Festival of American Folklife
1979
Smithsonian Institution
National Park Service
The Festival of American Folklife—
An Instrument of Cultural Conservation

Fifteen years ago, the noted Cajun musician, Dewey Balla, was invited to perform as a member of the first Cajun band to attend the highly publicized Newport Folk Festival. Dewey confided to me recently that his neighbors had warned him not to go, saying that people so far off would ridicule Cajuns and their music just as a non-Cajun Louisiana journalist had recently done in the local press. History has recorded the phenomenally successful reception accorded the Cajuns at that festival and at subsequent appearances throughout the U.S. and the world.

Performing away from home has proved to be important to traditional folk musicians in two ways. First, it has won them acclaim in the national press and led to performing opportunities here and abroad. Second, equally importantly, it has brought recognition to them and to their art on their own home turf. This two-fold success has encouraged other traditional musicians to dust off their instruments and memories. Local performing opportunities become available when old traditions are seen in a new light on the home front.

Similar stories can be told about oldtime blues, gospel, ballad and corrido singers, traditional crafts workers, tale tellers and dancers — in fact about entire cultural communities. The National Museum and the National Park Service can contribute to the preservation of living cultural traditions by presenting the tradition bearers, with the respect due them, in the Nation’s Capital. In a nation where the media and the entertainment industry determine cultural trends by controlling the access of artists to the great American public, it is especially important to acknowledge, as did Secretary Ripley in a Bicentennial press conference, that we at the Smithsonian “are a conservation organization, and it seems to us that conservation extends to human cultural practices.”

This year at the Festival we welcome the newly-arrived ethnic community of Vietnamese, who bring with them and share with us rich folklife traditions. From the West Indies come welcome immigrants who enliven our cities with the folk theatrical spectacle of Carnival. Native Americans from several tribal groups share with us their knowledge of ways in which their housing has been adapted to local environmental conditions.

The International Year of the Child is celebrated at the Festival in our program book cover, the feature article by children’s folklife authority, Brian Sutton-Smith, and in the living presentations of children’s folklife in the Children’s Area. There, Lumbee Indian children will re-create a Field Day celebration, and several other children’s communities will enact Halloween traditions.

Occupational communities are represented by D.C. firefighters, taxicab drivers, and stonecarvers from the National Cathedral. Other communities represented, which form around particular interests or institutions, are a medicine show, mom-and-pop neighborhood stores, street criers, and CB radio clubs.

We explore the contours and significance of these cultural communities among which we live. We celebrate them, and we ask you to join us in experiencing and appreciating their value.

Ralph Rinzler
Director
Folklife Program
Festival of American Folklife 1979

October 3-8

Folklife in the Museum
September 27-30
National Museum of History and Technology

Smithsonian Institution
National Park Service
Items From The Index of American Design

Wooden Toy Horse. 1902. Made by Rollie Johnson, Roseau County, Minnesota.

Front Cover, Top Row:
Corn Husk Doll. 1860-65. Origin and maker unknown.
American Doll. 1898. Made in North Carolina by Mrs. Almira Smith.
Bottom Row:

Back Cover, Top Row:
Indian. 1897. Made by Marie Rose at the Montana Cree Reservation.
Elephant. Before 1890. Whittled by Mr. Schliecker, near town of Platt, Wisconsin.
Bottom Row:
"Mollie Bentley". Circa 1886. Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, maker unknown.
Hobby Horse. Late 18th Century. Kingston, New York, maker unknown.

Cover

In honor of International Year of the Child, the cover of the 1979 program book is a collection of watercolor renderings of American folk toys from the National Gallery's Index of American Design. We draw on this rich collection to pay tribute to the vigor of our Nation's grassroots design traditions and to remind Americans that the Index now almost half-a-century old, stands as our most comprehensive survey of two centuries of American creativity.

An initiative of the W.P.A. Federal Arts Project, the Index consists of some 18,000 watercolor renderings of decorative and functional objects made in the United States.

The material derives from both public and private collections. The renderings of regional and ethnic arts and crafts include textiles, metalwork, ceramics, glassware, leatherwork, toys, furniture, clocks, tools, musical instruments, puppets and religious objects.


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Reaffirmation of Traditions—A Countercurrent For Survival

S. Dillon Ripley

President Carter’s remarks delivered at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in February, 1977, struck a deep responsive chord across the Nation and internationally:

I look on our country as a beautiful mosaic, with different kinds of people involved in freedom, individuality, pride, cooperation, understanding, searching for answers to difficult questions in their own way, each contributing, hopefully, the strongest single characteristic of their background and heritage and special sensitivity to a common purpose.

To us at the Smithsonian these remarks symbolize the essence of our Folklife Festival and our historical collections. In our Festivals we have demonstrated the evolutionary product of customs and cultures derived from all the continents. In our historical collections we show the end products of adaptations to living, inventions as “answers to difficult questions” for modes of life from poles to equator. We celebrate folkways and the persistence of traditions among all minorities.

The point of our festivals and our displays of Man’s diversity strikes home to the people who come to our museums and reach out for reaffirmation of identity. We fear the loss of it in the sense of anomie that comes with being a cipher, a numeral, a set of digits. We fear big government, big business, megastates that might rule the world. Coupled with the fear of homogenization is the fear of the loss of our own souls.

Those of us who follow peoples across the world—families, clans, tribes, especially in the less developed areas of our planet—are desperately aware of the tensions created by the suppression of roots, of traditions that nurture the sense of identity. Much of the persistent unrest in countries today stems from striving for identity.

One way to strengthen our sense of identity and to demonstrate our essential humanity, a way that may elude the technicians busy at the helm of our vast bureaus of government, is the reaffirmation of the differences among us, the persistence of our traditions at the ground roots of life, a countercurrent for survival.

Our 13th Folklife Festival takes community as its theme. Here we celebrate the creative genius of many cultural groups—some have been on this soil for months, others for millennia. We take particular pleasure in the knowledge that those most recently arrived—from Vietnam and the Caribbean—come bearing venerable traditions which are welcome gifts, peerless in their beauty.

S. Dillon Ripley is Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.
A Splendid Setting for a National Celebration
William J. Whalen

It is here that the life of George Washington, our beloved first President, is remembered daily by thousands of national and international visitors to the city of Washington, and nearby are remembered the lives of Presidents Lincoln and Jefferson.

At the National Park Service we believe that parks represent our nation's greatest features and resources. The parks serve not only to protect the best of our natural and cultural resources but also provide all Americans with matchless opportunity for human enjoyment, education, and inspiration. Certainly, it is these opportunities that visitors experience at the Folklife Festival.

The Festival has always been marked by growth; and this encourages our participation. The National Park Service is a people-serving agency, and our involvement in programs such as this one is typical of our commitment to provide new areas and facilities and existing ones for active outdoor recreation and reflection, regardless of whether the park population lives in or near urban centers.

Your participation and interest are to be applauded as well. We are grateful for the continuing and active support you have shown in the Festival and hope you find harmony and delight during your visit.

Welcome and enjoy yourself.

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William J. Whalen is the Director of the National Park Service.
The Importance of Children's Folklore
Brian Sutton-Smith

The importance of children's folklore is, primarily, the excitement it brings children. This wisdom appears strange only because adults spend so much time trying to cure children of their childhood. If adults thought of children as being more like themselves, they would say of children's play, "Of course, they enjoy the same as we enjoy."

When adults gather in a club or theater or on a playing field, they enjoy the amusement or excitement of those places. Yet they find it hard to allow children the same sort of fun.

We know that children get in much amusement and horse play when we are not around, yet we prefer not to think of that as relevant to how we relate to them. We think our job is to reform children, not indulge them. Our job is not to find how they are like us; it is to find how they are different from us and how we can, by our own industry and good faith, save them for maturity.

Much of the thriving industry of child psychology shows how children are saved from their primitive state by socialization. This is why most explanations of children's folklore are couched in terms of its socializing value. But if we are to talk about children's folklore, we must talk first about its importance to children themselves, and only then discuss the importance of children's folklore in a child's socialization.

Play: The Child's View

Unfortunately, no one is perfectly clear about what children get from play. There are certain specula-
tions, however, that over the years have accrued some apparent merit. First, there is the idea that in play, fateful events in a child's life which are elsewhere passively experienced are here actively controlled. The importance of play to children, by this reasoning, is that it puts them in the drivers' seats; it keeps up their courage, their sense of their own ability to succeed. Second, because they can control the scenario in play, they can modulate its ups and downs, its rises and falls of excitement; its anticipations, tensions, and climaxes; its drama of life. Third, from these it follows that through such playful manipulations of experience interpretations can be placed on life. Whether the problem is powerlessness, or hostility or affection (the most usual ones), in play they can be "written large" in a theater that one's peers can mutually enjoy. By thus reversing usual circumstances in which they are controlled by events, the children thus understand and gain flexible control of events themselves. Seen in this light, much of their play business is nonsense or inversion of reality, and only in that way is the uncontrollable controlled. As Soviet children's author Korni Chukovsky (1882-1969) said: "They only know sense who also nonsense know."

A little reflection here shows that there is nothing here that adults do not enjoy. They also laugh and cry at their fates as pictured in films, theater, books, and sports. For a few moments heroes reverse the conditions of fate; they give us excitement and climax; and they state with some caricature the alternative meanings of existence.

Seen from this point of view the importance of children's play and folklore is no different from that of adults. To be sure, their problems are fewer and are those of little people — mainly powerlessness. Adult problems are multiple and those of big people — mortality. The importance of children's folklore is the same as the importance of adult folklore. It can make life bearable. It can make life meaningful. It can sometimes transcend it in a variety of euphoric and esthetic manifestations as in games, dance, song, and story.

Play: The Adult View

The prevailing scholarly view is that what children learn from each other is the control of aggression and sex, vital life processes they cannot learn from adults. Children learn about asymmetrical power from adults: about how to look after and be looked after. From peers, though, they have to work out how to survive personally and sexually in a less protective world. Much of what children are doing and learning in folklore is negotiating to get the excitement that they seek. All are concerned with the dramas of power, but it takes a great deal of conflict and argument to set the stage on which the dramas can be enacted. A hint of the complexities that are involved is contained in Christine Von Glasge's wonderful account of the work of playing the game "Redlight." She says:

"When disputes arise between director and other players, the game of "Redlight" stops. A second game, which concerns dispute settlement, is substituted in its place. This interior game I refer to as "Redlight II." The substantive nature of these disputes addresses the question of whether or not the director observed some player to move during the no-go condition. A surprising order of philosophical inquiry emerges in the course
of such debates. Arguments are
grounded in terms of player-
members doctrines about in-
tentional acts, unconscious
acts, accidental acts, goal di-
rectedness of acts and fate-
determined acts. A summary
of directors' acts is expressed in
the following paradigm: I saw
you move, and your move was
intentional and goal oriented.
Therefore you must return to
the start line. A summary of the
player's response would be: I
didn't move, and if I did it
wasn't goal directed, and if it
was goal directed and inten-
tional, you didn't see me." (from
a paper read at the annual
meeting of the Association for
Anthropological Study of Play,
Notre Dame University,
April 1978).

By this account, the girls in "Red-
light" are learning how to be
lawyers or philosophers.

According to another interpreta-
tion of the educative function of
play, boys who play team games
are learning how to be politicians:
learning how to find a place for
everyone, no matter how appar-
tently useless he is, so that the
game can keep going. If the useless
baseball player is far enough in the
outfield he may perhaps be hit by
the ball and stop it by accident. It
is said that boy's groups are large
and relatively easy to get into, but
this still doesn’t do members much
good, because merit and skill alone
get them to pitcher or first up.
Girls' groups are smaller and har-
der to get into, but members are
treated well once they are in. This
latter is apparently a model of a
family or of lovers rather than of a
political group.

Some even argue that actual play
itself is not really very important;
it is only through the arguments
to which play leads that children
really learn anything. On these
grounds, children's folklore is the
context for educative dispute. But
then this is probably the conclu-
sion you reach when you simply
deny that children are playing for
the same kinds of reasons you do.
It is a bit like arguing that the role
of sex in marriage is to benefit the
development of mutual under-
standing, which is to mistake an
incidental consequence of sex for
its motive force. Play is like sex,
and folklore is like play. They have
their own reasons. They are the
excitements of our existence. Their
consequences are multiple, and we
should not mistake the industry of
unfathoming them for the mean-
ing of the acts themselves.

