

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 Balfa, 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 stonemasons 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:

Oxen from Toy Sledge and Oxen. 1820-1850. New England, maker unknown.

Corn Husk Doll. 1860-65. Origin and maker unknown.

American Doll. 1898. Made in North Carolina by Mrs. Almira Smith.

Bottom Row:

"Hanna Hitch" Doll. Circa 1876. Made in New Bedford, Mass. by Mary Hitch.

Dalmatian Dog. 19th Century. Origin and maker unknown.

Back Cover, Top Row:

Indian. 1897. Made by Marie Rose at the Montana Cree Reservation.

Rag Doll "Johnie". Early 19th Century. Origin and maker unknown.

Elephant. Before 1890. Whittled by Mr. Schleicker, 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.

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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 grass-roots 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.

A survey, *The Index of American Design* was edited by E. O. Christenson and published by Maxmillan Company in 1950. Color slides and cassette programs about the collections of the Index of American Design may be obtained by writing to: Extension Service, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. 20560.

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Reaffirmation of Traditions — A Countercurrent For Survival

S. Dillon Ripley

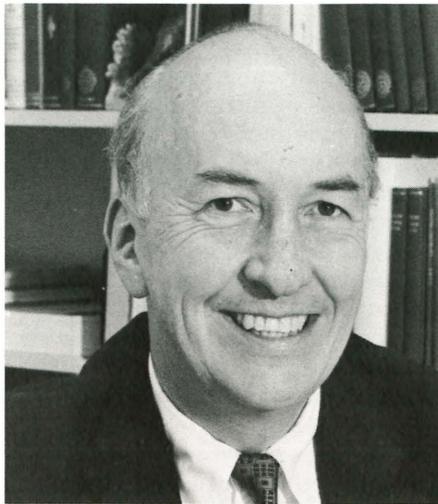
President Carter's remarks delivered at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in February, 1977, struck a deep responsive chord across the Nation and internationally:

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 millenia. 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.

A Splendid Setting for a National Celebration

William J. Whalen



The Festival of American Folklife has become an important tradition in the Nation's Capital. Thousands of Americans look forward to the opportunity to revisit this exciting program, while as many others find their first visit to be equally rich and meaningful.

The National Park Service is pleased to combine its resources and talent again with the Smithsonian Institution for the 13th edition. As in previous years, the Festival talks about, sings about, and dramatizes, America's unique cultural story. It brings together Americans from almost every walk of life for what has been described as "the great family reunion."

For more than a century our national parks, monuments and memorials have been called upon to preserve and protect America's greatest natural and historical treasures. We of the National Park Service have proclaimed this time as "Year of the Visitor" and we are delighted to welcome each of you to the Washington Monument Grounds, site of this year's festival. It is a splendid setting for this type of national celebration.

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.

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-

Brian Sutton-Smith is a widely published scholar in the study of play and games. He is currently a professor in the School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania.

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 "writ 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 Korny 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 excitements 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 Glasgoe'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 intentional acts, unconscious acts, accidental acts, goal directedness 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 intentional, 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 interpretation 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 apparently 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 harder 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 conclusion 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 understanding, 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 have their own reasons. They have their own reasons. Their consequences are multiple, and we should not mistake the industry of unfathoming them for the meaning of the acts themselves.

Suggested Reading

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Humpty-Dumpty Jumping Jack. Circa 1880. Rochester, New York. Made by A. V. Sprague's Novelty Works.

Page Seven: Skeleton Hand Puppet. Circa 1880. Made by Lano Family, location unknown.

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.

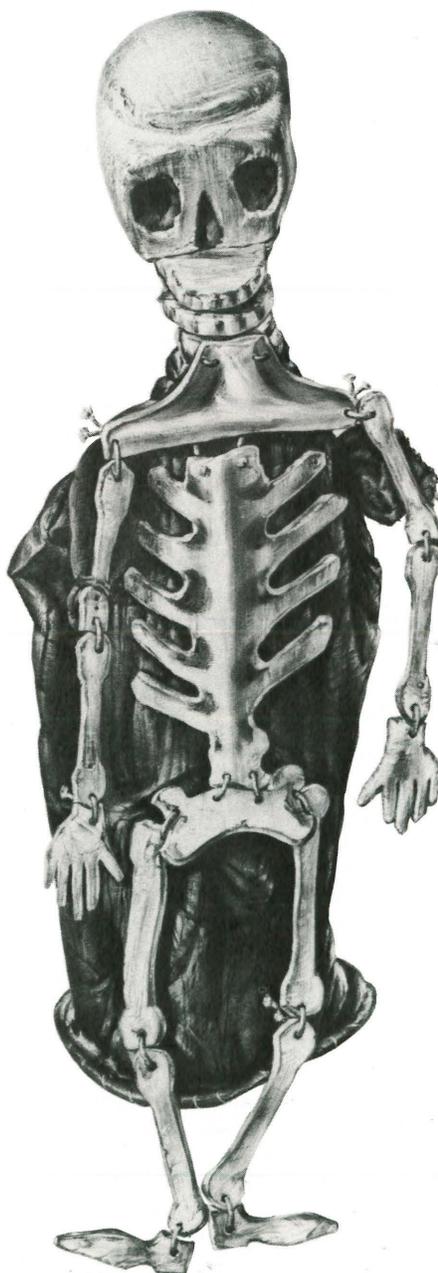
To counter children's counter culture, public schools have offered activities throughout the year that are designed to answer children's social needs. Among these are birthday parties, religious and secular celebrations, and innovations such as field days and "school breakings" (elaborate commencement 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.

Kate Rinzler is co-founder of Council Grove III model elementary school in Compton, California where she developed educational methods using oral history and children's folklore. Since 1974, she has developed the Children's Area of the Festival of American Folklife.

