Utah State University

DigitalCommons@USU

All USU Press Publications

USU Press

2004

Folklore in Utah: A History and Guide to Resources

David Stanley

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/usupress_pubs

Part of the Cultural History Commons, and the Folklore Commons

Recommended Citation

Stanley, D. (2004). Folklore in Utah: A history and guide to resources. Logan: Utah State University Press.

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the USU Press at DigitalCommons@USU. It has been accepted for inclusion in All USU Press Publications by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@USU. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@usu.edu.

UtahStateUniversity
MERRILL-CAZIER LIBRARY

Folklore in Utah

A History and Guide to Resources

David Stanley, editor

Folklore in Utah

A History and Guide to Resources

Folklore in Utah

A History and Guide to Resources

Edited by David Stanley

Utah State University Press
Logan, Utah

Copyright © 2004 Utah State University Press
All rights reserved

Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22, and 23 were previously published in substantially different form in the *Utah Folklife Newsletter*, a joint publication of the Utah Arts Council and the Folklore Society of Utah, between 1985 and 1991.

Publication of this book was supported by a grant from the Utah State Historical Society to the Folklore Society of Utah.
This publication has received funding from the Utah Humanities Council. The Utah Humanities Council promotes history and heritage, books and reading, and public discussion of issues important to our communities.

Manufactured in the United States of America
Printed on acid-free paper

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Folklore in Utah : a history and guide to resources / edited by David Stanley.
p. cm.
Numerous chapters are revisions of essays originally published in the Utah folklife newletter between 1985 and 1991.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-87421-588-9 (pbk. : alk. paper)
1. Folklore--Utah--History. 2. Folklorists--Utah--Biography. 3. Folklore--Study and teaching (Higher)--Utah--History. 4. Utah--Folklore. 5. Utah--Social life and customs. I. Stanley, David, 1942- II. Utah folklife newsletter.
GR110.U8F65 2004
398.2'09792'09--dc22
2004010411

ISBN 0-87421-507-2 (e-book)

For my son Ned

Contents

Preface
David Stanley 1

1. Folklore Work in Utah—A Historical Survey
David Stanley 6

I. The First Folklorists

2. Folklore and the Literary Generation of the 1930s
Edward A. Geary 22

3. Hector Lee
David Stanley 29

Folklore and a Utah Childhood
Hector Lee 30

4. Wayland Hand—Utah Folklorist, International Scholar
Barre Toelken 34

5. Austin and Alta Fife, Pioneer Folklorists
William A. Wilson 41

6. Lester Hubbard and the Folksongs of Utah
Hal Cannon 49

7. Thomas Cheney and the Dilemmas of Mormon Folklore
George H. Schoemaker 54

8. Olive Woolley Burt, Collector of Murder Ballads
Ann Reichman 60

9. Helen Papanikolas, Folklorist of Ethnicity
Yiorgos Anagnostou 67

II. The Second and Third Generations of Folklorists

10. “On Being Human”: The Legacy of William A. Wilson
George H. Schoemaker 78

11. Barre Toelken, Folklorist of Culture and Performance
Matthew Irwin 86

12. Jan Harold Brunvand and the Urban Legend
Jacqueline S. Thursby 97

13. The Third Generation of Utah Folklorists
Michael Christensen 103

III. Studies in Utah Folklore and Folklife

14. Native American Folklore Studies
Kathryn L. MacKay 120

15. Mormon Folklore Studies
Jill Terry Rudy 142

J. Golden Kimball Narratives
Eric A. Eliason 153

16. Latino Folklore Studies
Sarah M. Rudd 156

17. Ethnic Folklore Studies
Philip F. Notarianni 161

18. Material Culture Studies
Carol A. Edison 171

19. Studies in Utah Vernacular Architecture
Thomas Carter 178

IV. Public Programs

20. Public Folklore in Utah
Elaine Thatcher 186

21. Under the Big Top: The Utah Humanities Council and Folklore
Anne F. Hatch 204

22. Ethnic Organizations and the Maintenance of Tradition
Craig R. Miller 216

23. The Folklore Society of Utah
David Stanley 224

24. Lessons of Summer: The Fife Folklore Conference
Barbara Lloyd 230

25. Cultural Tourism in Utah
Julie Hartley 240

26. Folklore in Utah's State and National Parks
Karen Krieger 246

Appendices

A. Academic Programs

Brigham Young University
Jill Terry Rudy 249

Dixie State College
Ed Reber 251

Salt Lake Community College
Liz Montague 251

University of Utah
Margaret K. Brady 252

Utah State University
Jan Roush 254

Utah Valley State College
Ronda Walker 260

Weber State University
Kathryn L. MacKay 260

Westminster College
David Stanley 261

B. College and University Folklore Archives

Brigham Young University
Kristi A. Young 262

Dixie State College
Ed Reber 263

Salt Lake Community College
Liz Montague 263

University of Utah
Elizabeth Rogers 263

Utah State University
Randy Williams 265

Utah Valley State College
Ronda Walker 266

Westminster College
David Stanley 267

C. Utah Folk Arts Collection and Chase Home Museum and Archive
Carol A. Edison 268

D. Calendar of Festivals and Community Celebrations
compiled by Julie Hartley 274

Bibliography of Utah Folklore
David Stanley, Stephanie Sherman-Petersen, Sarah M. Rudd,
Matthew Irwin, Nicholas Newberry, and Cory Cartwright 279

Index to Bibliography 330

Contributors 337

Photo Credits 344

Index 345

Preface

David Stanley

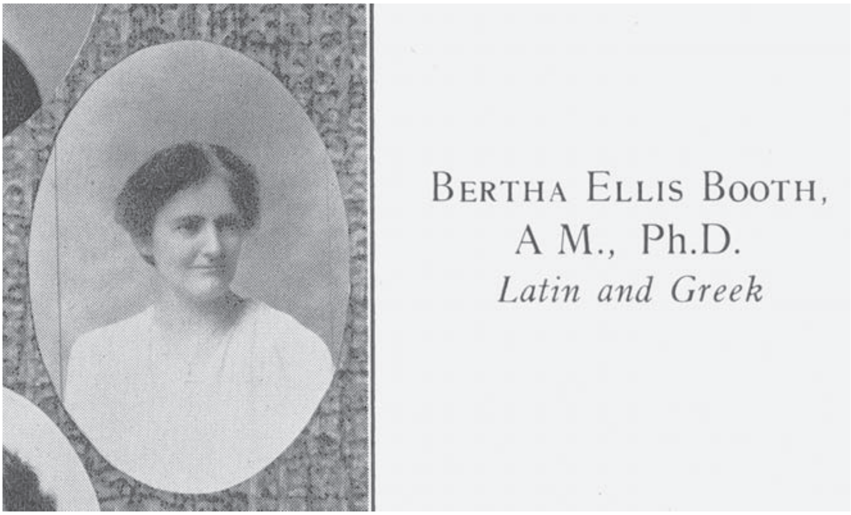
In the process of editing this collection of essays and descriptions of programs and archives, I came across two items that I thought especially pertinent and interesting to the study and collection of Utah folklore. The first was Jill Terry Rudy's thoughtful essay on Alta Fife and Alta's role in the remarkable folklore partnership that she shared with her husband Austin—and the implications of that role in terms of the increasing professionalization of folklore studies since the 1950s. The second item was a transcription of an interview that Anne F. Hatch conducted with Alta for the Fife Folklore Archives at Utah State University in 1992, four years before Alta's death. In the interview, Alta was reminiscing about a cross-country automobile trip from Boston to Los Angeles that she and Austin undertook after his discharge from the military in 1946. Their trip followed the "Mormon Trail," the complex pathway of the Mormon leadership and the faithful from Palmyra, New York; to Kirtland, Ohio; to Far West, Missouri; to Nauvoo, Illinois; and finally across the plains to what was at first named Great Salt Lake City. The Fifes' purpose on this journey was to collect not Mormon folklore but folklore *about* Mormons from those residents of the Midwest who still recounted tales about "when the Mormons were here."

Alta recalled their visit to Hamilton, Missouri:

> . . . we got in there rather late, and we were feeling pressed for time. So early the next morning, Austin asked someone, I think it was a waitress, who could tell stories about the Mormons in the vicinity and she said "Bertha Booth," and so then Austin went to the editor of the newspaper, who said, "Bertha Booth knows more about it than anyone." And he looked at his watch and he said, "She's taking her walk and she'll be home in a few minutes. . . ." And he told us where to go. It was a big two-story house with a big yard that was littered with tin cans and anything you can imagine. And Austin went up to the door and there was a sign in the window, "If You Can't Hear, Come Around to the Back," and so Austin knocked and nothing happened, and he went around to the back, and he found a woman in a nightgown and a negligee hoeing in a small garden, and she had a few scraggly teeth and white hair that had not been combed in a long time.

