

100 YEARS OF AMERICAN FOLKLORE STUDIES

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100 YEARS OF AMERICAN FOLKLORE STUDIES
A CONCEPTUAL HISTORY

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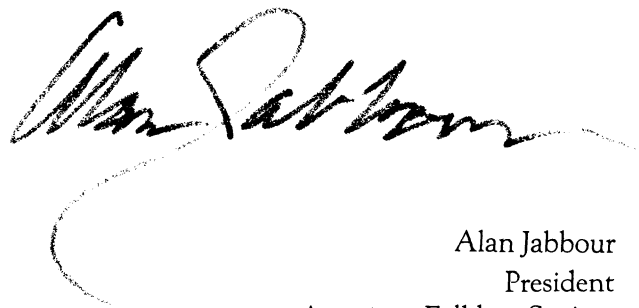
Greetings from the President

Welcome to the 100th anniversary of the American Folklore Society! We celebrate the Centennial of the Society's founding both this year and next. The two-year celebration rests upon a happy technicality: the Society was organized in Boston in 1888, and its first national meeting took place in Philadelphia in 1889. Retracing our founders' footsteps, we gather this year in Boston and next year in Philadelphia. In both meetings we will pursue our normal annual business, but in addition we have organized a variety of Centennial initiatives that will lend the meetings an especially celebratory and reflective tone.

This special publication is one such initiative. The focus during the 1988 meeting will be retrospective, while 1989 will shift to prospects for the future. This volume will, we trust, stimulate the retrospective reflections of all folklorists about our origins and development, our nature and nurture as a discipline and calling.

We all know, but this volume helps us comprehend, the fact that tradition is not simply what we study. We, too, are imbued with tradition, and it stirs and channels our creative energies whether or not we are aware of it. We are legatees of the tradition of *scientific analysis* and the ideal of systematically accumulated knowledge; of *humanistic reflection* and the ideal of shared wisdom to enrich life in our civilization; of *cultural education* and the ancient ideal of imparting knowledge and values to the generations to come; and of *cultural conservation* and the ideal of preserving and nourishing shared particularity in human culture.

These and other more specific traditions of our calling drive us on, even as we imagine ourselves casting off the old and embracing the new. It behooves us always—but especially on the occasion of our Centennial—to reflect on the ancestral missions that have shaped us, the inherited values that we reflect and must radiate into the future.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Alan Jabbour", with a long, sweeping flourish extending from the bottom of the signature.

Alan Jabbour
President
American Folklore Society

1888-89
AMERICAN
FOLKLORE
SOCIETY
CENTENNIAL
1988-89

THE CENTENNIAL COORDINATING COUNCIL

The Centennial Coordinating Council (CCC) was established by the Executive Board of the American Folklore Society in October 1983 in order to plan, help implement, and organize activities related to the 1988-1989 centennial year. Its first meeting was held in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in December 1983. Original members Marta Weigle (chair), Roger D. Abrahams, Simon J. Bronner, Jan H. Brunvand, Bruce Jackson, W. Edson Richmond, Ellen Stekert, and William A. Wilson have since met during each AFS annual meeting and have added to their number that year's president-elect: Rayna Green, Judith McCulloh, Alan Jabbour, and Henry Glassie.

In February 1986 Roger D. Abrahams assumed the CCC chair, and its activities since then have been coordinated from the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The work of the CCC has been carried out by nine committees with varying leadership and membership since 1983: American Academic Outreach Committee, AFS Matters Committee, Federal Agencies Committee, Funding Committee, International Affairs Committee, Meetings Committee, Public Events and Outreach Committee, Publications Committee, and State and Regional Societies and Resources Committee.

Generous grants from The L. J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation have made possible the planning and implementation of many centennial projects. Additional funding for Philadelphia-area centennial activities in 1989 has been provided by the Pew Charitable Trusts. In supporting this 1988-89 commemorative and celebratory year, and in supporting the Society's 1984 publication *Folklore/Folklife*, edited by Bruce Jackson, Judith McCulloh, and Marta Weigle, The L. J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation has helped the American Folklore Society lay substantial groundwork for a second century of productivity and development.

CENTENNIAL PUBLICATIONS

Each of the following volumes related to the history of the American Folklore Society and the history of folklore-folklife studies in the United States has been designated "A Centennial Publication" and bears the centennial logo of the American Folklore Society.

Simon J. Bronner, *American Folklore Studies: An Intellectual History* (University Press of Kansas, 1986)
Debora Kodish, *Good Friends and Bad Enemies: Robert Winslow Gordon and the Study of American Folk-song* (University of Illinois Press, 1986)

Simon J. Bronner, ed., *Folklife Studies from the Gilded Age: Object, Rite, and Custom in Victorian America* (UMI Research Press, 1987)

Burt Feintuch, ed., *The Conservation of Culture: Folklorists and the Public Sector* (University Press of Kentucky, 1988)

Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt, *American Folklore Scholarship: A Dialogue of Dissent* (Indiana University Press, 1988)

The Centennial Index: 100 Years of the Journal of American Folklore, edited by Bruce Jackson, Michael Taft, and Harvey Axlerod (American Folklore Society, 1988)

PREFACE

As the American Folklore Society observes its centennial in 1988 (one hundred years since its founding in Cambridge) and 1989 (a century since its first annual meeting in Philadelphia), there is opportunity to consider what has happened in American folklore studies during the past century and to reconsider both the principles upon which the organized study of folklore in the United States was established and the directions indicated by those principles. The essayists in this volume have reconsidered the theories and methodological assumptions of the founding parents of American folklore studies by examining the founders' ideas in context and by exploring how those ideas have influenced the ways in which folklore has been studied, preserved, and presented by folklorists in the United States during the ensuing one hundred years. The essayists' historical overviews relate a century's folkloristic activity to the concepts which directly or indirectly generated it.

In 1983 the Executive Board of the American Folklore Society created the Centennial Coordinating Council for the purpose of planning and coordinating activities related to the centennial observance. One of the Council's committees has been charged with overseeing associated publications. This collection of newly written articles on the history of American folklore studies and of the American Folklore Society marks the culmination of one Publications Committee project.

Early in the deliberations of those who envisioned such a publication, Roger Abrahams and Robert McCarl were already proposing some of the ideas which have shaped this volume. They and others emphasized the need for a work that would provide theoretical and historical context for the development of folklore studies in America in a format that would meet the needs of both folklorists and those outside the profession, especially participants at the Society's 1988 centennial meeting in Cambridge. All argued for a balanced view of folklore studies in America, one which recognized their disciplinary distinctiveness and some of the social trends that they reflected and transcended as they developed.

Several individuals made excellent suggestions for organizing a retrospective publication on American folklore studies. Debora Kodish, for example, proposed that a sort of "conceptual history" might afford a workable focus. In particular, she cited the concepts of "folklore," "folk," and "folklorist" as so central to the discipline that considerations of their varying significance over the past century could provide a structure for presenting many of the important, shaping trends. She suggested that this conceptual framework of broad section headings would allow a variety of folklorists to address a range of issues in historical perspective.

The plan for this collection, then, emerged from several folklorists who have been deeply concerned with the history of American folklore studies and with how that history might be presented. The execution of that plan was the responsibility of the nineteen essayists whose work follows. Each was asked to write a short piece on a specific topic within the broad section headings of "Nineteenth-Century Foundations," "The Concept of 'Folklore,'" "The Concept of 'Folk,'" and "The Concept of 'Folklorist.'" They were encouraged to produce thoughtful reconsiderations of the founding principles of the American Folklore Society and how those principles have shaped the way folklorists in the United States have done their work during the past century. All this was to be in a format that would be readily accessible to a reader who might be examining their essays during the 1988 annual meeting. Despite the constraints of space and the seemingly impossible topics which they were assigned, the essayists have produced a conceptual history of American folklore studies in general and of the American Folklore Society in particular that, while it may not touch every base, effectively reminds folklorists whence they have come and notifies non-folklorists that a discipline of folklore studies in the United States has a distinguished record of accomplishment.

The essayists place the American Folklore Society squarely at the center of that record. Throughout its history the organization has proved distinctive among scholarly societies not only for the cultural material whose study, preservation, and presentation it encourages, but also for its appeal to a broader audience than many scholarly groups. Since its founding and throughout its first century, the Society has welcomed the participation of professional and non-professional scholars, of academics and those working outside the academy, and of people of widely diverse vision about the concepts that provide this volume's framework. This essay collection is based firmly on the assumption that a discipline of American folklore studies would not have emerged without the organizational and inspirational cooperation during the past century of the people who, as the American Folklore Society, join together once a year to share ideas, read each other's work in the *Journal of American Folklore* and in the books published by the Society, and encourage one another during the intervals between annual meetings and the appearance of publications.

In addition to the essayists and the persons mentioned above, a number of individuals and institutions have participated in the genuinely collective endeavor which produced this publication. The following are notable: The American Philosophical Society, for allowing quotations from unpublished material in its collections to be used in Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt's essay; Arkansas State University, for providing time and telephone access for the content editor; Frances M. Malpezzi, for editorial assistance; and Elizabeth Stafford, for editorial and typing services. An especially large number of individuals and institutions have assisted in the location and preparation of the photographs which appear in this publication. Included are Richard Bauman, Kathleen T. Baxter, Simon J. Bronner, Inta Carpenter, Norman Dickson, Frances Farrell, Hugo A. Freund, Raye N. Germon, Dell Hymes, Barbara Isaac, Julia Johnson, Howard Wight Marshall, Judith McCulloh, National Anthropological Archives (Smithsonian Institution), Frank A. Norick, Adolf and Rebecca Schroeder, Emily Socolov, Visual Media Archive (UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology), and William Westerman. William M. Clements coordinated the volume's contents, David Stanley served as copy editor, and Marta Weigle oversaw production.

William M. Clements

Arkansas State University

Part I

NINETEENTH-CENTURY BACKGROUNDS

By 1888, when the American Folklore Society (AFS) was founded, William J. Thoms' neologism "folk-lore" was already a generation old. The British had organized their Folk-Lore Society a decade earlier, a number of other European countries had endorsed the study of folklore primarily for nationalistic purpose, and several folkloristic theories were actively competing for the allegiance of students of traditional culture in Britain and on the continent. In the United States, the study of folklore had already begun to take shape.

Some fifty years before the founding of AFS, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft articulated an approach to studying Native American oral literature and demonstrated its efficacy on lore he collected primarily from the Ojibwa. Shortly after the Civil War, a trio of collectors harvested the folksongs of Black Americans. In 1879 the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution began a relatively systematic survey of the traditional cultures of the Indians of North America. Clearly, the American Folklore Society did not emerge *ex nihilo* from an intellectual and cultural vacuum.

The impetus to create a formal organization in the United States for those interested in folklore studies resulted from the growing interest in traditional materials in this country and abroad. The concepts to which the AFS founders adhered reflected these interests and many features of late nineteenth-century intellectual life in general. The first three essays in this volume serve to contextualize the development of those concepts which have provided the intellectual basis for the development of American folklore studies during the past century. W. K. McNeil begins by surveying some of the folklore work that was going on in the United States before the organization of AFS in 1888. Simon J. Bronner characterizes the environment of ideas at the time when it was founded. Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt describes the dynamics of personality and ideology that contributed to the Society's actual beginnings.

PRE-SOCIETY AMERICAN FOLKLORISTS

W.K. McNEIL

The Ozark Folk Center

In one sense, the study of folklore began in America almost from the time Europeans first became aware of the New World. Friar Ramon Pane accompanied Christopher Columbus on his second voyage in 1493 for the express purpose of collecting all the “ceremonies and antiquities” of the Taino Indians, now long extinct. His little book, *On the Antiquities of the Indians*, appeared in 1496. This moralistic view of Indian folklore written from a Christian standpoint included narratives, beliefs, and accounts of rituals. In its emphasis upon the Indian and his quaintness, Pane’s volume is typical of most of the works dealing with American folklore that followed it over the next three centuries.

It was not until the nineteenth century that anyone envisioned a field of study in which folklore could be the central concern. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1793-1864), a native of New Salem, New York, was the first person in America to set forth a systematic concept for a discipline of folklore. His first suggestions in this regard were presented in *Algic Researches* (1839), a collection of American Indian narratives recorded during several years as an Indian agent on the northwestern frontier. In later writings his ideas were more fully presented. Basically, Schoolcraft envisioned a total science of man, albeit one that focused on the “rude nations,” in which folklore played a significant role. As proposed by Schoolcraft, this new discipline had four main objects of inquiry: (1) physical type of man; (2) material existence, by which he meant what has come to be known as material culture; (3) intellectual existence including music and poetry, oral tales and legends, medical knowledge, and mythology; and (4) geographical phenomena affecting or modifying the above features. These elements were to be ascertained through examination of many types of data including art remains, dictionaries, grammars, place names, skulls, mummies, histories by European travelers, missionary translations, works ascribed to natives, “authentic traditions of all ages and countries,” natural history, and mythology. Although this new field of study clearly included much more than folklore, Schoolcraft nevertheless saw oral and material tradition as basic and essential to the whole. Mythology was especially important because it contained the frame-

work of the philosophy and religion of the “rude nations” and gave character to their songs and poetry.

Schoolcraft’s “new” science involved field observation as well as library work; it emphasized the American Indian and was basically survivalistic. That is, oral traditions were seen as fossils of an earlier day still preserved and functioning, though rapidly disappearing. If not as dry as the bones of extinct or ancient species of animals, they were just as far removed from the world of civilization. This concept of folklore gave urgency to the collection of such materials, for those gathering them were retrieving from “the oblivion of past generations matter for thought and reflection for the future.”

While Schoolcraft is correctly designated the “father of American folklore,” he made little contribution to his chosen field beyond the information he collected. Like most of his contemporaries, he considered himself primarily a collector, but a few American researchers active at the same time were primarily theorists. The two most important of these were Horatio Emmons Hale (1817-1896) and Daniel Garrison Brinton (1837-1899), America’s premier solar mythologists. Both were indebted to the German-born scholar Max Müller (1823-1900), who argued that all myths could be linked to the sun and the solar cycle. But while Hale basically accepted the “disease of language” thesis that Müller had used to dismiss any factual basis for myth and legend, he was convinced that such traditions often originated historically. Brinton, in such books as *Myths of the New World* (1868) and *American Hero-Myths* (1882), reached essentially the same conclusions as Müller, but differed from the European master in not relating all myths to the sun; in many cases he found connections with the moon or lightning. Brinton also emphasized the need to study the influence of myths on both the individual and national mind, but was aware that the state of collections often impeded this kind of analysis. Both Brinton and Hale championed a theoretical viewpoint that was never widely popular in America, and neither ever had any students. So although both men became significant as individuals in folklore study, neither exerted much influence on future generations of scholars.

From the standpoint of folklore collecting, few Ameri-

cans of the nineteenth century were more important than John Wesley Powell (1834-1902). As head of the Bureau of Ethnology (after 1894, the Bureau of American Ethnology) from its founding in 1879 until his death, Powell was responsible for publishing most of the major collections of American Indian folklore that appeared in print during that twenty-three year span. The Bureau was established by Congress primarily to carry on research already begun, but from the outset Powell intended more. He saw the agency as the focal point around which all American Indian studies would be centered. Toward this purpose he implemented a research program including detailed bibliographic compilations, new field studies, the development and circulation of questionnaires, and publication of *Annual Reports* and *Bulletins*.

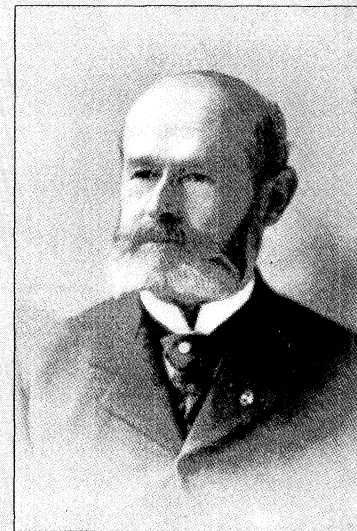
Powell was a theorist of the evolutionary school who saw all society developing through four levels of progress. Three of these stages—savagery, barbarism, and civilization—were already realized but, in the future, a level of “enlightenment” would be achieved. In several prolix and dense publications he expounded his views, but these writings are generally forgotten today and hold little interest for twentieth-century readers except as historical curiosities. His real importance is as the overseer of a number of folklore works issued in twenty-three *Annual Reports* prepared under his direction. The authors of these works include many of the best-known nineteenth-century students of American Indian folklore: Erminnie A. Smith, Washington Matthews, James Owen Dorsey, James Mooney, John G. Bourke, Alice Fletcher, and Frank H. Cushing, among others. Many of these studies were consistent with Powell’s view of folklore as survivals from a lower stage of culture.

While Indian folklore was recorded in vast quantities before 1888, relatively little work was done with the lore of other minority groups. Even such a significant cultural group as Afro-Americans was virtually ignored until the second half of the nineteenth century. Two major assumptions prevalent in American society contributed to this scholarly neglect: that the black man was incapable of any thought or expression meriting serious study; and that whites knew everything worth knowing about the slaves who lived inside white society. In the mid-nineteenth century this paternalistic view was considerably altered, and an intellectual curiosity on the part of whites toward the Negro emerged, perhaps the greatest stimulus being the controversy over slavery.

Beginning in the 1830s occasional references to



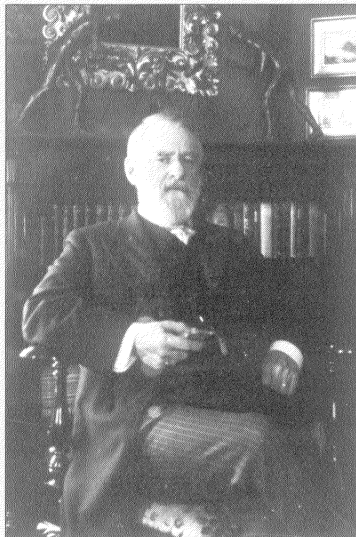
*Francis James Child, AFS president, 1888-89.
Courtesy of Harvard University Archives.*



*Daniel Garrison Brinton, AFS president, 1890.
Courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Archives.*



Otis T. Mason, AFS president, 1891. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.



Frederic Ward Putnam, AFS president, 1892. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Afro-American folklore started appearing in various publications. One of these, a letter by Lucy McKim in *Dwight's Journal of Music* in 1862, is often cited for first bringing slave songs to public attention, although that claim can be disputed. It was not until after the Civil War that the first extensive collection of Negro folklore was published, and it came about largely through the efforts of a classical scholar who became a pioneer in both black dialect and song studies. William Francis Allen (1830-1889) was a Massachusetts native who spent two years in the South with the Freedmen's and Sanitary Commissions after the Civil War. During his sojourn in South Carolina and Arkansas, he collected Negro songs and eventually came into contact with Charles Pickard Ware (1840-1921) and Lucy McKim (1842-1877), both of whom had also collected songs. The three soon met other collectors and combined their material to produce *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867).

For a pioneering work this volume set a high standard and was unusual in that it contained musical settings for each of its 136 texts. The authors also considered regional characteristics of Negro folk music, a subject overlooked by most of their successors. They also paid attention to the situations in which songs were performed, another instance in which they were ahead of their time. Admirable as it is, *Slave Songs of the United States* does have its weaknesses, perhaps the most glaring being the ethnocentric judgments that Allen, Ware, and McKim occasionally make. For example, Negro music is judged as either civilized or barbaric, rather than being seen as a musical system with its own set of values. Despite its limitations, the book brought black folklore, or the musical part of it, to widespread public view and whetted the interest in collecting, analyzing, and performing Negro folk music that has never since abated.

It was nearly two decades after the appearance of *Slaves Songs of the United States* before any extensive account of Afro-American secular music was published. Then in 1886 George Washington Cable (1844-1925), primarily remembered today as a local-color novelist, produced two articles for *Century Magazine* dealing with Creole Negro folksong and dance. In these essays Cable touched on two topics that were controversial for many years thereafter. One was the dispute over the banjo and its use by black musicians, Cable flatly stating that "it is not the favorite musical instrument of the negroes of the Southern States of America." The second was the idea that

Negro songs had originated in Africa, a view of Cable's that received little challenge from his American contemporaries but was firmly opposed by some foreign writers like the Englishman Richard Wallashek. The most damaging attack on the theory of African origins, however, came many years later with the publication of Newman Ivey White's *American Negro Folksongs* (1928).

In the same decade Cable's articles appeared, a second kind of Negro folklore came into public view, one which all commentators agreed was of purely African origin. This body of black lore was the animal tales handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. They first gained widespread prominence in 1880 through the efforts of Georgia newspaperman Joel Chandler Harris (1848-1909). Harris had heard Afro-American folktales much of his life, but his writing on the subject was sparked by a December 1877 article, "Folklore of the Southern Negroes," in *Lippincott's Magazine*. Taking exception to author William Owens' efforts, Harris produced his own book, *Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings* (1880), which was received as a literary and folkloristic masterpiece. Although Harris protested that he was both an accidental author and an unintentional folklorist, there can be no doubt that his various books had a profound effect on the subsequent collecting of Afro-American folktales.

Harris was sometimes uncomfortable being regarded

as an authority on folklore, but he was not reticent about offering theories. At least two that he included in his *Uncle Remus* volumes were accepted unquestioningly by most later students of Afro-American lore: that the folktales of blacks were of remote African origin and did not betray European influences, and that Negro folktales had not been influenced by those of the American Indian, as John Wesley Powell and others had suggested. On this latter point Harris was supported by no less an authority than folktale scholar Thomas F. Crane (1844-1927) who, in an 1881 review article, concluded that the idea of blacks' borrowing narratives from the red man was "an hypothesis no one would think of maintaining."

Several other American folklorists were active in the years before 1888 but exerted little influence in their homeland. For example, Theodor Baker (1851-1934), who in 1882 produced the first ethnomusicological study of North American Indian music, had little success because his work was written in a foreign language and was generally inaccessible. Charles Godfrey Leland (1824-1903) and Jeremiah Curtin (1835-1906) were peripatetic scholars who spent so much time in other parts of the globe that they never had time or opportunity to develop strong followings at home. It was the study of American Indians and black traditions, therefore, that became the foundation for organizing people with similar interests into an American society for collecting and studying folklore.

THE INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN FOLKLORE STUDIES

SIMON J. BRONNER

The Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg

The nineteenth century was the century of history, a time for looking backward to the origins of civilization while politicians and industrialists urged the rapid advance of an industrial society. Natural history provided the rhetoric for scientific and political pronouncements of all kinds. Charles Darwin's *Origins of the Species* (1859) had set out evolutionary doctrines that ultimately pervaded sciences from anatomy to zoology. Lasting terms such as "survival," "progress," "origin," "selection," and "development" came out of this intellectual fervor.

When applied to society and culture, popular writers claimed, evolution put the rise of the western industrial nations in perspective. How else explain, they asked, the progress of England and America while savage societies remained stuck in an ancient existence? With progress, such societies could rise to a barbaric state before advancing to civilization. But as with biological specimens, the lines of development converged as one went back in time. These evolutionary ideas suggested a rationality of history that appealed to industrialism and its handmaid, science. They justified colonization, for example, for in addition to expanding their own markets, the civilized nations could help the "lower races" climb the ladder of culture toward civilization.

The growth of science and evolution as prescriptions for change came at the expense of religion. Theology had earlier provided formulas for living based on a short, visible past rather than the long, hidden one offered by evolution. Change, according to theology, was drastic and cataclysmic; a long, hidden past made change the logical culmination of steady growth.

It was thus with a twist of irony that a lengthy review of a spate of folklore books appeared in the popular magazine *Littell's Living Age* in 1866. The essay was signed by "The Christian Remembrancer," but the tone was baldly evolutionary. "Folk-lore," the Remembrancer said, "is a modern word, telling in its very construction of the period of its formation. We feel as sure that it belongs to the stratum of the Teutonic Archaism as we do that 'Popular Superstition' is of the Latin Deposit."

And twenty-four years later, Lee J. Vance used the intellectual backdrop of evolution to present pressing questions for educators in the *Chautauquan*. "The student of folk-lore," he wrote, "is constantly asked, what is this folk-lore of which we hear so much and know so little? Pray tell us, what is the use of folk-lore study? Again, has it any educational or scientific value at all? Once more, what is the true place of folk-lore in the history of mental and social evolution?"

Folklore studies, the answer typically went, traced the progress of civilization by collecting, classifying, and arranging customs, beliefs, and objects into evolutionary lines. The lines showed the advance of science over superstition, civilized manners over exotic rituals, industries over primitive crafts. Customs were especially stressed, for they emphasized social usage and appeared to the Victorians to be especially irrational. The collection of traditions took on the methods of natural history, with specimens gathered through fieldwork and compared with specimens from other locales.

By the 1890s, writers on folklore had published popular works on the raging issues of the day. They offered *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, *Primitive Industry*, *The Origins of Invention*, and *Primitive Travel and Transportation*. Yet besides explaining industrial progress, many folklore books provided the sensuality and fantasy that Victorians felt missing from the new rationality. Books on fairy tales, supernatural stories, and exotic and spiritualistic rites filled shelves. It was this upsurge that led Fletcher S. Bassett, organizer of the third International Folklore Congress at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, to declare that folklore had become "a subject of the day."

Two years after that assembly, folklorists rose to prominence at the Congress of American Scientists in Philadelphia. The meeting was the crowning glory of Victorian folklore study and perhaps its last hurrah before an age of relativism took hold and opened a century of ethnography. At the congress, folklorists took their place alongside psychologists, morphologists, and mathematicians. Many of these disciplines had formed

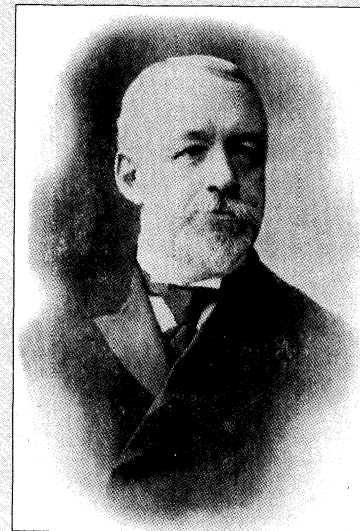
organizations in the wave of learned societies established during the 1880s. Typically, the societies were devoted to subjects outside the classical university curriculum. They were thus not cells of academicians, but loosely organized circles of distinguished Victorian ladies and gentlemen for whom new kinds of scholarship were a status symbol. The societies attracted writers and museum curators as well as professionals such as government workers, physicians, lawyers, and military officers. As a result of their broad base and the appeal of their publications, these societies informed the popular mind under the cloak of scientific advance.

Consider the publicity generated by the Congress of American Scientists in 1895. "Scientists Make Great Progress," the *Philadelphia Inquirer* announced, followed by "Folk-Lore is Discussed." "Important Papers on Many Subjects Read by Men Well-Known in All Professions," the headline continued, but it was the folklore society's doings that led the story. The story of folklore, told in evolutionary fashion, confirmed the Victorians' lofty opinion of themselves. It predicted a future civilization built upon a new enlightened rationality informed by science and industry. It was equally a palliative for what they called "neurasthenia," a brand of nervousness and unease caused by the stresses of "overcivilization."

But this vision of the evolution of society and culture was dimmed by a combination of historic events: the debacle of World War I, the peasant revolt of the Russian Revolution, and the failure of laissez-faire economics. Intellectuals after the turn of the century searched for and adopted new models, most notably the relativistic metaphors provided by physics and geography. Although folklore's star fell somewhat in this process, it rose again during the 1930s and this time took its place between the humanities and social sciences.



Horatio Hale, AFS president, 1893. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.



Alcée Fortier, AFS president, 1894. Courtesy of Tulane University Archives.