Suggested Reading
Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, ed.
Speech Play. Philadelphia: University of
Knapp, Mary and Herbert Knapp. One
Potato, Two Potato. New York: Norton,
1976.
Lansey, David and B. Allen Tindall, eds.
The Anthropological Study of Play: Pro-
blems and Prospects. West Point, New York:
Salter, Michael A. Play—Anthropological
Perspectives. West Point, New York: Leisure
Stephens, Philip, Jr., ed. Studies in the
Anthropology of Play: Papers in Memory of
B. Allen Tindall. West Point, New York:
Sutton-Smith, Brian. The Folkgames of
Children. Austin: University of Texas
The Intersection of the School with Children's Culture: Two Examples

Kate Rinzler

In the United States, public schools have become an extraordinary force in the folklife of children. On school playgrounds children have been brought together in large numbers. Physical education teachers have taught organized sports which the children have taken out to their neighborhoods. In classrooms a counter culture has developed, characterized by children's organized efforts to subvert the educational process. Fights, friendships and flirtations (some of the performances of children's folklife) often preoccupy students to the detriment of the learning process.

To counter children's counter culture, public schools have offered activities throughout the year that are designed to answer children's social needs. Among these are birthday parties, religious and secular celebrations, and innovations such as field days and "school breakings" (elaborate commencement days). Such events frequently have incorporated folk traditions and in time have become traditions in their own right, anticipated and practiced for each year. The guardians and developers of these traditions are school administrators and teachers.

This year the Children's Area will present aspects of two such school-sponsored events, Halloween and May Day. Halloween traditions from four cities will be celebrated as they are in schools, churches, and neighborhoods. May Day will be celebrated as it is in the Lumbee Indian schools of Robeson County, N.C.

Halloween

That Halloween customs are by no means uniform throughout the country is well demonstrated by the St. Louis German tradition of "tricks" for a treat" described by Phyllis Ward. For weeks prior to Halloween, adults and older children teach younger children "tricks" to offer in exchange for their treats: elaborate recitations like one about a butcher with a terrible sausage machine, gymnastic stunts and, for the toddlers, how to say their name and age. On Halloween night the children enter their neighbors' decorated homes to perform and receive treats: candy homemade popcorn balls, candy-apples and cider from cauldrons bubbling with dry ice. Hosts often dress in costumes as well. While the middle children take this ritual somewhat seriously, the oldest children perfect an art of giving the shortest tricks possible and moving on to collect more loot.

In another regional tradition, neighborhoods in Pittsburgh still erect scary harvest figures, now wired with eerie sound recordings or live children's voices directed at unsuspecting passersby. Schools and churches have also long been the perpetuators of Halloween traditions. They sponsor parties gauged to keep the children off the streets and out of mischief. The haunted house, the costume parade and variations of folk games such as drop the handkerchief, musical chairs, Simon says, relay races that feature mildly embarrassing stunts, and bobbing for apples are long-time favorites at these parties.

Sylvia Grider describes an elaborate Halloween activity, arranged by mothers at the Gosport Christian Church in Gosport, Ind., entitled "The Haunted House of the Blue Lights." As the children arrived for their party they were escorted by white-sheeted ghosts down blue-lit basement stairs, through hanging rubber lizards and spiders. After a costume-judg-
ing parade, refreshments, and games, the scary part began. Seated in a dark room in a tight circle around a mother with a flashlight, the children heard the spine-tingling story of the outlaws and the haunted house. At a point in the tale where the outlaws are feeling around in the dark, the children were given grapes to be passed from hand to hand as the storyteller intoned, "Does this feel like an eyeball to you?" Having passed and variously named a wig, a plastic mask, a frozen rubber glove, a sponge, a piece of raw liver and cold, wet spaghetti, the children screamed with terrified delight when "lightning" flashed and several ghosts entered screaming "Give me back my liver." Often children will borrow the idea of constructing haunted places and move them out to neighborhood alleys, barns, and vacant lots. Hallowe'en is one setting where children's folklife is shaped by adult-run institutions.

May Day

Public schools have been an important cultural force in the lives of the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County. The Lumbees live in southeastern North Carolina and are the second largest tribe of Indians in the United States. The Lumbees did not live on reservations but have always lived in communities.

Indian schools were established in 1885 in Robeson County by state legislation. This legislation authorized separate schools, created a separate Indian school committee and gave the committee authority to hire and dismiss teachers. Unlike other Native American peoples, the Lumbees operated and staffed their own school system with Indian teachers. In addition to the elementary school operated at Pates, N.C., the state of North Carolina organized an Indian Normal School in 1887, to train teachers for the Indian schools. Curriculum and texts were dictated by the state. Nothing covering North Carolina Indians was taught in the schools. While their language, customs, oral history, physical appearance, and some surnames have lead Lumbee and other historians to trace their origins to the lost colony of Roanoke of 1586 as well as to a number of Indian tribes, the present culture of the Lumbee has been deeply affected by the curriculum of the school. Current programs bring Native American culture to Lumbee children through the schools.

Today, Lumbee students are learning about other Native American cultures as well as their own heritage in the schools.

Early in the 1900s schools organized events such as "school breaking" (commencement), field days, and May Day. These became important additions to traditional Lumbee culture. The annual May Day celebration drew participation from schools gathered together at the big playing field of the teaching training institution at Pembroke. Families traveled by mule-drawn wagons from their often distant farms to celebrate their
children's achievements. The physical education curriculum provided the events of the day. These included games that were taken into children's neighborhood tradition as reported by elders in their 70s and 80s as well as by younger members of the community: games such as Pretty Girl Station, Poison Stick, Little Sally Walker, Blue Bird, Go In and Out the Window, and Drop the Handkerchief. May Pole wrapping evolved over the generations from an event in which any school that successfully wrapped the pole was bound to win first prize, to a precision dance in which all school groups started simultaneously as their teachers, who undoubtedly learned the Maypole dance in Lumbee schools of an earlier generation, wound gramophone records. When the May Court had been crowned, the children performed the unwrapping of the pole and then wrapped it again, thus demonstrating the high degree of perfection attained in this intricately coordinated dance.

Events changed over the years. In the early years spelling and multiplication bees and dramatic recitations were popular. As it evolved, May Day usually included an opening parade, and assembly in the auditorium, a picnic, and outdoor activities including the May Pole dance, the May Court, and sports events. Miss Mary Lee Goines, Lumbee teacher for many years, recalls one particularly splendid parade lead by two mounted men, one in black on a silver-decked white horse and one in white on a gold-decked black horse. Helen Scheirbeck recalls the wonder of the girls' May Day dresses during the Depression. While school dresses were made from printed cotton feed sacks, on May Day the girls emerged like butterflies in pink, yellow, and pale blue dresses and hats of starched organdy, dotted swiss, or gathered crepe paper.

On the night before there were plays and operettas. On May Day itself the families assembled in the Indian school assembly room. The children paraded in with the American and Protestant flags, a local preacher gave the invocation and all assembled sang hymns. The principal delivered an address in which he always stressed the value of education and the progress of the Lumbee children. After the principal a prominent local citizen elaborated on these themes. The community sang a few more songs and broke for a lunch of fried chicken, potato salad, biscuits, corn bread, cakes and pies. Delicacies such as home-churned ice cream, pink lemonade, and novelties such as fresh bananas were sold at stands.

After lunch, activities began with the May Pole Dance, the May Court, and then sports events. Including traditional games for the young and three legged race, gunny sack, and running races for the older children. There were also high jump and broad jump competitions and a baseball game. Sometimes children and their parents engaged in a tug-of-war. Events like climbing a greased pole or catching a greased pig were also staged. The day's solemnities and hilarity were closed with an address by a member of the prestigious School Masters' Club, to which the Lumbee teachers belonged. May Day is remembered by many as a high point in the community's year, an event that brings people together from far and near to celebrate, in an educational setting, cultural traditions and achievements of Lumbee parents and children.

Suggested Reading

For some more interesting reading on childlore, see:


Carnival and Community: Conflict and Fusion

D. Elliott Parris

Trinidad is the home of Carnival in the Caribbean. While Carnival is found elsewhere — St. Lucia, Grenada, Antigua, Nevis, the Virgin Islands, and Haiti — Trinidad’s fete is considered the Caribbean’s greatest. Its most spectacular, its trendsetter. The Carnival in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, plays this preeminent role in Latin America.

The modern Trinidadian Carnival is a product of the conflict between two great cultures — European and African. After 1498 they met, one as master, the other as slave; one sought dominance, the other liberation.

Discovered by Columbus in 1498, Trinidad was part of the Spanish Empire until 1797, when it was captured by the British, in whose hands it remained until its political independence in 1962. From 1498-1783 the island remained undeveloped and underpopulated. Spain then opened her colonies to migrants from other Roman Catholic countries, leading to an influx of French planters from neighboring West Indian territories into Trinidad. These French Creoles became the dominant economic and ethnic group in Trinidad, and their influence on the island’s culture remained strong even after the island was seized by the British.

The French Catholic elite introduced traditional Carnival to Trinidad. “Carnival,” of Latin derivation, means “put away the meat,” or “farewell to the flesh,” an allusion to the Christian custom of entering a state of abstinence and spirituality during Lent. Carnivals had been celebrated in Roman Catholic countries for hundreds of years. Their historical origin is obscure, but they probably derived from a pre-Christian rite honoring the new year and the coming of spring. That would explain the original length from Epiphany (January 6) to Ash Wednesday (the first day of Lent). In 19th-century Trinidad, the Carnival extended from Christmas to Ash Wednesday. The festivities were characterized by elaborate masked balls and street processions, mainly in carriages. Some white revelers donned black masks and played the role of black slaves. Free persons of color, although not forbidden to mask, were forced to keep to themselves; the black slaves had no share in Carnivals unless required to take part for the amusement of the white elite.

Immediately after the emancipation of the slaves in 1833, a tradition was begun among them that had great impact on carnival. The ex-slaves chose to commemorate the anniversary of their freedom by holding a festivity each year on August 1. In 1834 they paraded in a costumed “Artillery Band” meant to satirize the militia of the ruling forces. Quite clearly the practice of having some blacks act as field slaves — their former subservient role — was introduced. They blackened their faces, put chains on their bodies and were symbolically whipped through the streets. Others carried lighted torches, symbolic of the sugarcane fires often set by slaves to protest against their oppressors. This African celebration came to be known as Cannes Brule (Festival of the Burnt Canes), or Jamet Carnival (from the French diametre, meaning “the other half”).

The Africans soon introduced their Cannes Brule into the Carni-
formed the parade of costumed, elite individuals content to ride in carriages into a road March of dancing, jumping revelers. During World War II, musicians created an original musical instrument out of discarded oil drums, replacing the skin drum with the new steel drum. Thus steel-band music was born. And so the Trinidad Carnival, whose particular character had been forged in a history of community conflict and fusion, continued to develop its own distinctly “new world” musical sound.

Community conflicts exist today: costume bands still reflect societal cleavages based on wealth, status, and color. And the Carnival Queen Competition was dropped recently because of black resentment that white and light-skinned entrants usually won. Yet the majority of Trinidadians, rich and poor, willingly “play mas,” many at great economic expense and personal sacrifice, and many travel great distances each year to get home for Carnival. Carnival has seemingly imbedded itself in the very soul of the Trinidadian people.

Carnival is an intrinsic part of community life in many other Caribbean countries and it continues to flourish and to adapt to changing circumstances. Not wanting to be overshadowed by Trinidad’s celebration, many other islands have shifted their Carnival dates from the traditional pre-Lenten season to other times when their own attention, and that of the tourists who have become increasingly important to their economies, can be focused specifically on their own festival. In North America, Caribbean communities organize their Carnivals to take advantage of summer weather and to avoid conflicting with any neighboring community’s carnival.

