide this service, although it may not survive much longer because of the growth and increasing sophistication of fiberglass boatbuilding for the workboat market. Presently, however, there remain approximately fifty boatbuilding shops on the coast of Maine whose primary business is the construction of wooden lobster boats. It is to these craftsmen that most lobstermen prefer to turn for their work boats. The lobstermen, through experience and custom, have come to require certain characteristics of boat performance. They demand seaworthiness under varying weather conditions, durability, maneuverability, adequate speed, working comfort,

sufficient carrying capacity, and, perhaps most compelling, economy. They want boats which achieve these performance requirements in time-tested ways. In addition, it is important to them that their boats be built according to locally accepted standards of appearance.

Thus the traditional boatbuilder, who develops his own designs, must create boats which satisfy a very choosy buyer. He must be sensitive and responsive to the lobsterman's needs. To do this, he relies heavily on his apprentice training and experience as a builder, his creativity in improving the local type of boat, and his salesmanship. The builder, after spending many years in his trade, settles into the practice of constructing a progressively more integrated design. His apprenticeship and early experience instruct him well in the accepted boat forms. He innovates only after mastering his craft. In his mature period he develops his own personal style or variation on the local boat type, and it is frequently this which attracts his clientele to him.

After a lobsterman chooses his builder, they meet and discuss requirements. They agree on a model and a price, while exchanging experiences, opinions, and attitudes about specific boat qualities and how to achieve them. The lobsterman pays twenty-five percent of the purchase price in advance. Then the builder proceeds to adjust the design to the buyer's satisfaction. The builder lays the keel, sets up molds, bends frames, and fastens planks. He follows a schedule lasting several months from the time the keel is laid to completion of the hull and superstructure, with engine and equipment installed. The final cost to the buyer is about \$12,000—ample reason for the lobsterman's concern with the preparation of his new boat.

The folklorist is interested in recording this construction process, but is especially concerned with defining and understanding the social context in which it occurs—the body of tradition that influences the buyer and builder in their thinking. Their concern for improvements in boat design must be balanced against past successes. It is clear that the successes of boats built in the past are always an influence on both craftsman and client. The builders and lobstermen have great respect for the traditions which protect them against a high rate of failure in boat design.

The relationship between the craftsman who builds the product and the man who is to use it has a history as long as the specialization of tool-making. But in our complex society one seldom has a chance to observe a situation in which builder and user meet face to face and work together directly. Industrialization has placed many middlemen in between, and the relationship is often muddled, or even lost entirely. The relationship between producer and consumer is now best evident in activities such as boatbuilding, chair making, rug weaving, or in the performance of traditional music where the musician is a "craftsman" and his audience is the "user" of the entertainment he provides.

While observing the exhibits and performances at the 1970 Festival of American Folklife, the visitor should be aware of the reality and authenticity of the regional American folk culture that he sees, and of its importance in telling us basic facts about ourselves. Folklore is the body of traditional, verbally expressed, conventional ideas shared by the many groups in our society. Folklife is the assemblage of traditional material objects and their use which reflect these ideas. Folklorists, through the study of these traditions, gain insights into the structure and unwritten ways of society.

We are indebted to our cultural past for aid in many of the decisions we make, the entertainments we choose, the labors we perform. Not many of us are lobstermen who have boats built, but most of us buy cars and can openers, furniture and

houses. What traditional values prevail in our relationships with the producers of these objects? How much of the finished product results from our own influence, from the influence of the designer and the manufacturer, and ultimately from traditional ideas which can influence us? These are questions the folklorist asks. The answers teach us about the nature of what we so often take for granted—the common heritage, tradition, and customs in our everyday lives which distinguish us as a society, and yet at the same time unite us with all of humanity. For it is human to seek conventional solutions to recurrent problems encountered in day-to-day living, as the boatbuilders and lobstermen do when they combine their experience to carry on a unique heritage of craftsmanship.

Traditional Steps in Building a Maine Lobster Boat

Photos by C. Richard K. Lunt

After lobsterman and boatbuilder have agreed on a model and a price and a deposit is paid, the builder adapts a design to his customer's satisfaction and begins construction. Here in the initial stage is a thirty-three-foot boat at the Frost Shipyard Company, Jonesport, Maine. The keel and stem are set upright and plumbed with hull shape molds set.