> And when Austin told her what we were doing, she brightened up and said, "Go back around to the front door and I'll tie the dog up and come in." Our daughter Carolyn was five at the time, and Austin called us, and the three of us went in. Going into her living room was just a path between papers, and all the chairs were covered with books and papers and so on, and the dog I don't think had been walked in a long, long time. . . . She cleared stuff out of a few chairs, and we sat down, and she started to talk. And it turned out she had taught at Westminster College in Salt Lake and become interested in the Mormons, and then gone back to her home in Hamilton, and she had a map of the settlement of Far West [Missouri].
>
> And she was full of stories about Haun's Mill [where seventeen Mormons were massacred by a band of riders in 1838] and about the headless horsemen that ride there and about the cornerstone of the [Mormon] temple in Far West falling from Heaven. She was just filled with these stories. The atmosphere of the place was rather depressing. Carolyn . . . whispered that she'd rather sit in the car, and she went back and waited in the car. Austin was still wearing his military uniform—he was on terminal leave—and she loaned us some scrapbooks of material she kept about the Mormons, and Austin was writing down our address for her, and she picked it up and looked at it, and she said to him, "So you're a Ph.D., too!" And she got her thesis out of a cupboard. She had a Ph.D. in . . . classical languages from the University of Chicago, but she had devoted the latter part of her life to studying the Mormon occupation of Missouri and Illinois.
>
> . . . she went with us out to the Haun's Mill site and told us some of these stories. [She said that] the corn was higher where the well was, where they threw the bodies of the people who were killed. And there were headless horsemen . . . [who rode] in two directions because . . . the dead were buried in two different locations and . . . all these tales. She took us to the site of the Adam-Ondi-Ahman, which is supposed to be where Adam's grave is. It was a fascinating experience to have become acquainted with her.

I found the story compelling, but I didn't know quite what to make of it. If it had a moral or a lesson within, I didn't seem to be hearing it, and I recalled Mark Twain's preface to *Huckleberry Finn* in which he announced that "persons trying to find a moral will be banished." Yet the long arm of coincidence had reached out and taken hold of me. Here, in 2004, was a transcript of a 1992 interview about a 1946 interview with a woman who had earned a Ph.D. in an era when few women did (about 17% at the University of Chicago, I discovered). She had taught at the same college where I now teach and had then returned to the Midwest and steeped herself in the history and lore of the Mormons and their non-Mormon antagonists, who had confronted each other a hundred years before. She had, in essence, transformed herself from a scholar and teacher of Greek and Latin into a folklorist. I checked with the University of Chicago and, sure enough, Bertha Booth had earned a Ph.D. in classical languages in 1915



Bertha Booth, teacher of classics at Westminster College, 1926; community resource in Hamilton, Missouri for Austin and Alta Fife, 1946.

with a thesis on “The Collocation of the Adverb of Degree in Roman Comedy and Cato.” I queried David Hales, Westminster College’s library director and archivist—and a folklorist by training—and he found a 1926 yearbook with Bertha’s photo among those of the faculty. By this time I was calling her by her first name.

The tale—and folklorists tell fieldwork tales the way cowboys tell horse stories—was full of the trials familiar to all folklorists who have done fieldwork: looking for knowledgeable people to interview; meeting people face-to-face on their own grounds; untangling the complex mix of history, lore, and personal experience that surround the sacred and tragic sites of our land. But there was something more, too: here was a woman, a non-Mormon, who had reached out to another faith and another culture and found it compelling, then spent her later years learning and listening. She was a scholar, an academic, and a public resource—and she had, by anyone’s standards, lived in interesting times.

Folklore work in Utah has been characterized from the very beginning by a similar breaking down of boundaries, even though at first the boundaries may seem so hardened, their divisions so constricting. The divide between Mormon and “Gentile” (in local parlance, a non-Mormon) has been confronted and recorded and analyzed by historians and folklorists alike. The professional tensions between academic folklorists who teach at colleges and universities and public-sector folklorists who work for nonprofit organizations and for local, state, regional, and federal government departments—tensions based on differing goals and methods, and all too familiar in other parts of the country—have been largely overcome in Utah through cooperative effort (this book is an example). The complex question of maintaining a balance between collecting and interpreting the folklore of native-born Utahns of European descent and pioneer heritage and that of minority groups and recent immigrants has provided a continuing challenge to principles of inclusiveness and completeness. Other tensions based in gender and in age (as younger scholars and newer theories and methods have vied with older ones) have generally been recognized and acknowledged rather than concealed or ignored.

Gentiles—"only in Utah," says Steve Siporin, "can you be a Jew and a Gentile at the same time"—have done distinguished research in Mormon folklore, and Mormons have done plenty of work with those outside the faith. Academic folklorists have worked in the public sector, and the favor has been returned. What was once a male-dominated field has become increasingly female, and researchers and fieldworkers have more and more frequently turned from primarily studying male performers and artists to balancing the genders as women's contributions to family and community have been recognized. The initial focus on Utah and Mormon folklore has been leavened by attention to the folklore of Native Americans, African Americans, Latinos, immigrants from Europe and Asia, teenagers and college kids and consumers of popular culture.

This collection, which includes interpretive essays on Utah folklore studies, profiles of Utah folklorists, and descriptions of public-sector activities, academic programs, and archival collections, is being published in time for the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in Salt Lake City in October 2004. The collection's origins lie in a series of fourteen essays authored by a variety of professionally active folklorists and first published between 1985 and 1991 in the *Utah Folklife Newsletter,* a joint publication of the Folklore Society of Utah and the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council. Updating, refurbishing, and republishing these pieces, along with many new ones, seemed appropriate not only because of the American Folklore Society conference but because we thought that the increasing audience for folklore in Utah—college and university students, music fans, festival audiences, museum-goers, arts and crafts enthusiasts, writers, journalists, and historians—might appreciate a compact digest to the history, resources, and programs in folklore available throughout the state.

Any assemblage of so many different pieces of writing—more than forty in all by thirty-six different contributors, ranging from a single sentence to twenty or more pages—is bound to overlap in places and to omit possibly relevant material in others, especially because we thought it important that the individual essays stand for themselves and be self-sufficient, since few readers will attempt a Fife-like journey from one end of the volume to the other. Also, the essays range from those largely based on personal reminiscences or informal interviews to those based on exhaustive research in libraries and archives—perhaps a further testimony to the diversity of the folklore enterprise within the state. We hope that this work will prove useful to high-school and college students and teachers, to librarians, to professional and amateur historians, to folklorists throughout the nation and the world, and to members of the public who care about the conservation and study of Utah's folk heritage.

In addition to acknowledging the contributions of time and talent from all the contributors, we owe thanks to Nan McEntire of Indiana State University; John McCormick of Salt Lake Community College; the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City; Meggan Levitt and Carol Poelman (Information Technology, Westminster College); Russ Josephson of Berthoud, Colorado; John Alley and Michael Spooner of Utah State University Press; Kent Powell of the Utah State Historical Society; the Utah Humanities Council (Cynthia Buckingham); and the archives and archivists of Brigham Young University (Kristi A. Young), the *Deseret Morning News*, the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council, the University of Utah, the Utah State Historical Society (Doug Misner), Utah State University (Randy Williams), and Westminster College (David Hales). We owe special thanks to Carol Edison, Elaine Thatcher, and Randy Williams, who went far beyond the norm to comment on and correct when necessary a multitude of entries. We also want to acknowledge the painstaking and creative work of Westminster College alumnae Stephanie Sherman-Petersen and Sarah M. Rudd, alumnus Matthew Irwin, and students Cory Cartwright and Nicholas Newberry, all of whom have served as research assistants. They assembled and reassembled the bibliography in addition to researching, editing, formatting, indexing, and calming the restive and rebellious computer spirits.

Salt Lake City
March 18, 2004

Folklore Work in Utah—A Historical Survey

David Stanley

The study and presentation of folklore in Utah—in printed form—dates back only to 1891, but the observation of folklore certainly predates that figure by centuries if not millennia. Long before written or pictographic records, diverse groups of Native peoples had lived in, moved through, migrated into, and traded in the area that was eventually delimited as Utah, undoubtedly taking keen interest in the ways of life, the material culture, the ceremonies, music, ideas, and narratives of other groups. The variety of food crops, pottery, woven cloth, seashells, and feathers from tropical birds found in archeological sites only hints at the diversity of interactions and observations among Native bands during pre-European times.

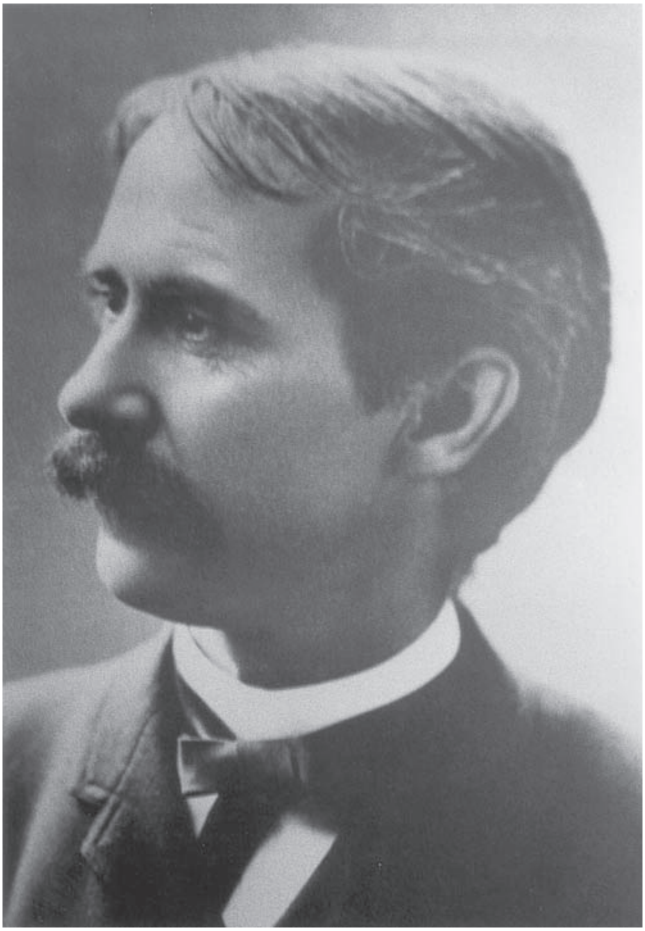
The first explorers of European ancestry—possibly anonymous Spanish traders whose names and dates of travel are lost to time, or else the party led by Juan María Antonio Rivera, who explored southeastern Utah in 1765—left little written record of their visits. In contrast, when the well-documented and well-mapped expedition led by Fathers Domínguez and Escalante, looking for a short route to California from Santa Fe in 1776, came to what is now Utah, the initial experience of cultural contact between Native Americans and Europeans aroused curiosity, interest, and sometimes contempt—on both sides. Domínguez and Escalante's observations, as traced by S. Lyman Tyler, Ted J. Warner, and Walter Briggs, provide a fascinating introduction to the ways of life of the Paiute and Ute peoples before the arrival of profit-motivated trappers, miners, and traders. Later, during the nineteenth century, Spanish explorers, mountain men of the 1820s, California-bound pioneers in the 1840s, and Mormons who began arriving in the state in 1847 produced thousands of observations, both oral and written, of the Native peoples and of each other.