ON THE FOUNDING OF THE AMERICAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY AND THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLKLORE

ROSEMARY LÉVY ZUMWALT

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In March 1887 a circular letter containing a proposal for the founding of “a Folk-lore Society in America” was quietly, perhaps timidly, sent to a faithful few. It garnered seventeen signatures. In October of the same year, another letter was sent, this time with more success; 104 people signed. Writing in *Popular Science Monthly* in 1893, AFS charter member Lee J. Vance recalled, “The outcome was that, on the 4th of January, 1888, a goodly number of persons interested in folk-lore study assembled in University Hall, Harvard University. Then and there The American Folk-Lore Society was born and baptized.” It was a healthy birth for both the Society and the *Journal of American Folklore*, as we hear from those in attendance. Their voices reach across the years. We hear them in the correspondence of the founders, in the first issues of *JAF*, and in the minutes of the AFS.

Let us go back one hundred years to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to that first organizational meeting. The main order of business was the election of officers. In recognition of “his long and splendid service in the field,” Francis James Child was chosen president. William Wells Newell was elected secretary, and fourteen Councilors were named “to conduct the affairs of the new society.” Franz Boas, T. Frederick Crane, J. Owen Dorsey, and Newell were appointed to the Committee for the Formation of the Journal. This 1888 meeting was strictly organizational. It was the 1889 meeting, to be held in Philadelphia, which would be the first annual meeting of the new American Folklore Society.

At the time of his election to the presidency, Francis James Child was finalizing the seventh volume of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. This work, which he referred to as one of his religions, was also his life’s passion. He wrote to a friend on June 13, 1888, “I am now kept with very sharp nerves by the necessity of printing up my book which ought to be done leisurely. I have the literature of the past two or three years to run through, but must print very soon.” The pressure continued during Child’s second year as president of AFS. Having at last succeeded after years of effort in obtaining a crucial ballad manuscript, he wrote his friend, “For a good many days I have not had a breathing-spell in conse-

quence of my getting the things from Abbotsford, which upset work which I supposed to be done, and so coming into embarrassment with my printers.” Child focused all his energy, he wrote, on “having things in such shape that, in case of accident, the book might be complete.” The ballad work was a jealous mistress and would allow him no time apart. Thus, he wrote to Daniel Garrison Brinton, chair of the Committee of Arrangements for the upcoming Philadelphia meeting, his state of health would not allow him to attend the first AFS annual meeting. Child expressed a desire, we imagine somewhat breathlessly, not to be reelected to office.

In his *Popular Science Monthly* article, Vance singled out Newell as the leading figure: “The man who is responsible for the very existence of such an organization as The American Folk-Lore Society is William Wells Newell. He it was who issued the call to arms, who drafted the circular letter. . . , [and] who has generously given his time and services to the cause of folk-lore.” When AFS was founded, Newell was forty-nine years old and of independent means. Like other wealthy and well-educated men of the time, he chose science as his avocation, although his formal education had not prepared him for this field. After graduating second in his class at Harvard in 1859, Newell entered Harvard Divinity School, where he took his degree in 1863. He worked for a short time as a Unitarian minister in Germantown, Pennsylvania, then as a tutor in philosophy at Harvard from 1868 to 1870. Subsequently, he opened a private school in New York, where he began collecting children’s games, which resulted in *Games and Songs of American Children* (1883). In the early 1880s, Newell retired from teaching, toured Europe, and then settled in Cambridge to a life of private scholarship. His selfless dedication won praise from Franz Boas in a letter written in 1907: “He always seemed to me in a way like a representative of a time of greater devotion to ideals and a greater unselfishness than we are accustomed to find at the present time.”

Newell largely shaped the early development of AFS, throwing himself wholeheartedly into securing what he

called in correspondence with Boas “the scientific future of the Journal.” It was he who named the prospective editors of *JAF*, and who chose Philadelphia for the 1889 annual meeting. He worked closely with the thirty-year-old Boas, who had endless energy for scientific work but was by no means established in his profession. Boas, newly arrived from his native Germany, had become a United States citizen in 1887. He was employed as an anthropology instructor at Clark University between 1888 and 1892, in what proved to be less than a secure position.

Together Newell and Boas were a powerful combination, but it is clear who was dominant. In Newell’s letters, we can hear the tones of leadership and diplomacy. On March 15, 1888, he wrote to Boas, “I agree heartily to your proposal in regard to division of the field, and empower you”—then choosing a more egalitarian phrase, scratched out “empower you” and continued—“think you had better arrange with Mr. Dorsey for dividing the Indian tribes in any way you see fit.” Newell settled plans for the Philadelphia meeting “on the day after Thanksgiving, at the University, by invitation of the Provost.” But, he wrote to Boas, he was concerned about geographical representation: “The people in Philadelphia have made very energetic efforts in regard to their meeting, as you can judge by the fact that they have elected about fifty new members. . . . I think I may be the only delegate from this part of the world. I don’t like this at all; and propose to induce members here to send some one as a delegate.”

In further correspondence with his younger colleague, Newell wrote, “I hope that you will go to Phila., at any cost of trouble. It is very desirable that the Journal should be represented by some editor other than myself. Being the first meeting, it is important to get things right.” And in the same letter, he noted that Daniel Garrison Brinton and Washington Matthews should be added to the editorial committee: “If then the Committee wish me to be general Editor, I am willing to be such; and as I have done most of the work, and must take the responsibility, perhaps my name might appear separate as General Editor.” Boas did attend the meeting in Philadelphia and put forth just that suggestion, which was recorded in the minutes in almost exactly those words. Brinton then made a formal motion “that the Journal be directed by an editor, and by an Editorial Committee, who should be named by the Council.” The outcome was that Newell served as editor of *JAF* from 1888 to 1900. He was also Permanent Secretary of AFS from its

founding until his death in 1907.

It was Newell’s vision that gave shape to the nascent *JAF*. In the opening passage of Volume I, “On the Field and Work of a Journal of American Folk-Lore,” Newell designated as a primary concern of AFS the publication of a journal “of a scientific character.” This would provide “(1) For the collection of the fast-vanishing remains of Folk-Lore in America. . . [and] (2) For the study of the general subject.” And although Newell later expanded, modified, and clarified his initial statement, he consistently emphasized the collection of material that was threatened by the forces of the “uniformity of the modern world,” and insisted on the scientific orientation needed for such work.

Here the rumblings of disciplinary dispute can be heard. In an essay published in the 1890 *Transactions of the New York Academy of Science*, Newell was emphatic that folklore was part of anthropology. But he assayed to be fair: “the subject has two sides, the aesthetic or literary aspect, and the scientific aspect.” In correspondence he counseled Boas that this balance should be maintained in *JAF*: “To carry out the publication scheme, I would print two volumes annually: one of Indian Lore, one of English, French, etc., as long as the material held out.” Newell’s weight, though, was thrown in full measure to the side of anthropology, for as he said to the New York Academy of Sciences, “In its broader meaning. . . , folklore is a part of anthropology and ethnography, embracing the mental side of primitive life, with especial reference to the narratives in which beliefs and habits are related or accounted for.” Newell’s slant toward anthropology was also reflected in *JAF*. The articles by “the Indian men”—as the anthropological folklorists were called—far outnumbered those of the literary folklorists, sometimes referred to as “the English folklorists.”

In the first two years of AFS, Newell was careful to balance political forces. He astutely assessed which developments would have lasting impact and which were of little concern. When Child was unable to attend the first annual meeting, Newell wrote a postscript in a letter to Boas, which among other things mentioned the rotation of the presidential chair on a geographical basis: “As to President, being in Phila., I take it Brinton will be elected. I think, possibly, it might be well to have it understood that rotation in office will be encouraged. Prof. Child, who will resign this year, thinks it might be well. I don’t think that the



*Washington Matthews, AFS president, 1895.
Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives,
Smithsonian Institution.*

presidency matters, if the Washington people are kept in good humor." Certainly this postscript summarizes some early tensions within AFS. There were geographical and institutional groupings, with the most powerful forces located in Philadelphia, Washington, New York, and Cambridge. There was a disciplinary shift from a president who represented the literary side to one who represented the anthropological. Behind-the-scenes negotiating over policy took place. Wisely, there was also recognition of the importance of keeping people in "good humor."

Newell's report on the founding of AFS in the first volume of *JAF* and the report of the first annual meeting in Philadelphia in the third volume conceal well the struggles for power and control. Yet in keeping with a nineteenth-century ethos, struggle was equated with survival. And this the American Folklore Society did: it struggled and survived.



*John Gregory Bourke, AFS president, 1896.
Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico.*

Part II

THE CONCEPT OF “FOLKLORE”

The four essays that follow show how ways of defining and redefining “folklore”—a word invented in 1846 by an Englishman, William J. Thoms, to replace the term “popular antiquities”—not only affected *how* material was studied, but determined *what* was studied. While current advocates of concepts of “folklife” and “folklore enactment” represent and draw upon the most contemporary theories about expressive culture, their most direct conceptual ancestors are those who studied “folk-lore” in the late nineteenth century.

In this section, Hugo A. Freund shows how some of the founders and early members of AFS derived their discipline’s most basic concept from the evolutionary theory of their contemporaries and how the ideology of cultural evolution shaped their work. Mac E. Barrick considers the implications of perceiving folklore as a verbal “text” to be investigated with the tools developed by philologists of the nineteenth century and later refined by twentieth-century students of written and oral literary texts. John Michael Vlach reflects on how and why the museum professionals who comprised much of the early AFS membership were not able to entrench the study of artifacts in American folklore studies, and he demonstrates that nevertheless they have intellectual heirs among current students of “folklife” and “material culture.” Finally, Jack Santino examines the growing influence of those folklorists who see “performance” or “process” as central to the discipline. Occasionally, folklorists may lament the seeming lack of agreement among their fellows on which concept of “folklore” best represents their work, but perhaps one of the strengths of the discipline and of AFS has been the ability to accommodate the diversity suggested by these essays.

CULTURAL EVOLUTION, SURVIVALS, AND IMMERSION: THE IMPLICATIONS FOR NINETEENTH-CENTURY FOLKLORE STUDIES

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Writing in 1890, Daniel Garrison Brinton, second president of AFS, noted, “*Culture and civilization* are . . . terms not always correctly employed. The former is the broader, the generic word. All forms of human society show more or less culture; but civilization is a certain stage of culture, and a rather high one, when men unite under settled governments to form a state or commonwealth . . . with acknowledged individual rights.” It is clear from Brinton’s statement that nineteenth-century enthusiasts who studied “folk-lore” were imbued with theoretical assumptions that diverged from today’s understanding of culture. Today, scholars view culture as a consensual negotiation, a system whereby a group interprets the world in a meaningful fashion. In general, contemporary folklorists are concerned with a particular spectrum of cultural expression, especially those heightened moments of cultural significance enacted in meaningful ways. The nineteenth-century concept of “culture” predated AFS, and the individuals who founded the Society naturally grounded their developing view of culture in the larger theoretical milieu of the period. From AFS’s 1888 founding to 1900, its journal was dominated by the notion of culture as elaborated by Brinton and his colleagues.

Brinton intertwined his notion of culture with current theories of social development and progress. As an active early member of AFS, Brinton read papers at most of its annual meetings and thus may be seen today as an important representative of the prevailing opinion among folklorists about the emerging discipline’s basic concepts. In an address before the New Jersey Historical Society in 1896, he suggested that each culture is guided by a set of abstract laws and ideals and that such institutions as religion, art, and law might not be subject to universal principles. But Brinton was no relativist. He was quick to judge a culture in terms of its degree of “civilization.” He noted, “Reason, Truth, Justice and Love have been, are, and ever will be the same. Time and place, race and culture, make no difference. Whenever a country is engaged in the diffusion of these immortal

verities, whenever institutions are calculated to foster and extend them, that country, those institutions, take noble precedence over all others whose efforts are directed to lower aims.” Nineteenth-century folklorists such as Brinton focused less on the investigation of individual cultures than on evaluating them in comparison to modern western civilization. For instance, Brinton viewed “Mohammedans” and “Brahmins” as members of “lower” faiths.

Although Brinton objected to the theory of cultural evolution based upon material development, he subscribed to a vision of progress in which western civilization was the pinnacle toward which mankind strove. Influenced by Edward Burnett Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan, Brinton in 1885 classified cultures according to general stages of development: savagery, barbarism, semi-civilization, civilization, and enlightenment. Each stage was distinguished from the others by the appearance of a complex set of characteristics. In the case of the semi-civilized stage, a system of writing, a caste system, and a theocratic government were seen as the salient features. Like the European Middle Ages, contemporary Muslim countries and pre-Columbian cultures in the New World qualified as semi-civilized. The concern for progress and for identifying the stage to which a culture had advanced was less an exercise in social Darwinism than a way of highlighting the accomplishments of modern civilization while bemoaning what is lost when a “lesser” culture begins to emulate civilized western ways. While establishing a silent hierarchy with their own “civilized” culture ranked at the top, Brinton and others blunted their chauvinism with a romantic admiration for “lower” groups.

The principal influence behind such attitudes was the English anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor, who forcefully argued that culture was a matter of progress and development culminating in civilization. Thus *JAF* editor William Wells Newell lauded Tylor as one who undertook “to investigate the development of the human mind, through its various stages of animal, sav-

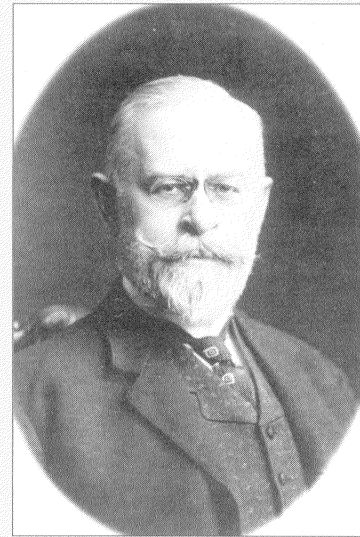
age and civilized life.” Tylor’s emphasis, though, was not simply the unstoppable progress of every culture toward civilization. He also inspired later scholars to view folklore through the lens of what came to be called “survivals.” Mythology, folktales, customs, and other traditions were seen as examples of processes from earlier stages of cultural development that had persisted alone by force of habit into later stages. Many of the early essays in *JAF* identify such “survivals.” Examining the Rio Grande Valley of southern Texas, for example, John Gregory Bourke suggested that “by inquiring what was the clothing of the Moorish working classes and then comparing it with that now in use among the Mexicans, the exact amount of ‘survival’ can at once be determined.” Brinton saw “stories, the superstitions, the beliefs and customs [as] . . . survivals of the mythologies, the legal usages, and sacred rites of earlier generations.” Newell viewed children’s singing games as survivals of love-dances from European courts of the thirteenth century.

The concept of “survivals” never completely prevented scholarly recognition of contemporary cultural diversity throughout the world, but that recognition was limited to using existent cultures to interpret earlier stages. The thinking of nineteenth-century anthropologists and folklorists (the distinction between these disciplines was as complex then as it is today) thus colored their conception of the ethnographic present. Since living cultures were meaningful only as they reflected the past, ethnographic studies became exercises in pursuing traces of history, examining hints of the past without considering their significance for the present. Each stage of cultural development was thought to be analogous to a geologic layer, and the top or present layer had no inherent meaning except as an indicator of the distant past. Tylolean stages certainly provided researchers writing for *JAF* with an almost haughty disregard, bordering on racism, for such groups as Mexicans and Africans. This view did not stem from a belief that only western civilization was fit for survival, for Brinton specifically announced that he did not subscribe to social Darwinism. However, he and the other Tyloleans were still limited by their lack of that very cultural relativism that twentieth-century scholars would come to recognize as crucial for fruitful ethnographic study.

Like other nineteenth-century folklorists, Brinton used “culture” in the singular because he understood the human spirit to be a unified force striving toward and eventually reaching civilization. In the midst of this sup-



Stewart Culin, AFS president, 1897. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.



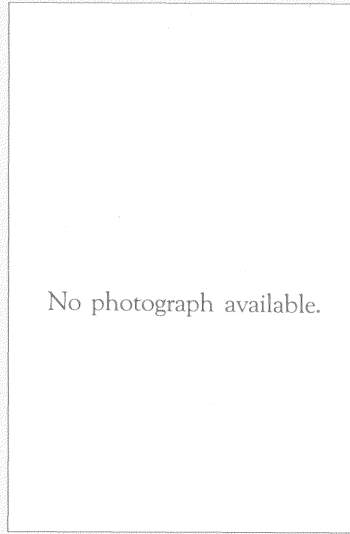
Henry Wood, AFS president, 1898. Courtesy of Ferdinand Hamburger, Jr., Archives of The Johns Hopkins University.



Charles L. Edwards, AFS president, 1899. Courtesy of Trinity College Archives.



Franz Boas, AFS president, 1900, 1931, 1934; JAF editor, 1908-24. From Journal of American Folklore.



Frank Russell, AFS president, 1901.



George Dorsey, AFS president, 1902. Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History.

posedly unstoppable progress, folklore traditions were “survivals” that groups maintained without any contemporary meaning or function, but meriting study by scholars for what they revealed about the general human past. This desire to reconstruct the stages of the past inspired folklorists to hunt for “survivals” throughout the world before they disappeared. Fueled by the realization that federal troops in the West were subduing the remnants of autonomous Indian nations, folklorists pressed into service the concepts of cultural stages and “survivals” to justify many fieldwork proposals. These enterprises were sponsored by institutions such as university museums and government agencies, especially the Bureau of Ethnology.

A result of all this fieldwork was the immersion of the folklorist in other cultures, and the fieldwork experience then resulted in an important distinction between nineteenth- and twentieth-century folklorists. An exemplar of this distinction is Frank Hamilton Cushing, an active member of AFS before 1900. Cushing, whose research focused on Zuni culture and artifacts, spent many years conducting fieldwork and consistently emphasized its place in folklore studies. His scholarly work was part of a participatory quest that he called “personal history”: “Well-nigh all anthropology is personal history; . . . even the things of past man [are] personal; . . . If I would study any old, lost art, let us say, I must make myself the artisan of it—must, by examining its products, learn both to see and to feel as much as may be the conditions with which they were produced and the needs they supplied or satisfied.”

Cushing’s “personal history” suggested the importance of the researcher’s being immersed in the life of another society, unfettered by the rigorous fieldwork methodology that was to become the hallmark of later folklorists. Hailed for both his long stay at Zuni and his profound understanding of the culture there, Cushing’s dedication to his personal quest, inseparable from his fieldwork, let him cajole and threaten individuals if they were not forthcoming with assistance or information.

Not yet participant-observers, folklorists of Cushing’s generation embarked enthusiastically on fieldwork with little concern for the cultural distance

between outside researcher and the group under study. This explains the photographs showing Cushing deeply involved in Zuni traditions. In one such picture, he is kneeling before wet coiled clay, demonstrating Zuni pottery techniques. The impression is repeated in a painted portrait by Thomas Eakins. Cushing, a tall, lithe figure, is seen in Zuni dress surrounded by Zuni artifacts. This nineteenth-century personal involvement, or immersion, in other cultures had conflicting consequences. All Cushing’s poses suggest an empathy for and sensitivity toward the Zuni but raise concerns for the sanctity of cultural features in the original context. Moreover, folklorists now accept each culture’s right to appropriate contextual performance of traditions (which Cushing’s demonstrations were not). However wrongheaded it may seem to try to master cultural traditions that were not one’s own (and even Franz Boas had difficulty with these issues), one must admire how passionately Cushing and others like him set about their fieldwork endeavors. Nineteenth-century investigators roamed the world in search of comparative ethnographic data that would enhance their understanding of cultural stages. Their concepts of survival and cultural stages may now be discarded by contemporary theorists, but their spirited participation and immersion in fieldwork continues to influence folklorists.

Nineteenth-century folklorists set the stage for the Boasian anthropological revolution of the early twentieth century. By 1900, folklorists were advocating the close ethnographic study of extant groups, particularly Native Americans. The early twentieth-century folklorists and anthropologists came to recognize that cultures do not endure simply to achieve eventually the western expression of “civilization.” Nor were the traditional features of cultures seen as just habitual, unconscious traces of a romantic past. Instead, the twentieth-century scholars had come to accept enough cultural relativism to recommend that various cultures be recognized as viable systems whose shared traditions had contemporary meaning and value for the members of the community in question. With this awareness, the study of folklore entered a new theoretical age.

FOLKLORE AND THE VERBAL TEXT

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Since its beginnings the study of American folklore has been concerned with the written or printed text as the visual record of verbal performance. Those early members of AFS who were literature-oriented had received their graduate training under the influence of the European philological method. Some of them—Francis Barton Gummere, for example—had gone to Europe to study at the German philological centers of Leipzig, Strassburg, and Freiburg.

Philology, as practiced in American universities of the late nineteenth-century, concerned itself with the interpretation of literary works through linguistic analysis. One of its goals was the establishment of authentic classical texts by eliminating scribal errors that had crept in during centuries of hand copying in order to establish an original text, even if no longer extant. As European scholars became interested in folk traditions, they followed the same processes in the study of oral texts in attempting to trace the provenience and migration of a specific tale or song. As might have been expected, the derivation of many of these items paralleled the evolution of their language of narration from an obscure Indo-Aryan or Indo-European source. Thomas Benfey and Max Müller, for example, traced several contemporary European tales back to Sanskrit collections such as the *Panchatantra*.

The comparative methodology that was developed in these pursuits led to the establishment of a school of research called the historic-geographic school, which borrowed extensively from the methods of Finnish researchers. Though this school was naturally dominated by European scholars, American folklorists such as Archer Taylor, Ralph S. Boggs, and Stith Thompson made significant contributions to the *Folklore Fellows Communications*, the monograph series published in Finland. Though most of the studies in this series drew on materials collected from oral sources, many of them labored under the assumption that the correct version of a tale text was that appearing in the collections of Charles Perrault or Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. Because of the existence of such printed collections, local versions of folktales were often considered merely corrupted deviations.

A similar situation existed with regard to ballads. Harvard professor Francis James Child's publication of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (five volumes published 1882-98) established a standard collection of texts. Subsequently collected materials sometimes were amended to agree with Child's texts, and ballads not included in Child's original list of 305 were often rejected as nonauthentic. The manner of studying ballads differed little from the study of academic poetry. For example, MacEdward Leach saw the ballad as an art form to be analyzed as literature. It was not until the mid-twentieth century that the music was recognized as having an importance equal to the text, and only later did the focus on ballad performance begin to supplement the older attitude toward the ballad as a literary genre.

The association between the literary and the folkloric text is an ancient one. Elements of folktales and folk-songs can be found in classical and medieval literature, and until a technology was developed for collection from oral sources, literary inclusions of folk materials provided virtually the only evidence of the nature of folklore in earlier times. Nineteenth-century American writers were quick to recognize the literary potential of the folk tradition and used it freely in their attempts to define the essential American character. Washington Irving drew heavily on the Dutch folk traditions of New York State. Harriet Beecher Stowe, best known for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, also produced a collection of New England tales called *Old Town Fireside Stories* (1871). Joel Chandler Harris reproduced the tales of black storytellers in *Uncle Remus* (1880) and thereby instilled Brer Rabbit in American popular culture. Several professional writers, Mark Twain among them, were members of AFS in its early years, but their participation was limited as AFS became increasingly an academic association.

Those folklorists interested in folktales initially collected them from French-speaking Creoles, American Indians, and blacks rather than from Americans of European origin. These collections and others from Angola, the Bahamas, and the Cape Verde Islands appeared, carefully translated, in AFS's *Memoir* series.

Ballad collectors had neglected to ask their informants for folktales, so the discovery in the 1930s of a rich trove of traditional European tales in rural areas of the United States produced as much surprise as the earlier discovery of ballads in those same areas.

Nevertheless, tales were still treated as literary sources that could be reworked, revised, emendated, or censored at the whim of the author. Richard Chase re-created for literary effect folktales he heard in the Appalachian Mountains, but Herbert Halpert and Leonard Roberts were more careful in editing the texts they collected there. Vance Randolph, the indefatigable Ozarks polygraph, attempted to write down folk materials as he heard them, but inevitably the published texts are more polished than strictly oral narratives would be. The Federal Writers' Project of the New Deal years encouraged the reworking of collected materials into readable texts, and many of its local directors demanded rewriting of off-color materials in keeping with moral standards of the time.

One result of the interest in folk culture during the 1930s was an increasing awareness of the popularity and commercial appeal of folklore. During the next three decades, Benjamin Botkin and others capitalized on this appeal by compiling treasuries of regional and occupational folklore drawn indiscriminately from literature, popular publications, and authentic folk collections.

To the textualist, certain established methods of folklore study are particularly appropriate. Identifying the text has meant the collecting of parallels from oral,

archival, and printed sources. Classifying the collected items according to the standard cataloguing systems, Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson's *Types of the Folktale* and Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, has always been the textualist's primary focus. And interpreting the material has often been limited to literary analysis, the *explication de texte*.

As long as folklore was seen as a salvage operation, rescuing the text from extinction was the important thing. In the case of riddles and superstitions, this meant the compilation of all known examples in lists, with little regard for their importance to the group from which they were collected. Folk attitudes were usually overlooked in these collections because of the difficulty of reducing them to textual form. Similarly, customs and material culture drew little attention from folklorists until a way was found to treat them as texts. Attempts to index and analyze their structures have not always been successful, since customs are behavioral and artifacts material rather than narrated. The first studies of custom and of material folk culture attempted to isolate single examples so that their structure and historical development could be examined using the methodology of the historic-geographic school. More recent use of the structural linguistic method in the study of artifacts, festivals, and other complex events is based on a belief that objects and events, like texts, can be usefully analyzed through patterns of form, design, and sequence.

FOLKLIFE AND THE TANGIBLE TEXT

JOHN MICHAEL VLACH

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Given that so many founding members of AFS were “museum men,” it is ironic that one of the hallmarks of folklore study in the late twentieth century has been the discovery—or better the rediscovery—of the artifact. Why folklorists generally dropped the study of objects from their research goals remains to be thoroughly examined and explained. We do know that such matters as the origins of ballads and the distribution of folktales thoroughly occupied the attentions of several generations of scholars. But a focus on musical and verbal data during the first half of the twentieth century does not by itself indicate why artifactual evidence fell from favor. It may have been that scholars of oral forms, being generally employed as professors in English departments, found tales and lyrics to be the evidence of tradition most compatible with their academic settings, a preference they then fostered among their students. Material culture scholars, by contrast, were connected to museums where they had little access to students and hence little opportunity to instill an appreciation of artifacts in subsequent generations of potential folklorists. The power of institutions to shape scholarship is well known, and hence *where* folklore was taught has a profound impact on *what* was taught as folklore.

The expansion of folklore subject matter to include, as it does today, folk housing, traditional arts and industries, foodways, costume, and the like coincides with an increasing awareness of the European folklife movement by key figures at several academic folklore programs during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Throughout Europe, but particularly in the Scandinavian countries, folklife was understood as the total way of life of a group of people, and its study necessarily included material as well as verbal and spiritual expressions. Since American folklorists already studied oral literature, custom, and belief, the major impact of the concept of folklife was the addition of material culture to programs of research. Because the term “folklore” proved too inelastic to cover comfortably both verbal and tangible traditions, American folklore research since the late 1960s has frequently been given the two-part label “folklore and folklife.” The folk-

lore program at the University of Pennsylvania uses this phrase in its title, and in 1972, Richard M. Dorson, then the field’s most eminent scholar, compiled a textbook called *Folklore and Folklife*. However, in many usages, folklife means not the total life way of a folk group but only material folk culture.

In the 1970s the creation of prominent federal programs which use the term folklife (the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress and the Office of Folklife Programs at the Smithsonian Institution) had a positive effect on the general perception of material traditions. These agencies, mandated as they are to preserve and present traditional culture, have helped to restore to the American concept of folklife the original meaning of the term. In their many concerts, exhibits, and festivals, which regularly feature material aspects of expressive culture, folklife is presented as an inclusive cultural system. At the recommendation of a small band of material culture specialists, these public programs present artifacts both as intriguing manifestations of skill and as visible proof that a complex network of customary and philosophical principles undergirds their creation. In short, folklife is once again identified as a set of processes and ideals as well as a set of things.