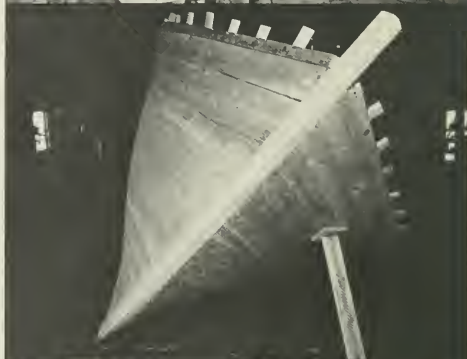


Bert Frost is shown bending in the first steamed oak timber (rib). The molds have been tied together and faired with horizontal battens to which the bent ribs are clamped.

Timbering of this thirty-four-foot boat has been completed and the builder, Richard Alley of Beals Island, Jonesport, is planking the hull. He uses cedar plank and Everdur clinch nails. Each plank is shaped, then clamped to the ribs and fastened. The battens are removed one by one as a plank reaches them.



Oscar Smith, a Jonesport builder, has finished planking the hull of this thirty-two-foot boat, and has begun sanding it smooth in preparation for caulking the seams. Tipping the hull facilitates work on the bottom. Molds are now removed.



Decks have been installed on this thirty-two-foot boat built by Alvin Beal of Beals Island. The cabin trunk is also finished, but the cockpit floor and the steering shelter are in early stages of construction.



Sliding down the way after four months under construction is a thirty-foot boat built by Harold Gower, Beals Island. Such a craft costs \$5,000 to \$6,000, depending on the builder and the requirements of the buyer. The cost of the motor, drive train, and other equipment increases the final price.



THE ARCHIVE OF FOLK SONG IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

by Alan Jabbour, Head
Joseph C. Hickerson, Reference Librarian
Archive of Folk Song



Mississippi John Hurt plays in a recording session at the Library of Congress, March 17, 1964. Present in the Recording Laboratory are Mrs. Rae Korson, former Head of the Archive of Folk Song, and Joseph C. Hickerson, Reference Librarian of the Archive of Folk Song. Photo by the Library of Congress.

Field collections are the lifeblood of folklore studies. Since 1928 the Archive of Folk Song in the Library of Congress at Washington, D.C., has been the coordinating agency for the gathering and preservation of our country's folk heritage. At present it is not only the leading American institution, but one of the world's principal establishments in the fields of traditional music and lore. Originally established in the Library's music division to house collections of American folk songs, the Archive has expanded so that it now contains 200,000 manuscript pages and 20,000 unpublished field and interview recordings of every facet of folklore from every state and many foreign countries.

The Archive's holdings have resulted from and contributed to the researches of virtually every important American folklorist and ethnomusicologist in the last 42 years, including a succession of illustrious scholars who have headed the Archive: Robert W. Gordon, John A. Lomax, B. A. Botkin, Duncan Emrich, and Mrs. Rae Korson. Its collections have served as a source of inspiration for composers and have contributed authentic folk songs to numerous anthologies and school music books. Since 1942 it has brought to the public the authentic sounds of American folk music through

The Bogtrotters, a string band from Galax, Virginia, were recorded by the Archive of Folk Song several times between 1937 and 1940. The musicians are, from left to right: Uncle Eck Dunford, fiddle; Fields Ward, Guitar; Wade Ward, banjo; Davy Crockett Ward, fiddle; Dr. W. P. Davis, autoharp.
Photo by the Library of Congress



Robert Winslow Gordon, Head, Archive of Folk Song, 1928-1932.
Photo by the Library of Congress.

its series of recordings issued for public sale, thereby supplying the postwar folksong revival with some of its standard repertoire.

The works of some of this century's most important folk musicians were documented by the Archive at the earliest stages of their public careers—Leadbelly and Woody Guthrie, to name but two. The Archive's interviews of jazz innovator Jelly Roll Morton pioneered the concept of recorded oral history. In the 1930s the success of the Archive's collecting procedures sparked a number of government-sponsored collecting ventures. The establishment in the early 1940s of the Library's recording laboratory advanced the processes of cylinder-to-disc and disc-to-tape copying, and the procedures for physical preservation of recordings

were established and refined. Since then other recorded collections have come to the Archive for preservation, including more than 3,500 cylinders of American Indian music gathered over the years for the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology by Frances Densmore and others.