Caribbean peoples continue to engage in the rites of Carnival. For in the world of Carnival everyday social realities recede, at least for the duration of the rite, as each participant connects with another reality—a collective inner world of community from which each returns with a new strength.

Suggested Reading
_________. From Congo Drum to Steelband: A Socio-historical Account of the Emergence and Evolution of the Trinidad Steel Orchestra. Trinidad: University of the West Indies, 1969.

Caribbean Carnivals in North America
Katherine Williams

Migrating West Indians have brought their traditions and culture to North America. Theirs is a rich culture compounded of elements from Africa, the Middle East, China and the Far East, North and South America, and Europe.

One expression of West Indian culture—Carnival—is practiced from Brooklyn and other eastern seaboard cities, to the Canadian cities of Montreal and Toronto, and across the continent to Los Angeles. The largest and oldest Carnival in North America began in Harlem in the mid-1940s. The Festival was later moved to Brooklyn in 1967 and is run by the West Indian-American Day Carnival Association, Inc.

Carnival has become a commonly shared and much-anticipated activity among West Indians who live in North America. It is a time for coming together, a time to greet old friends with a “What’s happenin’, man?,” accompanied by much hugging, kissing, and back slapping. People travel to all parts of the United States, Canada, and the Caribbean: the flow of people is continuous. Carnival is a reason to enjoy oneself in the traditional ways, a reason to be with friends and family.

Carnival has many names: it is “Mas” in Brooklyn, “Caribana” in Toronto, and Carnival in Montreal. It is enjoyed by native-born North Americans, by immigrants other than West Indians, by recent

Katherine Williams is a native of Trinidad and Tobago, a country known for its annual celebration of one of the most colorful and popular carnivals in the Western Hemisphere. She has served as a judge in several Carnival contests both in Trinidad and Canada. A free lance writer, lecturer and consultant, she is presently coordinating the Caribbean segment of the Folklore Festival, 1979.
arrivals from the Caribbean who remember Carnival at home, and most importantly, by second- and third-generation West Indian-Americans who have never been to the West Indies but who have been regaled with stories of what it is like back home.

Sights, sounds, and movement are elements of Carnival. These are embodied in the cultural forms of pageantry, calypso music, and dance.

Costume designs may reflect historical and scientific research or they may be highly fanciful and imaginative. Themes portray history, comedy, fashion, or science. The designer arrays his or her band of followers in materials that carry out his fancy or fantasy: silks, satins, velvets, chiffons. There is much glitter of sequins and rhinestones and elegance of beadwork, flowing capes, magnificent trains, bare legs, high floats designed to accommodate wind resistance, feathers, waving pennants. The color and spectacle are breathtaking!

 Millions of dollars are spent annually in making costumes. Uncounted millions more account for the man-hours lovingly expended in the planning and execution of Carnival. In North American society, where stresses are greater than those in the Caribbean and free time is consequently a luxury, only the very committed engage in the actual making of a band, the making of a Carnival.

Beautiful costumes without music is like Christmas without Santa Claus, for music is an integral part of the festivities. Calypsonians and music bands are imported from the West Indies to provide this essential ingredient. Some Calypsonians and musical groups come from North America; some play in the community throughout the year. Still others form only at Carnival time. Some brass bands accompany the "Mas" players at the street parade. Their amplified sound comes from flatbed trucks as they inch their way slowly along the crowded parade route. Steel bands that go around on mobile platforms also add to the musical ambience. Not all costumed band leaders can afford to retain a live band, however. Out of this need the mobile unit evolved: tape recordings of a steel or brass orchestra playing the current calypsoes from loudspeakers mounted on cars.

North American parades travel along predetermined routes; on Caribbean islands, pleasure seekers roam from one street to another, selecting bands with which to "jump up" (that is, dance joyously). But North Americans have improvised small booths that offer a variety of recorded sound along and at the end of the parade route. The choices are calypso, soul, or reggae, and people gather to dance in front of these booths.

The mood is one of spontaneous participation. Carnival is, in fact, one huge, open-air fete.

Children are encouraged to participate in the preparation and celebration of Carnival; special Carnival parades and shows are organized for their benefit. Immigrant parents feel the need for their children to recognize and appreciate their heritage and culture. An opportunity to identify with other members of a cultural group through participation in a special event can be important for one's social well-being. Carnival is the principal social activity through which West Indians from the widest range of generations, classes, countries, and hues are able to identify, interact with, and enjoy one another.

Indeed Carnival has provided a new cultural focus and has created an economy of its own in the communities of many North American cities where people of West Indian descent are concentrated. Its continuity will be the product of the infusion of talent of new immigrants, the participation of children of West Indian parentage, and the appeal that it holds for the North American public as a whole.
Energy Conservation and Native American Architecture

Peter Nabokov

In off-the-freeway pockets of rural America, pre-Columbian customs for heating the heat and fighting the cold are still practiced. In the 1870s American Indian house life was investigated by Lewis Henry Morgan, the “father of American anthropology,” principally to discover what it revealed of social life. But new interest in native American dwellings has begun to focus on its energy efficient features as well as the symbolism of traditional Indian structures.

This fall, outside of McLoud, Okla., Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Cuppawhe will be among the Kickapoo families moving large cattail roofing mats from the peaked frames of their summer houses to their haystack-shaped winter houses. During summer, mats are laid on the roof allowing cooling breezes to waft through the wide openings left by loosely tied side boards and beneath raised sleeping benches. In winter, however, the wiktup is shrouded to the ground with layers of mats. The Kickapoo believe they were taught this pattern of dual residence by Wisoka, a culture hero, who also showed them how to transfer the sacred central fire with each move.

Many Indian peoples traditionally enjoyed more than one residence; these dwellings were farther apart than the two minute walk between the Cuppawhes’ summer and winter homes. On the precontact Great Plains, fortified villages of immense, semi-subterranean earth lodges kept people cool during the summer farming season, while fall and winter saw the community move west in pursuit of buffalo. On the Northwest coast that pattern was reversed: there the cherished townsites were the coastal winter towns with their impressive communal houses expertly carpentered and carved from cedar. In summertime the wall boards of these great houses were taken down, lashed between canoes for a trip upriver to the salmon fishing stretches, then used to roof the more lightly constructed shelters.

To both the plains and coastal peoples, however, lodges were considered sacred earthly representations of the tribal universe. During sacred periods in the tribal calendar they became temples of the community.

The confinement of reservation life, however, limited such customs and seasonal movements. Still, on the third weekend of August one can find Plains Indian tribes reliving the heyday of the horse riding and tipi-dwelling era at Crow Agency, Mont. More than 300 tipis lift their proud, green-tufed poles to the sky as the old sacred circle of lodges is restored. During the Crow Fair the middays are often broiling, and an occasional hem of a canvas tipi cover is raised and propped on sticks to allow air flow. During cool nights they are pegged to the ground. Inside, a liner, or “dew cloth,” is fastened from the base of the tipi poles to about six feet up, creating a draft to lift smoke through the top hole. During a sudden downpour the women hastily cross over the smokeflaps at the top of the tipi with the aid of long poles.

Tipis no longer protect Indians from harsh high plains winters, but in the past, tribes like the Crow, Blackfoot, Sioux, and Cree were inventive at adapting them to

Glossary

Band: Music Band: may be either steel or brass; provides music for costumed individuals and for other participants. Costume band: costumed group of individuals coming together to play as a unit. The band theme determines the costume’s design.

Calypso (also called “Kaiso”): Popular folk music, the lyrics of which are generally social commentaries expressed in West Indian creole and that rhyme in a catchy tune and danceable rhythm.

Calypsonian: One who composes and sings calypsoes.

Fête: Activity in which people gather to dance and enjoy themselves. Held in the open or in a dance hall, usually lasting four-six hours.

Jump Up: Rhythmic movement ranging from slow shuffle of tired feet to spirited, continuous jumps 12-18” off the ground. This is done to the beat of the calypso.

Mas (Abbreviation for “masquerade”): Refers to the collective festivities of carnival. An individual is called a “Mas” or “Mas Player.”

(To) Play Mas: The act of wearing a costume and parading either individually or in bands during Carnival celebrations.

Road March: The tune played by the greatest number of music bands at carnival.

Suggested Reading


below zero temperatures. The interior air envelope, between the dew cloth and the tipi wall, was packed with dry grass for insulation, and the outer base was banked with snow. Inside, the central fire kept the family, sleeping in the thick of long-haired buffalo robes, very snug.

Recent experiments comparing the energy efficiency of the tipi with a modern American home indicate that on freezing winter nights the Indian lived at a similar comfort level. Their hardwood-burning fires warmed the tipi at a comparable efficiency level to our oil heated furnaces, because the space required for each person was a tenth the area we are accustomed to.

The Miccosukee and Seminole who live on little islands, or "hammocks," in the Everglades swamps of southern Florida still favor year-round use of their traditional houses — called "chickees" — which are built of tough cypress poles and roofed with palmetto leaves. (They are also popular with non-Indians; Roy Cypress, for instance, hires out teams to build chickee forms for barns and garages.) Here the problem is ventilation rather than insulation. A few years ago the Bureau of Indian Affairs built new, single-family homes for the Miccosukee. They tried to imitate the chickee style, but the walled houses with their small windows were never popular. Unlike the chickee, they competed with nature instead of cooperating with it; furthermore, they were expensive to air-condition. Quietly the Miccosukee families moved back into the old style homes with their raised sleeping and working porches, their mosquito netting, and the familiar rustle of wind through the palmetto roof.

While the chickee represents a cultural survival, other Indian communities are experiencing a revival of old house building. The Wichita of central Oklahoma have resumed building the distinctive beehive-shaped houses of red cedar ribs that seemed to be lost a half-century ago. In Northwestern California the Hupa have been reconstructing their traditional cedar plank houses on the sites of three old rancheria (or village) locations. Both the Hupa family house and the slightly smaller men's sweat house belong to the oldest architectural tradition in North America, the pit house. Here earth serves as excellent insulation, walling the four-foot deep excavations where the Hupa once warmed themselves during the damp winter and cooled themselves throughout the baking summer.

In the Southwest two famous Indian house traditions still share the same ecological zone. The striking contrast between the single-family Navajo "hogan" and the communal network of rooms in a Pueblo village suggests the difficulty in finding a single explanation for a Native American house form. With its mud-and-log or mud-and-rock wall and roof, the "hogan" is cool in summer and cozily warm in winter. But Pueblo society uses the same materials to construct large adobe apartment house complexes with an even more efficient use of space per person.

In both cultures, the proper con-

The Hupa of Northwestern California utilize earth as an insulating material by building semi-subterranean plank houses. Photo by Peter Nabokov

Visitors entering the Indian lodges built at our Festival will notice the skillful use of available materials. These home traditions perpetuate practical adaptations to climate; also, they indicate man's impulse to invest his immediate environment with spiritual meaning.

Suggesting Reading

The Hupa of Northwestern California utilize earth as an insulating material by building semi-subterranean plank houses.

The interior of a Hupa cedar plank house with the hearth in the foreground. Photo by Peter Nabokov

secration of the home according to ancient ritual is as important as its construction. For instance, the newly built addition to a Zuni home is laid out to conform to the ceremony that blesses it. One long room is designed so that in late autumn a 10 ft. masked dancer, known as a Shalako, can perform a trotting, back-and-forth dance within it. During the Shalako festival, six such dancers bless six houses: only then are the homes ready for habitation.

The Medicine Show

Brooks McNamara

Oh! I love to travel far and near throughout my native land; I love to sell as I go 'long, and take the cash in hand. I love to cure all in distress that happen in my way. And you better believe I feel quite fine when folks rush up and say:

Chorus:
I'll take another bottle of Wizard oil.
I'll take another bottle or two.
I'll take another bottle of Wizard oil.
I'll take another bottle or two.

Carl Sandburg.
The American Songbag

The traveling salesman is a fixture in our folklore, celebrated in stories, jokes, anecdotes, and cartoons. Within the ranks of the salesmen, a special sense of mystery and glamour surrounds the medicine showman — the itinerant patent medicine seller whose free performances were an important part of small town life still within the memory of many Americans.