Halloween

That Halloween customs are by no means uniform throughout the country is well demonstrated by the St. Louis German tradition of "a trick 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-



County-wide Field Day events held at Pembroke State College Teacher Training Institute. Photo by Elmer W. Hunt

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. Halloween 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 cover-

ing 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 childrens' 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 butter-

flies 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:

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Newell, William Wells. Games and Songs of American Culture. New York: Dover Press, 1963. First published in New York 1883; revised in 1903.

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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-



*Carnival Preparation—
Wirebender and Decorator at work.*
Photograph courtesy of Trinidad & Tobago
Embassy, Washington, D.C.

val season, arguing that since it was a public holiday, Cannes Brule could take place and initiate Carnival. But the whites resented this intrusion into what had been exclusively an upper-class fete. Laws and proclamations repeatedly sought to stifle or eliminate Cannes Brule. This conflict culminated in the Cannes Brule riots of 1881. Subsequent suppression only drove Cannes Brule underground, where it thrived, promoting ritual combat (personified in stick fighting) and social satire in song (first called "kalinda-singing," then "ca-i-so," and today "calypso"). The Cannes Brule was born as a memorial to the sufferings of slavery and stubbornly persisted as a ritual celebration of the African community's survival. When the elite found that they could not stamp out the Cannes Brule, they incorporated it into their Carnival.

The 20th century has seen the fusion of these two traditions, the European festival of Carnival and the African festival of Cannes Brule, into what is known today as Carnival. The European practice of wearing masks (at the "masked balls") was easily adopted by the Africans whose own traditional culture and religion employed masks extensively. Africans brought the music of the drum, whose infectious rhythm trans-

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Jumping-up in a Carnival band.

Photograph courtesy of Trinidad & Tobago Embassy, Washington, D.C.

formed the parade of costumed, elite individuals content to ride in carriages into a roadmarch 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.

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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 Folklife 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;



Young Mas Player amidst the crowd in Brooklyn, New York. Photograph by Roy S. Bryce Laporte

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

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.

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In off-the-freeway pockets of rural America, pre-Columbian customs for beating 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 "wikiup" is shrouded to the ground with layers of mats. The Kickapoo believe they were taught this pattern of dual residence by *Wisaka*, 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,

Peter Nabokov has done extensive field research in Native American societies. He has written several books and articles based on his findings, including Native American Testimony: An Anthology of Indian and White Relations. He is at present working on a book on the history and symbolism of Native American Architecture.

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-tufted 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

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



1
2



1 Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Cuppawhe and their winter wickiup. Photo by Robert Easton

2 This detail of a wickiup shows the cattail mats that are overlapped for insulation. Photo by Robert Easton

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

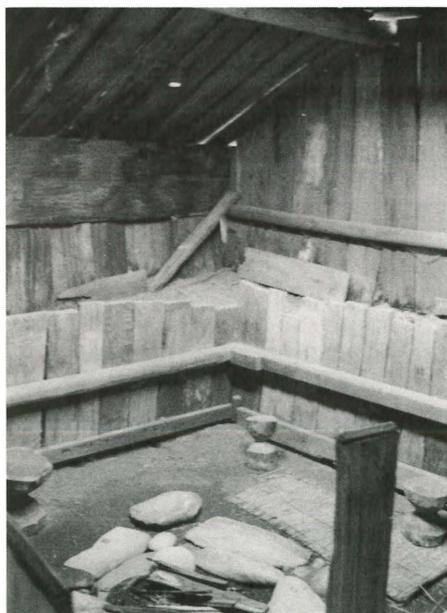
excavations where the Hupa once warmed themselves during the damp winter and cooled themselves throughout the baking summer.

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



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.

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.

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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.*

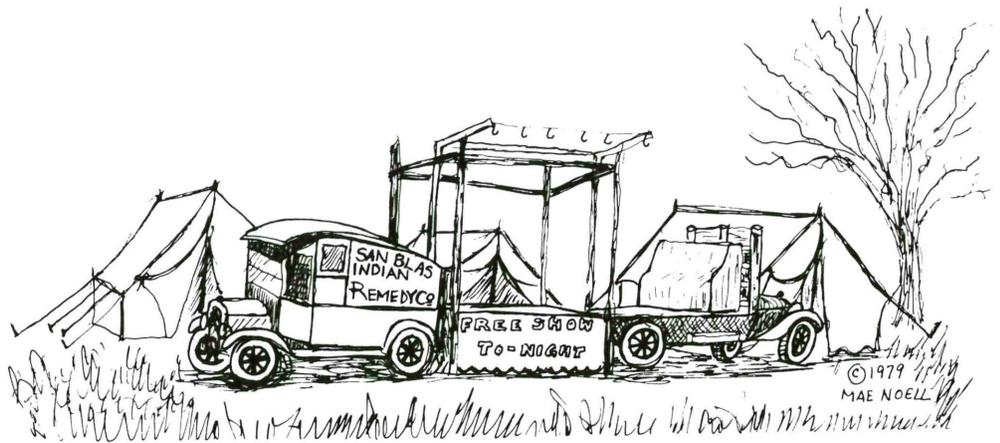
Carl Sandburg,

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.



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 keister" — 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 show goers 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

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

Late low pitch operator, Port Gibson, Mississippi, 1940. Photo by Post. Library of Congress.



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 Zeitlin

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 Kondratas, 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.