Since the late 1940s the Archive has served as the focal point of a network of regional and university folklore archives, thus dispersing the increased collecting activities into useful channels and bringing folklore materials closer to their locales for study and enjoyment. With its experimentation in computer operations, the Archive is advancing toward comprehensive automated cataloging of its vast holdings. The Archive staff is active in bibliography work and has prepared to date more than 130 lists on various folklore topics. Scholars, students, educators, and performers come from all parts of the world to use the Archive's reading room and listen to its recordings. The reading room houses all the basic published works in the fields of American folk songs and folklore, and the Archive's files contain probably the largest institutional collection of folklore journals, magazines, and newsletters in the country.

The Archive is open to the public Monday through Friday from 8:30 A.M. to 5 P.M. Its offices and reading room are in the northeast corner on the ground floor of the Library's main building, at First Street and Independence Avenue, Southeast, in Washington. There one can obtain a list of the 61 LP recordings available for sale, (also available by mail from: The Archive of Folksong, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540) listen to age-old ballads and fiddle tunes, trace a folk song or tale through its myriad variations, take notes from an assortment of instruction books and tune collections, peruse the latest issue of one's local folklore society publication, or simply obtain a feeling for the breadth of American folk culture, as preserved at the Archive of Folk Song.

The word *folklore* stands for both the subject matter of traditional culture and the study of that subject matter, just as *history* refers both to past events and to the study of those events by historians.

Folklorists analyze the materials of folklore in a variety of ways. They seek to reconstruct the origin and spread of a folk tale, folk song, proverb, house type, festival, or other genre. They attempt to determine whether a ballad was composed by one bard or by a singing and dancing group, and whether a myth was once a narrative explanation of a fertility ritual.

They endeavor to explain the functions of folklore in rural and urban society. Riddles may sharpen wits. Proverbs may transmit tribal wisdom. Supernatural beliefs may offer security in a hostile world. Tales may reinforce the moral code, or provide homemade fun and fantasy.

Folklorists attempt to uncover the meaning of the traditions they record and observe, sometimes through psychoanalytical symbolism, through cultural factors, or through historical processes. Legends glorifying a hero, for example, may exalt values cherished by a given society.

Students of folklore are giving increasing attention to the structural patterns of folk materials. These structures, basic in the human mind, are thought to determine the forms of the folklore genres. It has been shown that American Indian tales, once considered formless, follow definite narrative sequences.

Other problems investigated by folklorists concern the literary use of folklore, the historical reliability of oral traditions, the aesthetic and stylistic aspects of folk literature, the correlation between folksong style and general culture traits, the effect of city life on transplanted rural and immigrant folk traditions, and many related questions. Folklore is the only subject among the humanities and social sciences in which an emphasis is placed on the ways of ordinary people, some of whom prove to be extremely gifted.

Unlike its sister subjects, folklore has not easily won its way into university curriculums, largely because of the misconceptions surrounding its name. Many European universities assign professorships and research institutes to folklore studies, but in the United States the academic recognition of folklore has only developed within the past decade. Today it is possible for a graduate student to obtain a doctor of philosophy degree in folklore and folklife at Indiana University, the University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Texas, and a master of arts degree in folklore at the University of California at Los Angeles and at Berkeley, and at the Cooperstown branch of Oneonta State College in New York. Harvard University graduated in 1970 its first group of undergraduates concentrating in folklore and mythology. Some thirty-five doctorates in folklore have been awarded by Indiana University since the first one was granted in 1953. All these degree holders have established themselves professionally and teach some folklore courses, often

THE STUDY OF FOLKLORE AND FOLKIFE IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

by Richard M. Dorson

Director, Indiana University Folklore Institute

on joint appointments between departments of English, anthropology, history, American studies, or modern languages.