Particularly important to the recent emergence of material culture research by folklorists is the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment of the Arts. NEA–Folk Arts, by funding a network of “state folk art coordinators” and supporting exhibitions of contemporary folk art, has made it possible for many folklorists to conduct surveys of local folk arts and to present the results in large-scale exhibitions at front-line museums. Today, the public’s encounter with tradition is as likely to occur on the gallery floor as at an open-air concert or through radio broadcasts or records. This is not because enthusiasm for folk music shows any signs of decrease, but because American folklorists are now more attentive to and better trained in the interpretation of material culture.

The expansion of the subject matter of an academic field is not easily achieved. Such a move engenders inter-

nal debate over definitions and scholarly objectives. Moreover, since there are other fields, particularly art history, cultural geography, architectural history, and archeology, that also have legitimate claims to the artifactual domain, there have been some arguments over “turf.” But the net result has been a return, albeit

unconsciously, to the example of the turn-of-the-century folklorists who, as a group, were collectively capable of interpreting both words and things. As the membership of AFS enters its centennial era, folklorists are once again able to read both verbal and tangible texts.

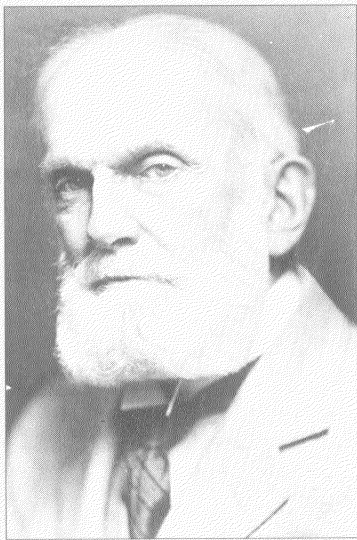




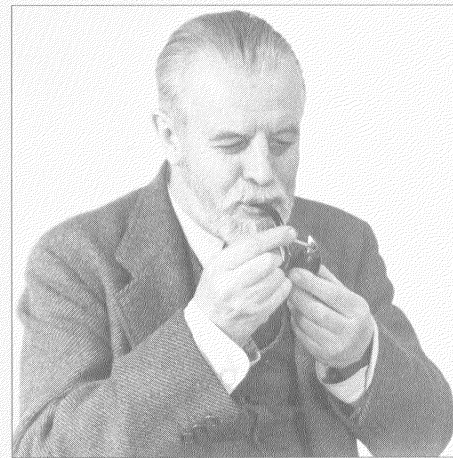
Livingston Farrand, AFS president, 1903. Courtesy of Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cornell University Libraries.



Alice Cunningham Fletcher, AFS president, 1905. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.



George Lyman Kittredge, AFS president, 1904. Courtesy of Harvard University Archives.



Alfred E. Kroeber, AFS president, 1906. Courtesy of Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

FOLKLORE AS PERFORMANCE AND COMMUNICATION

JACK SANTINO

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When I first began my graduate study of folklore at the University of Pennsylvania, I was, like many other beginning students, fascinated by the similarity of tales throughout the world. There must be, I assumed, some universal truth underlying the common elements in tales, legends, and especially myths. However, while at Penn, I was introduced to the works of scholars who had spent their lives collecting and analyzing these materials, and I began to see that the in-depth investigation of folklore in context, based on fieldwork, provided far more satisfactory answers to my unarticulated questions than did the speculations of scholars of other centuries or from other disciplines who had no real understanding of the processes of creation, distribution, and transmission of folklore.

The idea that folklore, in all its many forms, is *performed* (tales are told, dances danced, songs sung, fiddle tunes played) was brought home to me early on when I was discussing myth with a group of students and professors and one of them—I forget who—said, “If you ever actually *see*—as well as *hear*—someone tell a myth, you’d understand that there is much more to it than universal archetypes.” Indeed, any narrative, when told, or sung, or enacted, involves interaction with the audience and variables of the immediate situation as well as the history of the participants in the event and of the genre. At the University of Pennsylvania, scholars such as Dan Ben-Amos, Kenneth S. Goldstein, Dell Hymes, and Thomas A. Burns approached the study of folklore as performance, as dynamic process involving communication among people, while scholars elsewhere such as Roger D. Abrahams, Richard Bauman, Alan Dundes, Robert Georges, Américo Paredes, and others were doing the same.

This point of view was a somewhat radical departure from that of a previous generation of scholars, who tended to study folklore as transcribed texts or as items isolated from the original context in which they were collected. However, the school of thought that saw folklore as performance and communication had precedents. For instance, a breakthrough study on the performance of epics was conducted in the 1930s in Yugoslavia by Harvard scholars Milman Parry and his then-

student, Albert Lord. After Parry died, Lord completed and published their work as *The Singer of Tales* (1960), which develops an oral-formulaic theory for epic performances. Hoping to answer the “Homeric question”—actually a series of questions about the Homeric epics’ authorship and composition—Parry and Lord did fieldwork with living epic singers. Their hypothesis was that these traditional singers, who performed long, narrative poems, would face the same problems as the ancient Greeks, and so a scholar interested in the Homeric epics might learn something about performance and composition by studying the techniques of these living representatives of an ancient art. Parry and Lord found that the key to understanding epic poems lies in approaching them specifically as oral forms of art with their own esthetic problems that are unique to oral performance. In other words, they studied epic narratives in the context of their performance and took into account issues of audience, situation, time, place, and so forth. Their ethnographic work focusing on performance remains vital.

Other strands of scholarship have informed the development of folklore as performance and communication. For instance, in ballad scholarship, Cecil Sharp undertook field trips to the United States from Britain in the early part of this century. Looking for British folksong in America, he insisted that melody as well as words be annotated, recognizing the totality of the folksong form. Unlike Francis James Child, Sharp undertook to collect songs in context as opposed to studying them as poems, words only, gleaned from printed sources. Much later, in 1964, Alan Dundes published an important article, “Texture, Text, and Context,” in *Southern Folklore Quarterly* in which he argued that the study of a folkloric event requires that attention be directed not only to the text, but also to the texture of the performance and the context in which it occurs.

Many other scholars have hinted at or implied a performance-centered approach, but it was with the publication in 1971 of a special issue of *JAF* under the editorship of Richard Bauman and Américo Paredes (republished in 1972 as *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*) that asserted and articulated this approach as a rich



Roland B. Dixon, AFS president, 1907-8. Courtesy of Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.



John R. Swanton, AFS president, 1909. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

and fruitful framework for the documentation and analysis of traditional materials. Even though the introduction to this volume insists that the scholars included in the book represent no new school or no consensus, its publication effectively established a new paradigm for folklore studies. Although previous definitions of folklore had focused on such descriptive elements as the age of the item or the anonymity of the authors—both highly problematic questions—the performance approach rendered their importance moot.

Although the articles in *Toward New Perspectives* vary in their approaches, throughout the volume folklore is viewed as contemporary rather than as surviving from some bygone era. The authors shared a common concern that folklore studies needed to be moved out of the historic-geographic approach of an earlier day, an approach that had isolated texts and elements of texts and mapped them in terms of age and geographic location as part of a system of scientific classification. In *Toward New Perspectives* and elsewhere, folklore scholars argued convincingly that this item-oriented approach—the study of folklore as a collection of texts, accompanied by little or no contextual documentation—not only provided incomplete and sometimes even misleading data, but did not advance the discipline by availing itself of the insights of related fields such as anthropology, linguistics and communication.

In this new approach, each telling of a tale, musical performance, or customary behavior is seen as a discrete event, deep with history but dynamic, fluid, responsive to contextual variables, and immediately meaningful to the participants in the event. As early as 1969 in *JAF* Robert Georges had suggested that the term “storytelling event” be substituted for “story” in the vocabulary of professional folklorists, since every telling of a particular narrative is different. Moreover, proponents of the new approach asserted, folklore is *used*: as social events, performances have both meaning and purpose. Roger Abrahams argued for a “rhetorical theory” of folklore, while Richard Bauman challenged the accepted notion that folklore brings people together, demonstrating instead how traditional forms (ethnic jokes, for instance) are often used to accentuate the differences, real or perceived, between groups. Kenneth S. Goldstein, whose *A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore* (1964) had anticipated the performance-centered approach, suggested fieldwork strategies (most notably the “induced natural context”) for researching folkloric events ethnographically and contextually.

In *Toward New Perspectives*, Dan Ben-Amos challenged existing definitional criteria for folklore, stating that most definitions relied on incidental rather than central features. He argued that folklore is “‘old wine in old bottles’ and also ‘new wine in old bottles’ but rarely has it been conceived of as new wine in new bottles.” While both the *form* and the *content* of some folkloric materials are traditional (like an outlaw ballad of Robin Hood), people create new content for traditional forms (ballads of Jesse James or Billy the Kid in the United States retain the outlaw ballad form while adapting content to new social situations). In addition, new forms with new content continually arise, like urban streetcorner rapping. Neither the form nor the content alone makes something folklore; rather, it is the nature of the performance. Is it small-scale and face-to-face or a function of the mass media? Does the audience interact with the performer(s)? Can the audience affect the performance? Is the performance understood to be aesthetic? Are there recognizable elements of style involved? Considering these questions, Ben-Amos proposed a revolutionary definition of folklore as “artistic communication in small groups.”

A tremendous amount of work, far too much to enumerate here, has followed. Richard Bauman published “Verbal Art as Performance” in 1975, and Goldstein and Ben-Amos coedited *Folklore: Performance and Communication* (1975), which contains Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett’s “A Parable in Context” and Dell Hymes’ “Breakthrough into Performance.” Earlier, Hymes’ pioneering work in sociolinguistics was a major influence on the performance school. His “The Ethnography of Speaking” (1962) inspired Alan Dundes’ “Proverbs and the Ethnography of Speaking Folklore” (1964). Ben-Amos’ more recent volume,

Folklore Genres (1976), contains several important articles, including Peter Seitel’s “Proverbs and the Social Use of Metaphor” and Barre Toelken’s sensitive and superb “The ‘Pretty Language’ of Yellowman: Genre, Mode, and Texture in Navaho Coyote Narratives.” Toelken, a scholar who identifies strongly with the performance-centered approach, has also contributed an introductory text for folklore studies based on performance, *The Dynamics of Folklore* (1979). It attempts to reformulate the study of folklore to avoid the genre-by-genre approach to the field. Instead of chapters on proverbs or riddles or folk songs, Toelken discusses performance, world view, and connotation, describing folkloric interactions within the discussions of these concepts.

Although the performance-oriented scholars tend to emphasize verbal art forms such as narrative, proverbs, and riddles, Georges has also applied this perspective to the study of games, and Robert Jerome Smith has written significantly about festivals. The insights of performance approach continue to inform and influence the discipline, as evidenced by Henry Glassie’s monumental study of Irish folk culture, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community* (1982), or Robert McCarl’s study of occupational folklife, *The District of Columbia Fire Fighters’ Project: A Case Study in Occupational Folklife* (1985). Both of these approach the study of culture as dynamic and integrated, in which people are understood as aware and purposeful shapers of their own lives. The approach to folklore as an enacted, performed event has led the discipline to a wider and deeper appreciation of folklore as a dynamic, communicative process that is intrinsic to culture and society.



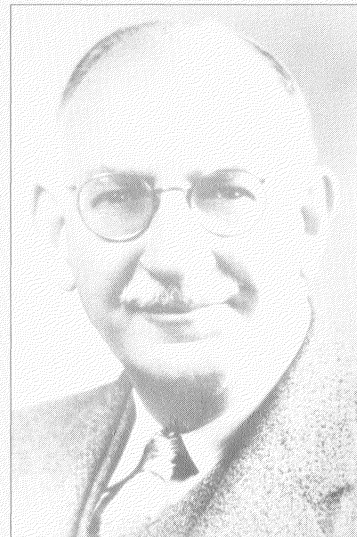
Henry M. Belden, AFS president, 1910-11. Courtesy of University of Missouri Archives.



Pliny Earle Goddard, AFS president, 1914-15. Courtesy of Department of Library Services, American Museum of Natural History.



John A. Lomax, AFS president, 1912-13. Courtesy of Texas Folklore Society.



Robert H. Lowie, AFS president, 1916-17. Courtesy of Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Part III

THE CONCEPT OF “FOLK”

Perhaps as much diversity has surfaced among American folklorists concerning who constitutes the “folk”—the people who enact folklore—as has emerged in their attempts to conceptualize “folklore.” Approaches to identifying who the folk are range from narrow conceptions of isolated peasant groups to the notion current among many contemporary folklorists that everyone is a “folk”—or a member of a “folk group” (or several folk groups). In providing a historical perspective on this question, essayists in this section have taken their cues from William Wells Newell, a driving force in the founding of AFS and its first permanent secretary, treasurer, and journal editor. In the first issue of *JAF*, Newell cited four specific focal points for the collection “of the fast-vanishing remains of Folk-Lore in America.”

The first four essays in this section address those early focal points and suggest how American folklorists during the century have build upon Newell’s original assumptions. Thus, Sylvia Grider deals with the treatment of what Newell called “Old English Folk-Lore,” lore that was collected from Scotch-Irish Americans who often seemed to fulfill the stereotype of the folk as rural peasants. William H. Wiggins, Jr., shows what has happened to the study of black folklore, what Newell called “Lore of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union.” Another ethnically based category of folk proposed by Newell provides the basis for Keith Cunningham’s examination of how American folklorists have studied the “Lore of Indian Tribes of North America.” Finally, Eric L. Montenyohl demonstrates that American folklorists quickly broadened Newell’s fourth point of focus, “Lore of French Canada, Mexico, etc.,” to go in search of the folk abroad.

In the hundred years since Newell’s articulation of where and with whom folklore might be found, students of American folklore have explored the verbal art and material culture of groups of people defined in various ways, two of which are discussed by Robert McCarl and Susan Kalčík. McCarl provides a survey of work done on the folklore of people who are identified by occupation, and Kalčík discusses the role of gender in determining who the folk are—and in influencing who is to study them. McCarl’s and Kalčík’s essays provide samples of the many approaches to conceptualizing the folk that have emerged since Newell’s time.

SALVAGING THE FOLKLORE OF “OLD ENGLISH” FOLK

SYLVIA GRIDER

Texas A & M University

Because of his emphasis on the urgency of collecting allegedly dying traditions, William Wells Newell's statement of purpose in the first issue of the *Journal of American Folklore* strikes us a century later as quaint and antiquarian. In the very first article of that issue, he proposed “to form a society for the study of Folk-Lore, of which the principal object shall be to establish a Journal, of a scientific character, designed . . . for the collection of the fast-vanishing remains of Folk-Lore in America.” The first category of these “fast-vanishing remains” was the “relics of Old English Folk-Lore (ballads, tales, superstitions, dialect, etc.)” That Newell so clearly separated what he called “Old English” traditions from those of other groups requires closer examination. Exactly what did Newell mean by his Old English designation and why did he place it first on his list?

Throughout the late nineteenth-century, American literary scholarship was clearly Anglophile and folklore studies were clearly literary. As Richard Dorson points out in *The British Folklorists* (1968), the British Folk-Lore Society was founded in 1878, ten years before AFS, and served as the Americans' model for what folklore was and how it was to be studied. The Victorian zeal for collecting, which emphasized text and artifact over the folk, fueled Newell's ambitions for collecting traditions in America and assembling “a complete bibliography of American folklore, to which already belongs an extensive literature.” His own major work, *The Games and Songs of American Children* (1883), is in the same vein as Lady Alice B. Gomme's monumental *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1894, 1898). Both of these distinguished nineteenth-century collectors had a sense of urgency that traditions must be collected before they became extinct. Newell, expressing a belief that was frequently repeated by other scholars, stated in his preface that he had focused on American children's lore instead of British because “it appears that, in this minor but curious branch of folk-lore, the vein in the United States is both richer and purer than that so far worked in Great Britain.” Newell averred that “Old English” folklore in general could be collected in the United States more easily than in its native Britain and, therefore, assigned the collection of such traditions

as a major priority of the fledgling AFS.

In that first *JAF* article, Newell explained briefly what he meant by Old English folklore:

As to Old English lore, the early settlers, in the colonies peopled from Great Britain, not only brought with them the oral traditions of the mother country, but clung to those traditions with the usual tenacity of emigrants transported to a new land. It is certain that up to a certain date, abundant and interesting collections could everywhere have been made. But traditional lore was unprized: the time for its preservation, on both sides of the Atlantic, was suffered to elapse, and what now remains is sufficient to stimulate, rather than satisfy, curiosity.

Newell is here referring specifically to those settlers of early America and their descendants who came directly from Great Britain—especially Scotland and Northern Ireland—and settled in the remote, isolated mountain regions of Appalachia and, later, the Ozarks—the “Southern Highlanders” of so much folklore scholarship and the negatively stereotyped “hillbillies” of popular culture. Today “Scotch-Irish” is the most common designation for this regional group and its distinctive culture. The term is especially useful to differentiate the Protestant Appalachian settlers from the Catholic Irish who emigrated to the United States in the mid-nineteenth-century and settled primarily in eastern urban centers.

Since Newell envisioned the role of AFS as that of a salvage operation rescuing cultural relics before they became extinct, he saw no possibility for a vital, living, American tradition. He was interested only in fossilized imports, and the imports of British origin had precedence in his mind over those from any other part of Europe. Newell divided these Scotch-Irish or “Old English” cultural relics into six broad categories, what we today recognize as rudimentary genres. His categories, in apparent order of importance (and using modern terminology), were ballad, folktale, belief, children's lore, folk speech, and folklife.

Without question, Newell perceived the collection and preservation of what has become known as “English and Scottish Popular Ballads” as the most important responsibility of the newly formed American Folk-Lore

Society. He somewhat pessimistically stated:

As respects old ballads. . . the prospect of obtaining much of value is not flattering. In the seventeenth century, the time for the composition of these had almost passed; and they had, in a measure, been superceded by inferior rhymes of literary origin, diffused by means of broadsides and songbooks, or by popular doggerels, which may be called ballads, but possess little poetic interest. Still, genuine ballads continued to be sung in the colonies; a few have been recorded which have obviously been transmitted from generation to generation by oral tradition. Many of the best Scotch and Irish ballad-singers, who have preserved, in their respective dialects, songs which were once the property of the English-speaking race, have emigrated to this country; and it is possible that something of value may be obtained from one or other of these sources.

The “something of value” that Newell saw in collecting ballads from uneducated mountaineers subsequently directed the research efforts of several generations of folklore scholars in America. In fact, the study of the ballad remains a standard component of graduate folklore curricula today. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century folklore scholarship was dominated by the ballad, practically to the exclusion of all else. Francis James Child, the compiler of the monumental, multivolume *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882-1898), was the first AFS president and as such helped set the course of scholarship for the whole society. Working from library and archive sources, Child sought to define the genre and compile a standard, chronological compendium of variants of *all* the ballads in the English language. He was not interested in those ballads then being sung on either side of the Atlantic or in the people who sang them. As befitted his literary training and ideals, Child chose to focus only on those texts which had either been published or were preserved in manuscript. His collection established a canon for ballad scholarship, and folklorists set out to collect every possible variant of the 305 so-called “Child ballads,” often to the exclusion of other types of folksongs. Such collecting was exactly what Newell had in mind in his 1887 statement of purpose for AFS.

A list of American ballad collectors reads like a Who’s Who of American folklore scholarship, but paradoxically, the best-known of all ballad collectors in America was British. Cecil Sharp was an English music teacher and scholar who first became interested in folk music through observing Morris dancing and



C.-Marius Barbeau, AFS president, 1918. From *Journal of American Folklore*.



Elsie Clews Parsons, AFS president, 1919-20. From *Journal of American Folklore*.

listening to native folk singers. In 1907, he published *English Folk Song: Some Conclusions*, in which he erroneously predicted the demise of English folksong in England. Recognizing that the folksong tradition was more vital in America than in England, he travelled to the mountains of North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia to document as many traditional ballads and folksongs there as possible. For forty-six weeks off and on between 1916 and 1918 he and his assistant, Maud Karpeles, collected an extensive repertoire of ballad tunes and texts from "Old English" informants. Two hundred seventy-four of these texts and 968 tunes were later published in a two-volume edition of *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (1932).

Countless other collectors, most of them American, followed in Sharp's footsteps, expanding the scope of their inquiries to include folksongs in oral tradition derived from broadsides and other printed sources as well as folksongs originating in America (such as occupational ballads of cowboys and the like as well as distinctively Negro songs). Other American scholars turned away from simply collecting and annotating and instead focused on theoretical problems of ballad origin, function, and distribution, thus moving away from Newell's goal of simply documenting the presence of "Old English" folklore before it became extinct in America.

In retrospect, then, we see that Child's canon established a definite focus on the ballad as a genre with its vast international, multilingual connections over time, rather than merely as one manifestation of the survival and retention of British folklore among one group of immigrants in America. Ballad studies thus lost the ethnic focus which was Newell's primary concern.

The collection of the other genres of "Old English" folklore that Newell listed in his agenda has followed the same general pattern as the ballad, although their collection has been neither as well coordinated nor as extensive. The existence of traditional *Märchen* in America, whether in Appalachia or elsewhere in the country, is still debated. Other forms of narrative—

tall tales, legends, family sagas, and so forth—have been widely collected but have not been limited to materials of British origin. American beliefs have been collected from throughout the country in a major research effort begun under the direction of the late Wayland D. Hand; an encyclopedia is scheduled for publication. The study of children's folklore has enjoyed periodic popularity in America, but the publications of the British husband-and-wife team, Iona and Peter Opie, are still the leading authoritative sources and references in the field. The study of American folk speech is a major concern of the American Dialect Society, founded in 1889, although some folklorists maintain an interest in the field. The publication of the multi-volume *Dictionary of American Regional English* (DARE) under the direction of Frederic Cassidy of the University of Wisconsin is intended to set a standard of excellence in research and collection. Finally, what Newell lumped together as "scraps of personal information, genealogies, and records of buildings" has developed into what folklorists today designate as family folklore and aspects of "material culture."

Many contemporary scholars would undoubtedly agree with Newell that this "stock of information which in the aggregate may be valuable to the historian of American life" and which "once [was] the inheritance of every speaker of the English tongue ought not to be allowed to perish." But American folklore scholarship today in all genres extends far beyond the relatively narrow regional and ethnic focus that Newell championed. Instead of merely collecting raw data from specific folk groups, scholars and researchers seek to correlate the various bodies of data through time and space in order to understand how the traditional performances of the many divergent folk groups in America have been adapted and changed to give richness and meaning to the lives of the bearers of those traditions. Above all, the generations of folklorists since Newell have learned that folklore is not dying out, but is constantly changing, emerging, and responding to the contemporary needs and tastes of both bearers and their communities.

AFRO-AMERICANS AS FOLK: FROM SAVAGE TO CIVILIZED

WILLIAM H. WIGGINS, JR.

Indiana University

The body of Afro-American folklore scholarship produced during the first century of AFS documents a shift in the perception of Afro-Americans from African savages to civilized Americans. The four major stereotypes—apparent in *JAF* and other folklore publications as well as in popular culture and mass media—along this continuum are those of African savages, ex-American slaves, rural southern peasants, and urban dwellers.

William W. Newell, the first General Editor of *JAF*, played a major role in defining and promoting Afro-American folklore scholarship. First, he urged “collection of the fast-vanishing remains” of the “Lore of Negroes in the Southern States of the Union.” Secondly, Newell devised the first collection categories for Afro-American folklore: (a) animal tales, (b) “negro music and songs,” and (c) “beliefs and superstitions.” Newell noted that “attention has been called to the existence among these [Afro-Americans] of a great number of tales relating to animals.” Newell also called for “thorough studies . . . of negro music and song . . . both in respect of the words and the music.” And he declared that “the great mass of beliefs and superstitions which exist among these people [Afro-Americans] need attention.” Newell’s influence is evident in Richard M. Dorson’s comment, “The *Journal of American Folklore* . . . published over a hundred articles and notes dealing with Negro song, tale, and superstition in its first twenty-five volumes.”

Unfortunately, Newell also perpetuated the image of black Americans as African savages. Kunta Kente, the central character in Alex Haley’s novel *Roots*, is an apt contemporary example of the way many Americans, including folklorists, saw Afro-Americans during this time. Newell defended the collecting of the lore of these culturally inferior folk by contending, “The habits and ideas of primitive races include much that it might be thought well to leave unrecorded. But this would be a superficial view. What is needed is not an anthology of customs and beliefs, but a complete representation of the savage mind in its rudeness as well as its intelligence, its licentiousness as well as its fidelity.” Newell did concede, however, that these former Africans were now

Americans, “a race who, for good or ill, are henceforth an indissoluble part of the body politic of the United States.” Representative works that presented Afro-Americans as a culturally inferior group that retained African folkways are Charles C. Jones’s *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast* (1888) and A. M. H. Christensen’s *Afro-American Folklore* (1892). Contemporary scholarship like John Michael Vlach’s study of shotgun houses (1975) and Mary Arnold Twining’s analysis of Sea Island folk culture (1977) provide much more sensitive analysis of African retentions. Patricia Jones-Jackson’s *When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands* (1987) is the most recent published study in this vein.

The 1920s marked the emergence of the concept of Afro-Americans as ex-slaves. Booker T. Washington, the former slave whose rise from poverty to prominence was chronicled in his autobiography *Up from Slavery*, is an excellent example of this more humane image of black folk as the bearers of a “fast-vanishing” slave culture. Important collections of “negro music and song” made during the 1920s include N. G. J. Ballanta’s *Saint Helena Island Spirituals* (1925) and James Weldon Johnson’s *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (1925).

From 1930 through the 1950s, the primary question in Afro-American folklore scholarship centered on the issue of the origins of the spirituals. Folklorists who argued that spirituals evolved out of Afro-American culture cited primarily Melville J. Herskovits’ *Myth of the Negro Past* (1941). Those folklorists who contended that spirituals were based on white southern antecedents often quoted George Pullen Jackson’s books, one of which was titled *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (1933). The debate still rages intermittently, but there is general agreement that Afro-American spirituals, like many other aspects of black culture, show both African retentions and Anglo-American influence.

Folklorists who shared the ex-slave hypothesis also expanded on Newell’s call for collection of animal tales. Two important studies of Afro-American folk speech were made: Thomas W. Talley’s *Negro Folk Rhymes* (1922) and Lorenzo Dow Turner’s *Africanisms in Gullah Dialect* (1949). During the 1930s, slave narratives (i.e., the

recorded memories of former slaves) came to prominence. In 1934 Lawrence D. Reddick convinced the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to sponsor a folklore project “to study the needs and collect the testimony of ex-slaves” in the Ohio River Valley and the lower South. After 1936 similar collecting projects under the Federal Writers’ Project produced *The Negro in Virginia* (1939), *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies Among Georgia Coastal Negroes* (1940), and *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (1945), the last edited by B. A. Botkin. Gladys-Marie Fry’s *Night Riders in Black Folk History* (1975), Kathryn L. Morgan’s *Children of Strangers: The Stories of a Black Family* (1980) and William H. Wiggins, Jr.’s *O Freedom!: Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations* (1987) are some later folklore studies focusing on the slavery experience and its influence.

The 1920s also marked the birth of the concept of Afro-Americans as rural southern peasants who were bearers of a Jim Crow culture. Jim Trueblood, the blues-singing, black Alabama sharecropper in Ralph Ellison’s novel *Invisible Man*, exemplifies this concept. Folktale collections such as Zora Neale Hurston’s *Mules and Men* (1935), J. Mason Brewer’s *The Word on the Brazos* (1953), Richard M. Dorson’s *American Negro Folktales* (1956), and Daryl Cumber Dance’s *Shuckin’ and Jivin’: Folklore from Contemporary Black Americans* (1978) include John trickster tales, preacher tales, and protest humor as well as variants of Newell’s animal tales. *Exorcising Blackness: Historical and Literary Lynching and Burning Rituals* (1984) by Trudier Harris is one of numerous contemporary studies of rural southern folklore in Afro-American literature.