The American patent medicine seller derived from mountebanks — wandering herb doctors and medicine vendors who drew crowds with songs or conjuring. They appeared in the New World as early as the 1600s, but it was only about 1850 that the idea of selling medicine between the acts of a free show resulted from the rapid growth of proprietary medicine companies, many of which sent advertising units on the road after the Civil War. These units were

Brooks McNamara is Professor in the Graduate Drama Department of the School of the Arts at New York University, where he heads the program in American folk and popular performance. He has written extensively on these subjects and on the history of American theatre architecture, and serves as Director of the Shubert Archive.
especially popular in rural areas where regular theater companies rarely appeared. There was money to be made, and medicine shows sponsored by leading firms such as the Kickapoo Indian Medicine Co. and Hamlin’s Wizard Oil were soon in competition with independent showmen who casually brewed up their remedies in boarding house bathtubs.

By 1900 medicine shows had invaded every part of the country where an audience could be found, and the various types of medicine showmen were vying with one another to present novelties and unique attractions. The basic show was offered by street pitchmen performing alone or with a partner. So-called “low pitchmen” worked directly on the ground, generally choosing a busy street corner or a promising location at a fairground. Most operated from a

This sketch, by Anna May Noell, recalls the stage and set up of her family’s medicine show of the 20s and 30s. We have used it as our model to recreate the setting for our performance on the mall.

(Editor’s note — The use of American Indian identification in medicine shows is discussed in Rayna Green’s article on p. 18.)

“tripes and kelster”—a satchel or suitcase containing the pitchman’s remedies mounted on a tripod. “High pitchmen” worked from a platform or the back of a truck or wagon. Like their ancestors the mountebanks, street pitchmen presented only a simple show, often just a few banjo solos or magic tricks designed to attract a crowd.

In addition to a pitchman who sold remedies, more elaborate shows carried an entire cast of performers and musicians, as well as a more-or-less completely equipped tent theater. Some large medicine show companies, in fact, were capable of mounting several hours of entertainment with a dozen or more acts as well as half a dozen intervals during which the showman could sell his products.

By the 1920s the shows were becoming less common. Increasingly rigorous legislation concerned with medicine bottling, labeling, and advertising was making medicine show business more complicated to operate and less profitable. Then, too, the automobile was bringing isolated communities closer to the city; and the phonograph, radio, and talking pictures were providing new forms of inexpensive and available entertainment. But there were those who continued to look forward to visits from the medicine showmen because they provided the opportunity for visits with friends and relatives and the chance to hear time-honored songs, jokes, and comedy routines. But by the end of World War II, most shows had disappeared.

The traveling medicine show was an itinerant folk community with its own traditions. The veterans claimed to “know everyone in the business,” and they shared a distinct jargon: “lot lice,” for instance, were showgoers who came early and left late but never bought any medicine. The shows were the only form of entertainment in many rural American communities and one of the few sources of employment for folk musicians. Many of our most celebrated folk and popular performers like Bessie Smith, Clarence Ashley, Harmonica Frank Floyd, and Hank Williams got their starts in medicine shows.

Many skits were ancient acts passed from European mountebanks to medicine shows. They contain roughshod—often slapstick—country humor. Perhaps the most famous “afterpiece” (piece done after the show) is "Three
Folklife in the Museum

September 27-30 National Museum of History and Technology

This year, the Folklife Program is pleased to inaugurate a new kind of exhibition. We call it Folklife in the Museum. It grows out of our thirteen-year experience in the presentation of folklife traditions and is designed to complement Smithsonian museum collections. This new program has several components: indoor displays and demonstrations by tradition bearers who make objects like those in the collections, presentations by scholars who study the folklife traditions defined by the people and their objects, and films that portray living traditions in their natural settings. Together, these components will create events designed to function within museum walls: living environments, symposia, and film and lecture programs.

We invite you to participate with us in this year's presentation on folk medicine. Join us in using the Smithsonian Institution as a "sacred grove," to quote Secretary Ripley's phrase; that is, an environment removed from the bustle of everyday life where we can pause to view, to contemplate, and to understand some of the cultural traditions that flourish in our country.

Regular Festival-goers will recall that in previous years folklife programs have been held in the museums and you may wonder why we see this year as the inauguration of a new program. This year's set of events marks the first time we have completely separated the indoor Folklife in the Museum Program from the outdoor Festival of American Folklife. We have come to realize that museum presentations have potentialities and problems which are different from those of a festival. They are worthy of our special attention in their own right rather than as components of a larger event, and, therefore, we plan to explore further the scholarly, contemplative presentation of folklife traditions within Smithsonian Institution walls.

Schedule 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. daily

Folk Medicine

On the Museum's first floor in the Medical Sciences area, traditional healers, curers, and herbalists will discuss and demonstrate living traditions in American folk medicine.

Workshop discussions: 11:00, 1:00, and 3:00 daily*

Symposium: Folk Medicine: Alternative Approaches to Health and Healing

This symposium will be held in the Reception Suite of the Museum of History and Technology on Saturday, September 29, and Sunday, September 30.

Saturday and Sunday sessions from 10:00 to 12:30 and from 1:30 to 4:00

*An interpreter for the deaf will be available at the demonstrations and workshops on Saturday, September 29.

Ethnographic Films

Free showings of these and other films will take place daily in the Museum's Carmichael Auditorium

11:00 a.m. — Harmonize! Folklore in the Lives of Five Families
11:45 a.m. — The Meaders: North Georgia Potters
12:30 p.m. — Folk Medicine: Fannie Bell Chapman and Don't Stop the Carnival**
1:30 p.m. — Folk Medicine: Nature's Way
2:00 p.m. — Folk Medicine: The Navajo Way
3:00 p.m. — Folk Medicine: Reunions: American Experiences — Gustav Tafel (homeopathy)
3:30 p.m. — No Maps On My Taps***
4:40 p.m. — Home Movie: An American Folk Art***

**Fannie Bell Chapman will only be shown on Sept. 27 and 29; Don't Stop the Carnival will only be shown on Saturday, September 29.

***Will not be shown on Saturday, September 29.

Staff

Program Coordinator: Jack Santino
Assistant: Pamela Ow
Film Coordinator: Steve Zeltlin
Assistant: Barr Weissman
Presenters: C. Jason Dotson, Glenn Hinson, Barbara Reimensnyder
Consultants: Brooks McNamara, Douglas Elliott
Special Consultant: David J. Hufford
Symposium Speakers: Richard M. Dorson, Norman Farnsworth, Joe S. Graham, Wayland D. Hand, David J. Hufford, Barbara Reimensnyder, Robert T. Teske, Andrew Weil, Don Yoder, James Harvey Young

Special Thanks

Carla M. Borden, Wilton S. Dillon, Michael Harris, George Holt, Jim and Gerri Johnson, Ramunas Kondratis, Ben Lawless, Walter N. Lewis, Lauranne Nash
Festival of American Folklife
General Information

Festival Hours
Festival opening ceremonies will be held in the large Carnival tent at 11:00 a.m., Wednesday, October 3. Thereafter, Festival hours will be from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. daily, with special evening performances on Friday and Saturday.

Food Sales
Caribbean food will be sold in the Carnival area, and Vietnamese food will be sold in the Folklore in Your Community area.

Craft Sales
Books, records, folk toys, and crafts relating to Festival programs will be available in the sales tent from 10:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. daily.

Press
Visiting members of the press are invited to register at the Festival press tent on 15th Street near Madison Drive.

First Aid
An American Red Cross mobile unit will be set up in a tent on the southwest corner of the Festival site, during regular Festival hours. The Health Unit at the South Bus Ramp of the Museum of History and Technology is open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Rest Rooms
There are public and handicapped facilities located on the northwest corner of the Festival site. Rest rooms are also located throughout the various Smithsonian museums.

Telephones
Public telephones are available on the Washington Monument grounds and in any of the Smithsonian museums.

Lost and Found
Lost items may be turned in or retrieved from the administration tent located on 15th Street near Madison Drive.

Lost Children and Parents
Lost family members may be found at the administration tent on 15th Street near Madison Drive. We advise putting a name tag on youngsters who are prone to wander. Announcements of found youngsters will be made at the various music stages.

Bicycle Racks
Racks for bicycles are located on the Washington Monument grounds and at the entrances to each of the Smithsonian museums.

Metro Stations
Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival is served by either the Federal Triangle station or the Smithsonian station.

Interpreters for the Deaf
This year for the first time Festival programs will be more accessible to hearing impaired individuals. Interpreters for the deaf will be available each day of the Festival in a specified program area. Please see the schedule for particulars.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7
Sunday's regularly scheduled Festival events will be replaced by concerts of religious folk music, beginning at 10:00 a.m.
### Caribbean Carnival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Music in Large Tent</th>
<th>Narrative Tent</th>
<th>Crafts in Large Tent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opening Festival Concert</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Opening Ceremony</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Music Bands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Video on Carnival Traditions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calypsonians</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Stick Fighters and Music Bands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fire-Eater</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music Bands</td>
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### Children's Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Large Stage</th>
<th>Field Area</th>
<th>Crafts Tent</th>
<th>Porch Stage Narratives and Workshops</th>
<th>Haunted House Tent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country Dancing</td>
<td>Vietnamese American Games</td>
<td>Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making</td>
<td>Limberjack Playing Interplanetary Committee</td>
<td>Carnival Costume Making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic Games</td>
<td>Vietnamese Americans</td>
<td>Lumbee Indian May Day</td>
<td>Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade</td>
<td>CB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-American Games</td>
<td>Lumbee Indian May Day Events</td>
<td>Lumberjack Making</td>
<td>Halloween Harvest Figure Making</td>
<td>Vietnamese Americans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country Dancing</td>
<td>Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making</td>
<td>Limberjack Playing</td>
<td>Vietnamese Americans</td>
<td>Bluegrass</td>
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<tr>
<td>Street Hawkers</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Folklore in Your Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative Stage</th>
<th>Music Stage</th>
<th>Daily Events</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baseball Players</td>
<td>Gospel</td>
<td>Demonstrations All Day: Stone Carving, Firefighters, CB Radio Lore, and Vietnamese American Crafts, Cooking, and Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stool Carvers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Street Hawkers</td>
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### Medicine Show

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medicine Show Stage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exhibit Tent and Construction Sites</td>
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</table>

### Native American Architecture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native American Architecture</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans will build and discuss their traditional structures showing how each is energy efficient for the climate in which it is built. 12 pm to 5 pm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** An interpreter for the deaf will be available in this area throughout the afternoon.
Thursday October 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caribbean Carnival</th>
<th>Children's Area</th>
<th>Folklore in Your Community</th>
<th>Medicine Show</th>
<th>Native American Architecture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Music in Large Tent</strong></td>
<td><strong>Narrative Text</strong></td>
<td><strong>Crafts in Large Tent</strong></td>
<td><strong>Large Stage</strong></td>
<td><strong>Field Area</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Music Bands</td>
<td>Carnival History</td>
<td>Demonstrations All Day: Steelpan Tunes, Wirebender, Decorator, and Seamstress</td>
<td>Lumbee Indian Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Calypsonian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Afro-American Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Music Bands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Country Dancing</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fire-Eater</td>
<td>Carnival Costumes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hispanic Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Stick Fighters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Afro-American Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Music Bands</td>
<td>Carnival Music</td>
<td></td>
<td>Country Dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fire-Eater</td>
<td>Calypsonian</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*An interpreter for the deaf will be available in this area throughout the day.*
**Friday October 5**

### Caribbean Carnival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00 am</td>
<td>Music Bands: Carnival History Demonstration All Day: Steelpan, Tucer, Wrencher, Decorator, and Seamstress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 am</td>
<td>Calypsonian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00 pm</td>
<td>Music Bands: Carnival Costumes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00 pm</td>
<td>Fire-Eater: Stick Fighters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00 pm</td>
<td>Music Bands: Carnival Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00 pm</td>
<td>Fire-Eater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00 pm</td>
<td>Calypsonian</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Children's Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00 am</td>
<td>Large Stage: Lumbee Indian Games Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making and Limberjack Making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 am</td>
<td>Field Area: Vietnamese American Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00 pm</td>
<td>Crafts Tent: Limberjack Playing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00 pm</td>
<td>Porch Stage: Narrative and Workshop: Riddles, Jokes, Stories, and Halloween Traditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00 pm</td>
<td>Haunted House Tent: Halloween House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### Folklore in Your Community (ि)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00 am</td>
<td>Narrative Stage: Lumbee Indian May Day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 am</td>
<td>Music Stage: Lumbee Harvest Figure Making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00 pm</td>
<td>Daily Events: Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Medicine Show