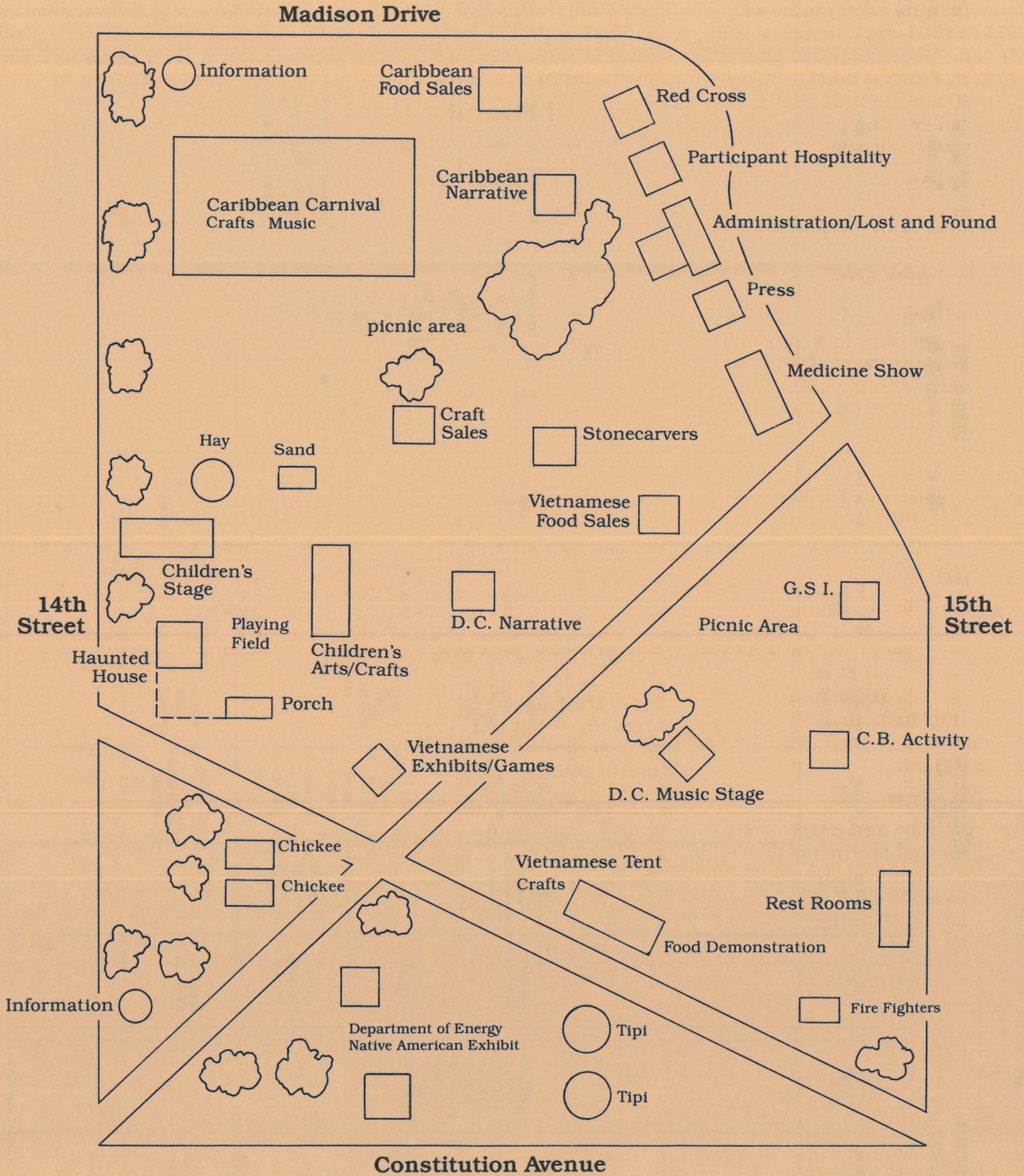
Interpreters for the Deaf

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.

Festival Site Map



Wednesday October 3

	Caribbean Carnival			Children's Area					Folklore in Your Community			Medicine* Show	Native American Architecture
	Music in Large Tent	Narrative Tent	Crafts in Large Tent	Large Stage	Field Area	Crafts Tent	Porch Stage Narratives and Workshops	Haunted House Tent	Narrative Stage	Music Stage	Daily Events	Medicine Show Stage	Exhibit Tent and Construction Sites
10	Opening Festival Concert												
11	Opening Ceremony												
12	Music Bands		Demonstrations All Day: Steelpan Tuner, Wirebender, Decorator, and Seamstress	Country Dancing	Vietnamese American Games	Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making	Limber-jack Playing Inter-planetary Committee	Carnival Costume Making	Baseball Players	Gospel	Demonstrations All Day: Stone Carving, Fire-fighters, CB Radio Lore, and Vietnamese American Crafts, Cooking, and Games	Story Telling, Pitches, Magic Acts, and Ventriloquism	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
1	..... Calypsonian	Video on Carnival Traditions		Hispanic Games			..... Lumbee Indian May Day	Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade	CB	..... Vietnamese Americans		.....
2	Stick Fighters and Music Bands			Afro-American Games	Lumbee Indian May Day Events	Limber-jack Making		Halloween Harvest Figure Making	Stone Carvers			Old-time medicine show with musicians and pitchmen who travelled with the last of the shows through the 1940s.	
3 Fire-Eater	Carnival Music		Country Dancing		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making	Limber-jack Playing		Vietnamese Americans	Bluegrass				.....	Workshop Discussion
4	Music Bands								Street Hawkers				
5													

*An interpreter for the deaf will be available in this area throughout the afternoon.