To gain a master's or doctor's degree in folklore, the graduate student must learn the special techniques of the folklorist, such as field work, archiving, and indexing, and he must become acquainted with the worldwide scholarship on folklore. A number of Peace Corps volunteers, realizing the gaps in their training after working with peoples in underdeveloped countries, have returned to the United States to enter folklore programs. Black students, from the United States and from Africa, are also beginning to turn to advanced folklore studies, the better to appreciate and investigate the riches of their own oral cultures. Talented and inquiring students of many backgrounds are finding in folklore programs the concepts for comprehending alien and misunderstood peoples, some on their doorsteps, some in distant lands. The Ph.D. in folklore may soon become a commonplace on college faculties.

Undergraduate courses in folklore and folklife introduce the student to a new subject. He learns about the broad categories of oral traditions and material culture, and becomes aware of the pervasiveness of folk ideas and folk behavior, in the mass media as well as in the back country. College students even have their own folklore about eccentric professors and dormitory ghosts. The graduate student learns how to obtain folklore through his own researches, by interviewing and recording carriers of tradition and by combing printed sources, and how to analyze these materials comparatively. Folklorists have written doctoral dissertations on folklore in the writings of John Greenleaf Whittier, and of Rabindrinath Tagore; on the folk beliefs of villages in Thailand and Ghana; on the legends of the Hasidim in Brooklyn, and of the Yagua Indians in the forests of Peru, and on the lore of Finns, Greeks, and Danes in America. Their investigations cover the world and its peoples.

THE YOUNG SCIENCE OF INDUSTRIAL ARCHEOLOGY

by Peter H. Smith
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Built shortly after the Civil War, this Baltimore & Ohio Railroad bridge has been preserved as an historic engineering landmark near Savage, Maryland. An older neighbor is the former cotton duck mill behind it, which was built in 1816.

Until recently, Americans have been little concerned with the preservation or recording of their industrial and technological heritage. This is paradoxical for the nation that is the most materially prosperous and industrialized in the world. Industrial archeologists have been attempting to fill this gap.

Industrial archeology, broadly defined, is a method of evaluating and interpreting the man-made physical environment. Recently it has been defined as "the field work aspect of the history of technology." In 1965, Kenneth Hudson, an Englishman to whom the credit must go for the current interest in industrial archeology, pointed out that "weaving together the results of field research on the one hand and library and archive research on the other . . . [is] the fundamental craft of the industrial archeologist." In this respect, industrial archeology is no different in its aims and methods

than those of folklore and folklife research, geography, architectural history, and many other fields. All are committed to the same basic goals—a deeper understanding of our culture through examination of its physical aspects. The traditional historian has looked with a certain amount of disdain upon investigators who have attempted to contribute to historical knowledge through the use of artifacts. In some ways, this attitude is beginning to change—especially evident and encouraging is the current emphasis on the interdisciplinary approach to the evaluation of a culture.

Today, just as in folklore, there is in industrial archeology a considerable degree of disagreement over the meaning of the term and what properly constitutes the subject area. Especially among American archeologists, the battle has been raging fiercely for several years. The major disagreement settles about the term "archeology." Whether the semantic battle is relevant is unimportant. There is no disagreement over the fact that our industrial heritage is fast disappearing and needs recording in some way, no matter what it is called. Similarly, in the area of folklore and folklife, the exact limits of the discipline are unimportant. The fact is that there is a need to record in some manner the traditional elements of our society, be they in the form of a quilt, song, tale or house type.

Industrial archeologists conceive their mandate very broadly. They embrace practically all aspects of heavy site-oriented technology including the fixed works of transportation and communication, public works, power production plants, and civil engineering works. Their interest extends from the factory into the worker's home. Industrial archeologists conceive of history as a continuum which does not end at any arbitrary point in time. Thus, they can be legitimately concerned with recording such things as the plastics industry which has developed only since the end of World War II. As a practical matter, however, industrial archeologists in this country have been, for the most part, concerned with recording the older structures and industrial processes that still survive. This is because they are the ones that are in the greatest danger and are the most frequent victims of "progress" and the superhighway. What is needed is enough concern for industrial archeology to insure recording and documentation of the most important and significant industrial survivals in this country.

The work of the industrial archeologist falls into three broad categories—inventorying, recording, and preserving. Among these aspects there is a great deal of interdependence and overlapping. Inventories are needed on national, regional, state and local levels to determine what industrial structures and features survive, have historical merit, and need recording, so that priorities can be established. Adequate inventories and rational priorities will prevent such possible disasters as recording twenty early iron foundries without recording any early woodworking establishments.