One of the most important and renowned of the nineteenth-century explorers from the East was John Wesley Powell, leader of what is thought to be the first Euro-American expedition (1869) to travel by boat the length of the Grand Canyon. On a second voyage in 1871–72, he brought along adventurer Frederick

S. Dellenbaugh and photographer John K. Hillers. Hillers's diary and his photographic images of the Southern Paiute people of southwest Utah (collected in Don D. Fowler's edition) and Powell's and Dellenbaugh's written commentaries on the lifeways of Indian peoples of the region constitute the first and one of the most important visual and written records of Native American life in Utah. As Powell's biographer Wallace Stegner says in *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian*, Powell differed from virtually every other explorer and settler in the region because of his respect for the Indians: ". . . he accepted without question their right to be what they were, to hold to the beliefs and institutions natural to them" (p. 131). Even Mark Twain had a string of witty but disparaging observations to make about the ways of life of the Goshute people of western Utah—and of the Mormon colony in Great Salt Lake City. Testifying to this early interest in people of other cultures is the fact that the only six articles about Utah folklore published during the first fifty years of publication of the *Journal of American Folklore*—by an anonymous contributor ("Games and Amusements of the Ute Children") and by Gatschet, Kroeber, Mason, Sapir, and Lowie—all describe the traditions and practices of the state's Native peoples.

In contrast to the work of these visiting anthropologists and linguists, the first folklorists resident in the state—however amateurish or prejudiced their observations—were not university professors, nor did they work in the public sector or for nonprofit organizations. In fact, they were people who often had experienced personally the traditions that they recorded and wrote about; in other cases, as curious outsiders, they observed people of other cultures, often judgmentally. Many of these early students of folklore came to that study from other occupations, and teachers, writers, historians, and members of volunteer organizations—as well as explorers and travelers—all contributed to these first records and publications.

Surprisingly—as William A. Wilson pointed out in his introduction to the 1976 *Utah Historical Quarterly* issue on Mormon folklore—the first resident of Utah to publish on a topic unrelated to Native Americans was not a native of the state, not an academic, and not a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). He was, rather, a Unitarian minister from Chicago, the Reverend David Utter. As minister of the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City from 1891 to 1894, Utter apparently found Utah and its Mormon majority fascinating—so much so that he stayed on in the city as a social studies teacher when tough economic times forced the congregation to relieve him of his duties. Not long after he arrived in Salt Lake, the Reverend Utter wrote a one-page report that appeared in volume I, number i of *The Folk-Lorist*, the journal of the Chicago Folk-Lore Society. Following a summary of the description of the Three Nephites from *The Book of Mormon* (the Three Nephites are believed by Mormons to be disciples of Christ who chose to remain in the New World to assist the afflicted and to bring people to Christianity), Reverend Utter wrote, perhaps a little sardonically:



Rev. David Utter, author of first article about Mormon folklore.

> Now, the Mormons took up this “Wandering Jew” legend with avidity, and many of the saints now living tell that they have, at different times, seen one or more of these three immortal “Nephites.” A daughter of Brigham Young, now a good Unitarian, has told me that her father told, with great and solemn pleasure, of an interview that he had with one of these remaining apostles in Liverpool, when he was there on a mission. The apostle met him at the chapel door, an old man with a long gray beard, made himself known, and spoke many encouraging and helpful words.

Little if any Utah folklore was reported in ensuing years, but in the 1930s, the nationwide wave of interest in rural and working-class life that coincided with the Great Depression reached Utah as well. M.A. theses on Utah folk traditions were written by Ray Benedict West, E. Gordon Ericksen, and Effie Marion

Chadwick at the University of Utah and Brigham Young University. Almost simultaneously, four young scholars with roots in Utah and Idaho began the definition and elaboration of the concept of regional folklore, a task that started with their attempts to define Mormon folklore but which later stretched out to consider the larger characteristics of folklore and material culture in the Great Basin and in the West. During the '30s, Thomas Cheney began work on his M.A. degree at the University of Idaho, completing a thesis on Mormon folksong in 1936 with Professor George Morey Miller. Austin Fife was studying folklore with the well-known Latino scholar, Aurelio Espinosa, Sr., at Stanford University. Hector Lee completed his M.A. at Berkeley and became an instructor at the University of Utah. And Wayland Hand took a position in the German Department at UCLA but returned frequently to Utah for field research on mining lore, folk medicine, and legends.

Given the Reverend Utter's interest in the Three Nephites, it seems appropriate that three of these scholars produced significant work on that body of legend in the period just before World War II. In fact, Hand, Lee, and Austin Fife were jokingly called "The Three Nephites" by their friends. Hand published an article, "The Three Nephites in Popular Tradition," in the *Southern Folklore Quarterly* in 1938, and Austin Fife wrote a long article called "The Legend of the Three Nephites Among the Mormons" that was printed in the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1940. Other articles by Fife ("Popular Legends") and Hand ("The Three Nephites") on Mormon legend appeared in 1942, along with an article by Lee called "The Three Nephites: A Disappearing Legend." In the same year, Wallace Stegner's *Mormon Country* was published by the New York publisher Duell, Sloan and Pearce as part of its American Folkways series. This book made Mormon folklore accessible to the American public for the first time and perhaps helped dispel some of the negative prejudices so evident in earlier literary treatments of Mormonism such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's "A Study in Scarlet" and Zane Grey's *Riders of the Purple Sage.*

At about the same time, Thomas Cheney, Lester Hubbard, and Austin and Alta Fife began research and fieldwork in the area of folksong. Cheney—who taught at Brigham Young University—and Hubbard—at the University of Utah—concentrated on ballads and Mormon songs. Meanwhile, the Fifes gradually expanded their interests from Mormon lore to cowboy song. Subsequent publication by this first generation of Utah folklorists—Lee's *The Three Nephites: The Substance and Significance of the Legend in Folklore* (1949), the Fifes' *Saints of Sage and Saddle: Folklore Among the Mormons* (1956), Hubbard's *Ballads and Songs from Utah* (1961), and Cheney's *Mormon Songs from the Rocky Mountains* (1968)—established a solid foundation for work that was to follow.

During the late 1950s and early '60s, public interest in folklore peaked, riding the wave of the folk music revival that had swept the country. With encouragement from Wayland Hand, the Folklore Society of Utah (see chapter 23) was organized in 1958 and in ensuing years sponsored numerous folk-music concerts headlining traditional and revivalist singers; some of the latter were also academic folklorists, including John Greenway, Kenneth S. Goldstein, and Barre (pronounced "Barry") Toelken, later director of the Folklore Program at Utah State University in Logan. During the same period, the Intermountain Folk Music Council, an organization of singers and musicians founded primarily by Jim and Rosalie Sorrels in 1961, encouraged the performance of folk music and the collection of Utah folksongs. Rosalie Sorrels went on to a long and successful career as a writer and professional folksinger, with several recordings containing folksongs of Utah and the West. One, *Songs of the Mormon Pioneers,* was recorded by a local company in Salt Lake City which then added background sung by a chorus dubbed "The Singing Saints."

Sorrels often collaborated with Bruce "U. Utah" Phillips, a singer-songwriter born in Ohio but raised in Utah. Phillips, a registered member of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and a veteran hobo and rider of freight trains, developed into a writer and performer of highly political, indeed radical, songs of labor solidarity, protest, and pacifism, in addition to his recordings of traditional songs from around the West. The early work of Phillips and the Sorrelses created a climate in the state that helped to encourage dozens of revivalist folksingers and folk-singing groups, notably Elaine Thatcher, who in 1978 recorded an album containing some Utah folksongs; the Deseret String Band, which collected and performed traditional Utah tunes as well as songs of the American West during the 1970s, '80s, and '90s; and the Beehive Band, which specialized in songs of Mormon heritage during the 1990s.