Thursday October 4

	Caribbean* Carnival			Children's Area				Folklore in Your Community			Medicine Show	Native American Architecture				
	Music in Large Tent	Narrative Tent	Crafts in Large Tent	Large Stage	Field Area	Crafts Tent	Porch Stage Narratives and Workshops	Haunted House Tent	Narrative Stage	Music Stage	Daily Events	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.			
10	Music Bands	Carnival History	Demonstra- tions All Day: Steelpan Tuner, Wirebender, Decorator, and Seam- stress	Lumbee Indian Games		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making and Limber- jack Making	..... Riddles, Jokes, Stories, and Halloween Traditions	Halloween Harvest Figure Making			Demonstra- tions All Day: Stone Carving, Fire- fighting, CB Radio Lore, and Viet- namese American Crafts, Cooking, and Games			10	
11 Calypso- nian			Afro- American Games	Viet- namese American Games	Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade		Viet- namese Americans		Gospel	Workshop Discussion	11	
12	Music Bands			Country Dancing		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making Inter- planetary Committee	Carnival Costume Making		Stone Carvers			Story Telling, Pitches, Magic Acts, and Ventriloquism		12
1 Fire-Eater	Carnival Costumes		Hispanic Games			Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade		Street Hawkers			Old-time medicine show with musicians and pitchmen who travelled with the last of the shows through the 1940s.		1
2 Stick Fighters			Afro- American Games	Lumbee Indian May Day	Limber- jack Making				Taxi Drivers		Viet- namese American				2
3	Music Bands	Carnival Music	Country Dancing		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making	Limber- jack Playing	Halloween Harvest Figure Making		Fire- fighters	Bluegrass		.....	Workshop Discussion	3	
4	Fire-Eater Calypso- nian								CB			Traditional Music and Reminiscences		4		
5														5		

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

Friday October 5

	Caribbean* Carnival			Children's Area				Folklore in Your Community**			Medicine Show	Native American Architecture				
	Music in Large Tent	Narrative Tent	Crafts in Large Tent	Large Stage	Field Area	Crafts Tent	Porch Stage Narratives and Workshops	Haunted House Tent	Narrative Stage	Music Stage	Daily Events	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.			
10	Music Bands	Carnival History	Demonstrations All Day: Steelpan Tuner, Wirebender, Decorator, and Seamstress	Lumbee Indian Games		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making and Limber- jack Making	..... Riddles, Jokes, Stories, and Halloween Traditions	Halloween Harvest Figure Making			Demonstrations All Day: Stone Carving, Fire- fighting, CB Radio Lore, and Viet- namese American Crafts, Cooking, and Games			10	
11	..... Calypso- nian			Afro- American Games	Viet- namese American Games	.....	.....	.....	Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade	Viet- namese Americans		Gospel	.....	Workshop Discussion	11
12	Music Bands			Country Dancing		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making	.....	Limber- jack Playing	Carnival Costume Making	Street Hawkers			.....	Story Telling, Pitches, Magic Acts, and Ventriloquism	12
1	..... Fire-Eater	Carnival Costumes		Hispanic Games			.....	Inter- planetary Committee	Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade	CB		.....			1
2	..... Stick fighters			Afro- American Games	Lumbee Indian May Day	Limber- jack Making				The Corner Store		Viet- namese American		Old-time medicine show with musicians and pitchmen who travelled with the last of the shows through the 1940s.	2
3	Music Bands	Carnival Music		Country Dancing		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making		Limber- jack Playing	Halloween Harvest Figure Making	Street Hawkers		Bluegrass		Workshop Discussion	3
4	Fire-Eater															4
5 Calypso- nian									Taxi Drivers				Traditional Music and Reminiscences		5

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

**An interpreter for the
deaf will be available at the
Narrative Stage all day.

Special Events:
12:00 noon—CB Lunch
Break in CB Tent
7-9 p.m.—Vietnamese
American Mid-Autumn Festival

Saturday October 6

Caribbean* Carnival

Children's Area

Folklore in** Your Community

Medicine Show

Native*** American Architecture

	Music in Large Tent	Narrative Tent	Crafts in Large Tent	Large Stage	Field Area	Crafts Tent	Porch Stage Narratives and Workshops	Haunted House Tent	Narrative Stage	Music Stage	Daily Events	Medicine Show Stage	Exhibit Tent and Construction Sites 10 am to 5 pm
10		Video on Carnival Traditions		Lumbee Indian Games		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making and Limber-jack Making		Halloween Harvest Figure Making		Gospel	Demonstrations, All Day: Stone Carving, Fire-fighters, CB Radio Lore, and Vietnamese American Crafts, Cooking, and Games		Native Americans will build and discuss their traditional structures showing how each is energy efficient for the climate in which it is built.
11	Minstrels Calypsonian Fire-Eater and Stick fighters	Seminar on Carnival Traditions	Steelpan Tuner, Wirebender, Decorator, and Seamstress	Afro-American Games	Vietnamese American Games		Riddles, Jokes, Stories, and Halloween Traditions	Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade	Street Hawkers				Workshop Discussion
12				Country Dancing		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making	Limber-jack Playing	Carnival Costume Making	Stone Carvers	Bluegrass		Story Telling, Pitches, Magic Acts, and Ventriloquism	
1	Calypso Contests						Inter-planetary Committee						
2	Ole Mas Competitions and Parade of Bands			Hispanic Games			Lumbee Indian May Day	Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade	CB			Old-time medicine show with musicians and pitchmen who travelled with the last of the shows through the 1940s.	
3				Afro-American Games	Lumbee Indian May Day	Limber-jack Making		Halloween Harvest Figure Making	Baseball Players				
4				Country Dancing		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making	Limber-jack Playing		Fire-fighters	Vietnamese Americans			Workshop Discussion
5	Awards and Prizes								Vietnamese Americans			Traditional Music and Reminiscences	