The increasing study of music and song during the 1920s saw the emergence of a vibrant interest in the study of the blues and of ballads. Dorothy Scarborough’s *On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs* (1925), Howard W. Odum’s and Guy B. Johnson’s *The Negro and His Songs* (1925), W. C. Handy’s *Blues: An Anthology* (1926), and Guy B. Johnson’s *John Henry: Tracking Down a Negro Legend* (1929) were important works. John and Alan Lomax, the father-and-son collecting team, discovered balladeer Huddie Ledbetter in 1935 while collecting folksongs at the Angola, Louisiana, prison. The public concert/lecture tours that the Lomaxes arranged for “Leadbelly” after they assisted in securing his parole were a forerunner of such performance events as the Smithsonian Institution’s Festival of American Folklife. History repeated itself in 1964 when Bess Lomax Hawes, the daughter of John Lomax, presented another Afro-American folksinger,

Bessie Jones, in a series of children’s game workshops out of which evolved their book, *Step It Down: Games, Plays, Songs, and Stories from the Afro-American Heritage* (1972).

A third focus of collectors and scholars during the 1920s was Afro-American beliefs and superstitions. In 1926 Newbell Niles Puckett published *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*, the first major folklore study of the subject. In 1931 Zora Neale Hurston published a JAF article entitled “Hoodoo in America,” a subject she returned to in *Mules and Men* (1935) by actually studying with a traditional root doctor in New Orleans. In 1970 Harry M. Hyatt published a two-volume study entitled *Hoodoo-Conjuration-Witchcraft-Rootwork*. Michael Edward Bell’s study of “Afro-American Hoodoo Performance” (1980) and Elon Ali Kullii’s examination of “Hoodoo in Three Urban Areas of Indiana” (1982) are two recent dissertations on the subject.

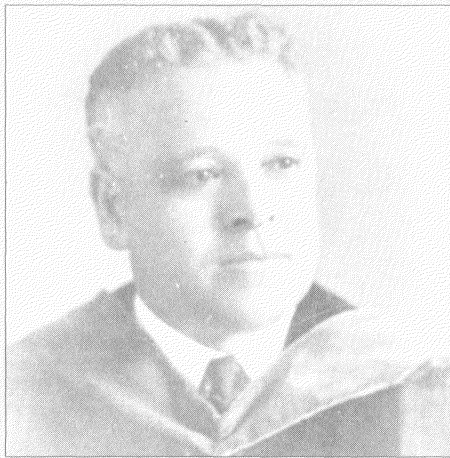
The 1960s ushered in the concept of Afro-Americans as urban dwellers who are bearers of a fluid Hip/Jive/Soul/Fly/Funk/Rap tradition. Bigger Thomas, the angry, alienated protagonist of Richard Wright’s novel *Native Son*, represents this definition of black folk. Roger D. Abrahams was the trailblazer in developing this concept. His 1962 JAF article on the dozens, the black male game of ritual insults, was followed by *Deep Down in the Jungle: Narrative Folklore from the Streets of Philadelphia* (1964), the first major study of the toast, another Afro-American narrative genre that added the Signifying Monkey to the animal-tale menagerie of Brer Rabbit and his friends. Abrahams’ field texts also taught his fellow folklorists that “mother” was only half a word in the black ghetto. Bruce Jackson followed Abrahams’ work with “*Get Your Ass in the Water and Swim Like Me*”: *Narrative Poetry from Black Oral Tradition* (1974). Other scholars studied the urban musical traditions of Afro-Americans. Charles Keil’s *Urban Blues* (1966) and Phyl Garland’s *The Sound of Soul* (1969) are representative of this era’s studies. Black gospel music, the urban offspring of the spirituals, was studied by Tony Heilbut in *The Gospel Sound* (1975) and by Mellonee V. Burnim in her dissertation, “The Black Gospel Music Tradition: Symbols of Ethnicity” (1980). In 1970 Bruce Rosenberg introduced the study of the Afro-American folk sermon with *The Art of the American Folk Preacher*. Rosenberg’s sermon research has been followed by a series of articles as well as by Gerald Davis’ award-winning study, “*I Got the Word in Me and I Can Sing*



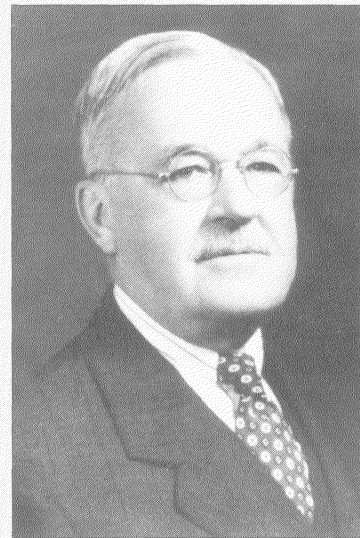
Frank G. Speck, AFS president, 1921-22. Reproduced by permission of the Anthropological Association from Selected Papers from the American Anthropologist, 1960. Not for further reproduction.



Louise Pound, AFS president, 1925-26. Courtesy of Nebraska State Historical Society.



Aurelio M. Espinosa, AFS president, 1923-24. From The Folklore of Spain in the American Southwest: Traditional Spanish Folk Literature in Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado by Aurelio M. Espinosa, edited by J. Manuel Espinosa. Copyright 1985 by the University of Oklahoma Press. Courtesy of University of Oklahoma Press.



Alfred M. Tozzer, AFS president, 1927-28. Courtesy of Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

It, You Know": A Study of the Performed African-American Sermon (1985).

The recent emphasis on Afro-American urban life has been mirrored by studies of Afro-Americans in the popular media and by analysis of black stereotypes. Robert Gireud Cogswell's "Jokes in Blackface: A Discographic Folklore Study" (1984) and Adrienne Lanier Seward's "Early Black Film and Folk Tradition: An Interpretive Analysis of the Use of Folklore in Selected All-Black Cast Feature Films" (1985) are two recent dissertations that reflect this scholarly trend. Simultaneously, media specialists have produced a fast-growing cache of films and videotapes documenting elements of Afro-American culture. William Ferris, who has produced film studies of Afro-American folk art and crafts, folktales, blues, and gospel music, is among the most prolific of the filmmakers. Thanks in no small measure to the computer, folklorists have also been able to answer Newell's call for "a complete bibliography" of Afro-American "folk-lore" with John F. Szwed's and Roger D. Abrahams' two-volume annotated reference work, *Afro-American Folk Culture* (1978), a Publication of the AFS, Bibliographical and Special Series.

As AFS begins its second century, new Afro-American folklorists challenged by Newell's century-

old charge are conducting "comparative research" in the ever-widening subject of Afro-American folklore. In 1967 Gladys-Marie Fry became the first Afro-American to earn a Ph.D. in folklore. Since her graduation from Indiana University's Folklore Institute, Afro-American folklorists have earned Ph.D.'s at Indiana University, the University of Pennsylvania, UCLA, and the University of Texas at Austin as well as at other American colleges and universities. This group of scholars has published numerous articles, notes, and book reviews in *JAF* and other folklore journals. They also regularly referee, deliver and respond to papers, chair panels, and organize caucuses at the annual AFS meetings.

The state of Afro-American folklore scholarship was examined in 1977 at the third annual meeting of the Association of African and African-American Folklorists at Indiana University. These proceedings were published in 1979 as *The Role of Afro-American Folklore in the Teaching of the Arts and the Humanities*, edited by Adrienne Lanier Seward. And Lance Williams produced an hour-long color video documentary of the conference entitled "*What Time Is De Meetin'?*" (1977). Activities such as these will ensure the continued evolution of the concept of "folk" in Afro-American folklore scholarship during the second century of AFS.

NATIVE AMERICANS AS FOLK: COLLECTING AND COMPILING INDIAN TRADITIONS

KEITH CUNNINGHAM

Northern Arizona University

William Wells Newell's prefatory statement in the first issue of *JAF* specifically calls for the collection of the "lore of the Indian Tribes of North America (myths, tales, etc.)." Newell is markedly eloquent on the importance of such collecting, first noting that the collection of the folklore of Indian tribes "will be generally regarded as the most promising and important part of the work to be accomplished" by AFS. He next argues that Indian folklore should be collected because "humanity is a whole, the study of which is rendered possible only by records of every part of the whole," and because "their picturesque and wonderful life will soon be absorbed and lost in the uniformity of the modern world"—a clear allusion to the evolutionary theories of culture popular at the time. He concludes with an almost evangelistic call that "measures may be taken for systematizing and completing collection, by sending competent persons to reside among the tribes for the express purpose of collecting their lore, and by providing means for the publication of these researches."

In the years after Newell's statement, the collection of Indian lore was begun. The work of Anglo-Americans residing among Native Americans, the support of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology and of major American museums, the entry of self-supporting scholars into the field, the development of graduate programs in anthropology and folklore, and the interest of creative writers meant that the job was carried forward more thoroughly than Newell probably could have imagined. Some of the vast body of material that was collected is today of limited value, either because items of folklore were collected with scant attention to context, meaning, or function or because context, meaning, or function were described with inadequate attention to item. But the corpus of Native American folklore is monumental. Much of the history of the developing understanding of man and his traditional arts is rooted in folklore collected from Native Americans, and Native American folklore has frequently engendered major debates over folklore and cultural theory that have had far-reaching and lasting influence.

The first of these debates, ironically enough, was over the evolutionary theory implied in Newell's call for collection. Carrying out that call resulted in a gradual disavowing of his premises. The pioneering work of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Alice Fletcher, Washington Matthews, and James Owen Dorsey had already shown that Indian cultures were diverse and that Indian folklore was still vital and meaningful, and later collectors would further undercut the evolutionary theory of culture.

In Newell's letter of resignation as editor of *JAF* in 1910, he still asserted his evolutionary view ("ancient lore," he said, "has been passing away with swifter and swifter flight"), but he also noted sadly, "from the small body of anthropological students in America during the past decade have been removed many names . . . and the places of these laborers have not as yet been filled." Those places *were* filled after Newell, and they were filled primarily by Franz Boas and his students who did not share Newell's evolutionary views but did share his dedication to collecting Indian folklore. The period approximately from 1900 to 1940 was in retrospect a golden age for Native American folklore scholarship. Besides their dedication to field research with Native Americans, many of Boas' most important students were equally dedicated to folklore theory. Folklore and anthropology went hand in hand, and an incredible number of the group served as presidents of AFS during the period. This era of anthropological folklore was a natural outgrowth of Newell's interests, and it gave birth to a great number of major collections and to some of the most important, widely accepted axioms in folklore research. Boas, for example, used Native American lore to demonstrate that traditional narrative was the autobiography of the tribe, and Ruth Benedict used Native American material to demonstrate that traditional narrative may often be a mirror of culture. Dozens of "isms" of great importance to the study of folklore were developed, field-tested, and modified or discarded. The AFS Memoirs Series from 1898 through 1940 published no less than thirteen collections and analyses of Indian folklore by such anthropological folklorists as Elsie



Edward Sapir, AFS president, 1929-30. Courtesy of Yale University Archives.



Martha W. Beckwith, AFS president, 1932-33. Courtesy of Vassar College Library.

Clews Parsons, Franz Boas, and Morris Edward Opler. Many more were published elsewhere.

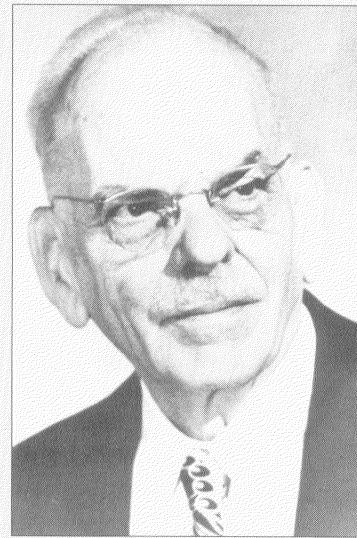
The same period of time saw the reemergence of another approach to the study of folklore which is most often called “literary” but is perhaps better termed “textual.” It is perhaps best exemplified by Stith Thompson and his monumental indices, textual studies, and bibliographies. The difference between the approaches was a matter of method rather than theory (both Boas and Thompson argued eloquently for the diffusionist approach to folklore, claiming that a folktale or other item originated in one place rather than arising at several places independently) but of method. The anthropological folklorists went to the field and collected folklore; the textual folklorists went to the library and compiled folklore. There were often differences of opinion between the two groups, and the anthropological folklorists gradually died or withdrew from AFS and were replaced in anthropology by individuals not interested in folklore.

Gradually AFS became dominated by faculty and students from new academic programs in folklore. Anthropology had become established as an academic discipline in America primarily because of the efforts of Boas and his students, and Richard Dorson and MacEdward Leach followed Thompson in the 1940s in actively seeking the same development and growth for folklore in academe. Dorson deemed Thompson’s indices and textual approach essential to folklore research but also urged a return to field research. The discrediting of evolutionary theory, however, removed much of the urgency from the collecting of Native American folklore, and the new folklorists gave little attention to Indians, preferring instead to investigate previously untapped sources among Anglo-Americans. Yet some studies continued. Tristram P. Coffin’s *Indian Tales of North America* (1961) and Alan Dundes’ monograph on the structural typology of North American Indian folktales and other articles are important studies of Native American folklore based upon compilation, and Dorson himself did some collecting from Native American groups. Nevertheless, the tendency of folklore research to move toward Anglo-American lore and away from Native American lore was general and pervasive after 1950.

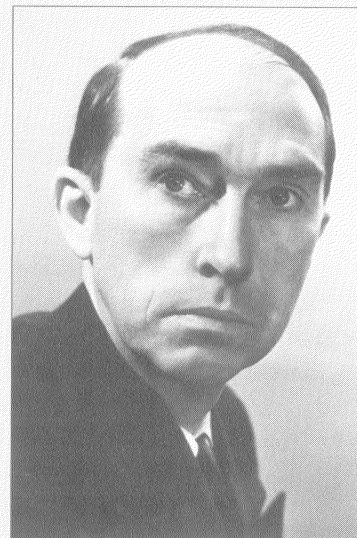
In recent years, however, there has occurred a revival of interest in Native American folklore. A number of major bibliographies such as Rayna Green’s *Native American Women* (1983) have been

published. Barre Toelken has produced an important series of articles on Navajo lore based on field collecting, Margaret Brady's long-term study of Navajo children's lore has resulted in a number of publications, and M. Jane Young has written about Native American material culture. Many public-sector folklorists (Blanton Owen, Tina Bucuvalas, Nicholas Spitzer, and Elaine Thatcher, to name a few) have done extensive fieldwork and interpretation with Native Americans as part of their programs. The recent past, furthermore, has seen increasing attempts by Anglo fieldworkers to conduct research and present public programs in consultation with Native Americans. Also, the anthropological-textual folklore research now being conducted relies partly on past studies for comparative purposes.

As AFS begins its second one hundred years, new laborers are taking up the study of American Indian traditions. Some of them may be textual folklorists who will continue the compiling of Native American folklore, some may be anthropological folklorists who will continue field studies of Native Americans, and some may be anthropological-textual folklorists who will seek to unite the study of lore with the study of the folk and the study of the past with the study of the present. In the next one hundred years the collecting and analysis of the lore of the Indian tribes may again be regarded as promising and important.



Archer Taylor, AFS president, 1935-36; JAF editor, 1941. From Journal of American Folklore.



Stith Thompson, AFS president, 1937-39. Courtesy of Indiana University Audio-Visual Center.

THE FOLK ABROAD: AMERICAN FOLKLORISTS OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

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When W. W. Newell prefaced the first issue of *JAF* with his “On the Field and Work of a Journal of American Folk-Lore,” he indicated that one of the reasons for forming a society for the study of folklore was “(1) For the collection of the fast-vanishing remains of Folk-Lore in America, namely. . . (d) Lore of French Canada, Mexico, etc.” This wording indicates that his interests extended beyond the boundaries of the United States, but only within North America. Indeed, similar wording occurs in the 1982 AFS Report of the Committee on Publication: “The American Folk-Lore Society was founded in 1888 for the purpose of collecting and publishing folk-lore—including myths, superstitions, legends, and customs—of America.” In point of fact, American folklorists’ scholarly research outside the boundaries of the United States did begin within the hemisphere, although it included all of North and South America, not just the contiguous regions of Mexico and French Canada. Within a very few years, however, members of AFS had moved far beyond this original interest in the Americas to study the folk from many different cultures around the world. They also adopted a uniquely American concept of “the folk” that has prevailed since the turn of the century.

Americans had certainly been traveling abroad and studying other peoples long before the formation of AFS in 1888. Records from that era, however, are an uneven mixture of letters, travel diaries, and essays from missionaries and military officers; novels, short fiction, and letters from writers; and even a few essays and monographs by linguists and ethnologists. To cite two very different examples, Horatio Hale, later to be elected AFS president in 1893, began his research sailing around the world with the United States Exploring Expedition in 1838 and produced *Ethnography and Philology* (1846) based on his observations. In contrast, Samuel Clemens, another charter member of AFS, originally wrote *The Innocents Abroad* (1869) as humorous letters to be published serially back home, a far different means of commenting upon other cultures. In general, these early reports were heavily influenced by European concep-

tions of culture and folklore and thus are records of discrete, “quaint” customs from different, often “primitive” cultures. (In Twain’s letters, the Americans are the primitive culture, set loose upon the dignified and civilized European peoples.)

With the formation of AFS, scholars at first considered the differences and similarities in folklore within the Americas and offered theories for their origins. One pertinent example is W. W. Newell’s interest in voodoo, manifest in “Myths of Voodoo Worship and Child Sacrifice in Hayti” in the first issue of *JAF*. Here Newell denies the existence of voodoo and cannibalism in Haiti, arguing that “the alleged sect and its supposed rites have, in all probability, no real existence, but are a product of popular imagination.” Nevertheless, he traces the sect back to the European Waldensians and argues against any African origins for the reported Haitian rites. Always interested in more data—although steadfastly unconvinced by any theory relating voodoo to Africa—Newell continued to publish accounts of voodoo rituals from a wide variety of sources, including accounts from Haiti, Santo Domingo, and even the newspapers of New Orleans.

Similarly, the publication of Joel Chandler Harris’ *Uncle Remus: His Song and Sayings* (1880) began a debate on the origins of those popular animal tales. Major J. W. Powell (then of the Smithsonian, later of the Bureau of American Ethnology) argued that they originated with North American Indians, then spread to slaves. Yet Herbert H. Smith and others had discovered similar animal tales among South American Indians at nearly the same time. Harris himself argued for an African origin for many of the tales, and in “The Diffusion of Popular Tales,” Professor T. F. Crane supported Harris’ theory. Throughout these early days of organized folklore study, American scholars, like their European counterparts, treated folklore as isolated objects to be studied primarily to determine their places of origin and age in the Americas.

American folklore scholarship advanced significantly when researchers began to acknowledge the importance

of other languages and cultures. As folklorists learned foreign languages and lived in other societies, they began to abandon the hierarchical theory of culture and discover complexities in other peoples. Heli Chatelain, for example, produced the first volume in the AFS Memoirs series, *Folk-Tales of Angola* (1894), a collection of fifty animal tales published in the original Ki-mbundu and on facing pages in English. Other monographs from North America followed, including Alcée Fortier's collection of Louisiana French animal tales and Charles L. Edwards' book of Bahamian animal tales and songs. In each case, the work was published in both the original language and dialect and in English. Newell praised Chatelain's work in an essay in volume 7 of *JAF*, pointing out that

the collector and editor of these tales is not one of the adventurers who, for the sake of curiosity, love of excitement, or personal ambition, has headed or accompanied a military expedition; in his volume we do not have the crude acquisitions of a visitor ignorant of the language, conceptions, and necessities of the people, on whom he is accustomed to look as a superior being, *de haut en bas*.

Newell went on to point out the special significance and timeliness of Chatelain's study: "To citizens of the United States, the admission to civic rights of descendants of African barbarians—a step without parallel—makes ethnological problems matters of the most practical concern. . . light from whatever source, on the essential mental and moral qualities of Africans, is most welcome."

Chatelain followed up Newell's enthusiastic endorsement with several essays on Africa, including "Some Causes of the Retardation of African Progress" (1895), in which he recalled his own change in attitude:

When I began my studies (which happened to be chiefly in the German school), popular ethnologic opinion placed the negro race at the bottom of the scale of human races and the Germanic at the top. The negro was considered to be an imperfect human being, the residue of an unsuccessful attempt of Nature at man-making, a clog in the wheel of progressive evolution which Nature would have to eliminate in order to make room for the Germanic race, in whom alone she had realized her ideal of human kind. I must confess that when I first went to Africa, ten years ago, I was myself so imbued with the prevailing prejudice that it was a continual surprise to meet so many indications of the African negro's similarity to our own white humanity. Not



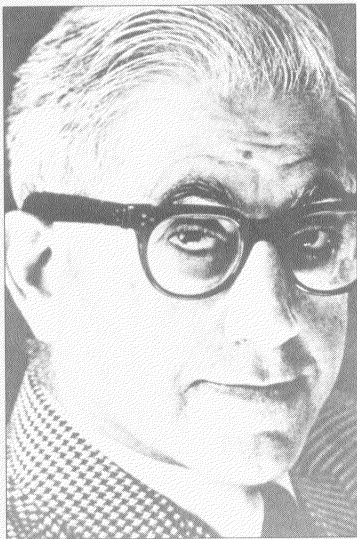
A. Irving Hollowell, AFS president, 1940-41. Courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Archives.



Harold W. Thompson, AFS president, 1942. Courtesy of Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Cornell University Libraries.



Gladys A. Reichard, AFS president, 1943; JAF editor, 1940. Courtesy of Museum of Northern Arizona.



Benjamin A. Botkin, AFS president, 1944. From *Journal of American Folklore*.

that I overlooked its vices—which are human—or underrated its peculiar weaknesses, but these I found to be traceable to the difference in religion, knowledge, and environment rather than to constitutional inferiority. To-day public opinion in Germany and elsewhere is largely reversing its judgment.

If Chatelain's work led American folklorists toward appreciation of foreign peoples and cultures, it appears to contemporary reader quite limited in several other respects. The collection, like many others before and after, contains no contextual data. The reader is presented with texts of animal tales with no real sense of who told them or to whom, when and where they were told, etc.—all the social and physical contextual information which can illuminate the function and importance of the particular artistic behavior recorded. Further Chatelain's brief introductory description of Angola covers everything from physical geography to tribal names, but there is no specific data about the community in which Chatelain lived, his means of meeting natives, or his relationships with them. In fact, Chatelain admits that the bulk of the tales come from a former pupil and friend named Jeremiah, who accompanied Chatelain to America and even typed out the tales for him while living in New Jersey in 1890-91. Regrettably, Chatelain provides little sense of the personality of Jeremiah or any other narrator of the tales.

If early studies of foreign cultures failed to include the personal data and human relationships of performers and audiences within a community, more recent studies have recognized this problem and succeeded brilliantly in shifting the focus. Henry Glassie's recent *Passing the Time in Ballymenone* (1982), for example, is a holistic study of an Ulster village. Glassie includes numerous texts collected there, but he uses them only as partial records of the interaction of the community members. To represent the community's dynamics more fully, Glassie recorded traditional histories and other materials outside strict definitions of folklore. As a result, a reading audience is able to visualize the community and its performers, the region and its ways of life. Glassie acknowledges his expansion of—or rather, challenge to—the traditional conception of folklore that focuses on the “lore” in asserting,

I have exploited the synthetic power of my discipline, folklore, to form a unified program for the

study of human beings. Its base is the manifest reality of the individual, the society, and the world. Its thrust is that what we call folklore (or art or communication) is the central fact of what we call culture, and culture is the central fact of what we call history, and that people, as history's force, create the phenomena we study whatever name we give our discipline.

Who are the folk abroad? Americans began by looking only to neighboring countries to discover from where texts had reached the United States and when they had come. As Chatelain indicated in 1894, however, American folklore had already passed the stage of recording survivals of "savage," "barbarian," or "primitive" groups. Thus the "folk" abroad were not distinguished by economic, social, or educational class, but were simply *not* Americans. To be sure, American folklorists did study Canada, Mexico and other areas of this hemisphere first. But American collectors found the "folk" in many different ways and places. Chatelain was, among other things, a language instructor and business representative in Angola. John G. Bourke collected a great deal of Mexican folklore, including an entire text of "Los Pastores," while stationed in the Southwest with the United States Army fighting American Indians. More recently, American folklorists have pursued carefully designed fieldwork projects abroad, including Peter Seitel in Tanzania, Roger Abrahams in the West Indies, and Glassie in Northern Ireland. American folklorists have found the "folk" in all cultures and all communities, and they have begun to make human beings the true focus of their studies.



Melville J. Herskovits, AFS president, 1945. Courtesy of Northwestern University Archives.



Joseph M. Carrière, AFS president, 1946-47. Courtesy of Office of University Relations, University of Virginia.

THE FOLK AS OCCUPATIONAL GROUP: FROM THE COW CAMP TO THE SHOP FLOOR

ROBERT McCARL

Idaho Commission on the Arts

The first article in *JAF* that dealt explicitly with occupational folklore was Major Wilde's philological piece on the jargon of professional thieves (1889). Editor William Wells Newell's perception of folklore as the survival of ethnic or regional culture in mainstream American society encouraged the collection of occupational jargon in long lists that reflected a prosaic world hidden from mainstream society. It was not until 1910 that John Avery Lomax, in search of indigenous American balladry, published his *Cowboy Songs and Frontier Ballads* and the formal study of occupational folklore began. Lomax' collection of the ballads and folksongs of buckaroos anticipated the particular demands of fieldwork in occupational folklore today: the need to document the words and skills of work that shape specific subcultures in our society and the responsibility to present that world to both academic and public audiences.

The vast natural resources of North America during the frontier era demanded new answers to the challenges of human survival and work specialization. John A. Kouwenhoven describes the "American vernacular experience" as the abandonment of European work technologies in favor of uniquely American tools and techniques. The double-bit axe used for felling and brush clearing, the mass-produced repeating rifle that made firearms available to everyone, and shallow draft steamboats designed to navigate the changeable waters of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers exemplify this response. Lomax, Phillips Barry, Fannie Eckstrom, Mary Smith, Franz Rickaby, and N. Howard "Jack" Thorp set about chronicling the songs and stories of these vernacular workers in the woods, on the sea, and in the cattle camps. As they compiled their material, they also began to publish in regional journals, to write for popular publications, and to develop methods of fieldwork that reflected the realities of the work experience on the American landscape. Phillips Barry, for example, realized that the song text lost much of its meaning without musical notation. His desire to record both "tune and text" anticipated contemporary concerns for folklore as performance and for more complete textual and contex-

tual information. Jack Thorp's participant-observation resulted in ethnographies of cattle camp life that still stand as models of occupational description and that anticipate the pioneering work of Mody C. Boatright, another regional collector whose *Folklore of the Oil Industry* (1963) remains a classic in occupational literature. In seeking the songs and stories of work and in attempting to document regional identity, these early occupational folklorists developed a vernacular approach to the study of tradition that included an appraisal of the changing ways of life that had generated these expressions and techniques.

In the 1920s, George Korson, a Pennsylvania newspaperman, became interested in the songs and stories of the anthracite miners in his state. His first book, *Songs and Ballads of the Anthracite Miner* (1927), established the mine as an industrial site, with the miners perceived as members of a folk community isolated from contemporary American society, living in a semi-primitive state and exhibiting a "folk imagination." Korson (like most occupational folklorists) continued to spend a large amount of time in the field, and in his later publications, *Coal Dust on the Fiddle* (1943) and *Black Rock* (1960), he began to provide a more ethnographic context about changing work techniques in the mines while abandoning genre studies of songs and stories for a more broadly based view of occupational experience. As a transitional figure in occupational folklore, Korson moved from searching for cultural survivals among peasant-like workers to recognizing the complexity of industrial folklife.

There are two aspects of George Korson's contribution to the study of occupational folklore that require some elaboration: his ability to present miners and their lore to the public in a variety of folk-festival settings and the apolitical nature of his publications. Korson first presented workers at the Pennsylvania Folklife Festival in 1935. He felt that the festival setting would provide encouragement to the miners/performers who could benefit from the positive display of work traditions in a public context. He also challenged festival organizers who sought to popularize and commercialize these

expressive forms by demanding that the miners be presented as skilled workers who performed traditions from their community rather than as singers and poets who happened to be miners. In taking this stance, Korson anticipated the need to balance private expression and public performance that continues to concern all folklorists who present work and other traditions to the public. Korson also avoided any political or trade-union rhetoric in his publications, although many of the disaster ballads and martyrdoms described in the lore he collected grew directly out of the United Mine Workers' struggle for recognition and fair working conditions. He carefully let the lore speak for itself, and although he maintained a very amicable working relationship with the UMW throughout his career, he always considered his role that of a collector and chronicler rather than union advocate.