In 1963, the Folklore Society of Utah sponsored with the American Folklore Society a "conjoint" regional conference titled "Folklore in the American West" at Utah State University. Austin Fife, who had come to USU in 1960 to teach French language and literature, was program chair. With papers by Barre Toelken, William Mulder, Juanita Brooks, Jan Harold Brunvand, Frances Gillmor, Austin Fife, and many others, the conference served as a gathering point for western folklorists from Arizona, California, Kansas, Oregon, Texas, and Utah. The meeting opened with a chuckwagon steak fry at the Upper Guinavah Campground in Logan Canyon with folk singing led by Jim and Rosalie Sorrels, Barre Toelken, and John Greenway. From this event came *The Western Folklore Conference,* a collection of essays edited by Austin Fife and J. Golden Taylor and published by Utah State University Press in 1964.

Also during this period, the best-known and most influential of American folklorists, Richard M. Dorson, published his *Buying the Wind: Regional Folklore in the United States* (1964). Dorson gave prominent place in this work—as he had in his earlier book, *American Folklore* (1959)—to Mormon folklore, relying on research previously done by the Fifes, Lee, and Cheney. Dorson's reputation in American folklore circles helped to make the folklore of Utah visible as never before, despite his tendency to portray Utah as an isolated, largely rural and agricultural area where old beliefs and practices still survived in the face of the forces of modernization.

The popularity of folklore studies on university campuses and the rapid expansion of the numbers of undergraduates in the 1960s allowed Utah's universities to hire new folklorists, even though enthusiasm for folk music was beginning to wane. Barre Toelken came to the University of Utah as an instructor in 1964 and stayed two years; Jan Harold Brunvand succeeded him in 1966. William A. Wilson, previously a high-school teacher and university instructor in Utah, returned to the state in 1967 with coursework completed for his Indiana Ph.D. and began full-time teaching at Brigham Young University.

A second joint meeting of the Folklore Society of Utah and the American Folklore Society was held in Logan in July, 1968, out of which came a collection of essays, *Forms Upon the Frontier*, edited by Austin and Alta Fife and Henry Glassie. This collection included some articles printed in full plus abstracts of a number of other papers presented at the conference. As Frances Cattermole-Tally points out, its major departure from other Utah research in folklore was its emphasis on material culture, a subject that had long interested the Fifes and in which Glassie was just beginning to make his mark. Another important publication of this period was *A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah*, written by Brunvand in consultation with the Fifes, Cheney, and Wilson, and published by the Utah Heritage Foundation in 1971.

Jan (pronounced "Yahn" in deference to his Norwegian ancestry) Brunvand (see chapter 12) had become well known in national folklore circles soon after his arrival in Utah. He had completed his Ph.D. at Indiana University's Folklore Institute in 1961 and had taught at the University of Idaho and at Southern Illinois University before becoming an associate professor at the University of Utah. His major project at this time was an introductory textbook, *The Study of American Folklore*, first published by W. W. Norton in 1968; its fourth edition appeared in 1998. Intended for college use, the text organized its subject by genre—folk speech and naming, myths and legends, ballads, folk architecture—and included extensive bibliographies in each chapter. It was the first, and for many years the only, introductory folklore textbook available for college classes, and it was used widely throughout the country. Many folklorists first encountered the entire range of folklore genres through Brunvand's text.

In the early '80s, Brunvand became interested in contemporary legends that circulated widely, often spreading across the country in a matter of days, transmitted not only by word of mouth but by telephone conversations, articles in the popular press, and, later, computer networks. These "urban legends" ranged from very old ones like "The Vanishing Hitchhiker," with its roots stretching back at least to medieval Europe, to stories that relied heavily on modern technology, like the one about the poodle in the microwave. Subsequently, Brunvand published several articles and eight books on urban legends and at one point wrote a twice-weekly syndicated newspaper column on the subject.

With folklore courses already being offered at Brigham Young University, the University of Utah, and Dixie Junior College—where Pansy Hardy had started teaching folklore after completing her M. A. in 1965—Utah State joined the pack in 1970. The Fifes had been in residence since 1960 and had established an international reputation, thanks to their studies of Mormon folklore, cowboy and western song, and the material culture of the West. But despite their numerous publications and enormous personal archive of field notes, song texts, photographs, recordings, and cross-referenced indexes, Austin had never taught folklore at Utah State, having confined himself to French literature and language and administrative duties. But finally the Fifes prevailed and inaugurated folklore courses in the summer of 1970, when Wayland Hand returned to the state to teach "Introduction to Folklore" and "American Folklore." Later that year, Austin Fife added courses in Rocky Mountain regional folklore and in ballad and folksong.

The expansion of folklore course offerings at the state's universities and a marked increase in publications treating the state's folklife—including a long-delayed anthology of articles edited by Cheney, *Lore of Faith and Folly* (1971)—seemed cause for hope. But in fact the Folklore Society of Utah was moribund; it nearly dissolved in 1971 after a long-drawn-out debate over whether the society should try to remain independent or affiliate with the State Historical Society. The few dozen remaining members of the society voted for continued independence, but folklore's prospects in the state looked grim. After Austin Fife's and Pansy Hardy's retirements in 1976, only Brunvand at the U of U and Wilson and Richard Poulsen at BYU were actively teaching folklore in the state. Poulsen, who had earned a Ph.D. in American studies at the U of U, published between 1973 and 1992 a number of articles on traditional practices in central and southern Utah, along with books on the speech of mountain men, historiography, and material culture.

Beginning in 1976, the fortunes of folklore in Utah began to improve, in part because of federal and state funding to support the nation's Bicentennial. Over the next dozen years, close cooperation between the Folklore Society of Utah and the Utah State Historical Society led to the publication of a number of special issues of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* that featured folklore. Historical Society director Melvin Smith and publications coordinator Stanford Layton worked with Wilson, the guest editor, in producing the first of these, an issue on *Mormon Folklore* (vol. 44, no. 4, Fall 1976). Subsequent years saw special issues on ethnic folklore edited by Margaret K. Brady (vol. 52, no. 1, Winter 1984), on vernacular architecture edited by Peter L. Goss (vol. 54, no. 1, Winter 1986), and on material culture edited by Thomas Carter (vol. 56, no. 4, Fall 1988). In addition, a number of folklore articles appeared in other issues, the first of which were Austin Fife's "Folklore and Local History" (1963) and Wilson's "Folklore and History: Fact amid the Legends" (1973).

Also in 1976, Utah became the third state in the nation to hire a state folklorist. Hal Cannon, a Salt Lake City native with interests in music, film, and photography, became, with financial backing from the National Endowment for the Arts, the first Folk Arts Coordinator for the Utah Arts Council, the first state arts agency in the country. Soon after his appointment, Cannon organized an exhibit of Utah folk art which debuted when the American Folklore Society held its annual conference in Salt Lake City in 1978. Another exhibit on the state symbol, the beehive, subsequently traveled to the Renwick Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. Cannon also produced concerts by professional musicians, edited books on Utah folk art and the beehive, and produced, in collaboration with Brunvand and Carter, two records of folk music from Utah, one drawn largely from Hubbard's and the Fifes' early recordings, the other from recordings made throughout the state during the 1970s. In 1984, Cannon left his position to organize the first Cowboy Poetry Gathering in Elko, Nevada; he eventually founded the Western Folklife Center as a nonprofit organization that produces the Gathering, radio programs, and other events.

Cannon was succeeded as Folk Arts Coordinator by his assistant, Carol A. Edison, and since that time David Stanley, Craig R. Miller, Anne F. Hatch, and George H. Schoemaker have worked in the Folk Arts Program, one of the larger and more active state folk arts programs in the country. In 1986, Edison and Casey Jarman of the Salt Lake City Arts Council developed a multiethnic festival called Living Traditions, which became an annual event. Edison also initiated moving the Folk Arts Program to the historic Isaac Chase/Brigham Young Home in Salt Lake City's Liberty Park, developed museum exhibits and a summer concert series at the site, and eventually led the drive that rehabilitated the building, renamed the Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts. Other projects—annual folk arts apprenticeships, an ethnic-arts grant program, and a series of folk arts awards—continued to make the folklore of the state's peoples both visible and popular. The hiring of folklorist Michael Christensen by West Valley City at the Utah Cultural Celebration Center in 2003 added another city-based folk arts program within the state.

These successes, however, were sometimes won in the face of opposition from more mainstream arts institutions and their partisans, who sometimes insisted that "folk arts" were neither artistic nor worthy of funding. In Utah as in the rest of the country, these vocal and well-connected advocates tended to denigrate traditional, community-based, and ethnic forms of artistic expression in favor of "classical" arts like symphony, ballet, opera, painting, and sculpture. Folk arts supporters, in response, relied on appeals to the state's pioneer heritage and the nation's commitments to ethnic diversity for continued support for staff and funding.

Another major development in the mid-1970s was a renewed interest in the folklore of the state's ethnic peoples. With funds from the state's Bicentennial Commission, Helen Zeese Papanikolas organized a massive project that culminated in the 1976 publication of *The Peoples of Utah*, with essays on each of the state's major ethnic groups. At the same time, the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and the state's major newspapers and magazines began offering increased coverage of ethnic minorities; many of these articles contained detailed information on foodways, festivals, costume, holiday customs, and other channels of ethnic identity.