*Jump Up (dance and music), 5-7 p.m. in the Large Tent

**11:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m.
CB One-Day Break,
Activities and Awards
(area near CB Tent)

***An interpreter for the deaf will be available in this area throughout the afternoon.

Monday October 8

	Caribbean Carnival			Children's* Area				Folklore in** Your Community			Medicine Show	Native American Architecture				
	Music in Large Tent	Narrative Tent	Crafts in Large Tent	Large Stage	Field Area	Crafts Tent	Porch Stage Narratives and Workshops	Haunted House Tent	Narrative Stage	Music Stage	Daily Events	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.			
10	Music Bands	Carnival History	Demonstrations by Steelpan Tuner, Wire-bender, Decorator, and Seamstress	Lumbee Indian Games		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making and Limber-jack Making	Riddles, Jokes, Stories, and Halloween Traditions	Halloween Harvest Figure Making	Vietnamese American Costumes	Gospel	Demonstrations All Day: Stone Carving, Fire-fighters, CB Radio Lore, and Vietnamese American Crafts, Cooking, and Games			10		
11	Fire-eater	Video on Carnival Traditions		Afro-American Games	Vietnamese American Games			Limber-jack Playing	Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade	Stone Carvers					Workshop Discussion	11
12		Stick Fighters		Carnival Music	Country Dancing		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making		Inter-planetary Committee	Carnival Costume Making		CB			Story Telling, Pitches, Magic Acts, and Ventriloquism		12
1	Music Bands				Hispanic Games			Lumbee Indian May Day	Haunted House and Halloween Costume Making and Parade	Baseball Players						1
2	Calypsonian				Afro-American Games	Lumbee Indian May Day	Limber-jack Making		Halloween Harvest Figure Making	The Corner Store		Vietnamese American		Old-time medicine show with musicians and pitchmen who travelled with the last of the shows through the 1940s.		2
3	Kiddies Carnival			Country Dancing		Corn Cob and Husk Doll Making	Limber-jack Playing		Fire-fighters				Workshop Discussion	3		
4	Music Bands								Market Vendors	Bluegrass		Traditional Music and Reminiscences		4		
5														5		

*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

Folklife 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
Fort, NC
- Berlie C. Lagen: 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
- Merhle 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 Morigi — 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 Bai: narrator, costume —
Washington, DC
- Nguyen Ngoc Bich: games leader,
festival organizer — Springfield,
VA
- Huynh Kim Chi: musician —
Middlesex, NJ
- Tranh Dinh De, MD: narrator,
accupuncture — Falls Church,
VA
- Reverend Thiach Giac 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 — Washington, DC
- Phan Bach Ngoe: 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
- Ngo Vuong Zoai: musician —
Alexandria, VA

Caribbean

- Carol Aqui: costumed band leader
— Adelphi, MD
- Batucada Brasileira (William
Brown, leader): Brazilian music
band — Washington, DC
- The Big Drum Nation Dance
Company, Inc. (Winston T.
Fleary, director): New York, NY

- William Brown: Brazilian costumed band — Washington, DC
- Caribana Caribbean Cultural Committee (Raymond England, leader): carnival organizer — Ontario, Canada
- Egbert Christian: B.W.I.A. ole mas band organizer — New York, NY
- Hector Corporan: master of ceremonies — Hyattsville, MD
- Marvsyn David: Mod band — Washington, DC
- Joan Dupigny: costumed band — Washington, DC
- Oscar Anstey Hunte: fire-eater — Quebec, Canada
- Lucille Jacob: seamstress, band organizer — Hartford, CN
- Junior Errol Jones: steel pan turner — Brooklyn, NY
- K. Alex King (Lord Baker): back-up calypso singer — Takoma Park, MD
- Lilian Knight: Panamanian costumed band — Washington, DC
- Michael Legerton (Protector): master of ceremonies — Seabrook, MD
- Eli Mannette: steel pan turner — New York, NY
- Dianne Marshall: comedian — Washington, DC
- Von Martin: master of ceremonies — Seabrook, MD
- The Maryland Pacesetters (Pasley Graham, agent): steel band — Baltimore, MD
- The Masterful Band (Serge Bellegarde, leader): Haitian music band — Washington, DC
- Stephenson Michael: costumed band — Silver Spring, MD
- Montreal Carnival Development Committee (Winston Roberts, leader): carnival organizer — Quebec, Canada
- Wil Morris: stick fighter — Washington, DC
- Errol Payne: wirebender — New York, NY
- The Trinidad Steel Orchestra (Franklin Harding, leader): music band and costumed band — Washington, DC
- The Trinidad and Tobago Baltimore Steel Orchestra (Paul Gervais, leader): music band — Baltimore, MD
- Brian Walker: costumed band — Washington, DC
- The West Indian American Labor Day Association (Carlos Lezema, leader): carnival organizer — New York, NY
- Peter Whiteman: wirebender, costumed band leader — Hyattsville, MD

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 — Wileyville, 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
- Terese 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
- Delane 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

Anna Mae Noell: comedian —
Tarpon Springs, FL
Bob Noell: comedian — Tarpon
Springs, FL
Sam Pridgen: musician —
Durham, NC
Pappy Sherrill: musician —
Chapin, SC
George Franklin Washington:
dancer — Louisville, KY
Bronco West: comedian — Dunn,
NC

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
Billy 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

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Strickland
Assistants: Susan Boer,
Catherine Burt
Housing Assistant: Anne Mercer
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Davis, Peggy Dolan, Luis
Gonzales, Colleen Powers, Fred
Price, Jeffrey Sutton, William
Tibble, Silvia Triana
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Neumann
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Berquist, Peter Derbyshire, Matt
Gallman, Nick Hawes, Jon
Nepstad, Bill Pearson, Keith
Secola, Cal Southworth,
Marjorie Wagner
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Lamping
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Richard Hofmeister, Judy
Rosenfeld, Paul Wagner
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Goulait, Dane Penland, Lee
Stahlsworth
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Griffith
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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
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Williams
Special Consultant: Roy
Bryce-LaPorte