The impact of a particular ideology on occupational folklore was most dramatically reflected in the concepts of social responsibility found in the works of Ben Botkin and Archie Green. Botkin's experiences as an editor for the Federal Writers' Project in the 1930s led him to recognize the power inherent in publishing the stories and experiences of industrial labor. Botkin (and his contemporaries Herbert Halpert, Alan Lomax, and Charles Seeger) sought to present this lore to as many people as possible through books, articles, and dramatizations so that the strength and the pathos of the occupational experience could educate the general public regarding the realities (positive and negative) of American life. Botkin's collections were published in "treasuries," with the bulk of the occupational material appearing in *A Treasury of American Folklore* (1944) and (with Alvin Harlow) *A Treasury of Railroad Folklore* (1953).

Archie Green's *Only a Miner* was published in 1972, but the issues it raised and the background of its author suggest a linkage to the impulses of Botkin and his contemporaries that continues to shape research in occupational folklore today. As a former shipwright and union activist, Green combined an interest in industrial craftsmanship with an insider's view of the world of work. His book chronicles the role played by recorded music as it actually is received and reconstituted in mining communities. In so doing he illustrates how folklore both shapes and reflects an occupational world view that at once is political, is concerned with craft and skill, and is in direct opposition to the occupational culture of owners and managers. Like Korson, Green also fought for the



Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin, AFS president, 1948; JAF editor, 1942-46. Courtesy of Indiana University Archives.



Thelma G. James (right), AFS president, 1949, with Emelyn Gardner. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.

accurate presentation of workers' skills and lore in public contexts, and largely through his efforts the Smithsonian Institution has included occupational folklore in the Working Americans section of the Festival of American Folklife since the late sixties. Green has provided a link between the craft traditions of organized labor and the academic study of occupational folklore that continues to exert a strong influence on those conducting research in this field.

Perhaps the most influential comparatist and scholar in the field of occupational folklore was the late Wayland D. Hand. In an article entitled "American Occupational and Industrial Folklore: The Miner" (1969), Hand traced the study of mining traditions throughout the western world and called for additional ethnological comparisons of occupational traditions. Hand's exhaustive comparative research and his initiation of a dialogue about occupational tradition across cultures provide a potential for more global studies of work cultures and their expressive dimensions than has yet been achieved. Other scholarly works in occupational folklore such as Horace Beck's *Folklore and the Sea* (1973), Tristram Coffin's and Hennig Cohen's *Folklore from the Working Folk of America* (1973), Betty Messenger's *Picking Up the Linen Threads* (1975), Edward Ives' *Joe Scott: Woodsman Songmaker* (1964)—as well as Ives' other fine biographies of worker-poets—and Patrick Mullen's *I Heard the Old Fisherman Say* (1978) reflect the comparatist and scholarly treatment of occupational traditions so thoroughly begun by Hand. Hand also collected and annotated hundreds of occupational customs and beliefs that form a portion of perhaps his most impressive legacy to students of occupational folklore, *The Encyclopedia of American Folk Custom*, now being assembled at UCLA.

In 1978, Robert H. Byington edited a special issue of *Western Folklore* entitled "Working Americans: Contemporary Approaches to Occupational Folklife," which applied new theories of folklore as communication to the study of work culture. In that issue, Robert McCarl, Roger D. Abrahams, Jack Santino, Archie Green, and Byington illustrate the significance of studying occupational folklife and the entire range of expressive behavior in work settings from the techniques required to survive and advance on the job to the customs marking passage through the work culture to the verbal arts that comment on all aspects of the work experience, both on and off the job. The

model of occupational folklore that forms the basis for that collection of essays was derived from fieldwork designed to produce public presentations of work at the Smithsonian's 1976 Bicentennial Festival of American Folklife. The participation of trade unionists and industrial craftspeople with folklorists in the development of the skills demonstrations and narrative workshops provided an intensity of meaning for the large-scale study and presentation of occupational folklife. At a time when computerization and robotics were causing massive changes in industry and the constituencies of organized labor were shifting to compensate, this celebration of skill, custom, and verbal art in the workplace provided a glimpse into a historical plateau of American labor that will not occur again until the post-cybernetic age.

A new generation of folklorists in the occupational field combine academic training with an ability to assist work groups in increasingly sophisticated presentations of their lore. There is some ideological disagreement among folklorists who study the workplace regarding the contextual frame of their investigations. McCarl and Green, for example, feel that the face-to-face culture on the shop floor should provide the focus for study and control of lore that may be damaging if it is presented outside the work group, while folklorists like Michael Owen Jones and Richard Raspa feel that the entire work organization or corporation, including management, should frame the study of occupational folklore in the hope that knowledge of all subcultures will improve communications between groups in the workplace. These two divergent approaches to occupational folklife (the "shop-floor" folklorists and those who maintain an "organizational" approach) reflect the importance of careful documentation and presentation of occupational folklore in a capitalistic society. Both approaches require the combination of fieldwork and analytical skills generated in the academy with the ability to present collected material to audiences outside of the workplace. As long as the dialogue between these two points of view continues in full view of the people being presented, the study of occupational folklore will mature both as a part of our discipline and as an important aspect of public education.

Occupational folklorists began this century interested in cowboy songs as examples of indigenous folk-

lore forms that were considered unique to the American experience. Today Hal Cannon and the Western Folklife Center present cowboy poetry to thousands of Westerners at the Cowboy Poetry Gathering in Elko, Nevada. Concerns about the possible commercialization of this traditional form and the need to keep cowboy verse under the control of the ranch poets themselves occupy the time, thought, and effort of most of the folklorists who participate in this large public event. Like our predecessors in the field, the occupational folklorists of this generation must accept the responsibility for increasing the public's and the academy's understanding of work tradition, while at the same time ensuring the cultural integrity and control of these traditions as they enter the public arena and ultimately the marketplace. The challenge for the next generation of occupational folklorists will be in assisting diverse members of American work cultures from a variety of ethnic, gender, and political backgrounds to find new ways to present and interpret their work traditions and cultural concerns to the American public.



Ann H. Gayton, AFS president, 1950. Courtesy of Robert F. G. Spier.



Francis Lee Utley, AFS president, 1951-52. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.

WOMENFOLK

SUSAN KALČIK

The Smithsonian Institution

In the introduction to her collection of Dakota folklore (1849), Mary Henderson Eastman says of her female informants: “I had been told that Indian women gossiped and stole; that they were filthy and troublesome. Yet I could not despise them: they were wives and mothers—God had planted the same feelings in their hearts as in mine.” I have reflected on this quotation from time to time since Bill McNeil recommended Eastman to me when I was exploring the relationship between gender and fieldwork. It reminds me that the study of folklore is never completely apolitical or objective and that the folklorist and the folk are closely tied. This relationship is especially clear in the case of women, for how society and the discipline of folklore in America have viewed women in the past century has affected both the study of women as a group and the women who chose to study folklore.

As students of the history of American folklore such as McNeil, Richard Reuss, Susan Dwyer-Schick, and Katherine Neustadt have pointed out, the discipline of folklore is unusual among the many scientific disciplines that formed at the turn of the century in America because from its beginning, it included women in its scholarly ranks. Ten percent of the founding members of AFS were women, and women also figured significantly in affiliated local folklore societies. In 1905 AFS elected Alice Fletcher as its president during a period of pervasive fear of feminization. It was one of only three national scientific societies to elect a woman president before 1940. And, in fact, six other women held the AFS presidency between 1919 and 1950. American folklore is also unusual because it began to study women very early, as we see from Isabel Cushman Chamberlain’s 1899 bibliography of “folk-lore relating to women.”

This advanced attitude toward women on the part of folklore was a relative one, and the discipline still fit the pattern of limited women’s participation in science in the first half of the twentieth century that Margaret Rossiter has outlined so clearly. She shows that in all the sciences in America, women found it difficult to get an education, especially in graduate school, and to get jobs. They were generally relegated to areas of science consid-

ered of less significance and to work that was mundane or supportive of the work of male scholars. Their work and recognition often depended on the sponsorship of strong male scholars.

Women fared well as subjects and scholars in folklore studies for a number of reasons: it was a small, somewhat marginal field with a slow growth rate that needed women as members and as financial resources. Folklore could have been considered a “feminine” discipline in the evolutionary view of the time. And Victorian society’s view of women ultimately worked in women’s favor in this instance, particularly because of the influence of anthropology on folklore. By the late nineteenth century, women were winning the struggle to enter educational institutions, but as the sciences became more professional, a countermovement perceived women as amateurs and thus threats to the prestige of the newly forming disciplines and societies. In the evolutionary view of society, women were lesser creatures, and their proper sphere was the domestic. Women generally accepted this view, although they did expand that domestic sphere to include service to the wider community, and it was believed that women’s special contribution to society lay in the direction of philanthropic and charitable works. This view of women’s place harmonized with some scientific disciplines, and one of these was anthropology, which was to influence the direction of folklore until the 1940s.

It was thought by some influential male scholars that women had a unique contribution to make in anthropology, particularly in ethnology and the study of women and children. Impressed by the joint work of James and Matilda Stevenson among the Zuni, Edward B. Tylor, in an address to the (all-male) Anthropological Society of Washington in 1884, pointed out that the women of an Indian tribe might reveal information that could not be gleaned from men and that might not be disclosed to the male scholar. He urged men to “avail themselves thankfully” of women’s help. Influential anthropologists like F. W. Putnam and Franz Boas not only encouraged women to enter the field but found ways to support them. Women, too, accepted this defi-

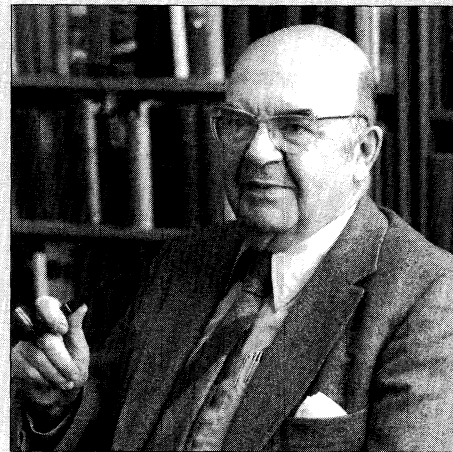
nition of their role. The Women's Anthropological Society (formed in 1885 because the ASW would not accept women) saw women—in the evolutionary terms of the time—as “mothers” who could understand the “infancy” of “primitive” cultures. This acceptance of their role solved a problem for male fieldworkers who, because of the strict segregation of the sexes in Victorian society, found it difficult to research in the field the domestic issues they ignored at home. For the women, too, a problem was solved, for if they could not leave the domestic sphere and travel to study distant groups, there was still work for them. In the words of the Women's Anthropological Society, “What state, what town, what household is destitute of choicest material for our work?” In the end, however, women anthropologists and folklorists did not limit themselves to the domestic sphere or collect only women's and children's lore. So the prevailing attitudes toward women in the period during which AFS began allowed for the study of women and also made room for women students of folklore. Without this acceptance of women folklorists, the collection of data from women would have been far poorer.

And data *was* collected from women, as we see by bibliographies compiled by Chamberlain, Claire Farrer and Susan Kalčík, and Francis de Caro. Chamberlain (1899) describes eighty-one works of folklore about women published during the first ten years of AFS. Of these, sixteen are clearly the work of Americans, six by women, seven by men, three unidentifiable. Their subjects include household superstitions, signs, courtship and marriage, motherhood, children, women in religion, Native American women and their societies, ceremonials, songs, religion, two studies of individual Indian women, things said about women by men, and O. T. Mason's *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*. These are subjects and studies that fit the prevailing view of women at the turn of the century, and that view did not change much in the following years.

In 1973 Farrer and Kalčík surveyed *JAF* for articles about women, including reviews of books that fit that category. In 1975 Farrer argued that ninety years of women's folklore in *JAF* concentrated on charms, quaint customs and beliefs, home remedies, retelling of folktales, witch stories, play-party lore, games, marriage customs, birth practices, women's roles in various societies, and stereotypes of women. She saw this trend mirrored in other folklore publications over the history of the discipline, although there are exceptions in works like Ruth Bunzel's study of women artists in the south-



William R. Bascom, AFS president, 1953-54. Courtesy of Mrs. Berta Bascom.



Herbert Halpert, AFS president, 1955-56. Courtesy of Herbert Halpert.

western Pueblos and Zora Neale Hurston's works on black women verbal artists. Farrer—and later Marta Weigle, Rosan Jordan and Susan Kalčik, and Sheila Webster—found much of women's lore dismissed as minor or nonlegitimate, generally reserved for the private domain of hearth and home, and less interesting than male genres or performance. This attitude was mirrored in the culture of the Victorian period, when women were perceived as backward-looking and as conservationists of the past. When she collected folklore from immigrant Greek women in the 1930s, for example, Dorothy Lee discovered that her informants were happy to share with her customs and beliefs that their men had told them were valueless in America and best forgotten. Other women have also found that what they conserve is not valued by their community.

In the Funk & Wagnalls *Dictionary of Folklore* (1949) the entry for "woman" begins: "It is not linguistic accident that the name of the human race is *Homo* or man, and woman is thus automatically placed more or less in a race apart. In a good many creation stories, woman is created as an afterthought." In the study of folklore, too, woman was an afterthought—invisible or ignored, underrated, misassessed, sought as an informant mainly when she was the only one available, seen to possess a limited range of folk culture. The bias in the conceptualization, application, and interpretation of data collected in folklore and anthropology during these years neither allowed for a woman's world view nor granted it any value. Culture was what men said it was, and women were an afterthought to be consulted on certain domestic topics. Folklore theories and models were formed from this perspective. The bias affected, for example, the defining of genres of women's folklore, which were identified only when they fit the prevailing image of women and were generally given unflattering names such as "old wives' tales" and "gossip." Women's genres rarely merited in-depth study. A major folkloric work on quilting, for example, has never been done despite the fact that it is one of the most persistent and pervasive art forms of women in America. Whole areas of women's lore went unnamed and thus unstudied.

This bias was shared, for the most part, by folk and folklorist, by men and women. Women were largely seen in men's terms, as men saw them. Thus, despite the 1,600 selected items on women's folk culture in de Caro's bibliography (1983), women have rarely been viewed as a folk group and never as an important one. They were seen either as *part* of a significant folk group (Native American, black, ethnic, regional) or as *womenfolk*, a

group that had only limited and trivial shared lore. They were such an afterthought that in the index to *JAF* published in 1958, "woman" is not listed.

Women were not only invisible in the folk community but for a time threatened to vanish from the ranks of folklorists as well. The sciences and the academy in the United States had become increasingly masculinized after the turn of the century. Concepts of prestige, status, and professionalism were closely tied with masculinity, and the sciences were viewed as the exclusive domain of men, particularly white men. The tenure system, antinepotism rules, and other academic employment and promotion practices kept nonelite groups such as blacks, Jews, Catholics, and women in marginal positions, in the less prestigious institutions, or out of academe altogether. Women's work and women's areas of work were given low prestige and visibility. Women were underrepresented in the high ranks of professional societies and among prize winners, and it was unusual for even the most exceptional of them (such as Ruth Benedict) to be named department chairs. Women, especially married women who were perceived as taking jobs from men with families, were not welcome in science or on campuses. Those who chose scholarly careers tended to be overqualified, underrecognized, and characterized by personal stoicism. The depression of the 1930s and the post-World War II glut of young men on campuses increased social pressure to hire men first during the forties and fifties.

Anthropology and folklore had previously been aberrant among academic disciplines in their inclusion of women in considerable numbers and with some degree of power in their societies. With Boas' death in 1942 and the ascendancy of the literary folklorists, though, the discipline of folklore began to look more like its fellows. After Ann Gayton's term as AFS president in 1950, no woman held that post until Ellen Stekert's presidency in 1977. No woman has edited *JAF* since Katharine Luomala in 1952-1953. Gayton and Luomala were, in reality, holdovers from the earlier era of women's relative acceptance in the discipline. From the late forties to the late fifties, few women entered the discipline, and women who entered the field in the sixties found their scholarship less readily rewarded than did the men of the same generation.

Until recently, women folklorists in the twentieth century generally accepted the fact that academia was a male domain and that those who chose to enter it were forced in some ways to abandon their identity as women. But when they adopted "male" behavior, they

were often denigrated as unfeminine and aggressive. Stereotypical anecdotes still told about forceful women like Elsie Clews Parsons and Louise Pound demonstrate this. But others who chose a more “feminine” demeanor were simply overlooked. A. H. Krappe’s *The Science of Folklore* (1930) is mentioned in folklore classes, even though it is obsolete, but Martha Beckwith’s *Folklore in America* (1931) is ignored. In a discipline in which fieldwork guides described woman as “wife to aid to collecting” and urged the folklorist to “know your man,” both the woman folklorist and womenfolk were an afterthought.

In the early 1970s, two folklorists published studies based on fieldwork done in the sixties on women folk performers. These books were Roger Abrahams’ autobiography of Almeda Riddle (1970) and Bess Lomax Hawes’ collaboration with Bessie Jones (1972). Both of these were scholarly, sensitive explorations of folk repertoires and esthetics from the performer’s point of view, set in the context of the tradition-bearer’s life story. Both treated their informants with the respect due colleagues. Both dealt with women and their folklore.

In Américo Paredes and Ellen Stekert’s *The Urban Experience and Folk Tradition* (1971), Paredes notes that one effect of moving the study of folklore to the city is to make folklorists reassess their “theoretical and methodological equipment.” The folk, he says, are no longer isolated from the scholar and indeed have a considerable interest and stake in the study. And he wonders if the fabled objectivity of the folklorist of the past may not have been due to the no-longer-feasible separation of folk and folklorist. Paredes’ and Richard Bauman’s *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore* (1972) argued for a performance-based definition of folklore that stressed process rather than artifact. In that volume Kenneth Goldstein “laid the groundwork for a comprehensive study of the place of folklore in the life of every individual,” not just those who performed the most noticeable genres; Dan Ben-Amos argued for a new emphasis on the context of folklore; and Bauman urged us to reexamine the folk group in terms of a “shared esthetic of spoken language.” These and other contemporary publications presaged a revolution in folklore theory and methodology. They argued for changes in the definition of folklore and the folk group, and they took great strides to close the distance between folklorist and folk. These changes had great implications for a group which was involved in another revolution: women.

In the late 1950s and 1960s women were entering academic life in greater and greater numbers, but they were



Wayland D. Hand, AFS president, 1957-58; JAF editor, 1947-51. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.



William N. Fenton, AFS president, 1959-60. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.



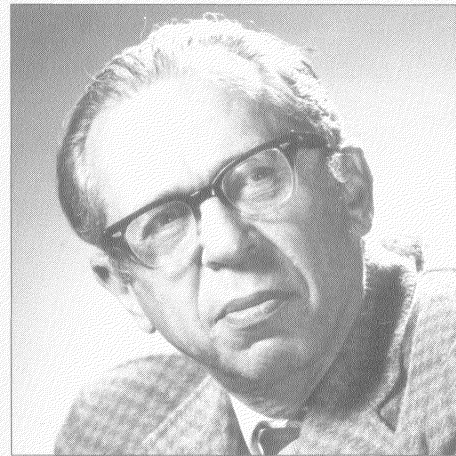
MacEdward Leach, AFS president, 1961-62. From Journal of American Folklore.



Samuel P. Bayard, AFS president, 1965-66. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.



Melville Jacobs, AFS president, 1963-64. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.



Richard M. Dorson, AFS president, 1967-68; JAF editor, 1959-63. Courtesy of Indiana University Audio-Visual Center.

quite different from the women scholars who had generally accepted their subordinate lot in a male world. Women had been entering the work world, if not the professions, since the postwar consumer economy began to demand their labor, and they were growing impatient with inequities they found there. They and women veterans of the social movements of the sixties were sharing theories and techniques that led to the women's movement. The question of women's place in our society was being debated in many forums. Academic disciplines such as history, literature, and anthropology began to develop and be informed by feminist theory.

These experiences touched many of the women entering folklore during the 1960s and 1970s. In some folklore departments women students found women scholars and role models with impressive international reputations like Linda Dégh and Elli Köngäs-Maranda. They also read the works of earlier women scholars, although in limited quantities since texts were still dominated by the writings of men. Another factor that separated this generation of folklorists from earlier ones was that many of them came from nonelite backgrounds, from the very groups that had been largely excluded for so long from mainstream academia: Jews, Catholics, blacks, Hispanics, middle European ethnics. Many of these students began to turn their attention to their own folk cultures.

In the early 1970s this revolution began to touch folklore studies directly. In 1971 AFS established a Committee on the Status of Women, and in 1972 its members gave their own reports, adding a new dimension to the annual business meeting. That same year, Bess Lomax Hawes chaired a panel on "Folklore and Women," and Camilla Collins and Rayna Green arranged a meeting that culminated in the formation of the Women's Caucus of the AFS (eventually the Women's Section), which first met at the 1973 Annual Meeting. Also in 1973, the first issue of the *Folklore Feminist Communication* (later renamed *Folklore Women's Communication*) was published; a double session on women's folklore, "Women in Groups," was organized by Claire Farrer; and Rayna Green and Karen Baldwin offered what seems to have been the first academic course in women's folklore at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

In 1973 an issue of *JAF* was published with a pink cover, apparently in honor of the publication of Robbie Johnson's article on a Texas madam. Other publications—Farrer's *Women and Folklore* (1975), Weigle's "Women as Verbal Artists" (1978), and Jordan and Kalčík's *Women's Folklore, Women's Culture* (initiated in the

late 1970s but not published until 1985)—marked a new wave of scholarship focusing on women's folklore. In 1978 some folklorists boycotted the Annual Meeting because it was held in a state that did not ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, and AFS later adopted a resolution to avoid such meeting places in the future. The following spring a Women and Folklore Conference was held at the University of Pennsylvania, a conference arranged in large part by students there as well as other volunteers. Köngäs-Maranda delivered the keynote address, asking the question: "Does the Difference Make a Difference?"

The early 1980s were even more filled with the work and accomplishments of women's folklore than the 1970s. From its inception the Women's Caucus/Section set itself the task of encouraging the study of women's folklore and organizing panels for its presentation at the Annual Meeting, as well as urging the equal representation of women in folklore offices and honors. These efforts lessened somewhat as women became part of the mainstream of the discipline and its society, due in part to a major reorganization of AFS that took place during the seventies. In 1985, Linda Pershing, Patricia Sawin, Suzy Seriff, Beverly Stoeltje, Kay Turner, and Jane Young issued a call for papers to be delivered at a Feminist Retrospective on Folklore and Folkloristics held at the 1986 AFS Annual Meeting. This was the first time in the history of AFS that a special program was held during the usual meeting.

As we examine the papers presented in the first sessions on woman's folklore in 1972 and 1973 and in the many papers and publications since then, it is fair to ask what separates them from earlier works on women. Critics who looked only for new genres and theories in these works missed the point of what they were trying to accomplish and of what was new about them. The first job that scholars in women's folklore saw as necessary was that of filling in the missing pieces—examining woman's lore, woman's world view and esthetic, woman's perspective on folklore and culture with all the theoretical and methodological tools available and with the seriousness due a worthy area of folklore scholarship. The ultimate aim, as Jordan and Kalčík expressed it, was to "enlarge our view of the world, enabling us to appreciate more fully the complexities of human culture as seen from multiple perspectives." The Feminist Retrospective's 1986 call for a critique of folklore from feminist perspectives may not be startling in light of our discipline's readiness to borrow from other disciplines and philosophies, but in the 1980s it is still relevant to ask that we "reex-

amine the old materials in light of different perspectives regarding women's importance." It is this new perspective on women as a folk group and on women's folklore that is revolutionary.

It is not accident that folklore studies began to focus on the expressive culture of everyday life, on the folklore of "everyfolk," at the same time that large numbers of women entered the discipline. It is no accident that the distance between folk and folklorist began to shrink as women began to examine their own culture. Folklore, like other scientific disciplines, has been "feminized" in

the sense that Elinor Lenz and Barbara Myerhoff use the term in describing the changes in modern American society resulting from the influence of women's values, esthetics, ethics, and world view. Womenfolk are no longer an afterthought. They are no longer seen primarily as part of a more important entity or as a dubious and trivial group, but as a folk group whose study is valued in and of itself and also for the insight it can bring to folklore studies. Changing our view of womenfolk has profoundly changed our view of ourselves.



Part IV

THE CONCEPT OF “FOLKLORIST”

Sources outside folklore studies have often used the term “folklorist” to refer to professional entertainers or crackerbarrel commentators on the American scene. AFS has been tolerant of such ideas, but most of its members for the past century have been *students* of folklore, people who study it for the sake of preserving or presenting it or the insight it affords into the human condition. But since AFS has been so heterogeneous, many of its members have come into folklore studies from varying intellectual backgrounds, and many of those who have been professional folklorists have been employed in differing contexts. Consequently, it has not always been easy to define exactly what a folklorist is—or even whether his or her work should be considered part of the social sciences or the humanities.

The diverse backgrounds and commitments of the founders of AFS and of its members over the years have produced the contemporary folklorist, eclectic in interests, influenced by a variety of academic fields, and employed in a variety of contexts. Among the most prominent academic disciplines contributing to the intellectual stance of the American folklorist of 1988 are literary study (whose role in the growth of American folklore studies through such figures as Francis James Child and Albert Lord is surveyed by Carl Lindahl), anthropology (whose contribution to the distinctive disciplinary stance of the American folklorist—particularly through the work of Franz Boas—provides material for W. K. McNeil), linguistics (whose continuing influence on folklorists through the work of Boas, Edward Sapir, Dell Hymes, and others is treated by Claire R. Farrer), and history (whose growing presence in the intellectual equipment of American folklorists is dealt with by Lynwood Montell and Barbara Allen). Other disciplines that have made major contributions to contemporary folklore studies include cultural geography, psychology, sociology, and American studies. This diversity of intellectual influences has led to folklorists being employed in a variety of academic and public settings. Ronald L. Baker examines the role of the folklorist in higher education, and Burt Feintuch shows how folklorists have participated in what has come to be called “the public sector.” The compleat folklorist, of course, draws from a variety of academic disciplines to create an intellectual stance unique to folklore studies. And she or he may participate in the academy and in public life simultaneously without any sense of conflict.

THE FOLKLORIST AND LITERATURE: CHILD AND OTHERS

CARL LINDAHL
University of Houston

The first professor of English in America was a folklorist who had studied with the Grimm brothers; the first president of AFS was also an editor of Spenser and a critic of Chaucer. These diverse roles, combined with many others, were played by Francis James Child, whose life's work embodies the pervasive and usually harmonious ties between the studies of folklore and literature from their beginnings in the United States.

In the course of Child's career, both folklore and literary studies came of age in this country. Before him, both had been amateur pursuits. In 1846, when Child began his fifty-year career at Harvard College, English was taught in the departments of history and political economy as well as by professors of rhetoric and oratory. Nearly all literature considered worthy of study was Latin and Greek and was taught in the classics department. And folklore had not been dignified by any sort of academic attention.

If folklore and literature were neglected, at least the system under which Child worked was not hampered by the divisive disciplinary boundaries that sprang up in the twentieth century. Child's was an all-embracing intellectual career. His first teaching assignment was as tutor of mathematics. In time he would teach and continue to study composition, rhetoric, oratory, philology, philosophy, and literature. This broad-based background, which influenced his students, helped establish folklore in the position it holds today, as a field of study bridging the humanities and the social sciences.