At the time of Austin Fife's retirement from teaching in 1976, he and his wife Alta had donated to Utah State University their folklore collection, which became the core of the Fife Western Folklore Archives and Research Center. With support from the state Folk Arts Program, a conference—the Fife Conference on Western American Folk Culture—was held in the summer of 1977, with much initial energy and organization provided by USU's Glenn Wilde. Visiting faculty included Hector Lee, Austin Fife, Barre Toelken, William A. Wilson, and others. The conference, which attracted undergraduate and graduate students as well as teachers, librarians, and other professionals, combined faculty lectures with informal get-togethers and demonstrations, and thereafter it became an annual summer event on campus. Between the early 1980s and the mid-1990s, folk arts coordinators from public programs throughout the western United States began attending the conference, too, holding their own parallel meetings to discuss issues affecting public-sector folklore.

In 1978, Wilson (see chapter 10) moved from BYU to Utah State University. In his first few years there, he expanded the Fife Conference and integrated the Fife Archives into the university library, finding permanent space for the collection where it could best be used by students. With grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, he started fieldwork projects in the three-state region near Logan; he also expanded folklore course offerings. Along with classes taught by Patricia Gardner in English and Clyde Milner in history, Wilson added courses in folk narrative, regional folklore, Mormon folklore, Utah folklore, and fieldwork techniques. Already established as a folklorist with an international reputation through his studies of Finnish folklore and *The Kalevala*, Wilson expanded the analysis of Mormon folklore with articles on legends, jokes, and the folklore of Mormon missionaries.

In addition to Cannon, Edison, and Poulsen, all life-long Utah residents, a number of other young folklorists from outside the state arrived in the late 1970s and '80s. What might be called the third generation of Utah folklorists included Thomas Carter, a Utah native who returned to the state after a ten-year absence to carry out research for his doctoral dissertation on nineteenth-century housing in Sanpete County in central Utah. Carter worked for several years in historic preservation for the State Historical Society before beginning a career teaching architectural history at the University of Utah. There he initiated a series of summer field projects on vernacular architecture in the West; he has also published widely in the field. In 1978, another folklorist, David Stanley, arrived, subsequently working in the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council before beginning a teaching career at Westminster College in Salt Lake City, where he offered courses in folklore and in Native American and Asian cultures. He has published articles and recordings on Utah storytelling, music, and cowboy poetry.

In 1977, all of the professional folklorists working in the state were male (Alta Fife, despite her invaluable contributions to writing, editing, archiving, and research, never held a salaried position). Yet many fine women writers and historians—Juanita Brooks, Maurine Whipple, Olive Burt, Fawn Brodie, and Helen Papanikolas—were well informed about folklore and incorporated it extensively into their fiction and nonfiction. Carol A. Edison and Margaret K. Brady were the pioneers who broke the pattern. Edison became an assistant at the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council in 1978 and succeeded Cannon as director in 1984, producing thereafter dozens of museum exhibits, festivals, concerts, and publications. Also in 1978, Brady started teaching folklore and ethnic studies at the University of Utah, where she soon expanded course offerings to include classes on women's and Native American folklore. Her book, *"Some Kind of Power": Navajo Children's Skinwalker Narratives*, won the American Folklore Society's B. A. Botkin Prize soon after its publication in 1984. While continuing her research on Native American topics, she also published on western women's narratives, Mormon women's folklore—including a study of Mary Susannah Fowler, *Mormon Healer and Folk Poet*—and the lore of island women in Ireland.

Other striking developments during this period occurred at Utah State University. In 1984, Wilson decided to return to BYU to become chair of the Department of English. The following year, Barre Toelken came back to Logan from the University of Oregon, where he had been teaching since 1966. Toelken (see chapter 11) had been an undergraduate—initially in forestry—at Utah State, and when he returned, he began further developing the folklore program and its association with the Mountain West Center for Regional Studies, a major university initiative in the humanities. Much of Toelken's early research had been on folksong and ballad, but his most important works—a series of articles and a book, *The Anguish of Snails* (2003)—reflect upon his long residence on the Navajo Reservation in southern Utah when he was about twenty. His introductory textbook, *The Dynamics of Folklore* (1979, 1996), takes an approach quite different from that of texts organized by genre, focusing instead on the process of folklore as it is enacted. The text was eventually adopted by a number of colleges across the country for use in introductory and advanced classes. Toelken has since expanded his research interests to Germany, Japan, and the Mormon West, and has continued his scholarship in the ballad.

Shortly after Toelken's arrival at Utah State, he was joined by Jay Anderson, a scholar of living history farms who used the Jensen Historical Farm near the university to prepare master's-level students for careers at living farms, museums, and other public-sector institutions. In 1986, Steve Siporin came to Utah State from Idaho, where he had been folk arts coordinator for the Idaho Commission on the Arts after having filled a similar position in Oregon. Broadly experienced in public-sector folklore, Siporin began teaching classes in aspects of that field, thus providing another track for the USU program. Jan Roush, director of USU's American studies program, also taught folklore—with new courses on gender and family folklore—along with courses on Native Americans and the West. A fifth scholar, Jeannie Thomas, was hired in 1997 and began teaching classes and publishing on women's folklore and on the relationship between popular culture and folklore. Randy Williams, curator of the Fife Archives, and Star Coulbrooke, assistant director of the school's Writing Center, also taught folklore occasionally in addition to their other responsibilities.

The Utah State folklore program, like many other programs around the country, suffered somewhat from budget cutbacks in the late '80s and again in the first years of the twenty-first century, but it managed to keep the Fife Conference afloat and continued to attract graduate students. Wilson, during his tenure as head of the folklore program, had hired as archivist Barbara (Walker) Lloyd, whose master's thesis was an index of the Fifes' cowboy and western folksong collection (see Walker in bibliography); she eventually became the assistant director of the folklore program and principal administrator of the annual Fife Conference. After Lloyd's departure to another state, Randy Williams, who had also earned a master's in folklore at Utah State, became the archivist and assistant director of the folklore program. The first master's graduate of the program, Elaine Thatcher, wrote a thesis on nineteenth-century furniture, worked as a contract fieldworker and staff folklorist in half a dozen western states, then returned to Utah as associate director of the Mountain West Center for Regional Studies.

Other folklorists attracted to the state between 1990 and 2004 were Kimberly Lau, who was hired by the University of Utah to teach folklore and gender studies; she has published on narrative, multiculturalism, and globalization. Brigham Young University substantially expanded its folklore program with the addition of Eric Eliason, Jill Terry Rudy, Jacqueline Thursby, and archivist Kristi Young, all of whom have done research in various areas of Mormon folklore, as have Deirdre Paulsen (Salt Lake Campus of BYU) and Ronda Walker at Utah Valley State College. Salt Lake Community College has also offered folklore courses and workshops taught by Liz Montague, Mary Jayne Davis, Elisa Stone, Dru Hazleton, and Michael Christensen. After Barre Toelken's retirement in 2003, Utah State hired Lisa Gabbert, with interests in modernity, tourism, and festival, to teach regional folklore and festival and ritual. So although folklore may not have the automatic appeal that it boasted in the 1960s during the heyday of the folk revival, folklore classes continue to draw students at institutions as diverse as the state-wide Utah State University Extension Division (Bob King), Weber State University (Kathryn MacKay), and Dixie State College (Ed Reber). The sheer number of people working in folklore in a state with a population of barely two million seems to support the claim—first made in 1985—that Utah has more folklorists per capita than any other state.

The prevailing thematic tone for folklore work in Utah—and again, the state shares this trait in common with the rest of the country—has been, on the whole, optimistic and upbeat. Public-sector presentations (festivals, exhibits, demonstrations, and concerts) have tended to celebrate the heritage and continuity of the state's ethnic, geographical, occupational, and religious communities. Academic scholarship has similarly stressed the bonding function of folklore as it works to conserve cultural traditions, link generations, solidify friendships, improve communication, and, often, provide an outlet for cultural tensions, dilemmas, and conflicts.

But what is sometimes missed in research and presentation are two other aspects of folklore as it is expressed or performed in public and private arenas. First, folklore can often be an index to a society's own self-image, its most closely held values and beliefs, even when they may contradict historical fact or contemporary behavior. The incorporation of cultural values into narratives, songs, and other forms of folklore is particularly apparent in relation to historical events such as the pioneer experience or to the self-image of a people, whether they consider themselves exceptionally intelligent, practical, successful, rugged, or loving, and whether they consider themselves to have a special relationship with God.

The second aspect of folklore that is often overlooked is the stark fact that it can be and often is used for negative purposes: to divide, to antagonize, to instill resentment, anger, and hatred. Stereotyping in the form of images and personality traits assigned to a group different from one's own; jokes that demean others on the basis of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, or religion; urban legends regarding the antisocial or criminal behavior of other groups; rumors of deviance in the realms of eating, drinking, sexual behavior, criminal activity, and religious practices; prejudiced attitudes regarding others' preferences in dress, food, music, or dance styles—all of these are communicated, spread, and perpetuated through such familiar genres as narratives, jokes, and songs. Utah, like all other societies, has deep social and cultural barriers both among its resident peoples and between its own people and those considered outsiders.