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00 am</td>
<td>Medicine Show Stage: Demonstrations All Day: Stone Carving, Firefighting, CB Radio Lore, and Vietnamese American Crafts, Cooking, and Games</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Native American Architecture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00 am</td>
<td>Workshop Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00 am</td>
<td>Story Telling, Pitches, Magic Acts, and Ventrioloquism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00 pm</td>
<td>Workshop Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:00 pm</td>
<td>Old-time medicine show with musicians and pitchmen who travelled with the last of the shows through the 1940s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00 pm</td>
<td>Workshop Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00 pm</td>
<td>Traditional Music and Reminiscences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00 pm</td>
<td>Workshop Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00 pm</td>
<td>Special Events: Special Events: 12:00 noon — CB Lunch Break in CB Tent 7-9 p.m. — Vietnamese American Mid-Autumn Festival</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*5-7 p.m.*
Steel Band Contests in Large Tent

**An interpreter for the deaf will be available at the Narrative Stage all day.**
## Saturday October 6

### Caribbean Carnival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Music in Large Tent, Narrative Tent, Crafts in Large Tent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Minstrels Calypsonian Fire-Eater Stick fighters, Video on Carnival Traditions, Steelpan Tuner, Wirehanger, Decorator, and Seamstress</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Calypso Contests</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ole Mas Competitions and Parade of Bands</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Country Dancing</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Awards and Prizes</td>
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### Children's Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lumbee Indian Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Afro-American Games, Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making and Limberjack Making</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making, Limberjack Making</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lumbee Indian May Day</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Country Dancing</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Limberjack Playing</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Vietnamese Americans</td>
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### Porch Stage Narratives and Workshops

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Riddles, Jokes, Stories, and Limberjack Making</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Lumbee House and Halloween Traditions, Dance Making and Parade</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making, Limberjack Playing</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lumbee House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lumbee Indian May Day</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Limberjack Playing</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Vietnamese Americans</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Vietnamese Americans</td>
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### Haunted House Tent

<table>
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<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Halloween Harvest Figure Making</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Haunted House and Halloween Traditions</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lumbee House and Halloween Traditions</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lumbee House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lumbee Indian May Day</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Limberjack Playing</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Vietnamese Americans</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Vietnamese Americans</td>
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### Folklore in Your Community

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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Gospel</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Street Hawkers</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Stone Carvers</td>
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### Medicine Show Stage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Demonstrations, All Day: Stone Carving, Firefighters, CB Radio Lore, and Vietnamese American Crafts, Cooking, and Games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Story Telling, Pitchers, Magic Acts, and Ventriloquism</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Old-time medicine show with musicians and pitchmen who travelled with the last of the shows through the 1940s.</td>
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**An interpreter for the deaf will be available in this area throughout the afternoon.**
## Monday October 8

### Caribbean Carnival

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Music Bands</th>
<th>Carnival History</th>
<th>Demonstration by Steelpans Tuner, Wire-bender, Decorator, and Seamstress</th>
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<tr>
<td>Stick Fighters</td>
<td>Carnival Traditions</td>
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<td>Calypsonian</td>
<td>Carnival Music</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiddie Carnival</td>
<td>Music Bands</td>
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### Children's* Area

- **Large Stage**
  - Lumbee Indian Games
  - Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making
  - Lumbee Indian May Day

- **Field Area**
  - Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making
  - Lumbee Indian May Day
  - Limberjack Playing

- **Crafts Text**
  - Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making
  - Lumbee Indian May Day
  - Limberjack Making

- **Porch Stage Narratives and Workshops**
  - Lumbee Indian Stories
  - Limberjack Playing

### Folklore in** Your Community

- **Haunted House Tent**
  - Halloween Figure Making
  - Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade

### Medicine Show

- **Narrative Stage**
  - Gospel
  - Demonstrations All Day:
    - Stone Carving
    - Firefighters
    - CB Radio
  - Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade

### Native American Architecture

- **Medicine Show Stage**
  - Exhibit Tent and Construction Sites
  - 10 am to 5 pm
  - Native Americans will build and discuss their traditional structures showing how each is energy efficient for the climate in which it is built.

- **Workshop Discussion**
  - Story Telling, Pitches, Magic Acts, and Ventrilocusism

- **Workshop Discussion**
  - Old-time medicine show with musicians and pitchmen who travelled with the last of the shows through the 1940s.

- **Workshop Discussion**
  - Traditional Music and Reminiscences

---

*An interpreter for the deaf will be available throughout the day.

**12:00 Noon — Special CB awards to be given out in the CB Tent.
Participants in the 1979 Festival of American Folklife

**Folklore in the Museum:**

**Folk Medicine Participants**

Maude Bryant: midwife — Moncure, NC
Dora Darden: practitioner of traditional home remedies — Indianapolis, IN
Marjorie Darden: practitioner of traditional home remedies — Indianapolis, IN
Clyde Hollifield: herbalist — Old Port, NC
Berlie C. Largen: black gum toothbrush maker — Hillsville, VA
Hattie Mae Lee: herbalist — Moncure, NC
John Lee: herbalist — Moncure, NC
Hawk Littlejohn: Native American traditional healer — Pittsboro, NC
John H. Persing: physician — Lewisburg, PA
Donald A. Troutman: pharmacist — Lewisburg, PA
Barlow J. Wagman: dentist — Riverdale, MD
Ernestine Weddle: practitioner of traditional home remedies — Indianapolis, IN

**Folklore in Your Community**

**Baseball Players — Washington Senators**

Jim Hannan — Annandale, VA
Charles Hinton — Washington, DC
Jackie Jenson — Scottsville, VA
Jim Lemon — Hyattsville, MD
Walter Masterson — Woodville, VA
Mickey Vernon — Wallingford, PA

**Citizen Band Radio Operators**

Ryan J. Arata — Annandale, VA (Maine Yankee)
Teri Barron — Arlington, VA (Wacky Witch)
Nicholas Bocher — Annandale, VA (Two Plus)
Chick Heerlein — Annandale, VA (Chick-Mar)
Ralph D. Kuser — Arlington, VA (Red Pony)
Jessie E. Spells — Arlington, VA (Delta Man)

**Fire Fighters**

District of Columbia Fire Fighters’ Association, Local 36 — DC Fire Department

**Gospel Singers**

D. C. Blind Gospel Singers — Washington, DC
Independent Church of God Choir — Washington, DC
Rose Bud Singers — Washington, DC
Sincere Gospel Aires — Washington, DC
Wilson Harmonizers — Washington, DC

**Market Vendors**

Chris Calomiris — Silver Spring, MD
Merle E. Dutrow — Damascus, MD
Ella Lovett — Washington, DC
Lincoln Rorie — Oxon Hill, MD
Gregg Taylor — Washington, DC
John W. Thomas — Temple Hills, MD

**Neighborhood Store Owners**

Bianca and Valerio Calcagno: Va-Ce Italian Delicatessen — Washington, DC
Edward F. Dillon — Washington, DC
Mollie and Joseph Muchnick — Silver Spring, MD
Andrew Wallace — Washington, DC
Sarah, Alfred and Marshall Weisfeld — Washington, DC

**Stone Carvers**

Carlo Donofrio: stone cutter — Clinton, MD
Roger Morigli — Hyattsville, MD
Vincenzo Palumbo — Upper Marlboro, MD
Constantine Seferlis — Garrett Park, MD
Frank Zic — Holliswood, NY

**Street Hawkers**

Paul Diggs — Baltimore, MD
Walter Kelly — Baltimore, MD
Lincoln Rorie — Oxon Hill, MD
Jerry Williams — Onancock, VA

**Taxi Cab Drivers**

Nick Aravanis — Washington, DC
Ruby Burnside — Washington, DC
Bob Chapman — Washington, DC
Arthur Elms: dispatcher — Washington, DC
Moe Gershenson — Mt. Ranier, MD

**Vietnamese Community**

Le Thi Bat: narrator, costume — Washington, DC
Nguyen Ngoc Bich: games leader, festival organizer — Springfield, VA
Huynh Kim Chi: musician — Middlesex, NJ
Tran Dinh De, MD: narrator, acupuncture — Falls Church, VA
Reverend Thiaeh Gia Dac Duc: narrator, Buddhism — Washington, DC
Vu Thi Dung: games leader — Arlington, VA
Hien Nguyen Gia: musician — Washington, D.C.
Hang Phan Hoang: cook — Bowie, MD
Dao Thi Hoi: cook — Springfield, VA
Truong Cam Khai: calligrapher, painter — Arlington, VA
Nguyen Van Minh: lacquerware maker — Springfield, VA
Le Thanh Nghiem: narrator, costume — Springfield, VA
Phan Bach Ngo: silk flower maker — Falls Church, VA
Tuan Nguyen: narrator, immigrant experience — Springfield, VA
Nguyen Kim Oanh: musician — Alexandria, VA
Ho Thien Tam: musician — Falls Church, VA
Tam Vi Thuy: musician — Fairfax, VA
Ai Thi Tong: narrator, foodways — Washington, DC
Minh Nguyet Vu: narrator, immigrant experience — Arlington, VA
Ngô Vuong Zoa: musician — Alexandria, VA

**Caribbean**

Carol Aqui: costumed band leader — Adelphi, MD
Batucada Brasilera (William Brown, leader): Brazilian music band — Washington, DC
Children's Folklore

Barrett Elementary School: Vietnamese games — Arlington, VA
David Barton: Lumbee May Day participant — Walkula, NC
Tom Bledsoo: musician — Snowflake, VA
Boys Football League — Washington, DC
Susan Brewer: Lumbee May Day participant — Walkula, NC
Brightwood Elementary School: Hispanic American games — Washington, DC
Anthony Brooks: Lumbee May Day participant — Lumberton, NC
Sonya Canady: Lumbee May Day participant — Lumberton, NC
Pemperton Cecil: limberjack maker and player, story teller — Wylieville, VA
Terry Chavis: Lumbee May Day participant — Walkula, NC
Tony Chavis: Lumbee May Day participant — Lumberton, NC
Deep Branch Elementary School: Lumbee May Day — Lumberton, NC
Beverly Emanuel: Lumbee May Day participant — Lumberton, NC
George Mason Junior High School: Halloween traditions — Falls Church, VA
George Mason Senior High School: haunted house — Falls Church, VA
Sylvia Grider: folklorist — Bryan, TX
Teresi Hunt: Lumbee May Day participant — Lumberton, NC
Interplanetary Committee — Gaithersburg, MD
Robert (Stu) Jamieson: story teller, musician — San Pedro, CA
Elizabeth (Bessie) Jones: grass doll maker, games leader, story teller — St. Simon Island, GA
Key Elementary School: Vietnamese games — Arlington, VA
Anita Locklear: Lumbee May Day Participant — Walkula, NC
Bryan Keith Locklear: Lumbee May Day Participant — Walkula, NC
Iris Locklear: Lumbee May Day Participant — Walkula, NC
Laura Locklear: Lumbee May Day Participant — Lumberton, NC
Lucy Locklear: May Day games and activities leader — Pembroke, NC
Mary M. Locklear: May Day dialogues and games — Pembroke, NC
Long Branch Elementary School: Vietnamese games — Arlington, VA
Magnolia Elementary School: Lumbee May Day — Lumberton, NC
Delana Maynor: Lumbee May Day participant — Lumberton, NC
Ricky Maynor: Lumbee May Day Participant — Lumberton, NC
Barry Myers: photographer — Pittsburgh, PA
Oxendine Elementary School: Lumbee May Day — Walkula, NC
Oyster Elementary School: Hispanic American games — Washington, DC
Douglas Quimby: games leader, story teller — Brunswick, GA
Frankie Quimby: games leader — Brunswick, GA
Tony Raby: Lumbee May Day Participant — Lumberton, NC
Scott Revels: Lumbee May Day Participant — Lumberton, NC
Betsy Nadas Seamans: harvest figure maker, photographer — Pittsburgh, PA
Joseph Seamans: photographer — Pittsburgh, PA
Keith Sims: musician — Hiltons, VA
Amanda Smith: Lumbee May Day Participant — Lumberton, NC
Beecher Smith: musician — Nickolsville, VA
Delace Strickland: Lumbee May Day Participant — Lumberton, NC
Peter Whiteman: carnival costume maker — Hyattsville, MD
Edna Faye Young: doll maker — Westminster, MD