Freedom from departmental barriers is clearly evident in Child's work. No close reader of his greatest contribution, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (1882-1898), is surprised to find that Child taught mathematics and linguistics. The precision and care he expended in editing texts and the inclusiveness of his headnotes reveal the shaping presence of a scientific mind, one devoted to establishing both folklore and literature as "hard" fields of study based on empirical methods. Child's legacy—his insistence on authentic texts, his Aristotelian penchant for "typing" ballads, his drive to uncover ballad parallels in the folksongs, *Märchen*, and myths of the entire Western world—show as

much affinity with the anthropological research of his time as with the literary studies of today. As Robert Georges has recently noted, Child's classification and comparative histories of the ballads are legitimate precursors of the historic-geographic school, which dominated international folktale studies in the first half of the twentieth century. But more than a systematization or developmental outline of the ballad, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* is a collection—the largest collection of ballad texts from written sources ever assembled. Scholars have criticized some of Child's omissions or complained, justifiably, that he neglected the thriving oral folksong tradition of his day, but no one denies the enormous value of this scholarly resource.

Though it may have seemed to Americans that Child was creating his monumental work independently, he continually drew inspiration from scholars in Europe, particularly Germany, where he studied for two years (1849-1851) at Göttingen, the institutional home of the Grimm brothers. Child thoroughly cultivated his European connections and began a transatlantic exchange which flourishes to this day. The crossfertilization was continued by his students and his students' students, including George Lyman Kittredge, MacEdward Leach, Archer Taylor, Stith Thompson, and B. J. Whiting. Nearly the entire first three generations of American literary folklorists can be traced through a direct line of descent from Child. And, like Child, all taught folklore in literature departments and maintained the vitality of the Continental connection, devoting much of their study to the folklore of Old World cultures. Child's successors expanded on his legacy, creating a mass of collections and indexes. Kittredge's cross-cultural study of *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (1929), Taylor's *English Riddles from Oral Tradition* (1951), Thompson's *The Types of the Folktale* (1961) and *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (1955-58), Whiting's *Dictionary of American Proverbs* (1958), and many others constitute a reference library that remains the backbone of American comparative folklore study and whose usefulness transcends the historic-geographic method they were assembled to serve.

While Child and his followers perfected a method of collecting, organizing, and charting the historic diffusion of folklore texts, most of these early scholars stopped short of studying folklore's artistic dimensions. This tendency helped preserve some harmony between folklore and the social sciences, but it eventually drew the scorn of literary critics, who had grown weary of source studies and had redirected their interests to esthetic evaluation. Kittredge, whose scholarship did so much to explain the beauty of Chaucer's art, performed no similar service for the ballads he edited and loved. So, at first, folklore participated little in the emerging school of evaluative criticism. In *The Popular Ballad* (1907) Francis B. Gummere studied the artistic effects of the ballad, and sixty years later Francis Lee Utley pleaded for the study of folklore as art. But these, by and large, were isolated voices. No American scholar created a poetics of folklore, generic analyses, or esthetic examinations comparable to those of Europeans like G. H. Gerould in *The Ballad of Tradition* (1932) and Max Lüthi in *The European Folktale* (1947). Only recently have folklorists in the Western Hemisphere embarked on similar studies, notably W. F. H. Nicolaisen's "Time in Folk Narrative" (1980) and "Space in Folk Narrative" (1981).

Though this temporary schism between folklore and literary studies had its negative effects, it opened the doors for the introduction of new methods based on theories that have sprung up *between* the two disciplines. Beginning in the 1930s, Child's alma mater again became the American center of studies linking folklore and literature, but this second wave was propelled by an impulse nearly antithetical to the first. Child had stayed in the library to assemble what he believed were the last remnants of an art form effectively dead, but Harvard classicist Milman Parry and his student Albert Lord combined the best methods of folkloric and literary scholarship, conducting extensive fieldwork to collect oral performances which might help explain the oldest surviving works of western literature. Listening to a Yugoslavian singer create an elaborate 9,000-line epic from a plot he had heard only once, Parry and Lord developed their hypothesis that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were also oral creations, composed in the moment of performance, reshaped at each singing, and reliant on the frequent use of formulaic phrases. This bold idea, most fully expressed in Lord's *Singer of Tales* (1960), attracted a huge audience of literary scholars who debated the oral-formulaic theory and applied it, with varying success, to scores of ancient and medieval narrative poems. Lord's book may have divided the

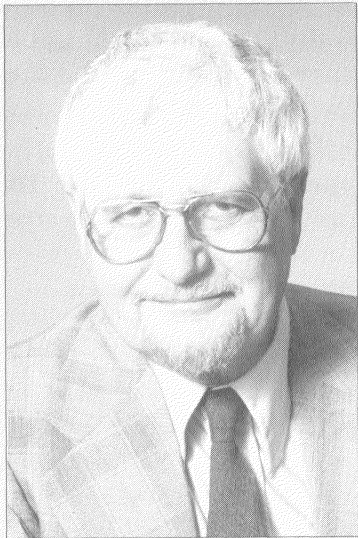
literary community into warring camps, yet some of his basic premises have had a lasting and beneficial effect. The idea that oral folk performance and early literature share many esthetic qualities has aided immeasurably in gaining for folklore the attention of literary scholars. And the oral-formulaic theory continues to inspire creative scholarship. Bruce Rosenberg's *Art of the American Folk Preacher* (1970) examines the oral-formulaic style of Afro-American sermons, and David Buchan's *The Ballad and the Folk* (1972) hypothesizes that Scottish folk-songs were once composed in performance. John Miles Foley's books and his journal *Oral Tradition* (begun in 1986) testify to the enduring influence of Parry and Lord.

The oral-formulaic theory did not by itself close the old rift dividing folklore from literary studies. In the 1950s and 1960s *JAF* served as a major medium through which folklore and literature met, though as often as not anthropological and historical perspectives provided the common ground. Claude Lévi Strauss' "The Structural Study of Myth" (1957) generated as many articles in literary as in anthropological journals and continues to inspire some of the best esthetic and cultural studies of oral art, including Roger deV. Renwick's *English Folk Poetry* (1980) and J. F. Nagy's *Wisdom of the Outlaw* (1985). Another landmark *JAF* article was Richard M. Dorson's "Identification of Folklore in American Literature" (1959), which set forth a precise methodology for evaluating the authenticity of folklore found in written art. Dorson's model was critiqued and expanded by Alan Dundes in "The Study of Folklore in Literature and Culture" (1965), in which he insisted that the researcher emphasize interpretation, and by Mary Ellen Brown in "The Study of Folklore in Literature: An Expanded View" (1976), in which she urged the careful examination of not only the item of oral art used by the author, but also its context and style.

As AFS begins its second century, we find folklore and literary studies bound together by a network of shared interests and goals. The major past approaches—historic-geographic, oral-formulaic, structural—continue to thrive, but there are many newer trends at work as well, and these promise to bring literary and folklore studies into closer proximity. If asked to identify their most important tasks as scholars, the great majority of literature teachers would answer *evaluation, interpretation, the search for meaning*—precisely those things least emphasized in early studies of folklore and literature. There is persuasive evidence, however, that the old *lacunae* are now being filled. In *Roots of Lyric* (1978), literary critic Andrew Welsh created a poetics



Daniel J. Crowley, AFS president, 1969-70. Courtesy of Daniel J. Crowley.



D. K. Wilgus, AFS president, 1971-72. Courtesy of D. K. Wilgus.

linking oral and written art; in her work on personal experience narrative, folklorist Sandra Dolby-Stahl has contributed artistic exploration of everyday story; in *Verbal Art as Performance* (1977), folklorist-anthropologist Richard Bauman advances the idea that a thoroughly contextual approach is the best path to the meaning of lore's art; and in *Passing the Time in Ballymenone* (1982), Henry Glassie presents the living world of the tale-teller together with sensitively rendered written renditions of oral texts. Literary critics Umberto Eco, Walter Ong, and Jack Zipes have found their way to folklorists' bookshelves, while folklorists Daniel Barnes, Betsy Bowden, Linda Dégh, and Wolfgang Mieder have found their way to the critics'. All continue to work the fertile ground between the disciplines. If the lead of these lively scholars is followed, the second century of folklore and literature studies will prove even richer than the first.

THE FOLKLORIST AND ANTHROPOLOGY: THE BOASIAN INFLUENCE

W. K. McNEIL

The Ozark Folk Center

In the late nineteenth century two basic approaches to folklore coexisted: the anthropological and the literary. Largely due to the influence of William Wells Newell and Franz Boas, the American Folklore Society was oriented towards the anthropological approach. These two men were the major forces in the early years of AFS, Boas maintaining that role for half a century. They were united in their view of folklore as a division of the broader science of anthropology, and both wanted to make anthropology and folklore more professional. Newell thought that amateurs would undoubtedly continue to be active in folklore, but that they should uphold rigorous scholarly standards. By siding with Boas on the anthropological emphasis of AFS, Newell hoped to distinguish himself from the nonprofessionals in folklore and also hoped to increase the scholarly output of *JAF* by filling it with primarily anthropological data. This alliance also added the weight of the European academic tradition, represented by Boas, to Newell's efforts to professionalize folklore.

Boas also benefited greatly from his relationship with Newell and AFS. He had a genuine interest in folklore as a significant aspect of anthropology, and he needed AFS as a power base through which he could propound his ideas. Moreover, *JAF* was an excellent publication outlet for his students because, unlike the anthropological journals, it allowed him control over the form of publication and published items more quickly. Actually, AFS was virtually Boas' last hope of gaining professional clout, for it was the only organization that indicated some interest in him and his approach to anthropology. Earlier he had attempted but failed to obtain positions of influence in the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Bureau of American Ethnology. In contrast to the cold reception Boas had received elsewhere, Newell was grateful to have him as an ally and give him virtually a free hand in AFS matters. Boas was not to relinquish his dominance of the society until the late 1930s.

Perhaps the primary reason Newell found Boas appealing is that Boas offered a more comprehensive

and systematic approach to folklore than had existed before, one that he ultimately illustrated in his various studies, theoretical papers, and field collecting projects. A chief element in Boas' approach to folklore was good fieldwork, gathering material firsthand with extensive interviews. This emphasis was a rather bold step away from his earlier influences, for nineteenth-century European scholars, representatives of the tradition Boas was trained in, generally held a negative attitude towards fieldwork, regarding it as mere collecting and thus far removed from true scholarship, which was defined as the comparison, analysis, and interpretation of materials.

To Boas good fieldwork consisted of accurately recording data and finding the best informants. The ideal person was someone who knew and could relate data on every aspect of village life. He generally relied on a single informant from a community, an approach unusual in his day but one adopted later by his students. He also helped to popularize the practice of amassing data with no particular problem in mind and with no clear idea of what was to be gained in the end. This method resulted from his belief that each culture possesses its own concepts, categories, and biases, and to arrive at a true understanding of another culture, it was essential for scholars to collect vast quantities of reliable material in the native language. Myths and tales thus gathered would be preserved for all time as undistorted expressions of the culture, holding all the keys necessary to understand that society. By poring over accurately recorded texts, one would arrive at new theories and new problems to be solved. In other words, the data would direct the interpretation.

It is hardly necessary to add that much of Boas' field methodology is considered faulty by today's standards. Nevertheless, he did record an enormous amount of useful data and, more than most scholars of his day, tried to view western civilization as only one, not *the* standard of reference. Moreover, he realized the limitations of personal observation and was convinced that people see what they expect to see and interpret what



Dell Hymes, AFS president, 1973-74. Courtesy of Dell Hymes.



Kenneth S. Goldstein, AFS president, 1975-76. Courtesy of Kenneth S. Goldstein.

they see in the light of their previous experiences. Boas insisted on accuracy in recording data and on limiting research to problems that could be solved by observable facts. He also made fieldwork, at least among “exotic” groups, popular and acceptable in a way it never had been before. Finally, his emphasis on the importance of presenting accurately transcribed texts was valuable at a time when folktales were often published as literary products, without care for their original form.

Boas was not opposed to making theoretical pronouncements, but he was cautious about offering them. Indeed, he maintained that collecting numerous folktales from contiguous peoples and plotting the distribution of their “elements”—by which he meant something roughly akin to motifs—must precede any theoretical work. He failed to explain, however, exactly how much collecting and mapping were needed before one could justifiably begin theorizing. It is also unclear just what Boas meant by theory in folklore, for he never demonstrated by example his ideas in this regard. He frequently referred to statements of a psychological kind, but his only detailed discussions are of historical processes. Although he was not antitheoretical, Boas’ folklore works are generally long on documentation and short on theory.

Boas’ thinking about folklore is most completely set forth in the mammoth volume *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916). In this book, especially its prefatory essay, he emphasizes proper recording and presentation of texts, offering the then-novel suggestion that folklorists should not limit their work to “star” informants or to the “correct” version of an item when variants occurred and such versions affected transmission of the tale. Unfortunately, neither Boas nor his disciples followed this idea, which is still not common practice in folklore fieldwork. The book is also important because it sets forth Boas’ concept of folktales as a “reflector of culture,” a point only hinted at previously but restated in several later writings. This thesis led Boas to think of tales as a type of cultural autobiography; he overlooked the possibility that an oral literature might not mirror all aspects of life equally.

Boas’ decades of influence in American folklore circles, and particularly in AFS, had both positive and negative results for scholarship. Among the former were his insistence on good objective fieldwork, accurate presentation of data, caution about theorizing based on faulty or insufficient material, professionalization of the field of folklore, and production of folklore fieldworkers and support for their research and publications. His stu-

dents constitute a veritable Who's Who of anthropological folklorists, including, among others, A. L. Kroeber, Elsie Clews Parsons, Robert H. Lowie, Paul Radin, Martha Beckwith, Ruth Benedict, Melville Herskovits, Gladys Richard, Ruth Bunzel, and Melville Jacobs.

One negative aspect of Boas' influence was an overemphasis on American Indian folklore. While he recognized that other peoples had oral traditions, he showed little interest in nonaboriginal matter. This bias permeated AFS publications during the more than three decades that Boasian folklorists were editors of *JAF*. During this period, virtually every issue of the quarterly contained at least one article or collection of tribal myths or tales, all following the Boasian model whereby texts are presented with little or no attention given to the informants, context, or style. There was, of course, nothing wrong with the collection of American Indian traditions, merely with the journal's imbalance. The net effect was to reinforce an already existing view held by many that folklore existed only in places and among peoples outside the mainstream of civilization.

Boasian scholarship can be faulted on several other counts. He had no intellectual interest in informants except as repositories of oral traditions, a lack of concern derived from his orientation toward the past. He focused entirely on bygone traditions, or what today is called "memory culture." Having thus given up any concern for the present, he saw no need to learn much about the living bearers of a tradition. Moreover, his belief in a

superorganic concept of culture made any interest in those who preserve and pass on folklore irrelevant; the recording of texts was all that one needed. Boas was certainly not the only person holding such views but he was one of their most influential adherents. This attitude held sway among folklorists long after Boas' death and has only begun to change in the past two decades.

Some other aspects of Boas' thinking about folk traditions did not bode well for the future development of an independent discipline devoted to the study of folklore. He believed that it was important to collect and study oral traditions because primitive man is our ancestor and folklore, as a reflector of culture, offers important insights into primitive thought. Through a rigorous study of aboriginal lore and culture, one could ultimately arrive at what he called "original nature." Thus, folklore, or the "primitive arts" as Boas sometimes called it, had importance only as a means to an end. Many of his contemporaries and scholarly descendants had essentially the same outlook.

Ultimately, Boas' significance in the history of American folklore is that he effectively presented a systematic way of dealing with his materials. He offered a method for recording oral traditions that promised to lead eventually to the formation of folklore theories based on sound scholarship. That his ideas were adopted by numerous other scholars was in no sense a small achievement.

THE FOLKLORIST AND LINGUISTICS: FROM BOAS TO HYMES

CLAIRE R. FARRER

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Folklore has been claimed as a rightful province of both anthropology and English, a question sometimes resulting in unbecoming territorial disputes. Yet its alliance with linguistics has been more consistent than its connections with either English or anthropology. Linguistics provides a steady current of influence on our discipline, primarily through the efforts of a few outstanding scholars who used the materials of folklore as test cases or as their primary data base.

Franz Boas admonished his students—and indeed took as his own responsibility—to collect texts in the native language, using skilled interpreters whenever necessary and checking with them even when the fieldworker had knowledge of the language. His special concern was with the natives of the Americas, especially in the United States and Canada. There are few folklorists who do not have at least a passing acquaintance with the tomes, mostly published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, filled with the texts of myths and tales assembled by Boasian collectors. Unencumbered by statements of theory or analysis, save the principle of salvaging what was believed to be rapidly disappearing, the texts today remain a primary source of material for contemporary scholars whose interests may be far different from those motivating the original collector. And while we may despair when confronted with lapses into Latin for what was then perceived to be scatological material, we nonetheless have access to traditions that by now may be significantly altered if not moribund.

Many of us have also bemoaned the difficulty of publishing such texts today, even when it has been possible to collect them. For those Native American languages that are still alive and functioning, publication is generally feasible only for bits and snippets of these traditions. But many Native American languages have effectively disappeared by no longer having native speakers. Perhaps the Boasian imperative to collect in the native language was not incorrect, since folklore collected from Native Americans in English is often quite different from that in the culture's own language. Boasian collection techniques, including collecting by mail from ethnographers and linguists skilled in Native American cul-

tures, are no longer in vogue, even though we credit his providing us with literally irreplaceable material. For Boas and his students, the texts were the thing: collect them while it was still possible and worry about analysis later.

Edward Sapir's influence sprang from a different motivation, although he is arguably the best known and most respected of Boas' students in linguistics. Concerned as he was with situating language within its cultural context, he sensitized his own students—and those of our generation as well—to the importance of examining speech within its social setting both as integral part of that context and as shaper of it. Thus we learned to view myth and tale as well as conversation as social and cultural products that did not just mirror reality but were constitutive of it. The material studied by folklorists—myths, tales, stories, and other genres defined in the western European canon—remained unchanged, but our apprehension of that material changed significantly as a result of Sapir's writing and the influence of his students.

The contributions Sapir made to linguistics and folklore went beyond the contextualization of material, however. His efforts in comparative linguistics, particularly with Native American folklore, provided an important model for subsequent scholars. Thus, a scholar of Navajo now considers not only the context of the Shooting Way myth, but also the relationship of that story to other stories told by the Navajo, by other Athabascan-speaking groups, and by the Navajos' Puebloan neighbors. From Sapir, then, we learned to situate folklore in both its "micro" and "macro" contexts.

Both Boas and Sapir saw linguistics and anthropology as inextricably united, and folklore texts became the primary means of analyzing cultural presuppositions and considering questions of language, grammar, diffusion, genetic relationships, and expressive behavior. While folklorists may be more familiar with Sapir's less technical papers, we must not forget that his formal linguistic papers and notes toward papers were of great importance to the generation of scholars who followed him. The work-in-progress that was interrupted by his

untimely death provided the genesis for the early linguistic studies of Harry Hoiyer, Leslie Spier, and Morris Swadesh.

Native American languages are not the only field of influence of linguistics on folklore. Roman Jakobson, through his wide range of European connections, brought to folklore and folklorists an awareness of the formalist analysis of the Russians and Czechs, along with a renewed interest in Ferdinand de Saussure. Jakobson's influence is not so much in outright folkloristic scholarship as in the examination of our own presuppositions concerning not only folklore but also language. Additionally, through astute articles and commentary, he forced us to rethink our relationship to the romantic nationalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the movement that viewed folklore as the purest expression of a nation's mind and spirit and that provided the first impetus to European folklore collecting. Jakobson also showed us how we could combine features of formalism and esthetics with the best of the Boas-Sapir tradition. Folklore scholars can no longer afford to ignore the substantial body of eastern European and Soviet scholarship as a result of Jakobson's demonstration of their central value to our work.

Most contemporary folklorists also owe a continuing debt to Hymes, whose scholarship in linguistics, folklore, ethnopoetics, and anthropology has given new dimensions to the study of Native American cultures. In 1974 Hymes edited a slim volume, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics*, in which humanistic social scientists were asked to reexamine anthropology and, by extension, folklore. Hymes called for a more ethnographically centered discipline in which theory arose from data rather than vice versa, a discipline responsive to a changing world in which colonialism was shrinking, ethnicity was being overtly celebrated with increasing demands for autonomy, and those who once were objects of study were becoming scholars themselves.

Hymes has also been a pioneer in ethnopoetics, in which the native way of speaking what we call folklore is rendered more accurately on the printed page. The dif-

ficulties of accommodating oral speech to the demands of orthography led him to investigate ways in which orthography could be modified to render more accurately the nuances of native speech. Much of Hymes' work was with texts—some from Sapir—that could no longer be checked with native speakers of the language. His efforts in these realms caused an entire generation of graduate students to see the ethnography of speaking as an organizing model for their work and to appreciate the difficulties of translating the spoken word into print, a problem later addressed by Dennis Tedlock's Zuni publications, which demonstrate ways of rendering recitations into a semblance of the spoken word. Hymes' influence has been most deeply felt in folklore studies in the development of performance-centered theory and method, based in large part on Hymes' theoretical statements and concern for the influence of context on speech acts.

Hymes has also shown folklorists the importance of long-term fieldwork with the same consultant, a situation that is not always possible to emulate. Nonetheless, the developing relationship between the fieldworker and the consultant can result in a depth of understanding and richness of text that were once only a dream. This is not to say that Hymes has returned us to text-oriented folklore study, but rather that he has increased our awareness that it is incumbent upon each of us to be ever-mindful of the texts we reproduce and of what they "say" in their very being.

Through the pages of *JAF*, we can watch history unfold, the articles produced in each decade reflecting the prevailing *zeitgeist*. Often it was a linguistic paradigm that folklorists—and linguists who worked on the materials of folklore—followed. Now, after a century, we are seeing "natives" from Africa, Asia, and the Americas trained as folklorists and linguists. Folklore is now being gathered and analyzed by the tradition-bearers themselves, often in collaboration with folklorists. In this, we again return to the felicitous influence of linguistics and linguists on folklore, with the concept of the interpreter becoming the collaborator.



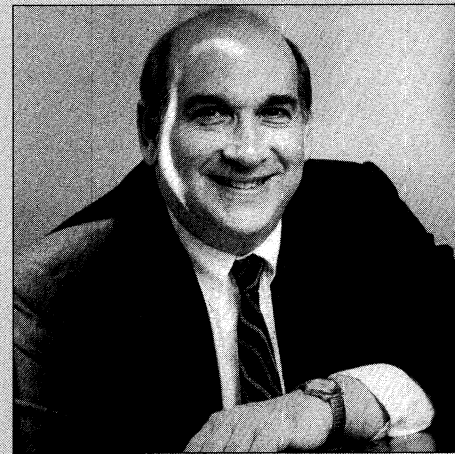
Ellen Stekert, AFS president, 1977. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.



J. Barre Toelken, AFS president, 1978; JAF editor, 1974-76. Photo by Wayland D. Hand, Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.



Roger D. Abrahams, AFS president, 1979. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.



Alan Dundes, AFS president, 1980. Photo by Jane Schere. Courtesy of Alan Dundes.

THE FOLKLORIST AND HISTORY: THREE APPROACHES

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Antiquarians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are often seen as counterparts to the twentieth-century folklorist, insofar as those earlier scholars were interested in cultural materials and phenomena that are now designated as folklore. The appeal of those materials to antiquarians was their historicity, their promise to reveal something of times past. The notion of folklore as in some way historical in nature and of the folklorist as some species of historian has thus persisted as a long-standing theme in the development of our discipline.

Oddly enough, in spite of this recognition of the historical nature of folklore, there has been no active, deliberate interchange of ideas, concepts, models, or methods between the disciplines of folklore and history—at least, not until recently. Historians have not taken leadership roles in AFS as have anthropologists and literary scholars, nor has AFS met on a regular basis with historical organizations as it has with the American Anthropological Association and the Modern Language Association. The single exception to this unofficial policy of nonintercourse occurred when AFS and the Mississippi Valley Historical Society met jointly in 1953.

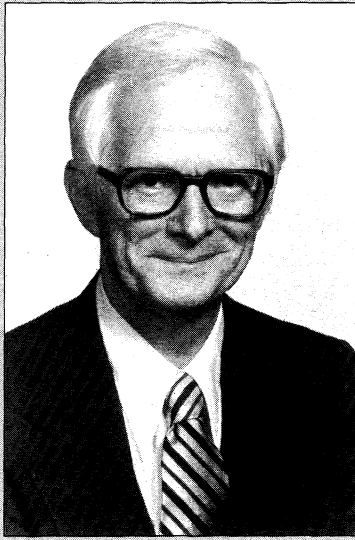
Despite the lack of formal ties between folklorists and historians, a substantial body of scholarship exists on the materials with which members of both disciplines are concerned. The most valuable and influential of this work over the past one hundred years has been grounded in one of three perspectives on the relationship between folklore and history: (1) history as a means of interpreting folklore; (2) folklore as a source of historical evidence; (3) folklore and history as interdependent endeavors.

Proponents of the first view—that history can be used to interpret folklore—see folklore as an outgrowth of historical events, experiences, and conditions and believe that folklore can be fully understood only when considered in its proper historical context. The best-

known American folklorist to take this position was Richard M. Dorson. His training in American civilization led him to conceive of American folklore as the outgrowth of the major historical forces that shaped American society and culture—colonization, the frontier, regional development, the encounter with Native American cultures, slavery, immigration, and industrialization. Dorson attempted to demonstrate the validity of his broadly sweeping “theory of American folklore” in *American Folklore* (1959) and *America in Legend* (1972). He applied his theory to particular regions in *Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers: Folk Traditions of the Upper Peninsula* (1952) and *Land of the Millrats* (1981), showing how racial and ethnic make-up, economic and occupational patterns, and historical experiences in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula and the Calumet region of northwest Indiana, respectively, shaped regional folklore and folklife.

The historical contexts of folklore have also been useful to folklorists investigating specific genres or groups. For example, Mody Boatright in *Folk Laughter on the American Frontier* (1961) and Roger Welsch in *Shingling the Fog and Other Plains Lies* (1972) both argue that American tall tale humor clearly reflects the historical and geographic conditions that existed on the American frontier in the nineteenth century and that persist in the West and Midwest today. Austin and Alta Fife demonstrate in *Saints of Sage and Saddle: Folklore Among the Mormons* (1956) that Mormon customs, legends, and songs are folk commentary on the main events in Mormon history and often serve as channels of historical information. More recently, Janet Langlois has closely analyzed legends about a mass murderer in La Porte, Indiana. In *Belle Gunness: The Lady Bluebeard* (1985), she contends persuasively that versions of the Gunness legend told at different times in the community’s history reflect economic conditions and value systems prevailing at the particular time the accounts were recorded.

The scholars who analyze folklore in its historical con-



Don Yoder, AFS president, 1981. Courtesy of Don Yoder.



Linda Dégh, AFS president, 1982. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.

text have not necessarily been concerned with the historical content of the folkloric materials they use, in sharp contrast to folklorists and historians who endorse the second relationship between folklore and history—using folklore as evidence in historical reconstruction and interpretation. It is this approach that has produced most of the work in folklore-and-history scholarship. Folklore has generally served as historical source material in one of two ways: to flesh out or to fill in gaps in the written record and to challenge the prevailing view of the past by presenting an alternative, folk perspective on it.

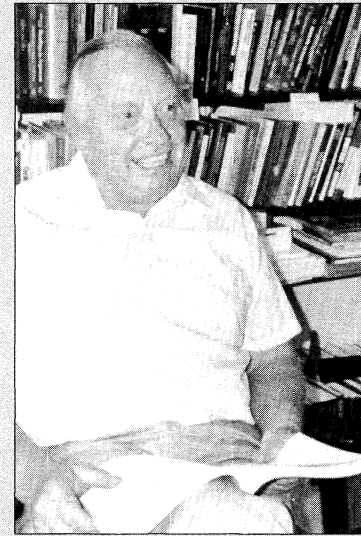
Both folklorists and historians have argued that folklore can provide information about the past unavailable from any other source. In *The Gateway to History* (1938), historian Allan Nevins wrote, “in our more recent history the legends of pioneer settlements, mining camps, lumbermen, and the cowboys of the western range, whether in prose or ballad, are by no means devoid of light upon social and cultural history.” Likewise Theodore Blegen in *Grass Roots History* (1947) called for historical treatment of such folk materials as “American letters” written by immigrants to family and friends in the Old World and ballads composed in America in response to new physical, social, and cultural environments and experiences. Another historian who subscribed to this view was Thomas D. Clark, who drew upon published accounts of traditional games, pastimes, humorous stories, and other elements of the folklife of the trans-Appalachian West for his book *The Rampaging Frontier* (1939).