An accurate portrayal of the state's peoples and their traditions requires a frank discussion of hateful and prejudicial attitudes as they are expressed through folklore. Much has been accomplished already, particularly in the work of the second generation of Utah folklorists: William A. Wilson, Barre Toelken, and Jan Harold Brunvand (see chapters 10, 11, and 12). Wilson's work with active Mormons has revealed not only a set of positive descriptors regarding the cultural values of the in-group but negative ascriptions directed at Gentiles, the "out-group." At the same time, Wilson's research has disclosed certain kinds of ambivalence at the heart of Mormon culture regarding the inclusion of African-Americans into the priesthood, shifts in employment and family patterns as more and more women work outside the home, and the faith-promoting but sometimes rebellious folklore of Mormon missionaries. Toelken's evolving work with the Navajo has revealed both the increasing impingement of Euro-American culture and the adaptive dynamics of Navajo ways of life; equally important, Toelken has over the years reconsidered his role as a folklorist and his dual role as adopted family member and scholar, particularly regarding the cultural prohibitions of the Navajo regarding religious practices, rituals, and narratives. His investigations of folklore pertaining to water and irrigating ("Folklore of Water" and "Traditional Water Narratives") also place in context the strong tensions that may develop between insiders and outsiders within the state. Brunvand's article "As the Saints Go Marching By: Modern Jokelore Concerning Mormons" (1970) was one of the first articles to explore the tensions between Mormons and Gentiles; his later extensive work on urban legends has revealed the racism, misogyny, and fear that make up a major part of contemporary urban life as well as the manner in which these prejudices are expressed in narrative form.

Many of the same antagonisms within the culture have been explored by historians as well. A case in point is the Mountain Meadows Massacre, an 1857 tragedy in which more than 120 non-Mormon pioneers en route from Arkansas to California were murdered in southwestern Utah by local Mormon militia and, possibly, Paiute Indians, though Native participation in the massacre is still vigorously debated. Dozens of books and articles have been written about the massacre, with blame for the tragedy variously assigned to the emigrants themselves, the Paiutes, a form of mob hysteria among local Mormons, local Mormon leaders, even the church hierarchy in Salt Lake City. Certainly the unending tension between the leaders of the LDS Church and the federal government during this period was largely to blame for the atmosphere of hostility, suspicion, and fear that contributed to the massacre. Two articles on a surviving ballad titled "The Mountain Meadows Massacre" (which blames Brigham Young) by Austin Fife and Barre Toelken, and additional versions in Lester Hubbard's and Thomas Cheney's folksong books, provide vivid evidence of the way that folk history can amplify cultural tensions.

Throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, antagonism between Mormons and Gentiles, especially in urban areas like Salt Lake City and Ogden and in mining districts in Carbon, Summit, and Salt Lake counties, was harsh, prolonged, and bitter, particularly as the federal government stepped up its attacks on polygamists and as folklore about Mormons—that they have horns on their heads, hooves on their feet, and tails, for example—spread throughout Europe and the United States. According to historian John McCormick (personal communication), the rhetoric and folklore on both sides was fierce. Mormon apostle John Taylor in 1871 gave a sermon characterizing non-Mormons as "rotten, miserable, stinking wretches." Another Mormon authority in 1865 said that Mormon women who gave room and board to Gentiles should be shot. Historical works that evaluate the Mormon/Gentile divide and the folklore that creates it, perpetuates it, and ultimately reveals it include the general histories of Utah by Thomas G. Alexander and Charles S. Peterson and studies of Mormonism such as *America's Saints* by Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley. Wiley and Gottlieb's chapter on Salt Lake City in *Empires in the Sun* also treats the issue. More specifically focused works include those by J. Kenneth Davies, Robert Joseph Dwyer, Sarah Barringer Gordon, Edward Leo Lyman, John McCormick, and Jeffrey Nichols. Articles on Mormon/Gentile folklore include the second section of Wallace Stegner's *Mormon Country,* which he titled "The Might of the Gentile" (pp. 239–349); "The Devil's Advocate" in the Fifes' *Saints of Sage and Saddle* (pp. 109–25)*;* Eric Eliason's "Curious Gentiles"; Helen Papanikolas's essays, especially "Ethnicity in Mormondom"; and Karl E.

Young's "Why Mormons Were Said to Wear Horns." A number of anti-Mormon songs—some of them gleefully appropriated and sung, tongue in cheek, by the Saints themselves—were collected by the Fifes, Cheney, and Hubbard.

The remarkable variety of folklore studies in Utah, ranging from Mormon vs. Gentile stereotyping to Native American music and dance, from occupational practices of cowboys and miners to the changing roles of women, only hint at the major changes that have occurred in the field since Lee, Hand, and the Fifes began publishing in the late 1930s. We have new ways of looking at traditional cultures, an increased interest in ethnic peoples and their traditions, a deeper awareness of intergroup tensions and conflicts, a developing appreciation for material culture as an integral part of folklife, and a greatly expanded set of programs in the public sector that have influenced public and academic institutions alike. What is most remarkable about Utah, perhaps, is the broad and continued support at all levels for folklore programs and folklore studies, a tribute to the state's traditional emphases on education, the arts, history, and pioneer heritage.

PART I

THE FIRST FOLKLORISTS

Hector Lee (left), Austin Fife (center), and Wayland Hand (right) at the Fife Folklore Conference in 1978. Friends jokingly called them "The Three Nephites."

Folklore and the Literary Generation of the 1930s

Edward A. Geary

The decade of the 1930s marked the beginning of serious and continuing folklore study in Utah, a decade when Thomas Cheney, Austin Fife, Wayland Hand, and Hector Lee all began their careers. Several factors influenced this awakening of interest in Utah folk traditions. A growing number of people were gaining university educations and developing literary, historical, and sociological skills. Improved roads and more or less dependable automobiles were making remote communities more accessible. At the same time, the last of the pioneer generation were dying out, and with them the direct link of human memory to the period of first European settlement. This passing of a generation stimulated a desire to research and record their stories, as demonstrated, for example, by the extensive collecting activities of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers under the direction of Kate B. Carter, whose efforts resulted in the multivolume *Heart Throbs of the West* (1939–51), *Treasures of Pioneer History* (1952–57), *Our Pioneer Heritage* (1958–77), and *An Enduring Legacy* (1978–89).

The heightened awareness of folkways during the ’30s was not merely a Utah or a Mormon phenomenon. Louis C. Jones, in *Three Eyes on the Past*, has described “the decade from 1931 to 1940” as “the period in which America suddenly became aware that it had a folk tradition. President and Mrs. Roosevelt, the Federal Writers Project, the Index of American Design, the Federal Arts Project, and scores of other New Deal forces brought to the attention of a confused and struggling people an awareness of their native culture” (p. xix). Simon J. Bronner has noted that the art and literature of that period “was devoted to the common man, the heroic figure of the Great Depression,” at the same time that folklorists celebrated the legend of “other common-man heroes such as Davy Crockett, Sam Patch, and Mike Fink. Folk songs and folk arts were no longer a sign of backwardness, but a source of pride in a forbearing American spirit” (*American Folklore Studies,* p. 98). Among the products of this interest were the American Guide Series, produced under the direction of the federal Works Progress Administration, and several book series devoted to the nation’s regions: American Folkways, American Trails, American Lakes, and American Rivers.

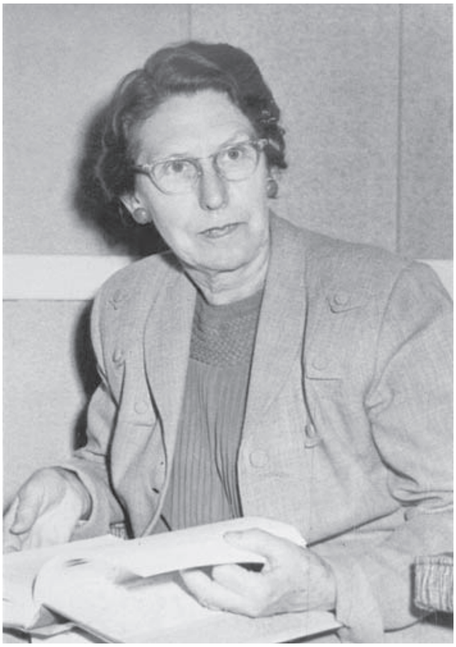
Utah authors made significant contributions to all of these series. Indeed, the pioneering Utah folklorists were part of a larger group who were exploring hitherto unrealized possibilities in local and regional material. In his introduction to Juanita Brooks's memoir *Quicksand and Cactus,* Charles S. Peterson speaks of

> an exciting intellectual ferment then working among a group of native and adopted Utahns who were approaching regional and Mormon themes from the perspective of new moods and with new methods of study. From diverse backgrounds and with little more than regional attachments to hold them, they were brought together by Depression-sponsored projects and by a common interest in letting the record of the past speak candidly and fully. They never associated closely and have indeed not been recognized as representing a movement. Yet in the richness of their production, in their ties to a place, in their shared access to records, and in their efforts to help each other find publishers, may be seen a meaningful interaction that enhanced the individual value of their writing and gave it added impact. (pp. xxii–xxiii)

Among this group Peterson includes Brooks, Bernard De Voto, Dale Morgan, LeRoy Hafen, Nels Anderson, Wallace Stegner, Fawn Brodie, Maurine Whipple, Russell Mortensen, Charles Kelly, and Cecil Alter, as well as folklorists Austin and Alta Fife and Wayland Hand.