Medicine Show

Milton Bartok: pitchman — Tallevast, FL
Fred F. Bloodgood: pitchman — Madison, WI
Harvey Ellington: musician — Durham, NC
Frank Floyd: musician — Georgetown, OH
Snuffy Jenkins: musician — Chapin, SC
Alton Machen: pitchman — Elizabethton, TN
Greasy Medlin: musician — Chapin, SC
Hammie Nixon: musician — Brownsville, TN
Native American Architecture

Doris Kicking Woman: Tipi painter — Browning, Montana
George Kicking Woman: Tipi painter — Browning, Montana
Molly Kicking Woman: Tipi painter — Browning, Montana
Ernest Doyebi: Arbor and windbreak builder — Anadarko, Oklahoma
Bill Evans Horse: Arbor and windbreak builder — Carnegie, Oklahoma
Alonzo Chalepah: Arbor and windbreak builder — Carnegie, Oklahoma
Roy Cypress: Chickee builder — Ochopee, Florida
Irene Cypress: Chickee builder — Ochopee, Florida
Ted Cypress: Chickee builder — Ochopee, Florida
Rachel Cypress: Chickee builder — Ochopee, Florida

Festival Staff

Public Information Specialist: Linda St. Thomas
Hometown News: Abby Wasserman
Participant Coordinator: Barbara Strickland
Assistants: Susan Boer, Catherine Burt
Housing Assistant: Anne Mercer
Technical Director: Paul Squire
Grounds Crew: Jaime Cruz, Dale Davis, Peggy Dolan, Luis Gonzalez, Colleen Powers, Fred Price, Jeffrey Sutton, William Tibble, Silvia Triana
Supply Coordinator: Dorothy Neumann
Sound Supervisor: Chris Arnold
Sound Technicians: John Berquist, Peter Derbyshire, Matt Gallman, Nick Hawes, Jon Nepstad, Bill Pearson, Keith Secola, Cal Southworth, Marjorie Wagner
Recording Engineer: Gregg Lamping
Photographers: Chip Clark, Richard Hofmeister, Judy Rosenfeld, Paul Wagner
Video Crew: Chris Capilongo, Joe Goulait, Dane Penland, Lee Stahlsworth
Volunteer Coordinator: Mary Ellen Griffith
Site Design: Peter Reiniger
Shuttle Driver: Steve Green
Administrative Assistants: Pamela Ow, Sherril Taylor, Barr Weissman
Assistant Designer: Jenifer Weiss
Interns: Cameron Knight, Barbara Lyons, Angela Heibert, Larry Sisson
Children's Area Coordinator: Kate Rinzler
Assistant Coordinator: Marta Schley
Supply Assistant: Scott Porter
Energy Exhibit Coordinator: Diana Parker
Technical Coordinator: Gary Floyd
Caribbean Program Coordinators: D. Elliott Parris, Katherine Williams
Special Consultant: Roy Bryce-LaPorte

Fieldworkers/Presenters

Nicholas Bocher, Sylvia Grider, Glenn Hinson,
Marjorie Hunt, Fred Lieberman, Susan Manos,
Phyllis May, Robert McCarl,
Maxine Miska,
Peter Nabokov, Elliott Parris, Kate Rinzler, Betsy Seamans, Barbara Strickland, Katherine Williams, Peggy Yocum

Internal Office Support

Accounting
Supply Services
OPLANTS
Grants & Risk Management
Division of Performing Arts
Photographic Services
Communications & Transportation
Travel Services
Exhibits Central
Audio-Visual Unit
Museum Programs
Security & Protection
Membership & Development
Horticulture
Congressional & Public Information
Elementary & Secondary Education
Grants & Fellowships
Contracts
Motion Picture Unit
Anthropological Film Center
National Associates Program
Resident Associates Program
**Special Thanks**

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<td>John Kalepp</td>
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<td>George Mason Jr. &amp; Sr. High School</td>
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<td>Ruth Woods</td>
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<td>Michael Harris</td>
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<td>Richard Feller, Washington Cathedral</td>
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<td>DC Department of Transportation</td>
<td>The members of L.C.B.O.A., and</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harold Closter</td>
<td>all other CBers and CB clubs that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Easton</td>
<td>donated time, energy, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Maryland Plant Research Farm</td>
<td>equipment to the CB presentation.</td>
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</table>
O’Clock Train," which, according to one showman, was seen as early as 1800-25. “What time does the three o’clock train go out?” “The three o’clock train?” the answer comes back, “Why, it goes out exactly 60 minutes past two o’clock.”

The step-right-up pitch of the show’s "Doc" was a powerful form of folk rhetoric. Witness this pitch from showman T. P. Kelley, from a biography by his son:

“You are all dying, every man, every woman and child is dying; from the instant you are born you begin to die and the calendar is your executioner. That, no man can change or hope to change. It is nature’s law that there is no escape from the individual great finale on the mighty stage of life where each of you are destined to play your farewell performance. Ponder well my words then ask yourselves the questions: Is there a logical course to pursue? Is there some way you can delay, and perhaps for years, that final moment before your name is written down by a bony hand in the cold diary of death? Of course there is. Ladies and Gentlemen, and that is why I am here.”

Suggesting Reading

Healers, Curers, and Herbalists: Folk Medicine in America
Jack Santino

Disease, disorder, and discomfort, whether mental or physical, are inevitable. They must be addressed and alleviated, and people have invented elaborate systems for identifying, systematizing, and controlling them. These systems are most effective when they draw on a community’s shared values, beliefs, and symbols. The tribal medicine man, the herbalist of folk societies, the doctors of contemporary America all do their jobs best when they understand that the faith their patients place in them and in their practices is derived from community-wide values and beliefs.

America is a complex land of many distinct ethnic communities, each with its own traditional medical beliefs, practices, and specialists. All people have home remedies. Who, in our society, for example, has not been told to drink ten sips of water or take some sugar or stare into a point of a knife to cure their hiccups? But when one really gets sick, he or she sees a doctor, a medical specialist who is legitimized by the authority of a formal organization, and has received practical training.

Other societies rely upon oral tradition as the legitimizing agency. Among the Eastern Cherokee, there are seven medicine men who are traditional healers, and each has a specific area of expertise. Some are more knowledgeable about herbs, others about spiritual power. They are all medical specialists within their community, and all serve the double function of preventing and curing pain and illness, on the one hand, and of calming and reassuring their patients and the community on the other. They rely on the time-honored beliefs and practices of their people, and they share those beliefs with the patients they tend. Together, patient and healer work on effecting a cure.

Medical healing is always part science and part performance. The scientific aspect is comprised of knowledge about the curative powers of plant and animal substances and other means of correcting physical and psychological disorders (for example, the use of splints to mend broken bones). When combined with the ability to perform healing rituals, the patient receives a sense of security.

Jack Santino received his Ph.D. in Folklore and Folklife from the University of Pennsylvania. He is currently a staff folklorist at the Smithsonian Institution Folklife Program and teaches folklore courses at The George Washington University.
American Indian Stereotypes

Rayna Green

This year at the Festival, Americans will see some venerable and wonderful North American institutions—a medicine show and a Caribbean-style Carnival. Some traditional aspects of these performances, however, will not be seen on the Mall because we have asked the performers not to show them. Rather than exercise a silent censorship, we decided to bring the discussion to you, the public, and explore a rare part of our national heritage that we do not wish to put on the Mall. We are speaking of ethnic stereotypes—here mainly of American Indians—that are often presented through acts and costumes in the entertainments we feature this year. Although certainly traditional and popular, and just as certainly often innocent and well intentioned, some aspects of the stereotypes disturb many people and, for this reason, we prefer not to present them. Our friends from the carnival and medicine show have agreed with this.

Medicine shows and carnivals did not invent Indian stereotypes. Stories, songs, jests, jokes, sayings and artifacts like weather vanes, cigar-store figures, dolls and paintings have been in wide circulation since the first Native American and immigrant American met. In cartoons, maps and travel book illustrations, the Indian Queen figure—a large, full-bosomed, naked, barbarous woman with her hand on a spear and her foot on the head of an alligator—was the symbol of the New World’s promise and peril. Later, the Indian Princess figure—slimmer than her “Mother,” draped in a classic gown—

1. In many areas, health specialists are also family and friends. John Lee is an herbalist, and his sister, Maude Bryant, is a midwife. They live outside Pittsboro, North Carolina, and they service other members of their family as well as friends and neighbors. Photo by Jack Santino for the Smithsonian.

2. The human being is a whole, integral being, and, consequently, that respect, trust and faith must be mutually earned if curing and healing are to occur.

Suggested Reading

Rayna Green is a folklorist and Director of the Project on Native Americans for the American Association for the Advancement of Science. She is a member of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and has written extensively on Indian stereotypes.
tiara on her head, torch in her hand and surrounded by Revolutionary heroes like George Washington — came to be the symbol of freedom from the Old World. Her real but myth-laden counterparts, Squanto, Pocahontas and Sacajawea, came to represent the epitome of the Good Indian, that is, Indians who aided white men in conquering their own country and countrymen. The Indian "sidekicks" of television and Western movies, the Lone Ranger's Tonto and Red Ryder's Little Beaver, are, in a way, Pocahontas' brothers. As wars and conflicts over land worsened between Native people and white settlers, however, the Bad Indian figure came to be just as prevalent as the Good Indian. Geronimo and Sitting Bull were the real-life counterparts of Indians in stories and songs who massacred innocent settlers, dashed out the brains of children, and made captured women into drudges for cruel warrior masters. Princess and Squaw, Warrior and Brave. Noble and Ignoble Savage, all became stereotype characters in American folk and popular repertoires. Many real aspects of Indian traditional cultures have enriched American cuisine, language, landscape and art, but some Americans think only in stereotypes.

Indian images have been projected in popular entertainments since the 1700s. On the American stage the Dying Cherokee warrior and the Indian princess who leaped for love were applauded, and their Savage cohorts were condemned. In American commerce, the Indian became a major advertising device. One of the most important Indian "gifts" (modern Native people would call it our last revenge, perhaps) was tobacco, and cigar-store Indians decorated American sidewalks until fire laws demanded their removal about 1925-50. Indians were standard figures in print advertising as well.

Indian medicines were commercially introduced in the 18th century, and soon over 80 brands of "Indian" medicine were on the market. The white "Indian" doctor was a familiar sight to most people, as were the brightly colored ads, booklets, and calendars issued by the "doctors" to tout their products. Popular acceptance of the medicines came from a belief that Indians were healers, superior knowers of Nature's ways. Early settlers hastened to obtain Indian remedies when they could, befriending Indian curers and developing their own versions of Indian medicine. Many best sellers like the "Indian Doctor's Dispensary" (1813), "The Indian Guide to Health" (1836) and the "North American Indian Doctor" guided popular American health practices for years.

Medicine shows were one of the major popular entertainments of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Shows varied from large tent operations to single wagon productions, though it is probably the image of the single wagon with an "Indian" doctor pitchman that most people remember. The purpose of the Indian presence in medicine shows was, however, principally entertainment, in addition to serving as an amusing endorsement of the product's value. The image conveyed was generally other than that of the Indian healer: The Kickapoo Co. had hundreds of real Indians dancing, weaving baskets, playing the drum, doing feats to demonstrate health and strength and, naturally, making herbal preparations. But most of the "Indians" in medicine shows were Mexicans, blacks, and white men made up in red-face and costume. All wore colorful costumes, most of which eventually became a standardized combination of various tribal regalia from Plains Indian groups.