Fieldworkers/Presenters

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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

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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

Mike Seeger and Alice Gerrard
Barbara Stuckey
John Kalepp
George Mason Jr. & Sr. High School
Ruth Woods
Jean Alexander
Nova Lee Cecil
Frankie Quimby
Jose Sueiro
Nguyen Ngoc Bich
Bui Bang
Le Lai
Nguyen Hanh Hoa
Nguyen Kim Lien
Hoang Van Chi
Joel Foreman
Nguyen Doa
Hiep Lowman
Nguyen Huu Bang
Nguyen Hoi
Chu Ngoc Lien
Nguyen Kue
William E. Wright Co.
Nelson Beck of Washington, Inc.
Craft and Card Corner
Peter Reiniger
Richard Feller, Washington Cathedral
Vincente Palumbo
William Hines
Metro
DC Department of Transportation
Harold Closter
Robert Easton
University of Maryland Plant Research Farm

Salvation Army
The Button Shop
Jack's Farmers Market
Danneman's Fabric Shops
G Street Remnant Shop
McDonald's Corporation
Steuart Motors
Hiram and Kitty Layman
Don Berkebile
Virginia Sullivan
Michael Harris
Ramunas Kondratas
William E. Worthington
Karen Loveland
John W. Hiller
Embassy of Trinidad & Tobago
Kenneth Ross
Carlos Lezama
Raymond England
Winston Roberts
Lucille Jacob
Francis Smart
Peter Whiteman
Brenda Roach
Von Martin
Greg Kallan
DC Chamber of Commerce
Washington Area Convention & Visitors Assoc.
Mary Ellen McCaffery
Ernestine Potter

The members of L.C.B.O.A., and all other CBers and CB clubs that donated time, energy, and equipment to the CB presentation.

Healers, Curers, and Herbalists: Folk Medicine in America

Jack Santino

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

Holbrook, Stewart H. *The Golden Age of Quackery*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1959.

McNamara, Brooks. *Step Right Up*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1976.

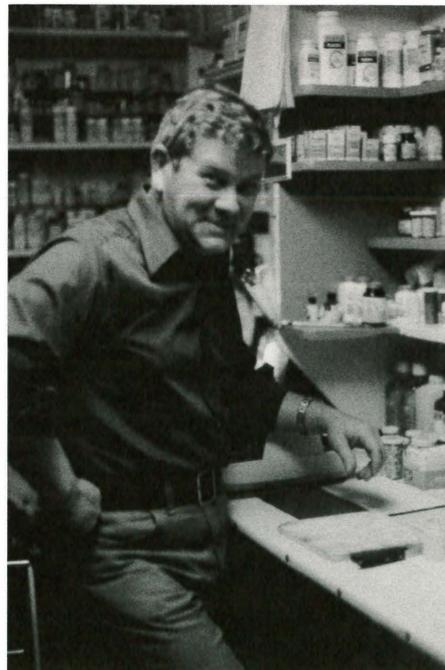
McNeal, Violet. *Four White Horses and a Brass Band*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1947.

Young, James Harvey. *The Medical Messiahs*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.

———. *The Toadstool Millionaires*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

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,



The country pharmacist knows his customers personally and dispenses concern and friendship along with medicine. Don Troutman, of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, runs one of the oldest pharmacies in the United States. Photo by Barbara Reimensnyder for the Smithsonian.

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, has earned a university degree, 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.

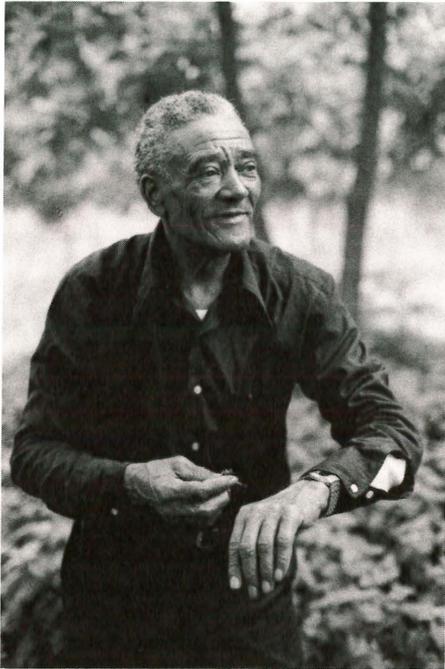
American Indian Stereotypes

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 weathervanes, 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,

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.



1, 2 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.

Photo by Glenn Hinson for the Smithsonian.

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

Hand, Wayland, ed. American Folk Medicine. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

Sontag, Susan. Illness As Metaphor. New York: Vintage Books, 1977.