The beginning of Juanita Brooks's career clearly illustrates the combined effects of a deep sensitivity to folkways, the stimulus of a Depression-relief program, and the encouragement of an established writer. In 1933, Nels Anderson, a University of Chicago-trained sociologist who had lived for a time in southwestern Utah, came back to St. George on a grant from the Social Science Research Council to do research for his book *Desert Saints.* Anderson had connections with the federal Emergency Relief Administration and he recruited several local women, including Brooks, for an ERA-sponsored project to collect diaries and oral histories. He also invited Brooks to write up her memories of her polygamous grandfathers and their families for possible inclusion in his book. By the time she had finished, however, Anderson had returned to the East, and she did not know how to reach him. On an impulse, she sent the article to *Harper's* magazine, where it was published in 1934 under the title "Close-Up of Polygamy."

Brooks continued throughout her career to draw upon her knowledge of rural Mormon folkways. In addition to her recollections of community life in Bunkerville, Nevada, collected in *Quicksand and Cactus* (published in 1982 but written much earlier), she published "Water's In!" in *Harper's* (1941) and "Memories of a Mormon Girlhood" in the *Journal of American Folklore* (1964). She also edited a special issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* (1961) devoted to the folkways of "Utah's Dixie"—the southwestern part of the state, so called because of its hot climate and early attempts to grow cotton and other southern crops. Her insights into the people and traditions of her native region and her years studying pioneer diaries served her well in what was probably her most



Juanita Brooks, historian, novelist, and collector of folklore in southern Utah.

important work, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (1950), the first serious scholarly treatment of that still-disputed episode in Mormon history.

A disproportionate share of the literary activity in the 1930s and '40s emanated from southwestern Utah. Nels Anderson's sociological study *Desert Saints* (1942) was one of the first such works to focus on rural Mormondom rather than Salt Lake City. As a teenage hobo in the early years of the century, Anderson had been thrown off a freight train near the Utah-Nevada border. Given a home by a Mormon ranching family, he attended Dixie Academy in St. George and received a degree from Brigham Young University before going on to graduate study at the University of Chicago. Anderson's opening chapter describes the 1908 Pioneer Day celebration in the village of Enterprise, likely a recreation of his own first introduction to Mormon village life.

The most significant imaginative work to come out of the St. George movement was Maurine Whipple's *The Giant Joshua* (1941). In a 1971 interview, published in volume six of the journal *Dialogue*, Whipple claimed that she had had the idea for this novel "as long as I could remember." The completed work, however, was the product of extensive research: "Some of the old people were alive then—Uncle Charlie Seegmiller was ninety-five, Aunt Jane Blake was ninety-something—and I just went and talked to them. I got so immersed in that era—reading everything and wandering the hills and sitting upon the red hills and visualizing everything—that it was almost as if I had lived through it

Maureen Whipple, author of *The Giant Joshua.*

myself" (pp. 56–57). In the acknowledgements Whipple appended to the novel, she gave first honors to Juanita Brooks and went on to list no fewer than ninety other individuals by name, among them the pioneer poet Charles L. Walker, whose verses she quotes throughout the novel. Interestingly, she does not mention George Hicks, even though anyone who knows his gritty, biting song of the settlement of Dixie, "Once I Lived in Cottonwood," cannot help but see its influence on the early part of the narrative.

William A. Wilson has said in his article "Folklore in *The Giant Joshua,*" that it is "one of the best collections of early Mormon and Western lore yet published." Wilson notes that the novel "contains scores of proverbs, superstitions, remarkable providences, folksongs, legends, and humorous anecdotes. It is equally rich in descriptions of material culture and particularly of folk practices—of games, of dances, of holiday celebrations, and of arts and crafts. It contains, for instance, over sixty references to foodways alone, thus providing us with a fairly clear picture of the daily fare of the impoverished Dixieites." The greatest strength of Whipple's novel in terms of folklore studies, Wilson adds, is that the author sets "practically every folklore item . . . in cultural context that helps us understand more about the force of folklore in the lives of people than do many of the scholarly works in the field" (pp. 57–58). Other southwestern Utah writers of this era include the novelist Jonreed Lauritzen, who drew upon his knowledge of cowboy life on the Arizona Strip, and the historian Andrew Karl Larson, whose book about his native village of Washington, *The Red Hills of November* (1957), is an exemplary community history.

The realization that Utah community life and folkways could provide a basis for literary work was not limited to the residents of a single region. Virginia Sorensen, whose formative years were divided between Utah County and Sanpete County, published five novels on Mormon themes, including *A Little Lower than the Angels* (1942), on the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois; *Many Heavens* (1954), on twentieth-century polygamy in northwestern Utah's Cache Valley; and *Kingdom Come* (1960), on Mormon immigration from Scandinavia. Her most durable adult fiction, however (she also wrote children's books), is to be found in the two novels and the collection of short stories set in Sanpete County: *On This Star* (1946), a romantic melodrama; *The Evening and the Morning* (1949), a moving account of a woman who rebels against community mores; and *Where Nothing Is Long Ago* (1963), a collection of short stories. Sorensen's work does not provide the treasure-trove of folkways that Whipple displays, but she evokes in convincing detail the life of a Mormon town during the 1920s. The title story in *Where Nothing Is Long Ago*, which recounts the murder of a water thief and its impact on the community, is perhaps the best literary treatment of the distinctive social institutions and values attached to water and irrigation in Utah. "The Ghost," in the same volume, is a sensitive examination of Mormon racial attitudes.

Samuel W. Taylor had an active career as a magazine and film writer but is perhaps best known in Utah for *Family Kingdom* (1951), a book about his father's polygamous households. Taylor's most charming fictional work is the humorous novel titled *Heaven Knows Why* (1948), set in a ranching community in the West Desert. The action is set in motion by the visit to earth of deceased patriarch Moroni Skinner in an effort to put his wayward grandson, Jackson Skinner Whitetop, on the straight and narrow path. Taylor pokes gentle fun at the Mormon penchant for organization by picturing heaven as a vast bureaucracy where the reward for a life well-lived might be an assignment in "the Compiling Office of the Accounting Section of the Current History Division of the Records Department." Much of the business of the plot revolves around the quest for a beverage that will satisfy the thirst for coffee without violating the Mormon Word of Wisdom.

The most prominent Utah-born man of letters in the 1930s was Bernard DeVoto, who grew up in Ogden. At the beginning of that decade, he would not have seemed a promising model of a writer making sympathetic use of native materials, since he had begun his career in the 1920s under the influence of H. L. Mencken and had published several articles attacking the provincialism of his home state. The '30s became a decade of discovery for DeVoto, however, as he began to use his western background as the foundation of his most important work, the historical trilogy *The Course of Empire*, *Across the Wide Missouri*, and *The Year of Decision: 1846*. It is interesting to note that in the summer of 1933, when Nels Anderson was researching *Desert Saints* and Juanita Brooks was fording southern Utah streams in quest of pioneer diaries, DeVoto was writing his appreciative essay on the life of his Mormon pioneer grandfather, "Jonathan Dyer, Frontiersman."

Unlike DeVoto, Charles Kelly was born in the Midwest and came to Utah as a printer in the years after World War I. Caught up by the region's landscape and history, he remained for the rest of his life, despite (or perhaps because of) his distaste for all things Mormon. In 1934, with Hoffman Birney, Kelly published *Holy Murder: The Story of Porter Rockwell*, a biography of the notorious bodyguard (and, some say, assassin) employed by Brigham Young. This was followed by an edition of the journals of John D. Lee and a book on Butch Cassidy and his outlaw band. Over the next thirty years, Kelly published numerous magazine articles on his favorite topics: Indian legends, mountain men, outlaws, lost gold mines, and the canyons and rivers of southern Utah, where he served for many years as the unpaid supervisor of Capitol Reef National Monument (now a national park).

Another nonnative Utah writer for whom the region provided a powerful imaginative stimulus was Wallace Stegner, who lived in Salt Lake City through his high school and college years. Stegner's stature as a major American writer has been fully appreciated only since his death in 1993, as the environmental themes that played so large a part in his work have become more prominent in the national consciousness. Stegner's knowledge of Utah and western folkways informs many of his books, including his autobiographical novel *The Big Rock Candy Mountain* (1943) and its sequel *Recapitulation* (1979).

None of his works, however, fits the spirit of the 1930s better than *Mormon Country*, published by Duell, Sloan, and Pearce in 1942 in its American Folkways series. Stegner divides the book into two parts: "The Rock Our Fathers Planted," which is devoted to Mormon culture, and "The Might of the Gentile," which treats some non-Mormon strands of Utah life. In both parts, he draws upon folk legends such as the Welsh Indians, the Three Nephites, and the great Buenaventura River, supposed to flow west from the Rockies to San Francisco Bay. He writes of regional heroes and antiheroes: J. Golden Kimball, Uncle Jesse Knight, Butch Cassidy, Rafael Lopez. In "Arcadian Village," Stegner memorializes the United Order experiment at Orderville. In "Fossil Remains of an Idea," he turns a penetrating eye on twentieth-century Mormon fundamentalism and polygamy at Short Creek (since renamed Colorado City) on the Utah-Arizona border. The opening sketch in the book, "Meet Me at the Ward House," is a masterful evocation of the rhythms and images of Mormon village life on the eve of World War II. "Artist in Residence" is a poignant account of Everett Ruess, the twenty-year-old wanderer who disappeared in the Escalante canyons of southern Utah in 1934. Ruess has been the subject of renewed interest in the last few years, but there is still nothing to equal Stegner's dozen pages on him. Despite its age, *Mormon Country* is a book that wears very well.