Folklorists with a historical bent have also used a variety of folk traditions as primary sources of historical information in the absence of written documentation. Oral historical narratives, for instance, served as the basis for Lynwood Montell’s *Saga of Coe Ridge* (1970), allowing him to piece together the otherwise unrecorded history of a tiny rural black community that came into existence in the hill country of southern Kentucky after the Civil War. Charles Martin plumbed the historical meaning of vernacular architectural forms and oral recollections about them to write *Hollybush: Folk Building and Social Change in an Appalachian Community* (1984), a book that beautifully describes changes in folk attitudes and values as reflected in the architecture of a now-deserted community. Historian George McDaniel also combined material culture forms with oral history in producing his valuable study, *Hearth and Home: Preserving a People’s Culture* (1982), which illuminates the lives and everyday experiences of people usually

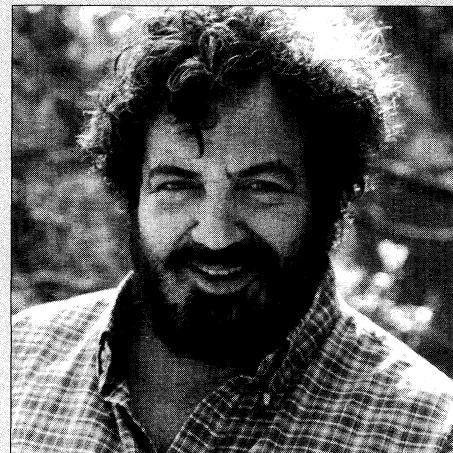
excluded from scholarly literature.

A number of folklorists have drawn upon the traditions of particular groups to uncover the folk perspective on the past, often as a means of challenging, directly or indirectly, the prevailing view of historians. In *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (1945), Benjamin A. Botkin assembled a body of narratives related by ex-slaves to Federal Writers' Project workers in the 1930s. Their stories afforded vivid descriptions of a life in bondage that had not, by and large, been understood by historians. Gladys-Marie Fry also made use of slave narratives along with data gleaned from painstaking library research and oral interviews with the descendants of slaves who migrated to the Washington, D.C., area to write *Night Riders in Black Folk History* (1975), a penetrating study of the various supernatural and bogey figures used during slavery and Reconstruction times by whites to terrorize blacks and keep them in check. *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero* (1958) is an intensive study of a *corrido*, a Spanish-language ballad, about the chase, capture, and imprisonment of accused sheriff-killer Gregorio Cortez. Its author, folklorist Américo Paredes, discusses the material's expression of the folk response to the event and its reflection of the significant features of Hispanic culture along the U.S.-Mexico border.

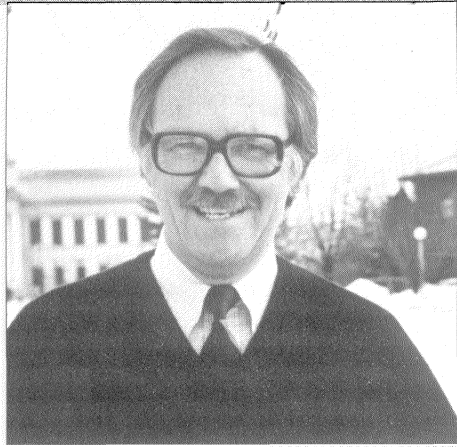
The most recent work that uses folklore as historical evidence comes not from folklorists but from historians who are interested in the "mentalité" or consciousness of people whose views of themselves and their world do not appear in standard historical writings. Like their folklorist counterparts, these historians believe that folklore is a key means of getting at attitudes, values, and world view, those intangibles of historical experience that rarely show up in historical documents, and they mine folk materials for information about what people believed in order to understand how they behaved. For instance, Lawrence Levine in *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (1977) examined a variety of black folk traditions from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in tracing Afro-American thought from slavery times to the present. Charles Joyner also used both historical and contemporary black folk materials in his re-creation of slave folklife in *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (1984). In *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Culture History* (1984), American historian Robert Darnton uses folk materials, including folktales handed down by French storytellers, as sources of information about the attitudes and thoughts of French people in the early modern period.



W. F. H. Nicolaisen, AFS president, 1983. Courtesy of W. F. H. Nicolaisen.



Bruce Jackson, AFS president, 1984; JAF editor, 1986-90. Courtesy of Bruce Jackson.



Jan Harold Brunvand, AFS president, 1985; JAF editor, 1976-80. Photo by Dana K. Brunvand. Courtesy of Jan Harold Brunvand.



Rayna Green, AFS president, 1986. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.

Such studies demonstrate that social historians can profitably utilize folklore to help them articulate the role of the folk in history.

Both perspectives described above coalesce in the third approach to the relationship between folklore and history, which sees folklore and history as complementary and enhanced by cross-disciplinary efforts. Edward D. Ives, for instance, regularly combines folkloristic with historical methods in his books on the “woodsmen-songmakers” of Maine: *Larry Gorman* (1964), *Lawrence Doyle* (1971), *Joe Scott* (1978). Perhaps the most extensive articulation of this position is Henry Glassie’s *Passing the Time in Ballymenone* (1982), which attempts to describe and integrate the history, culture and folklife of a small community in northern Ireland. The work of Ives, Glasie, and others is a clear sign that the present relationship between folklore and history is more cordial than it has been at any point in the past one hundred years. Folklorists and historians now regularly attend each other’s meetings, and their methodologies often overlap at critical junctures. Acrimonious debates over the “reliability” of folklore as historical data seem largely to have died down, thanks in part to the coming of age of oral history. The current scholarly focus on arenas of social and cultural history long of interest to some folklorists but largely overlooked by historians more concerned with political and economic history bodes well for the continuing and perhaps growing strength of the bond between the two disciplines.

THE FOLKLORIST IN THE ACADEMY

RONALD L. BAKER

Indiana State University

Folklore has been taught in American colleges and universities since the mid-nineteenth century, initially as part of other courses taught by literary scholars. The early emphasis was on narrative folklore, notably the ballad, and on the relation of ballad and tales to other forms of literature. This literary study of folklore began at Harvard University around 1856 when Francis James Child, who in 1876 became the first professor of English at Harvard, began his life's work on British folk ballads. Although Child did not develop formal courses in folklore, he incorporated folklore in his literature and philology courses, created the folklore collection in the Harvard College library, and trained several notable American folklorists, including George Lyman Kittredge, who succeeded to Child's professorship in 1894.

At Harvard, Kittredge continued Child's work on the ballad but also enlarged his range of folklore interests to include tales, beliefs, proverbs, European folklore in America, and folklore in ancient and medieval literature. Through Child's pioneering work in folklore and Kittredge's development of folk studies, Harvard became the informal center for the literary study of folklore in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From 1900 until his retirement in 1936, Kittredge trained at least half of the American folklorists active in the first third of the twentieth century, and his students spread the study of folklore across the nation. His most distinguished students—Walter Morris Hart, Archer Taylor, Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt, Newman Ivey White and Stith Thompson—introduced and promoted folklore studies in most of the states and universities where the major graduate programs in folklore later developed.

While literary folklorists at Harvard were studying and teaching folklore from manuscripts and books, in 1883 Franz Boas was launching his career as an anthropological folklorist among the Eskimos of Baffinland, where his interests shifted from geography to ethnology. Five years later he was serving on the faculty of Clark University in Massachusetts and beginning his monumental collection of North American folklore in British Columbia. When other anthropological folklorists such as

Daniel Garrison Brinton were attempting to find a place for the study of folklore in the museum, Boas was establishing a base for the study of folklore in the university. Columbia University, where Boas in 1899 began his long career as professor of anthropology, became the center for the anthropological study of folklore at the beginning of the twentieth century. Boas edited *JAF* from 1908 to 1924, and his students, Ruth Benedict and Gladys A. Reichard, continued editing the journal until 1941. During this period folklore was virtually a subfield of anthropology. The enthusiasm for folklore among Boas and his students carried over to other anthropologists, who began to incorporate folklore, especially Native American traditions, into their courses. Boas also encouraged other scholars such as Marius Barbeau, who collected French-Canadian folklore, to study North American ethnic traditions.

Between the two world wars, there was renewed interest in the ballad, largely because of Cecil Sharp's fieldwork in Appalachia between 1916 and 1918, but anthropologists in American folklore studies remained dominant. Since Boas and his students looked upon folklore as a part of anthropology, not as an independent discipline with its own methods, they did not think of themselves as folklorists nor did they develop separate folklore courses. For forty years at Columbia, Boas' main course offerings were American Indian Languages and Statistical Theory.

Another reason these early literary and anthropological folklorists did not develop separate courses or degree programs in folklore was that both anthropology and literary studies in English were relatively new disciplines, still struggling for academic respectability. Their successors faced similar challenges. American literature, for example, was not taught as a separate course at Harvard until 1933. The lasting influence of Kittredge and Boas on the professional study of folklore, besides their own scholarship, was in recruiting and training disciples who wrote folklore theses and dissertations and who, in turn, were instrumental in developing folklore as an academic discipline. But largely because of the influence of the early folklorists, today most folklore courses are still



Judith McCulloh, AFS president, 1987. Courtesy of Judith McCulloh.



Alan Jabbour, AFS president, 1988. Courtesy of American Folklife Center, Library of Congress.

taught in English and anthropology departments. Of the colleges and universities reporting folklore courses in 1985, fifty-eight percent offer folklore courses in English departments and thirty-two percent in anthropology departments. At some institutions folklore courses are cross-listed in both departments.

The academic study of folklore is also indebted to the growth of American studies, especially to a group of Americanists who taught at Harvard in the 1930s and early 1940s and whose collaborative efforts led to the establishment in 1937 of the first degree-granting program in American civilization, which expanded the study of American literature and culture to include folk and popular culture. The Harvard Americanists—Perry Miller, F. O. Matthiessen, Bernard DeVoto, Ralph Barton Perry, and Howard Mumford Jones—were not folklorists and did little research beyond some work in frontier humor that may be considered folkloristic. Yet the broad, interdisciplinary exploration of the American experience by these cultural historians established a place for folklore within American studies programs, which today rank third among departments and programs offering folklore courses at American institutions. Unlike the early literary folklorists who stressed the library study of old European folklore and unlike the anthropological folklorists who emphasized the field study of tribal traditions, the Americanists promoted the interdisciplinary study of American folk culture against a background of American cultural history. The prestige of the Harvard program also gave respectability to the study of American literature and culture, and in the 1930s colleges and universities began adding courses in American folklore as well as American literature to their English curricula. Moreover, through their student, Richard M. Dorson, the Harvard Americanists provided an Americanist orientation for a generation of folklorists trained by Dorson at Indiana University between 1957 and 1981.

While courses in folklore were introduced at several universities in the 1920s and 1930s, degree-granting programs in folklore were nonexistent until 1940 when Ralph Steele Boggs founded an Interdisciplinary Curriculum in Folklore, offering an M.A. degree and doctoral minor, at the University of North Carolina. During the next thirty years, around thirty master's theses and twenty doctoral dissertations in folklore were written in eight different departments there. In 1970, under the direction of Daniel Patterson, the North Carolina program began expanding its faculty, course offerings, and resources. Supported by a major research source, the

Southern Historical Collection, and by large library holdings in southern literature and culture, the North Carolina program is especially strong in the study of southern folklife.

After World War II, efforts increased to develop folklore as an independent discipline. At Indiana University, Kittredge's student Stith Thompson, inspired by the historic-geographic studies of the Finnish folklorists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and influenced by the diffusionist studies of Boas, gave the comparative study of folklore a method and a home. Thompson joined the English faculty at Indiana in 1921 and gave the first folklore course there in 1923. He encouraged his Ph.D. students to write historic-geographic studies or prepare type and motif indexes. Besides regularly teaching folklore classes and directing graduate theses and dissertations in folklore in the English Department, Thompson established summer folklore institutes at Indiana in 1942. These institutes, held every four years, brought isolated professionals together to discuss common concerns and attracted aspiring folklorists to Indiana to study under distinguished visiting European and American folklorists.

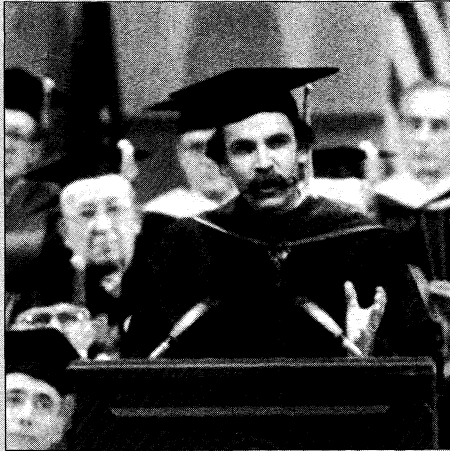
Thompson introduced the first doctoral program in folklore at Indiana University in 1949, and Indiana awarded the first American doctorate in folklore to Warren E. Roberts in 1953. After Thompson's retirement in 1955, his successor, Richard M. Dorson, expanded the concept of folklore studies at Indiana and elevated the program to departmental status in 1963. Roberts, who himself had written a lengthy historic-geographic dissertation on an international folktale, introduced the first course in material culture at Indiana in 1961 and contributed significantly to the shift in orientation from an almost exclusive consideration of international folk literature to a broad program of study embracing all aspects of traditional culture. Today, nearly sixty percent of the university teachers of folklore who hold doctorates in folklore have been trained at Indiana University.

Under the direction of MacEdward Leach, the University of Pennsylvania introduced the second doctoral program in folklore in 1959. After receiving his Ph.D. in Middle English literature at Pennsylvania in 1930, Leach remained on Penn's English faculty and inherited a course called "The Epic and Short Story," which he gradually changed into a general folklore course. He took over another course in the literary ballad and transformed it into a folk ballad course. Over the years, Leach developed a strong interdisciplinary graduate program in folklore at Penn and trained a number of folklorists,

including Kenneth S. Goldstein, who eventually became chair of the program. Under Leach's direction, studies in the ballad and literary folklore were the main strengths of the Penn program. But by the time Leach retired and folklife specialist Don Yoder began a four-year term as chair in 1966, Penn's Graduate Program in Folklore and Folklife had developed into a broad program covering the entire range of folk studies. Influenced by sociolinguistic approaches and the ethnography of communication, the Penn program, now with departmental status, stresses a social scientific rather than a humanistic approach to folk studies. Presently, around a third of the university teachers holding doctorates in folklore received their training at Pennsylvania.

Another major center for the study of folklore is UCLA. UCLA has offered courses in folklore since 1933 when Sigurd B. Hustvedt introduced a graduate course in the ballad. Wayland D. Hand joined the German faculty in 1937 and introduced a general folklore course in 1939. Under the direction of Hand, an interdepartmental teaching program was established in 1954, offering at that time two dozen courses in folklore and related areas. Currently, the Folklore and Mythology Program at UCLA offers over seventy-five courses, either directly or in conjunction with cooperating departments, and awards interdisciplinary master's and doctoral degrees in folklore and mythology. The interdisciplinary nature of UCLA's program gives it its strength, for students choose from a wide variety of folklore and allied courses in departments throughout the university.

Thus, only two American universities, Indiana and Pennsylvania, today have folklore departments, and only three—Indiana, Pennsylvania, and UCLA—award the Ph.D. in folklore. In Canada, Memorial University of Newfoundland and Laval University have folklore programs, one anglophone and the other francophone, awarding doctoral degrees in folklore. In 1962 Herbert Halpert joined the faculty of Memorial, and through the encouragement and support of E. R. Story, English head and place-names scholar, introduced folklore courses and developed a folklore program in the Department of English. In 1968 Halpert founded a Department of Folklore, which now offers a full range of folklore courses and emphasizes a balanced approach to folklore studies. Laval University, with folklore studies dating from 1944 when Luc Lacourcière was appointed to a chair in folklore, offers courses and degrees in folklore through its Programmes d'Arts et Traditions Populaires. Laval's program stresses French folklore in North America.



Henry Glassie, AFS president, 1989-90. Photo by Annalese Poorman. Courtesy of Indiana University News Bureau.



William Wells Newell, JAF editor, 1888-89. Courtesy of Harvard University Archives.



Alexander F. Chamberlain, JAF editor, 1900-1907. Reproduced by permission of the American Anthropological Association from Selected Papers from the American Anthropologist, 1960. Not for further reproduction.



Ruth Benedict, JAF editor, 1925-39. Courtesy of Vassar College Library.

In the United States and Canada, master's degrees in folklore are offered at the University of California at Berkeley, UCLA, Duquesne University, Indiana University, Laval University, Memorial University of Newfoundland, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the University of Pennsylvania, and Western Kentucky University. Only Harvard University, Indiana University, Laval University, Memorial University, and Pitzer College offer the B.A. degree in folklore.

Although the degree in folklore is not common in North America, at least eighty institutions offer majors in other disciplines (notably English, anthropology, and American studies) that permit either a folklore minor or concentration. These growing programs at all degree levels range from formal curricula to informal concentrations. For example, the M.A. and Ph.D. in anthropology or English with a folklore concentration is offered at the University of Texas at Austin and the University of Oregon. SUNY-Buffalo offers a Ph.D. in English with a folklore and mythology concentration. George Washington University grants an M.A. in American studies or anthropology and a Ph.D. in American studies with a folklife concentration. Utah State University offers a master's degree in American studies or applied history with a folklore concentration. At most of these universities, as well as at a number of others, a Ph.D. minor in folklore is offered. Undergraduates at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill may elect an interdisciplinary degree with an area in folklore, undergraduates at the University of Texas at Austin may take a special concentration in folklore, and undergraduates at Utah State may earn a degree in American studies with a concentration in folklore.

Since the 1940s separate folklore courses have become established in most major universities and in many small colleges. The first survey of folklore studies in American colleges and universities, conducted in 1940 by Ralph Steele Boggs, dealt mainly with graduate courses in folklore and found only twenty-three schools with folklore courses. In 1940 only two American colleges and universities reported having introductory folklore courses. Ten years later, Richard M. Dorson, reporting only on folklore courses introduced since the 1940 survey, added thirty-seven colleges and universities to the earlier list

of schools with folklore courses. By 1950, nearly half of the courses were either introductory folklore or American folklore courses.

AFS cosponsored surveys of folklore studies in 1969, 1977, and 1985. The 1969 survey found 170 colleges and universities with at least one course in folklore. The most popular folklore course in 1969 was the introductory course, followed by courses in the ballad and folksong, American folklore, and the folktale. The 1977 survey found that the number of institutions offering folklore courses had increased to 404. The introductory course remained the most popular course, but American folklore replaced the ballad as the second most popular course. The folktale course showed only a slight increase in popularity. Courses in folklore in literature, in regional folklore, and in ethnic folklore were the most popular of recently introduced folklore courses in 1977.

The latest survey in 1985 found that at least 509 American and 19 Canadian colleges and universities had at least one course in folklore. The introductory folklore course remained the most popular folklore course offered in American colleges and universities, followed by the American folklore course. Regional American and ethnic American folklore courses were gaining in popularity, and the ballad course—the most popular folklore course in the United States in 1940 and second only to the introductory course as late as 1969—continued to lose its appeal.

The study of folklore has advanced steadily in North America since 1940 when Ralph Steele Boggs reported only a handful of American colleges and universities with folklore courses. Although more folklore courses are offered in English and, to a lesser degree, anthropology departments than in any other departments or programs, folklore courses are found in a wide variety of departments and programs from architecture to women's studies. At a number of institutions, folklore courses, often cross-listed, are housed in more than one department. While departments of folklore have not developed, folklore courses and concentrations in allied departments and programs, after a slow beginning, have increased significantly in North America over the past twenty-five years.

THE FOLKLORIST AND THE PUBLIC

BURT FEINTUCH

Western Kentucky University

When I was a graduate student in folklore in the early 1970s, the received history of our discipline was a saga of dedicated but unappreciated scholars marching slowly yet inexorably toward a niche in the academy. It was a view of the past and a prediction of the future that chronicled folklore's rise to academic credibility led by scholars of high standards and broad vision. Quite appropriately, it celebrated the best scholarship and the newest perspectives, and it also emphasized professionalism, equating *professional* with *academic*, in contrast to *popularizer*. Sharing that story was a means of entering the group. We were, our professors told us, to carry the torch, to don our own academic regalia in university positions around the nation. Many of us did just that.

Like other received histories, this story reveals as much about its tellers as it does its subject. In its particular moment, it made good sense. Graduate programs were burgeoning, AFS was feeling flush because of a rapid expansion of its membership, and the academic future felt considerably more secure than ever before. But it was clearly a selective view of our past, a history that served rhetorical purposes, turning a blind eye to much of what folklore work has been and much of what folklorists have been doing in the last hundred years.

Certainly, the academic institutionalization of our discipline is one of our prime accomplishments, cause for both celebration and relief. But it is one strand of a more intricate fabric. What was lost for a time during those heady and halcyon days of academic entrenchment was an appreciation of the diversity of both our intellectual lineage and our contemporary colleagues as well as our contributions to the larger community. We do ourselves a disservice when we forget that what we do is intimately bound up with the world we live in and that throughout our history many American folklorists have seen their work as *both* public and academic. Ultimately, the consequences of our public-spiritedness are likely to form our most enduring legacy. Long after our discourse of the moment is discarded and our latest new perspectives are dated, the public dimension of our work will remain.

But this public domain is difficult to give form and

quantity. For instance, consider an AFS comprised in its early days of anthropologist and poet, clergyman and physician, novelist and feminist, civil servant and curator, professor and jurist. It is difficult to gloss motives and assess outcomes derived from such diversity of background, motive, and endeavor. And the passing of time, the changing of political climate and social priorities, the advent and decline of other institutions and agencies, and the vagaries of mass culture are linked in symbiosis to our involvement in the larger community. Our work has had inspired public consequence, while it has also been molded by that same public.

To begin at the beginning: AFS did not create public interest in the stuff we now claim as our purview. Instead, the society was founded as a result of a larger and wider general interest manifest in the popular press, in public agencies, in academic circles, and among educated laypeople. Directed at the educated public, books with "folklore" in their titles had been appearing in Britain and North America since the 1850s, gradually supplanting their antiquarian, philological, and anthropological antecedents, shaping the vocabulary used today in public and academic settings. The interest was widespread, and it was by no means limited to the North American continent, as the histories of folk cultural organizations and agencies around the world demonstrate. AFS was one tangible outcome of that broad interest.

The society united disparate interests and agendas, nurturing study, appreciation, and advocacy of its subject matter. Its stated goals manifested a vision of American society and a set of priorities that were both pluralist and public-spirited, implying that American society benefits from its diversity and stressing the importance of an inclusive rather than exclusive view of its cultural components. American folklorists have helped Americans pluralize and democratize their view of their nation. With some pride, we can claim Newell's statement as a point of departure. Today, although the demographics of the society he founded have changed considerably, the duality and complementarity of our mission—public and academic—remain deeply ingrained.

Some examples from early AFS history help establish the tenor of public folklore work, demonstrating that for many folklorists academic interest and public consequence were indivisible. At the same time, they clearly illustrate that preservation, protection, and presentation have long been part of our collective venture. Thus, much of what we today term “public sector” folklore work has ample precedent from what is essentially the dawn of our profession.

The very first volume of *JAF* notes AFS member Alice Fletcher’s proposal to the American Academy for the Advancement of Science that national archeological reserves be created as monuments to American Indian life. Fletcher, who at one time was employed at the Winnebago Indian Agency in Nebraska, was one of the many AFS members who worked with Native American cultures at a time when such work was far from fashionable. Her academic and public selves were obviously not discretely separate from each other.

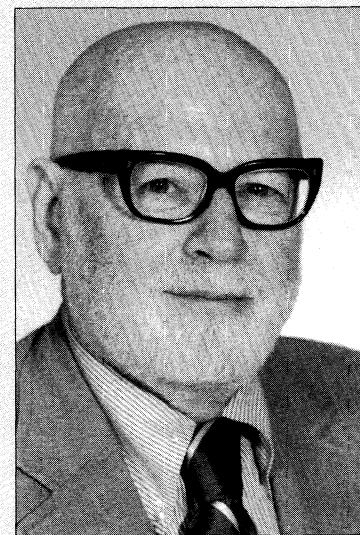
In 1892, *JAF* reported on a folklore exhibit at the University of Pennsylvania’s museum, an early bastion of folklore research. The exhibit, focusing on religious and ceremonial artifacts with a catalog edited by Stewart Culin, was visited by thousands. A year later, Culin, a member of the AFS council, supervised a larger folklore exhibit at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Presenting both religious and secular artifacts, the exhibit was by all reports a public success. In fact, folklore was in the air at the exposition. Other exhibits showcased folk cultural artifacts, and many presentations of folk music were featured.

In the 1894 volume, Heli Chatelain writes, “It would indeed be a great pity if all those grand Bantu languages should disappear, and all the African mind and sentiment be forced into the strait-jackets of European forms of speech.” Three years later, a report notes that Chatelain had founded the Philafrican Liberator’s League to help “assist in the performance of the duty which America owes toward enslaved Africa.” Chatelain, according to William Wells Newell, had “given health and life to the cause of human brotherhood in Africa.” Evidently for Chatelain, folklore and social justice were cut from the same cloth.

At the start of AFS’ second decade, the 1898 *JAF* reports that the recently founded Hampton Folk-Lore Society was interested in folklore not so much as a tool for interpreting the past than as a means of understanding contemporary Afro-American culture, the purpose being to advance Hampton’s cultural and philanthropic work. And throughout *JAF*’s first decade its book



Katharine Luomala, JAF editor, 1952-53. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.



Thomas A. Sebeok, JAF editor, 1954-58. Courtesy of Indiana University Audio-Visual Center.

reviewers tell readers time and time again that titles under scrutiny are written not for an academic readership but for the general public. Many of those books were written by AFS members.

The 1903 JAF reports the founding of Conservatoire de la Tradition Populaire in Antwerp. With goals “to preserve the originality of the folk by securing for it respect and admiration and, if need be, to restore traditions,” the organization sounds much like today’s public sector folk-life agencies. Presumably, today’s term “cultural conservation” would not have been out of place in the Conservatoire’s articles of incorporation.

Of course, it was in the AFS branches and the state societies that public and academic folklore interests often converged. Two hundred people attended the fourth meeting of the California Branch of AFS, according to the 1906 JAF. In an alliance that lasted about sixty years, the Kentucky Folklore Society met in Louisville in conjunction with the Kentucky Education Association in 1917. A hundred people attended the folklore session. By then public interest in folklore was growing in Kentucky. KFS member D. L. Thomas had a regular folklore column in the *Courier-Journal*, the state’s newspaper. Later, Gordon Wilson—a KFS stalwart, professor at Western Kentucky University (then a teachers college), dialect scholar, and popular writer—began a column that ran for about two decades in as many as eighty-nine newspapers. State societies and branches of this kind have provided common ground for enthusiast and academic. It is important to remember that throughout history, the enthusiasts have far outnumbered the academics. At the same time, much of the public work done by folklorists has used the state societies as base camps. For the most part, both of those observations hold true even today.

Certain names stand out over time, among them Lomax, Botkin, Korson, and Randolph. Three Lomaxes have made remarkable contributions to our national appreciation of community traditions. First, John Lomax (who was AFS president in 1913), then Alan, brought a stunning legacy of grassroots music into national artistic consciousness. Certainly Americans owe much of their awareness of the beauty and diversity of our musical cultures to the work of father and son—fieldworkers, authors, presenters, advocates, archivists, record producers, scholars. It is arguable, too, that the folksong revival that ultimately affected American popular music derives in large measure from the Lomaxes. Ironically, that musical revival inspired many young enthusiasts to channel their enthusiasm into academic

work, so the Lomaxes’ efforts are a major reason for the growth of AFS in the 1960s and 1970s. Today, Bess Lomax Hawes continues a family tradition, as head of the Folk Arts Program helping the National Endowment for the Arts define and implement a mission appropriate for a democratic multicultural nation.