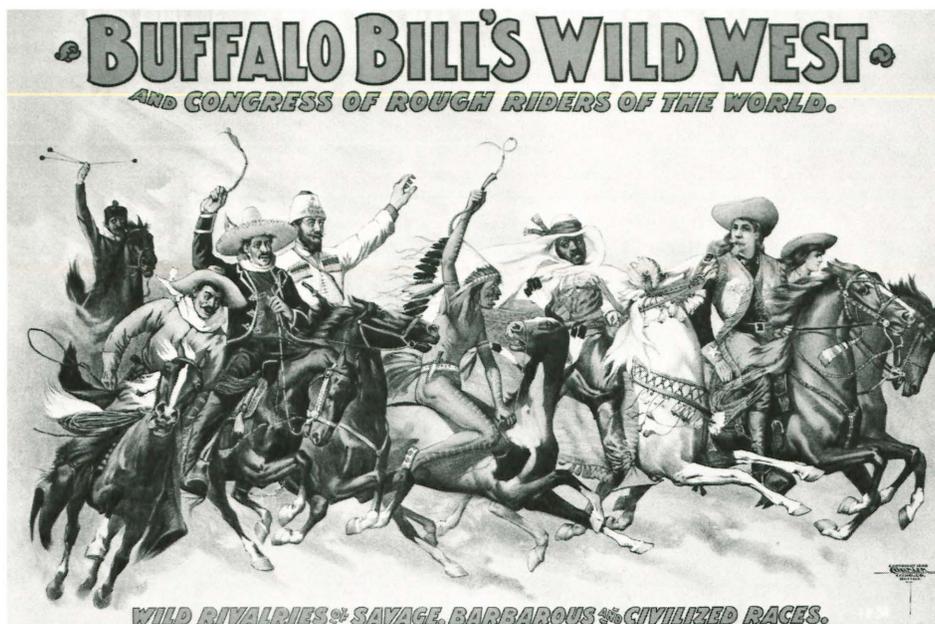
Yoder, Don. "Folk Medicine," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. Richard Dorson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972, 191-215.

and faith that a cure is possible and forthcoming.

On the popular level, the medicine show "doctor" relied on folk humor, the verbal artistry of his "pitches," and entertainment to sell his products. Today, myriad over-the-counter popular medicine rely on slick and expensive media campaigns to convince us of their curative powers. The performance factor has been institutionalized in clinical medical practice as "bedside manner." The term itself is testimony to the need of the medical specialist to use the community's beliefs and symbols to create a receptive frame of mind and an attitude conducive to healing in the patient. The healers, curers, and herbalists who practice folk medicine teach us that

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



“Buffalo Bill’s Wild West,” ca. 1890. *Wild West Show Poster.* Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Division of Prints and Photographs.

demanding 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 addi-

tion 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



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1 "Red Cloud Chewing Tobacco," ca. 1875. Tobacco ad. Photo courtesy of the Division of Prints and Photographs, the Library of Congress.

2 Kickapoo Medicine Company Ad Card, n.d. Photo by Rayna Green from the Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution.

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



Wildroot magazine advertisement, n.d. Photo by Rayna Green from the Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution.

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.

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Folklore and the Vietnamese Community in the United States

Maxine Miska

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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.¹ 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 fleeing 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-

bers they hoped to bring to safety lost in the escape. Arriving with fragments of their families and communities, the Vietnamese in Washington, D. C., have vigorously woven a network of community activities through neighborhood grocery stores, restaurants, the Buddhist church, Catholic organizations, a bistro, Vietnamese language schools, senior citizens' groups, and newspapers.

The history of Vietnam has often combined political domination by foreign empires with Vietnamese mastery of the colonizer's culture. China occupied Vietnam in 111 B.C., and during the 1000 years of Chinese rule that followed, the Vietnamese adopted the Chinese writing system, the Buddhist religion, and an administrative and governmental system based on Confucian philosophy. In A.D. 939, Vietnam gained its independence from China, and for the next



Music is among the rich traditions Vietnamese bring with them to this country. Photos by Nicholas Bocher for the Smithsonian

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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."²

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.³ 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 sing-



Vietnamese grocery stores help maintain the familiar in the immigrants' daily lives by selling Vietnamese foods, newspapers and books, and cassettes of traditional and popular music.

ing 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



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1 The rice cake, made of glutinous rice filled with mung beans and meat, is wrapped in banana or bamboo leaves and foil, and steamed. Photo courtesy of Mrs. Hoang.

2 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

¹ E. Jane Keyes, review of Gail Paradise Kelly, *From Vietnam to American: A Chronicle of the Vietnamese Immigration to the United States*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1977 in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. xxxviii, No. 3, May 1979, pp. 624-7.

² Nguyen Ngoc Bich, *A Thousand Years of Vietnamese Poetry*. New York: Random House, 1973, p. xvii.

³ Alexander B. Woodside, *Community and Revolution in Modern Vietnam*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1976, p. 3.

⁴ Bich, p. 3.

⁵ Pham Duy, *Musics of Vietnam*. Carbondale: Univ. of Southern Illinois Press, 1975, p. xv.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

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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,^{1*} 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 rookie² has just run the line on his first working fire,³ 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 desk⁴ listening to calls coming in over the vocal:⁵

"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

*Numbers refer to terms in glossary.

Robert McCarl is an ex-fire fighter currently working as a folklorist with fire fighters in the District of Columbia on a project designed to increase understanding of the actual work experiences of this dangerous yet rewarding occupation. He holds a master's degree in folklore and is currently working on his doctorate with a special emphasis on the study of occupational culture.

squad,⁶ and I was the wagon driver on the engine.⁷ And he had a reputation for being an excellent fire fighter both in terms of actually taking the pipe⁸ 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 line⁹ 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 masks¹⁰ 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 the situation over and found that there was another bedroom back here off to the side of the room in the hallway.

By the stack principle¹¹ 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



1 Arriving at the fire Photos by Robert McCarl for the Smithsonian



4 Taking the hose line into the building



7 Talking it over on the fire ground

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



2 The charged or full hose line running from the pumper...



3 ... to the wagon



5 Hitting the fire with water



6 Placing exhaust fans and checking for hot spots



8 The verbal critique in the fire house

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-

tions require all the knowledge and skill an individual can muster. A fire fighter prepares for this every day through training, experience, and the collective knowledge of past generations of fire fighters communicated through occupational folklore.

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.