Popular as the medicine shows were, however, no other single form of American popular entertainment contributed as much to common stereotypes of the Indian as the Wild West Show. The Wild West Show projected the figure of the Plains warrior as the essential American Indian and, along with its cousin, the Western movie, it became the real-life West in the minds of many. At least ten major road shows played from 1884 to 1938, when the Western movie and circus effectively took over the Wild West Show's function of public spectacle. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and Congress of Rough Riders was the first show and prototype, and it played to over six million people in 1893 alone.

Carnivals, circuses, and medicine shows were not the only American institutions that featured stereotyped Indians or
others playing Indians. Ordinary Americans join the Boy Scouts and other fraternal organizations like the Improved Order of Red Men; they dance in hobbyist groups and subscribe to magazines that advertise the best places to acquire beads, feathers, and costume elements for "authenticity."

In the 1920s groups of black Mardi Gras-goers in New Orleans began to march in the Carnival parade as "Indians." With outrageously elaborate outfits of feathers, sequins, and spangles, the "chiefs" lead their "tribes" in Afro-Caribbean-influenced dance steps down the avenues of New Orleans.

Playing Indian, whether on the screen, in a child’s game, in a Scout Merit Badge competition, medicine show sales pitch, Mardi Gras, hobbyist dance contest, or half-time entertainment, seems to be a compelling activity for the American people. They don’t easily give it up. Folklore sometimes includes material that, however unintentionally, is harmful to the positive public self-image of others. The decision to omit these aspects is a kind of censorship, but one that reaffirms the best of tradition. That the performers from the medicine show and Carnival have agreed to appear without some of their customary costumes and acts speaks well of the richness of their traditions and the fairness and openness of their minds.

Suggested Readings
Folklore and the Vietnamese Community in the United States

Maxine Miska

For refugees, community is an immediate concern. Vietnamese, the newest wave of refugees to American shores, have been plucked from their families and communities so suddenly that their children sometimes thought they were just taking a vacation in the Philippines or Guam.

Approximately 130,000 Vietnamese arrived in the U.S. in late 1975 and were sent to four holding camps—Camp Pendleton, Calif., Fort Chaffee, Ark., Eglin Air Force Base, Fla., and Fort Indiantown Gap, Pa. Most left the camps through the help of American sponsors in the form of various religious or secular groups who accepted financial responsibility for them. After four years, they are now settled in major urban areas. The adults have learned English and have been retrained for new professions; their unemployment rate is below the national average. Cultural change also has been rapid; in some families the grandparents speak little English and the grandchildren speak little Vietnamese. Nonetheless, the traditional pattern persists of the three generations of an extended family living and working together. In Vietnamese terms, a family consists of the passing on responsibility and gratitude from generation to generation.

For the boat people fleing Vietnam, the passage to America is longer and less certain. Families leave in small boats, not knowing whether they will find a country to accept them, or perish at sea. Many have seen the family mem-

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Music is among the rich traditions Vietnamese bring with them to this country. Photos by Nicholas Bocher for the Smithsonian
1000 years struggled to maintain that freedom against the Mongols, Chinese, and French. Vietnam’s relationship to China was like that of the European nations to Greece and Rome. China was the source of philosophy, art, and government, but Vietnam developed its own national style based on the classical forms of imperial China. The Chinese paid tribute to Vietnam’s mastery of the arts by calling it “The Cultured Nation.”

Poetry and song are so much a part of life in Vietnam that the conical hats peasants wear are called “poetry hats.” Poems are written under the brim, and when a hat is held up to the sun, the poem can be read. One of the earliest recorded poems in Vietnam was composed in the following way: A Buddhist priest, chosen for his learning to meet the new ambassador from China, disguised himself as a ferryman and took the ambassador across the river. The Chinese Ambassador tried to impress the ferryman with an impromptu couplet. The disguised priest capped the ambassador’s two lines with two of his own to complete the verse:

There: wild geese, swimming side by side.
Staring up at the sky!
White feathers against a deep blue,
Red feet burning in the green waves.
(translated by Nguyen Ngoc Bich with Burton Raffel)\(^4\)

While the educated wrote poems in Chinese or Sino-Vietnamese characters, boatmen, farmers, loggers, and grandmothers sang as they worked and on festive occasions.

Vietnam has three cultural regions with distinct music, dialect, and costume. The North has traditions of recited poetry and singing competitions. Central Vietnam, with the old imperial city of Hue, has traditions of court music. In the South there are traditions of Vong Co. theater songs which originated in folksong.\(^5\)

From the North come songs workers use to keep rhythm while hauling wood from the dock after it has floated down the river:

Assembly house!
How many tiles has the roof?
I love you!
As much as that!\(^6\)

In the South there are lyric boating songs like this one describing an island:

Which place is more pleasant than this isle?
Mosquitoes cry like flute music,
Grapefruit trees grow like fog fences.\(^7\)

October is the season for the mid-autumn festival in Vietnam. Under the harvest moon, children parade with beautiful lanterns of paper and bamboo. Young men perform acrobatic lion dances in costumes of silk and tassels, accompanied by a drum. Moon cakes are traditionally eaten at this festival. One kind of moon cake is square with a round egg yolk inside. The square part represents the earth and the round part the heavens or the idea of perfection. The cake, through the perfection of a circle in a square, symbolizes the relationship of heaven and earth.

The continually renewed vitality of Vietnamese art, music, poetry, cultural identity and family is a strong cultural value and is symbolized in Vietnam’s national epic: “The Tale of Kieu.” This poem, parts of which are known by heart by many Vietnamese, tells the story of a young woman of great
The rice cake, made of glutinous rice filled with mung beans and meat, is wrapped in banana or bamboo leaves and jolled, and steamed. Photo courtesy of Mrs. Hoang.

Mrs. Hoang describes how she uses a wooden form in making bánh chưng, the rice cake traditionally served at Vietnamese New Year, Tết.

beauty and talent in music and poetry who sells herself to save her family from unjust imprisonment. She suffers bitterly but retains her sense of morality, of fidelity to her family, and of obligation to her betrothed. When she is finally reunited with her family, she has been deeply marked by disaster but transformed rather than scarred or embittered. This poem is a collective expression of the Vietnamese as a people, a nation, and as welcome bearers of tradition recently come to their new-found land.

Footnotes

Suggested Readings
Urban Fire Fighters: The Strength of Occupational Folklife

Robert McCarl

Since the first horse-drawn fire engines clanged down a city street, fire fighting has been an urban service occupation that has continued to generate a feeling of romance and respect. Yet beyond the excitement and pride felt by those who advance the hose lines, make the rescues or throw the ladders, there are a variety of techniques, customs, gestures and stories that form the work culture passed from one generation of fire fighters to the next. The veteran's advice, for example, given over a hot cup of coffee after a rookie has just run the line on his first working fire, shapes the way a new firefighter will think, act, and feel on the job. Washington, D.C., has a long and rich history of fire service, and within every neighborhood of the city there is a fire house in which these stories and skills are being passed on to the fire fighters of the next generation.

Stories fire fighters tell about past experiences express not only the way things have been done in the past, but also the humor, intelligence and flair of those who tell the stories or are described in them. The following narrative was related by an experienced officer to a couple of younger fire fighters one night as they sat around the watch desk listening to calls coming in over the vocal.

One man that I respected quite a bit, his name was Brown. At the time that I worked directly with him he was the captain of the squad, and I was the wagon driver on the engine. And he had a reputation for being an excellent fire fighter both in terms of actually taking the pipe and advancing it—you know that type of fire fighter—and led his men well and was always calm and didn't raise his voice much.

Well, we had a fire up on Park Road and Mt. Pleasant Street one day. It was a large apartment building so that the apartments were large, many rooms, you know, two or three bedrooms with little maid's quarters and things like that. And we had a fire on one of the upper floors. The squad was given the line because it was so hot and smokey that they couldn't find the fire.

So the squad ended up taking the line and even they couldn't find the fire. There was a tremendous amount of heat.

So Brown told the men to hold their position right where they were. And he left the apartment that was on fire without saying anything to anybody because that wasn't the kind of thing where—particularly with the masks on and everything—you could convey your thoughts.

He knew what he wanted to do. He went to the floor below, to the corresponding apartment... went in, looked at the situation and found that there was another bedroom back here off to the side of the room in the hallway.

By the stack principle he knew that it would be the same as the one above. He went back upstairs, took his company and said, 'O.K. fellas here's where we have to go,' and in they went and put the fire out.

And so I catalogued that in my mind. I've never had an opportunity to use it. But believe me, if the situation ever presents itself I'll be able to bring that thing up just like a computer would."

This brief story provides a glimpse into the culture of fire fighting through its folklore. The special language, the attention paid to the type of building involved and the pinpointing of the action at a particular city intersection not only gives the audience a professional's picture of the fire but it also requires from them a quick mental review of how they would have gotten to that location of the city, since the "running route" taken by a driver is predetermined and must be memorized by every fire fighter as part of his or her probationary training.

Other elements that are revealed in this narrative include the suggestion of what makes a good officer—someone who is aggressive in a fire situation but at the same time anticipates the next move before it is reached. As professionals, fire fighters know exactly what to do without being told to do it. Usually, the only occasion an officer has to
say something to a fire fighter in a fire situation occurs when something unusual requires modification in the method of attack.

The central concern in this story is anticipation and quick thinking in a very common fire situation—a room or hallway totally engulfed in heat and smoke in which it is impossible to find the actual location of the fire. Crouching in this completely dark environment with the heat sapping the energy from his body, a fire fighter must try every way he can think of to locate and extinguish the fire. The story and countless others like it provide the accumulated techniques and bits of information that can be called on in situations like this to enable the fire fighter to do his job.

Fire fighting is dangerous and filled with sharp contrasts. A fire fighter might be sound asleep one minute and virtually the next he could be crawling down a smoke filled hallway trying to drag someone to safety. Danger must be anticipated; life or death situa-

Glossary

1 Hose lines, rescues, ladders: engine companies take the hose into a burning building to extinguish the fire. Truck companies put up the ladders, ventilate the smoke and heat and search and rescue. The rescue squad goes above the fire and to it to search and rescue.

2 Rookie: a fire fighter trainee, also called probationer or "probie."

3 Run the line: advance the hose line into the building; working fire: a tough or hot fire that requires a great deal of effort to extinguish.

4 Watch desk: the desk in front of the fire house where fire fighters take turns listening to the radio for fire calls.

5 Vocal: the radio speaker over which the fire calls are given.

6 Squad: the heavy duty rescue squad used for rescue aid on fires as well as for rescue jobs like extracting people from automobile wrecks, etc.

7 Engine: the wagon driver drives the first vehicle (called a wagon pump) of a two piece engine company while the pumper driver drives the second (called the pumper). The wagon driver leads the way to the fire and gets as close to the fire as possible while the pumper stops at the nearest hydrant and connects to the hydrant to pump water to the wagon.

8 Pipe: the nozzle at the end of the hose.

9 Line: the hose line.

10 Masks: the oxygen bottle plus facepiece carried by all fire fighters in the fire building.

11 Stack principle: simply that the apartment on one floor is probably laid out the same as the one below or above it.

Suggested Readings


Folklore in Your Community: The Corner Store

Marjorie Hunt

1 The Mangialardo family in their Italian grocery and delicatessen. People come here for homemade sausage, imported olive oil and pasta, and Italian submarine sandwiches as well as for conversation and to pass the time of day. The Mangialardo’s family store is always alive with people telling jokes, swapping stories and exchanging family recipes. Photo Courtesy of Washington Post

2 The customers like having Anna Mangialardo at the helm: “She runs this place just like home!”

3 Al Mangialardo and his brother, Joe, love to joke and talk with their customers: “What I like best about this store is communicating with people. If life is but once, to meet all these different people — that’s the best way to do it!”