Recording is the most important phase of the work of the industrial archeologist and the one in

which he expends the most amount of time and energy. Through his recording efforts, the industrial archeologist offers his greatest contribution to history and to the future. The records that he extracts from an industrial site are usually in the form of measured drawings, both architectural and engineering, of the buildings and the equipment. His greatest efforts go into their drawings because they record most clearly the physical features of the site. The other types of recording devices that are employed by the industrial archeologist include: photography, both still and motion picture; sound recording; analysis of the manufacturing process; interviews of current and former employees of an industry; and the collection of artifacts. However, collection of artifacts is not a primary concern for an industrial archeologist because he deals primarily with structures which are site-oriented and cannot be moved, but must instead remain *in situ* (where they are). The overriding goal in the recording of a structure, site, or industry is to preserve the materials so that the history of the firm or industry can be written. When an industrial archeologist has surveyed the only known type of industry or structure still extant, his records can contribute substantially to a knowledgeable evaluation of the documentary evidence.

Preservation of the physical evidence of the industrial history of the nation is an important part of the industrial archeologist's work. He is concerned with preservation because of his concern for the structure as a document, for what it can tell him. There is a great deal of prejudice regarding the preservation of industrial sites, partly because they symbolize an unpopular aspect of our history. Nevertheless, industry is the cornerstone of our society and so deserves the same recognition and preservation as houses and churches. The primary concern of the industrial archeologist in preserving a building or site is to see that it retains as much as possible of its original fabric and feeling. No amount of writing, photography, or drawing will ever equal the building or site itself in terms of telling the future what, for example, the relationship of an 1825 cotton mill was to its landscape, of describing the atmosphere of its interior spaces, or of showing the way in which the naturally available light illuminated or failed to illuminate the working areas.

Our heritage is not limited to architecturally beautiful houses and churches, but includes factories, bridges, canals, and machinery. The techniques of the industrial archeologist are one way of examining the past in an effort to understand the variety of factors that have influenced the development of the United States.

Two subjects typical of those studied by industrial archeologists at the Smithsonian Institution and elsewhere are illustrated by the accompanying photographs. They show a scene at the wooden wheel manufacturing firm of Hoopes Bro. & Darlington at West Chester, Pennsylvania; the Bollman iron truss bridge and a nearby textile mill at Savage, Maryland.

In 1969, the Smithsonian, in conjunction with the Hagley Museum of Wilmington, Delaware, conducted an extensive study of the Hoopes factory. Founded in 1867, the firm once was one of the largest manufacturers of wooden wheels in the country. Today the majority of its output consists of decorative wheels for chandeliers. Nevertheless, the firm is a complete and representative microcosm of the industry, both in terms of the manufacturing process and of the specialized machinery used. The survival of the firm into the second half of the twentieth century offered a unique opportunity to investigate nineteenth-century production methods, machinery, and architecture in a working context.

The Bollman bridge has been described as one of America's most interesting industrial survivals. It was acquired in 1967 by Howard County, Maryland, from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for permanent preservation on the basis of its historical merit. The American Society of Civil Engineers has also designated the bridge a national historical civil engineering landmark. Built in 1869, the structure is the last known example of the first iron bridging system widely used by an American railroad. Near the bridge is a former cotton duck mill of 1816, probably the oldest standing textile mill in the state. The bridge was moved from a main line of the B & O to its present location in 1888 to carry a spur line over the Little Patuxent River. The survival of the bridge and mill can be partially explained by the fact that they are in a rural area well away from the "beaten path."



An opportunity to study nineteenth-century machinery and production methods in a vanishing industry was offered industrial archeologists in 1969 when they studied the wooden wheel manufacturing firm of Hoopes Bro. & Darlington at West Chester, Pennsylvania. Shown here is one stage in the manufacture of the wheels produced by the company, most of which are now used for decorative purposes.



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Cover design by Janet Stratton from a quilt made by Ora Watson for the 1970 Festival of American Folklife. The pattern, known in North Carolina as Drunkard's Path, is widely current. It also is called Robbing Peter To Pay Paul, a name derived from the fact that the unit of the pattern is a square from which a fan shaped corner is cut. The fans of one color are pieced in to replace those of another thus creating the basis for the design.



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