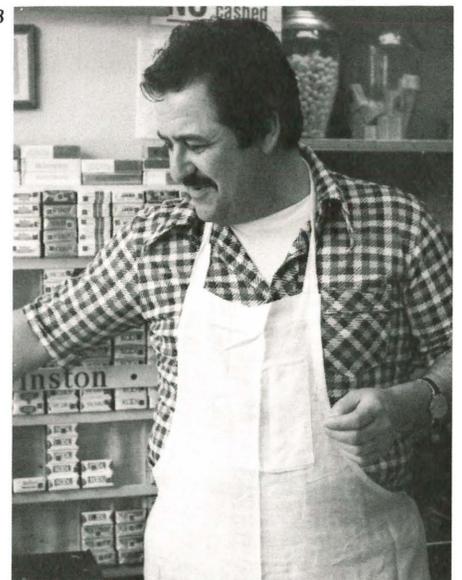
¹¹ Stack principle: simply that the apartment on one floor is probably laid out the same as the one below, or above it.

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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!"

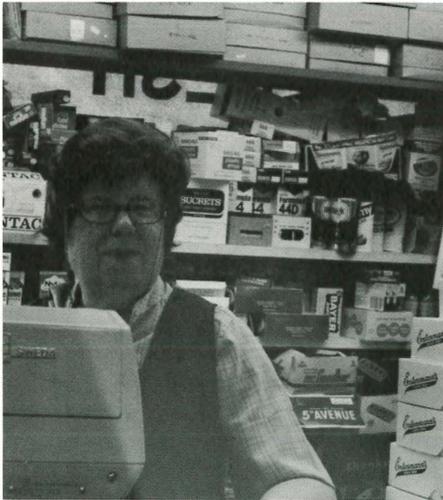
3 Al Mangialardo and his brother, Joe, love to joke and talk with their customers: "What I like best about this store is communicating with people. If life is but once, to meet all these different people — that's the best way to do it!"

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.



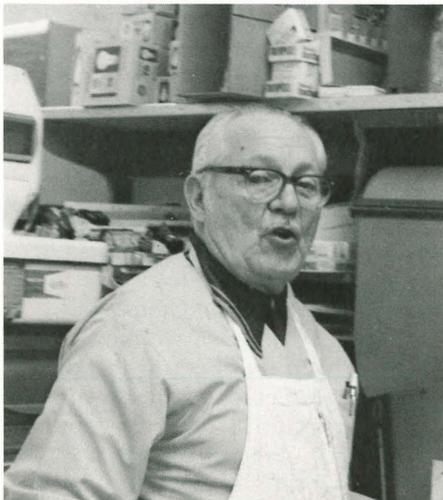
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1 Weisfeld's Market, standing on a shaded street corner amidst a block of family row houses, has been part of the neighborhood for over 50 years. The Weisfeld family has served many generations of customers. They can remember vividly the days of penny candy jars, barrels of pickles, large bins of grain, and milk bottles topped with cream delivered right to the doorstep.



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2 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."



3

3 "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, serpentine along it on my Princess bicycle, skated it backward and forward."

Eudora Welty
"The Little Store"



To a child stepping in from outside, the corner store is like an enchanted world filled with every delight imaginable. "Oh, I love that store!" said one of the Weisfelds' young customers, "I go there everyday for everything!"

Photo by Marjorie Hunt for the Smithsonian.

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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 on-going 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 Piton" 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

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CBers pull for their club in a tug-of-war, a typical contest featured at CB jamborees or camp outs. Photos by Nicholas Bocher for the Smithsonian.

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.”



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1 The antenna raising party is the modern CB community's version of the frontier barn raising.

2 From her base station Wacky Witch monitors rush hour traffic for mobile units and talks and jokes with her CB friends.

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,



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1 Snookie Bagwell "legging" at the Washington, D.C. fish wharf. "Legging" is the fish seller's term for hollering to customers and waving them to the boats. Photo by Jack Santino for the Smithsonian

2 The calls of Lincoln Rorie and his father Abe, who was also a fish crier, are documented on film by Smithsonian folklorists. Photo by Jack Santino for the Smithsonian

Washington, D. C., 1977, Jerry Williams, crier influenced by rock and roll and other pop forms:

Yeah, they fightin'.
Yeah, they bitin'.
Yeah, they green.
Yeah, they mean.
Yeah, they bad.
Yeah, they red —
Red hot —
Hot in the pot.
Captain White's got 'em hot to trot!

Although callers borrow rhymes and formulas from each other's performances, no two hollers are ever exactly the same. Criers draw from a standard stock of epithets, chants, and rhymes, but each rendition is an improvised, creative act. Street cries are meant to attract attention, to be distinctive, and to convince customers to buy from the caller and not from the next stall or the supermarket. Street criers innovate almost by necessity. On the fish wharf in Washington, D. C. Lincoln Rorie delivers his calls at a tongue-twisting pace with a subtle sense of humor and rhythm. He calls:

"People walk on down
If you want to see
the largest crabs in town
Fresher fish can not be found

Scallops, crab meat, lobstertails
seasnailsturtleeggsfrogslegs live
alligators and fillets
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, crocus, 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 fight'n'est, bit'n'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-o
Watermel, 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 hoochy-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

Bartis, Peter. "An Examination of the Holler in North Carolina White Tradition." *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 39 (Sept., 1975) 209-217.

Simon Bronner. "Street Cries and Peddler Traditions In Contemporary Perspective." *New York Folklore*, Summer, 1976, 2-15.

Tuer, Andrew White. *Old London Street Cries and the Cries of Today*. London: Field and Tuer, 1885.

Suggested Recordings

Folkways FD5558, New York 19. Tony Schwartz.

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