Marjorie Hunt is a doctoral candidate in Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania. She has conducted fieldwork in the areas of urban and occupational folklore, and has worked on the Festival’s Folklore in Your Community program. Photos by Marjorie Hunt for the Smithsonian.
Weisfeld's Market, standing on a shaded street corner amidst a block of family row houses, has been part of the neighborhood for over 50 years. The Weisfeld family has served many generations of customers. They can remember vividly the days of penny candy jars, barrels of pickles, large bins of grain, and milk bottles topped with cream delivered right to the doorstep.

In the Mom and Pop stores, the family works as a team. Their son, Marshall, manages the store. Mr. Weisfeld cuts the meat and caters to the hundreds of school children who descend upon the store every afternoon. Mrs. Weisfeld operates the cash register. "There's no need to go to the theatre," she says, "this is a good matinee right here."

"I'm a butcher and a bluffer," jokes Mr. Weisfeld, who takes great pride and pleasure in his butchering and in being a good neighbor to his customers.

Like many immigrants in Washington in the early 1900s, Joseph and Mollie Muchnick started off with a small "starvation" or "struggle" store in southeast Washington. Through great effort and goodwill the Muchnick's store became a cherished and important mainstay of neighborhood life. Joseph Muchnick is pictured here in front of his store with his daughter, Sarah. Photo by the Muchnicks.

"Our store had its name—it was that of the grocer who owned it—but "the Little Store" is what we called it at home. It was a block down our street toward the capitol and half a block further, around the corner, toward the cemetery. I knew even the sidewalk to it as well as I knew my own skin. I'd skipped my jumping-rope up and down it, hopped its length through mazes of hopscotch, played jacks in its islands of shade, serpentined along it on my Princess bicycle, skated it backward and forward."

Eudora Welty
"The Little Store"
The CB Community: Folklore in the Modern World
Susan Kalčík

Viewed broadly, the CB community includes anyone who has and uses a CB (Citizen’s Band) radio. But for many CBers in the D.C. area, two way radio is more than an occasional convenience to help drivers. It is the basis of an ongoing and richly-interactive community. CB people meet and socialize over the radio and at CB events; they create informal networks and organize special clubs, such as the Legal CB Operators of America who helped prepare this year’s CB presentation for the Folklife Festival. The members of this club are mainly from northern Virginia, and their regularly-monitored or “home” channels are 19 and 27.

CB social events are called “breaks,” and they include once-a-month gatherings for such activities as bowling, biking, hiking, feasting on crabs, or working on jigsaw puzzles. Some CBers who work near each other also meet regularly for lunch: a lunch “break.” In summer “jamborees” are held, during which CBers meet at camping facilities to socialize and compete for trophies awarded for attendance or for winning contests such as tug-of-war.

Another important activity in the CB community is service: reporting traffic tie-ups, visiting sick friends, helping with a household move. A frequent CB event is the antenna-raising party; a large base-station antenna requires several people to install, and with refreshments provided by the owner and with community spirit, the task becomes a party. CBers’ social service also benefits the larger community, and includes fundraising for charities, donating CB radio equipment to homes for senior citizens and schools, and singing carols at hospitals during the Christmas season.

Although members of a CB community may have diverse backgrounds, their shared knowledge, experience, values, esthetics, and sense of community result in close ties. Many CBers speak of their CB friends as their second, or CB, “family.” The ideal of the CB community is reminiscent of rural or frontier America: getting along with and helping your neighbors. Antenna-raising provides today’s CB equivalent to barn raisings and quilting bees.

CBers share a unique folklore. Language, names, rituals, stories, and jokes that they use, discuss, and pass on orally help create a sense of group identity.

The use of a CB name or “handle” is one way CBers set themselves apart and identify themselves to each other. Usually a handle is chosen because it reflects a person’s identity in some way. Thus “Rusty Pito” does rock climbing, “Ball Joint” works on cars, “Maine Yankee” was born in New England, and “Red Pony” drives a red Pinto. Sometimes handles are picked because they suggest a desired quality or are the name of a favored hero or heroine—or are just plain fun. “Dream Maker,” “Lone Ranger,” “Samurai,” and “Wonder Girl” are a few examples. The history behind the handles and their appropriateness or lack of it are favored topics of conversation among CBers.

CBers also share a rich language, which has been influenced by ham radio communications, truckers’ jargon, the local vernacular, and popular culture. In the “10 Code”—an official shorthand for

Suggested Readings

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use on the air—“10-4” is the official form of the message “I understand you.” “4-10” and “4” carry the same meaning, as does “10 Roger” and its variants “10 M Rogie,” “10 Rogo,” “Roger,” “Rogie.” “Rogt,” and “Roger D.” These variations are the result of creative adaptation on the part of many CBers.

Patterns of voice inflection serve as identifiers as well, and many CBers have developed a distinctive style that is immediately recognizable over the air. Inflection also carries meaning: “10-4” asked with a rising inflection can turn the usual affirmative message—“I understand you”—into a question.

Many CB phrases are rhyming or repetitious, and, because of this, easily heard over the air. Hence a policeman may be a “county mountie,” and a strong radio signal described as “wall to wall and tree top tall.” Imagery and metaphor are important, too. A Volkswagen is a “pregnant roller skate.” and the first car or truck in line is the “front door.” If you just want to sit back and listen to your CB radio, you can “copy the mail.” If you talk too much, you are a “bucket mouth.”

One term may generate a string of related terms. A “bear in the bushes” (policeman) may be waiting to spring a “bear trap.” The unwary driver may have to “feed the bears” by paying a ticket. Police may have CBs too ("bears with ears”) and thus become part of the community. In some cases, they adopt CB terms for their own handles, becoming "Midnight Bear" or "Honey Bear."

Stories are also a form of CB folklore. Subjects include on-the-air happenings, such as helping to rescue a person in need, or giving an “18 wheeler” the wrong directions and later finding the truck stuck under an underpass. Also told are jokes about fellow CBers and stories of pranks played on them.

This shared language and lore,
Street Cry!
Steven Zeitlin

The fish stare glassy-eyed from trays. The crabs, pulled from a swarming basket, lock pincers and entwine with one another. Lincoln Rorie, street crier, lifts the gills of a bluefish to show you how good it is. "If it's slimy, it's fresh," he says.

Like all the vendors at the fish wharf in Washington, D.C., he gives 14 crabs to the dozen. His rapid fire fish chants seem to pack almost as many rhymes in every line: "A Big Mac attack/ain't nothing but a snack/compared to the jumbos on sale right here/right here in the back."

Huckster Walter Kelly, with a different approach to the art, can stretch a single word to fill the melody of a whole blues line. On a brightly painted horse-drawn wagon crammed full of cardboard boxes and overflowing with produce, he hollers the name of a fruit, savoring each isolated sound so that an improvised blues languously pours from a single term.

WA-TER-MEL-HO BLACK SEED

WA-TER-MEL' WA-TER-MEL-HO!

The places where cultures meet to do business with one another produce some of our most vital folk expression. At markets where Italians sell to Jews, where blacks sell to Chinese; in streets where itinerant peddlers make their neighborhood stops, vendors combine talent, tradition, and business sense to sell their goods.

In many marketplaces from New York to the Carolinas street vendors share a "hollering" tradition. Certain calls or hollers have been collected many years apart and in different places. When the 1930s Harlem fish peddler Clyde "Kingfish" Smith was a child in North Carolina, his father talked of a peddler who called, "Bring out the dish pan/here's the fish man." The younger Smith brought the line with him to New York, and it was heard until recently in Baltimore. Stanzas like the following illustrate continuity in this huckster tradition:

Baltimore, 1925, caller unknown:
Ah, I have 'em hot.
Ah, I have 'em brown.
Ah, I have 'em round.
Dey's nice 'n fat.
Dey weighs a pound!

Washington, D.C., 1977, Lincoln Rorie:
I got 'em red.
I got 'em dead.
I got 'em green.
I got 'em mean.
It got the lightest, bitenest crabs
This year has seen!

Harlem, 1939, Clyde Smith, from a WPA recording by Herbert Halpert in the Library of Congress:
I've got 'em large.
I've got 'em small.
I got 'em long.
And I got 'em tall.
I've got 'em fried.
I got 'em boiled.
And I can't go home
Till I sell 'em all.

Steven Zeitlin recently received his Ph.D. in Folklore and Folklife from the University of Pennsylvania and is on the staff of the Smithsonian Institution's Folklife Program. He has produced a number of films on folk culture and teaches graduate and undergraduate courses at The George Washington University.
Scallops, crab meat, lobstertails
seasnailsturtleeggsfrogslegs live
alligators and filets
Yes if it swims in the sea
you can believe me
I got it on sale right here
at the back boat today.
I got trouts, crucus, porkus.
rocks, blues, mullets, spots.
Yes the largest variety
the back boat
most has definitely got,
I got sea snails
turtleeggsfrogslegs
lobstertailsfillets
Yes, I got the largest variety
in the nation's capital on sale
Right here right here
at the back boat today.
People I know talk's cheap
but I know action's where it's at
If you walk on down
you'll see for yourself the largest
crabs on sale
right here in the back.
They're mean and they're green
They're the fightn'est, bitn'est
crabs I've ever seen
And I'm twenty nine years old.
No brag, no bull:
nothing but the facts.
Yes, the crabs are much much
larger
right here in the back.
People, I'll put a smile on your
face and a jingle in your pocket
Because I know
we have the absolute lowest
prices on the market.
Walk on down
and eyeball the largest crabs
to be found."

Walter Kelly is an "Arabber," a
Baltimore merchant who sells
fresh fruit and vegetables from a
horse-drawn wagon. He conveys
his meaning in a different way. To
an improvised blues melody, he
sings:

Well I hoop and I holler
Till my soul got sore.
Street peddlers and hawkers have been the subject of drawings and illustrations since the early 16th century.

If it wasn't for that fruit I wouldn't holler no more. Got watermelon, Got 'em red to the rind. If you want black seed watermelon Com to this wagon a mine. Watermelo-o-o-o Watermelo-o-o-o-o-o

"One of the first things I learned about peddling..." Clyde Smith said, "to be any success at all, you had to have an original cry. I know several peddlers that started out and they hollered "Old Fish Man!" but it doesn't work." Mr. Smith changed the cries to suit particular audiences. "In the white and Jewish neighborhoods I feature the words, but in the colored neighborhood I feature the tune."

Clyde Smith also adapted fish hollers to the popular tunes of his day. He changed Cab Calloway's 1931 hit, "Minnie the Moocher" (Now here's a story about Minnie the Moocher/She was a low down hoochey-coocher) into a fish song. This is part of one performance:

*Hi di hi di hi di hi*
*Hi di hi di hi di ho...* (6 lines sung in scat)

Now if you want my nice flounders I got flounders taste like shad. So come on down you scoundrels, And get 'em fore I get mad. Hi di hi di hi di hi Hi di hi di hi di ho...

Now some time when you ain't got but a dime— You can't eat pork chops all the time— Come on down and get around Cause my fish ain't but five cents a pound.

*Hi di hi di hi di hi*  
*Hi di hi di hi di ho...*

Although we might wish to romanticize, the huckster does what he does for money. The connection between creative expression and financial reward is probably as high in street peddling as in any of the arts. Clyde Smith claims his calls get customers laughing, and laughing "loosens the pocketbook." Jerry Williams on the D.C. fish wharf howls the line, "talk the trash for the cash."

Out of this economic enterprise grows a vital form of oral folk poetry. Street callers sing their wares, but, artistically, they sing themselves. "You gotta be in the mood," Clyde Smith said, "you got to put yourself in it. You've got to feel it."

Suggested Reading

Suggested Recordings
A very special thank you is extended to all of the National Park Service and Smithsonian staff and volunteers who help in so many ways. Their spirit of cooperation and good humor contribute inestimably to the success of the Festival. Without their generous assistance, patience, interest and encouragement, the Festival would not be possible. Many, many thanks for your support.

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Director, Office of Buildings and Community Systems, Conservation and Solar Applications: Melvin H. Chiogioji
Chief, Information and Technology Division, Office of Public Affairs: James Bishop, Jr.
Director, Special Programs Division, Office of Public Affairs: Victor P. Keay
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