Benjamin A. Botkin embodies much of what is good about public folklife work, while at the same time the considerable controversy centered on him illustrates the ambiguities and complexities of such endeavor. Harvard-trained in American civilization, he took a nontraditional path, opting to work outside the academy. As chief of the folklore section of the Federal Writers’ Project, the New Deal agency frequently cited as the archetype for contemporary public sector work, Botkin worked with Charles Seeger, Alan Lomax, and others to articulate an appropriate role for a government-funded folklife agency in a democracy.

Botkin argued that the materials collected in the course of New Deal folklife work should be returned to the communities from which they came. For Botkin, nationalism, pluralism, and cosmopolitanism framed folklore work. To him, scholarly and popular works were part of a continuum. Certainly, he must be our best-selling author. Sales of his regional folklore treasuries were huge, and some remain in print decades after their first publication. The *eighth* printing of his *Treasury of American Folklore* was an edition of 400,000 copies. But Botkin was controversial in the groves of academe. Academics sometimes excoriated him as a popularizer, attacking his definitional and editorial practices and criticizing his activist stance against the ideals of dispassionate scholarship. Yet he was elected president of AFS, and recent critical examinations of his career have portrayed him as a visionary.

Both George Korson and Vance Randolph made their livings as writers, working largely outside of academic folklore circles. Korson, chronicling coal mining culture, wrote model studies of occupational folklife that fascinated a public readership and stand today as scholarly touchstones. Randolph, delving deeply into Ozark folklife, gave us regional collections unrivaled in their extent. Both men directed most of their publications at nonspecialist readers. Archie Green has pointed out that in their books Korson and Randolph turned fieldwork into adventure, and that may be one reason for their wide appeal.

Unquestionably, Botkin, Korson, and Randolph demonstrated repeatedly that public and academic, popular and scholarly are not necessarily oppositions.

Both Korson and Botkin saw content—what Botkin might have termed the human dimension—as important at a time when the academic mainstream focused largely on items out of context. Randolph was one of our greatest fieldworkers. Yet his biographer, Robert Cochran, observes that AFS was slow to recognize the magnitude and significance of Randolph’s work. It took almost twenty-four years for *JAF* to begin reviewing his publications, and it was not until 1978 that Randolph was named a fellow of the society.

Today we are witness to a remarkable institutionalization of public folklife work at the federal, state, and local level. Three federal agencies lead the way. The Smithsonian Institution began its Festival of American Folklife in 1967, inventing a dazzling format for presenting traditional culture. The festival unites folk performer, fieldworker, academic interpreter, and audience member in the shadow of the Washington Monument, and it stands as a sophisticated model of folk cultural presentation, a model used in countless other folklife festivals across the continent.

The Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts is one of that agency’s most successful undertakings. From its inception in 1973, the program has endeavored to pluralize and democratize the Endowment’s support of the arts in American society. Its efforts have legitimized folk arts support in the eyes of many arts administrators and agencies around the nation. One tangible consequence is that most states now have a state folklorist, and these days it is becoming increasingly common to find public folklorists working in regional and local arts and culture agencies. We should remember that twenty-five years ago, the term “state folklorist” did not exist. Today, such neologisms as “city folklorist” are slipping comfortably into our discourse. NEA money seeded many of these state and local positions and projects. The Folk Arts Program is a flagship for an increasingly eclectic fleet of agencies and programs.

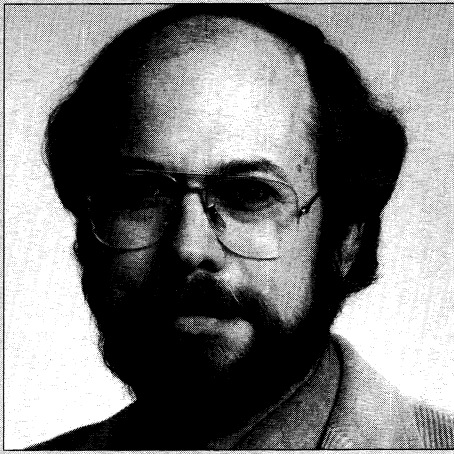
The American Folklife Center, created by Congress in 1976 after concerted lobbying led by Archie Green, stands as a symbol of federal commitment to folklife. The first national agency devoted solely to preserving, documenting, and presenting American folklife, the center is the inheritor of a legacy left by other agencies, among them the Bureau of Ethnology and the Archive of Folk Song. Today, the center oversees the Archive of Folk Culture. It mounts model field documentation projects on a scale until recently only dreamt of by American folklorists. It works in partnership with other



John Greenway, JAF editor, 1964-68. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.



Américo Paredes, JAF editor, 1969-73. Photo by Wayland D. Hand. Courtesy of Visual Media Archive, UCLA Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology.



Richard Bauman, JAF editor, 1981-85. Courtesy of Indiana University Audio-Visual Center.

agencies, building bridges to strengthen government and public involvement in cultural conservation.

The contemporary folklorist is as likely—perhaps even *more* likely—to work in the state capitol, the local school system, a museum, a humanities council, or another arts and culture organization as in the academy. That is striking on two accounts. First, except for a comparatively few museums, such positions did not exist, at least in a formally institutionalized manner, until the last two decades. Second, the sheer number of those positions suggests that much of what the American public knows of folklore is thanks to our folklife-in-education programs, museum exhibits, and publications. At their best, such efforts become powerful educational tools, helping citizens reflect on the balance between powerful educational tools, helping citizens reflect on the balance between cultural continuity and culture change, on the maintenance of distinctive cultural identities, on the value of diversity in symbol, act, and ideation. But with all that is new in public folklife endeavor, we must not forget that much of it has substantial precedent from early in our history.

We also must remind ourselves not to be complacent about what we have built. It is easy to believe that

today's institutional structure represents a permanent order, when we may actually have fashioned little more than a house of cards. Sources of support grow, but they are still comparatively few. History demonstrates that bureaucratic priorities bend in the wind; a strong enough wind could collapse our fragile edifice. To strengthen our position we might assay to understand better our own goals, to look critically at the efficacy of our tools and programs, and to attempt to comprehend the complex relations between our programs and the wider economic and political webs in which they are tangled. In short, we need more reflection, good ethnographies of our various enterprises, and critical thinking on what David Whisnant terms "the politics of culture."

One consequence of that received history mentioned earlier is an occasionally acrimonious debate in recent years premised on the idea of a schism between public and academic domains and the folklorists who inhabit them. But who among us—whether employed in the state capitol or the state university, the federal agency or local school district, the historic preservation agency or the humanities council—has not been involved in academic research, in field and library? At the same time, who has not been involved in festival, exhibit, film, or phonograph record? The fact is that most folklorists share a reasonably common formal education. The standards held up as characterizing academic work are essentially moral and ethical, differing not at all from those that govern public work. Borders between the two domains are not clearly marked. Many American folklorists easily make the crossings innumerable times as they go about their lives and their careers. In our centennial year, our diversity of membership demonstrates just how permeable that border is and just how complementary public and academic endeavors are.

1888-89
AMERICAN
FOLKLORE
SOCIETY
CENTENNIAL
1988-89

OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY

Presidents

1888-89	Francis James Child
1890	Daniel Garrison Brinton
1891	Otis T. Mason
1892	Frederic Ward Putnam
1893	Horatio Hale
1894	Alcée Fortier
1895	Washington Matthews
1896	John G. Bourke
1897	Stewart Culin
1898	Henry Wood
1899	Charles L. Edwards
1900	Franz Boas
1901	Frank Russell
1902	George Dorsey
1903	Livingston Farrand
1904	George Lyman Kittredge
1905	Alice C. Fletcher
1906	Alfred L. Kroeber
1907-08	Roland B. Dixon
1909	John R. Swanton
1910-11	Henry M. Belden
1912-13	John A. Lomax
1914-15	Pliny Earle Goddard
1916-17	Robert H. Lowie
1918	C.-Marius Barbeau
1919-20	Elsie Clews Parsons
1921-22	Frank G. Speck
1923-24	Aurelio M. Espinosa
1925-26	Louise Pound
1927-28	Alfred M. Tozzer
1929-30	Edward Sapir
1931	Franz Boas
1932-33	Martha W. Beckwith
1934	Franz Boas
1935-36	Archer Taylor
1937-39	Stith Thompson
1940-41	A. Irving Hallowell
1942	Harold W. Thompson
1943	Gladys A. Reichard
1944	Benjamin A. Botkin
1945	Melville J. Herskovits
1946-47	Joseph M. Carrière
1948	Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
1949	Thelma G. James
1950	Ann H. Gayton
1951-52	Francis Lee Utley
1953-54	William R. Bascom
1955-56	Herbert Halpert
1957-58	Wayland D. Hand
1959-60	William N. Fenton
1961-62	MacEdward Leach
1963-64	Melville Jacobs
1965-66	Samuel P. Bayard
1967-68	Richard M. Dorson
1969-70	Daniel J. Crowley

1971-72	D. K. Wilgus
1973-74	Dell Hymes
1975-76	Kenneth S. Goldstein
1977	Ellen Stekert
1978	J. Barre Toelken
1979	Roger D. Abrahams
1980	Alan Dundes
1981	Don Yoder
1982	Linda Dégh
1983	W. F. H. Nicolaisen
1984	Bruce Jackson
1985	Jan Harold Brunvand
1986	Rayna Green
1987	Judith McCulloh
1988	Alan Jabbour
1989-90	Henry Glassie

Treasurers

1888-89	William Wells Newell
1889-92	Henry Phillips, Jr.
1892-1905	John H. Hinton
1905-15	Eliot W. Remick
1915-22	Alfred M. Tozzer
1923-28	Pliny Earle Goddard
1929-30	Melville J. Herskovits
1931	Leslie A. White
1932-36	Ruth M. Underhill

Permanent Secretaries

1888-1906	William Wells Newell
1907-9	Alfred M. Tozzer*
1910-23	Charles Peabody
1924-26	Gladys A. Reichard
1927	Pliny Earle Goddard
1928-36	Gladys A. Reichard

**Tozzer was Acting Permanent Secretary in 1907 after the death of Newell.*

Secretary-Treasurers

1937-39	Gene Weltfish
1940-41	George Herzog
1942	D. S. Davidson
1943-60	MacEdward Leach
1961-65	Tristram P. Coffin
1966-72	Kenneth S. Goldstein
1973-76	Richard Bauman

Executive Secretary-Treasurers

1977-81	David J. Hufford
1982-86	Charles Camp
1987-92	Timothy Lloyd

FELLOWS OF THE AMERICAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY

Name	Year Elected
Abrahams, Roger D.	1970
Basgöz, İlhan	1983
Baughman, Ernest W.	1971
#Bauman, Richard	1977
Bayard, Samuel P.	1959
Beck, Horace P.	1968
Ben-Amos, Dan	1976
Boggs, Ralph Steele	1965
*Brunvand, Jan Harold	1973
Buchan, David	1986
Coffin, Tristram P.	1960
Creighton, Helen	1967
Crowley, Daniel J.	1967
*Dégh, Linda	1971
*Dundes, Alan	1964
Eberhard, Wolfram	1969
*Fenton, William	1960
Fowke, Edith	1974
Friedman, Albert	1970
#Georges, Robert A.	1978
Gillmor, Frances	1963
Glassie, Henry	1976
*Goldstein, Kenneth S.	1965
Green, Archie	1979
Greenway, John	1967
*Halpert, Herbert	1960
Hawes, Bess Lomax	1982
*Ives, Edward D.	1980

Jabbour, Alan	1987
Jones, Louis C.	1962
Jones, Michael Owen	1986
Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara	1985
Lacourcière, Luc	1973
Lessa, William A.	1973
Lomax, Alan	1972
Lord, Albert B.	1968
Luomala, Katharine	1960
Mieder, Wolfgang	1980
Newall, Venetia	1979
Nicolaisen, William F. H.	1982
*Oinas, Felix J.	1975
Opler, Morris E.	1960
Paredes, Américo	1966
*Richmond, W. Edson	1960
Rinzler, Ralph C.	1984
Robe, Stanley	1973
*Roberts, Warren E.	1960
Sebeok, Thomas A.	1960
Tax, Sol	1963
Toelken, J. Barre	1981
Ward, Donald J.	1981
Weigle, Marta	1987
Wheeler-Voegelin, Erminie	1959
*Wilgus, D. K.	1960
Wilson, William A.	1984
Yoder, Don	1972

Deceased Fellows

Name	Period as Fellows
Bascom, William	1959-1981
Boatright, Mody C.	1963-1970
Botkin, Benjamin A.	1962-1975
Bronson, Bertrand H.	1959-1986
Dorson, Richard M.	1959-1981
Fife, Austin	1964-1986
Gayton, Ann H.	1960-1977
Hallowell, A. Irving	1959-1974
Hand, Wayland D.	1960-1986
Herskovits, Melville	1959-1964
Herzog, George	1959-1984
Hudson, Arthur Palmer	1960-1978
Jacobs, Melville	1959-1971
James, Thelma G.	1950-1988
Jansen, William H.	1969-1979
Köngäs-Maranda, Elli K.	1977-1982
Korson, George	1960-1967
Leach, MacEdward	1959-1967
Loomis, C. Grant	1963-1965
Puckett, Newbell N.	1959-1966
Randolph, Vance	1978-1980
Seeger, Charles	1959-1979
Taylor, Archer	1959-1973
Thompson, Harold	1959-1964
Thompson, Stith	1959-1975
Utley, Francis Lee	1960-1974

Present officers of the Fellows

* Former Chairpersons of the Fellows



Fellows of the American Folklore Society, Bloomington, Indiana, 28 July 1962. From left to right: (first row) Benjamin Botkin, MacEdward Leach, Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin, Katharine Luomala, Thelma James, Wayland Hand, Francis Lee Utley; (second row) Charles Seeger, Warren Roberts, Newbell Niles Puckett, Mody Boatright, Louis C. Jones, Stith Thompson, Archer Taylor, Arthur Palmer Hudson, Richard M. Dorson; (third row) Morris E. Opler, Samuel P. Bayard, D. K. Wilgus, Edson Richmond, George Korson, Sol Tax. Courtesy of Simon Bronner.

**EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL OF
AMERICAN FOLKLORE**

1888-99	(Vols. 1-12)	William Wells Newell
1900-1907	(Vols. 13-20)	Alexander F. Chamberlain
1908-24	(Vols. 21-37)	Franz Boas
1925-39	(Vols. 38-52)	Ruth Benedict
1940	(Vol. 53)	Gladys A. Reichard
1941	(Vol. 54)	Archer Taylor
1942-46	(Vols. 55-59)	Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
1947-51	(Vols. 60-64)	Wayland D. Hand
1952-53	(Vols. 65-66)	Katharine Luomala
1954-58	(Vols. 67-71)	Thomas A. Sebeok
1959-63	(Vols. 72-76)	Richard M. Dorson
1964-68	(Vols. 77-81)	John Greenway
1969-73	(Vols. 82-86)	Américo Paredes
1974-76	(Vols. 86-89)	J. Barre Toelken
1976-80	(Vols. 90-94)	Jan Harold Brunvand*
1981-85	(Vols. 94-98)	Richard Bauman
1986-90	(Vols. 99-103)	Bruce Jackson

**Began tenure with October-December, 1976, issue*

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY

Memoir Series

- 1: Heli Chatelain, *Folktales of Angola* (1894)
- 2: Alcée Fortier, *Louisiana Folk-Tales* (1895)
- 3: Charles L. Edwards, *Bahama Songs and Stories: A Contribution to Folklore* (1895)
- 4: Fanny D. Bergen, *Current Superstitions: Collected From the Oral Tradition of English Speaking Folk* (1896)
- 5: Washington Matthews, *Navaho Legends* (1897)
- 6: James Teit, coll., *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia* (1898)
- 7: Fanny D. Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore: Collected From the Oral Tradition of English Speaking Folk* (1899)
- 8: George A. Dorsey, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (1904)
- 9: M. R. Cole, *Los Pastores: A Mexican Play of the Nativity* (1907)
- 10: Eleanor Hague, ed., *Spanish-American Folk Songs* (1917)
- 11: Franz Boas, ed., *Folk-Tales of the Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes* (1917)
- 12: Dean S. Fansler, ed., *Filipino Popular Tales* (1921)
- 13: Elsie Clews Parsons, ed., *Folk-Tales of Andros Island, Bahamas* (1918)
- 14: *Journal of American Folklore Index to Volumes 1-40* (1930)
- 15: Elsie Clews Parsons, ed., *Folk-Lore From the Cape Verde Islands, 2 vols.* (1923)
- 16: Elsie Clews Parsons, ed., *Folk-Lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina* (1923)
- 17: Martha Warren Beckwith, *Jamaica Anansi Stories* (1924)
- 18: Annie Weston Whitney and Caroline Canfield Bullock, comps., *Folk-Lore From Maryland* (1925)
- 19: Elsie Clews Parsons, ed., *Tewa Tales* (1926)
- 20: Clement M. Doke, *Lambda Folk-Lore* (1927)
- 21: Martha Warren Beckwith, *Jamaica Folk-Lore* (1928)
- 22: Elsie Clews Parsons, ed., *Kiowa Tales* (1929)
- 23: Manuel J. Andrade, *Folk-Lore From the Dominican Republic* (1930)
- 24: Arthur Huff Fauset, ed., *Folklore From Nova Scotia* (1931)
- 25: Franz Boas, ed., *Bella Bella Tales* (1932)
- 26: Elsie Clews Parsons, ed., *Folk-Lore of the Antilles, French and English, 3 vols.* (Part One, 1933; Part Two, 1936; Part Three, 1943)
- 27: Thelma Adamson, ed., *Folk-Tales of the Coast Salish* (1934)
- 28: Franz Boas, *Kwakiutl Culture as Reflected in Mythology* (1935)
- 29: Earl J. Stout, *Folklore From Iowa* (1936)
- 30: José Manuel Espinosa, *Spanish Folk-Tales From New Mexico* (1937)
- 31: Morris Edward Opler, *Myths and Tales of the Jicarilla Apache Indians* (1938)
- 32: Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* (1937)
- 33: Grenville Goodwin, *Myths and Tales of the White Mountain Apache* (1939)
- 34: Elsie Clews Parsons, ed., *Taos Tales* (1940)
- 35: Howard T. Wheeler, *Tales From Jalisco Mexico* (1943)
- 36: Morris Edward Opler, *Myths and Legends of the Lipan Apache Indians* (1940)
- 37: Morris Edward Opler, *Myths and Tales of the Chiricahua Apache Indians* (1942)

- 38: John F. Embree, Ella Embree, and Yokuo Uyehara, comps., *Japanese Peasant Songs* (1944)
- 39: Samuel Preston Bayard, ed., *Hill Country Tunes: Instrumental Folk Music of Southwestern Pennsylvania* (1944)
- 40: Alfred Métraux, *Myths and Tales of the Toba and Pilaga Indians of the Gran Chaco* (1946)
- 41: Gladys A. Reichard, *An Analysis of Coeur D'Alene Indian Myth* (1947)
- 42: Roman Jakobson and Ernest J. Simmons, eds., *Russian Epic Studies* (1949)
- 43: Robert A. Hall, Jr., *Haitian Creole: Grammar. Texts. Vocabulary* (1953)
- 44: Stavro Skendi, *Albanian and South Slavic Oral Epic Poetry* (1954)
- 45: Bruno Nettl, *North American Indian Musical Styles* (1954)
- 46: Roy Franklin Barton, *The Mythology of the Ifugaos* (1955)
- 47: Corinne L. Saucier, *Traditions de la Paroisse des Voyelles en Louisiane* (1956)
- 48: Katherine Spencer, *Mythology and Values: An Analysis of Navaho Chantway Myths* (1957)
- 49: Marija Gimbutas, *Ancient Symbolism in Lithuanian Folk Art* (1958)
- 50: Vera Laski, *Seeking Life* (1959)
- 51: Raphael Patai, Francis Lee Utey, and Dov Noy, eds., *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore* (1960)
- 52: Kenneth S. Goldstein, *A Guide for Fieldworkers in Folklore* (1964)
- 53: Thomas E. Cheney, *Mormon Songs from the Rocky Mountains: A Compilation of Mormon Folksong* (1968)
- 54: Bill C. Malone, *Country Music U.S.A.: A Fifty Year History* (1968)
- 55: Edith Fowke, *Lumbering Songs from the Northwest Woods* (1970)
- 56: Elaine K. Miller, *Mexican Folk Narratives from the Los Angeles Area* (1973)
- 57: Ellen Frye, *The Marble Threshing Floor: A Collection of Greek Folksongs* (1973)
- 58: Anne B. Cohen, *Poor Pearl, Poor Girl!: The Murdered-Girl Stereotype in Ballad and Newspaper* (1973)
- 59: Minnie Potsma, *Tales from the Basotho* (1974)
- 60: Roger D. Abrahams, *Deep the Water, Shallow the Shore: Three Essays on Shanteying in the West Indies* (1974)
- 61: Leonard Roberts, *Sang Branch Settlers: Folksongs and Tales of a Kentucky Mountain Family* (1974)
- 62: Alan Dundes and Carl R. Pagter, *Urban Folklore from the Paperwork Empire* (1975)

Bibliographical and Special Series

- 1: G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., *Native American Balladry: A Descriptive Study and a Bibliographical Syllabus* (1950, rev. ed. 1964)
- 2: Tristram P. Coffin, *The British Traditional Ballad in North America* (1950)
- 3: Eloise Ramsey, *Folklore for Children and Young People: A Critical and Descriptive Bibliography for Use in the Elementary and Intermediate Schools* (1952)

- 4: Alan P. Merriam and Robert J. Benford, *A Bibliography of Jazz* (1954)
- 5: Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., *Myth: A Symposium* (1955)
- 6: Albert Bates Lord, *Slavic Folklore: A Symposium* (1956)
- 7: Tristram P. Coffin, *An Analytical Index to the Journal of American Folklore: Volumes 1-70* (1958)
- 8: G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., *American Balladry from British Broad-sides: A Guide for Students and Collectors of Traditional Song* (1957)
- 9: V. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, rev. ed. (1975)
- 10: Milton Singer, ed., *Traditional India: Structure and Change* (1959)
- 11: *Bulletin of the Folksong Society of the North East Numbers 1-12* (1960)
- 12: Thomas Ravenscroft, *Pammelia; Deutromelia; Melismata* (1961)
- 13: Tristram P. Coffin, ed., *Indian Tales of North America: An Anthology for the Adult Reader* (1961)
- 14: Horace P. Beck, ed., *Folklore in Action: Essays for Discussion in Honor of MacEdward Leach* (1962)
- 15: John Harrington Cox, *Traditional Ballads and Folk-Songs Mainly from West Virginia* (1964)
- 16: J. D. Elder, *Song Games from Trinidad and Tobago* (1965)
- 17: Melville Jacobs, comp., *The Anthropologist Looks at Myth* (1966)
- 18: Bruce Jackson, *The Negro and His Folklore in Nineteenth Century Periodicals* (1967)
- 19: Josiah H. Combs, *Folk-Songs of the Southern United States: Folk-Songs du Midi des Etats-Unis* (1967)
- 20: Roger D. Abrahams, *Jump-Rope Rhymes: A Dictionary* (1969)
- 21: Kaarle Krohn, *Folklore Methodology* (1971)
- 22: Américo Paredes and Ellen J. Stekert, *The Urban Experience and Folk Tradition* (1971)
- 23: Américo Paredes and Richard Bauman, *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore* (1972)
- 24: Brian Sutton-Smith, *The Folkgames of Children* (1972)
- 25: James Woodrow Hassell, Jr., *Amorous Games: A Critical Edi-*

- tion of Les Adevineaux Amoureux* (1974)
- 26: Dan Ben-Amos, *Folklore Genres* (1976)
- 27: Alan Dundes, *Folklore Theses and Dissertations in the United States* (1976)
- 28: Claire R. Farrer, *Women and Folklore* (1976)
- 29: Tristram P. Coffin, *The British Traditional Ballad in North America*, rev. Roger DeV. Renwick (1977)
- 30: Linda Dégh, *Studies in East European Folk Narrative* (1978)
- 31 or 33: Roger D. Abrahams and Lois Rankin, eds., *Counting-Out Rhymes: A Dictionary* (1980)
- 32: John F. Szwed and Roger D. Abrahams, *Afro-American Folk Culture: An Annotated Bibliography of Materials from North, Central and South America and the West Indies*, 2 vols. (1978)

New Series

- 1: Stanley Brandes, *Metaphors of Masculinity: Sex and Status in Andalusian Folklore* (1980)
- 2: Roger DeV. Renwick, *English Folk Poetry: Structure and Meaning* (1980)
- 3: Brian Sutton-Smith, *The Folkstories of Children* (1980)
- 4: Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: Culture and History of an Ulster Community* (1982)
- 5: Steven Feld, *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics and Song in Kaluli Expression* (1982)
- 6: Mark Slobin, ed. and trans., *Old Jewish Folk Music: The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski* (1982)
- 7: David J. Hufford, *The Terror That Comes in the Night: An Experience-Centered Study of Supernatural Assault Traditions* (1982)
- 8: Rosan A. Jordan and Susan J. Kalcik, eds., *Women's Folklore, Women's Culture* (1985)
- Bruce Jackson, ed., *Teaching Folklore* (1984)
- Debora Kodish, *Good Friends and Bad Enemies: Robert Winslow Gordon and the Study of American Folksong* (1986)
- Burt Feintuch, ed., *The Conservation of Culture: Folklorists and the Public Sector* (1988)

ANNUAL MEETINGS OF THE AMERICAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY

1889	Philadelphia	1940	New York
1890	New York	1941	Andover, Massachusetts
1891	Washington, D.C.	1942	No Meeting
1892	Boston and Cambridge	1943	No Meeting
1893	Montreal	1944	Philadelphia
1894	Washington, D.C.	1945	Chicago
1895	Philadelphia	1946	Chicago
1896	New York	1947	Detroit
1897	Baltimore	1948	Toronto
1898	New York	1949	Washington, D.C.
1899	New Haven	1950	Berkeley
1900	Baltimore	1951	Detroit
1901	Chicago	1952	El Paso
1902	Washington, D.C.	1953	Tucson
1903	Cambridge	1954	New York
1904	Philadelphia	1955	Bloomington, Indiana
1905	Ithaca, New York	1956	Los Angeles
1906	New York	1957	Chicago
1907	Chicago	1958	New York
1908	Baltimore	1959	Mexico City
1909	Boston	1960	Philadelphia
1910	Providence	1961	Austin
1911	Washington, D.C.	1962	Washington, D.C.
1912	Cleveland	1963	Detroit
1913	New York	1964	New York
1914	Philadelphia	1965	Denver
1915	Washington, D.C.	1966	Boston
1916	New York	1967	Toronto
1917	Philadelphia	1968	Bloomington, Indiana
1918	Baltimore	1969	Atlanta
1919	Cambridge	1970	Los Angeles
1920	Philadelphia	1971	Washington, D.C.
1921	Brooklyn, New York	1972	Austin
1922	Cambridge	1973	Nashville
1923	New York	1974	Portland
1924	Washington, D.C.	1975	New Orleans
1925	New Haven	1976	Philadelphia
1926	Philadelphia	1977	Detroit
1927	Andover, Massachusetts	1978	Salt Lake City
1928	New York	1979	Los Angeles
1929	Poughkeepsie, New York	1980	Pittsburgh
1930	Cleveland	1981	San Antonio
1931	Andover, Massachusetts	1982	Minneapolis
1932	Atlantic City	1983	Nashville
1933	Columbus, Ohio	1984	San Diego
1934	Pittsburgh	1985	Cincinnati
1935	Andover, Massachusetts	1986	Baltimore
1936	Washington, D.C.	1987	Albuquerque
1937	New Haven	1988	Cambridge
1938	New York	1989	Philadelphia
1939	Chicago		