The writers who emerged in the 1930s opened the lode of Utah folklife to literary treatment, but they did not by any means exhaust its possibilities. It

Wallace Stegner's *Mormon Country* examined the lore of both Mormons and Gentiles.

would remain for later pioneers such as Helen Papanikolas to explore the contributions of the state's ethnic minorities. Like Wallace Stegner before him, Ron Carlson has found in Salt Lake City the material for serious fiction that can reach a wider audience, and Wayne Carver's Plain City, Douglas Thayer's Provo, and Don Marshall's more generic small-town Utah all represent fresh visions of Mormon culture. And since the publication of Levi Peterson's *The Back Slider* (1986), Taylor's *Heaven Knows Why* is no longer the best (or the only) Mormon humorous novel. But anyone who attempts to make literature out of Utah life owes an immense debt to the generation of the 1930s.

Hector Lee

David Stanley

Hector Lee was the only one of "The Three Nephites"—the others were Wayland Hand and Austin Fife—not born into the Mormon faith. As he explains in his 1985 reminiscence (reprinted below), he was born in Texas in 1908 but grew up in the remote Utah village of Hatton in Millard County, where he became interested in the folkways of his Mormon and Paiute Indian neighbors. After earning his Ph.D. in English at the University of New Mexico—with a dissertation on the Three Nephite legends—he returned to the University of Utah where his administrative skills soon became evident. In 1944, he succeeded in getting a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to sponsor research projects on Utah folklore by such well-regarded scholars as Juanita Brooks, Lester Hubbard, William Mulder, Helen Papanikolas, and Don D. Walker. Lee also founded the *Utah Humanities Review*, a quarterly journal that in the late 1940s published articles on regional folklore and history. Lee's enthusiasm for western folkways must have been contagious, for a number of writers and scholars throughout the state turned to folklore as an important and vital part of their pursuits.

Hector Lee, then, was central not only as a collector and scholar of Utah folklore but also as an early influence on other scholars and writers who helped establish folklore as a subject worthy of public attention and professional scholarship. Part of Lee's talent for disseminating folklore was his skill as a raconteur, jokester, and storyteller, an ability evident in his recording, *Folklore of the Mormon Country* (1964), on which he performs J. Golden Kimball and Brother Petersen narratives. Unfortunately for Utah, Lee left the state in 1947 to accept an administrative position at Chico State University in California; later he moved to Sonoma State College, where he spent the rest of his academic career. He remained active in folklore studies until his death in 1992.

Following is Lee's memoir, written for the *Utah Folklife Newsletter* in 1985.

Folklore and a Utah Childhood

Hector Lee

When I was eight years old my widowed mother moved us from East Texas to the little town of Hatton in Millard County, Utah, where she married a farmer who was a second-generation pioneer. Thus I entered an entirely new world in which I had to shed my flat Texas drawl and learn the idioms and vocabulary of the region. Because I was learning a new culture, I was more attentive to it and aware of it than were the native youngsters, who had grown up in it. What they took for granted, I found fresh and interesting.

My stepfather's father, the original pioneer, had left a shed filled with the tools and equipment needed for frontier survival—scythes, sickles, bullet molds, candle molds, homemade household gear—treasures that would make a valuable museum today. I learned to use these objects, and I imagined myself a kind of pioneer.

The Indians from the Pahvant village near Kanosh would come to work on the farm, and I spent many pleasant hours with Old Hunkup, the head man of the village. While we cut potatoes for seeding or hauled hay or repaired harnesses, I would get him to tell me about the Indian way of life. This he enjoyed doing, and thus I got a glimpse into another world strange to me. I came to feel that these Indians were more like brothers than the low-caste creatures that the other children found pleasure in teasing or denigrating.

Then there was another old pioneer, Uncle George, who as a lad had crossed the plains in a covered wagon and had herded cows on the town commons in Salt Lake City. He was full of old pioneer songs and tales of adventure, and I was a good listener. At the age of ten or twelve, I even wrote a poem about him. And fortunately I had time to explore the desert west of Fillmore, and with horse and dog and .22 rifle, riding alone among the craters and lava tubes and sand hills, I came to respect and identify with the physical environment of the place.

When the time came, I attended the Millard County High School in Fillmore, and in due course I went on to the University of Utah. There I studied anthropology with Professor Andrew Kerr, and later with Julian Steward. I also had an interest in writing and frequently turned in papers describing regional scenes and characters. Dr. S. B. Neff, Head of the English Department, and Professor Heber Richards took an interest in me and encouraged me. In

Hector Lee, left, examines Austin and Alta Fife's portable recording equipment, c. 1950.

the 1930s, after taking a master's degree, I became an instructor in English at the university.

In the early 1940s, David Stevens of the Rockefeller Foundation approached the university with the idea of establishing for Utah, and for other selected institutions elsewhere, a fellowship for someone to learn about the regional culture, broadly defined, and to do something to stimulate study in the field. Dr. Neff was informed, and he thought of me. I needed an opportunity to go for the Ph.D. at that time, and he had been impressed by the fact that during the summers of 1939–42 I had worked as a seasonal ranger-naturalist in Zion, Bryce Canyon, and Glacier national parks, interpreting the history and natural sciences of the parks for visitors. I received the appointment.

The terms of my fellowship were that I should go for one summer to New York State University at Albany, where folklore and local history were being studied by Professor Louis C. Jones and his students. After that, I could select a university where I would work in regional resources and take the doctorate. I chose the University of New Mexico, where Professor T. M. Pearce was hoping to start a doctoral program in American civilization. As it happened, I became the first person to earn the Ph.D. in this program.

Folklore was not an established discipline at that time. Up to then, such folklore as was taught came through other disciplines—the ballads from English literature, customs and rituals from anthropology. I realized that a folkloristic approach was both valid and possible, and I also knew that a doctoral candidate should have a dissertation topic clearly in mind before starting. I had long been hearing stories from the religious lore of the Mormon people about the Three Nephites. Austin and Alta Fife had already published a paper on the subject. My contribution was to augment the collection and also to develop a method for the study of a cycle of such narratives.

During the completion of the dissertation I returned to the University of Utah and instituted a course in American folklore. With my class, I made field trips into southern Utah collecting all kinds of folklore. With Dr. Harold Folland of the English Department, I made fruitful field trips, as I did also with Austin and Alta Fife. Good material was beginning to accumulate.

Aided by such colleagues as Harold Folland, William Mulder, and Don Walker, and with the support of Dr. Neff, I found it easy to persuade the university to seek funds from the Rockefeller Foundation and a few other funding agencies to establish what we chose to call the Utah Humanities Research Foundation. A committee was chosen to direct its general course, and I became the executive director in 1944. We chose people more for their influence in the community than for any administrative input they might contribute, although we did get particular help and ideas from Dr. [Leland] Creer of the History Department and Dr. C. Lowell Lees of Speech and Drama.

At an early stage we had an interesting "battle" with two or three of the university administrators over the question of what constituted the "humanities" and whether the term *research* could be applied to anything but the sciences, but we were able to prevail. We were able to make small grants—more for encouragement than real support—to a variety of people who had collecting projects in mind. Their material came to our little office in the library, and the files began to grow.

Early in the game another problem arose. Mrs. Kate B. Carter, who "ran" the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, was also having her members collect similar material. She was publishing a series of books from this vast store of local history and biography, and she directed her members not to be too willing to cooperate with anyone from the university projects. Fortunately we were able to solve that problem by persuading her to become a member of our Advisory Board. The idea soon got around that such important material should be freely accessible to all. I taught more courses in American folklore with a regional emphasis, and the students continued to add their collections to the archive.

The next step toward fulfilling my commitment to the university and to the Rockefeller Foundation was publication. A regional journal would be just the thing, and the *Utah Humanities Review* was born. In its first few years of publication under the editorship of Harold B. Folland, numerous articles on folklore appeared. Later, its title was changed to the *Western Humanities Review*.

In the summer of 1947, I went to Chico State College in California to teach a summer session course and was induced to join the faculty there as the dean of instruction. I could not resist the promotion and the larger salary. I stayed in Chico fourteen years, during which time I was able to continue teaching folklore, so that today, Chico has a very good collection of archive material dealing with

Hector Lee, lecturing at the Fife Conference, 1978.

northern California. In 1961, I moved west to Sonoma State College, where I was dean of the college and professor of English until my retirement in 1973. Throughout my stay in California, I have been active in the California Folklore Society, and I served as president of that organization from 1973 to 1975.

Wayland Hand—Utah Folklorist, International Scholar

Barre Toelken

Wayland Debs Hand was born in Auckland, New Zealand, on March 19, 1907. His father, a naturalized U.S. citizen born in England, had been attracted to Mormonism because its communal model appealed to his strong Socialist convictions. Indeed, he chose his son's middle name to honor Eugene V. Debs—railroader, unionist, and Socialist presidential candidate. The family had moved to New Zealand in hopes of improving the health of Hand's mother and the family's financial standing, but finances did not improve so the family moved again, this time to Calgary, Alberta, where they lived with Hand's uncle.

Eventually returning to Salt Lake City, Hand's family lived in modest circumstances in the Sugarhouse area, where his father worked as a mail carrier. Hand's mother died while he was still young, and his father later married a Dutch woman. Hand attended Granite High School, where he was a member of the baseball team and a budding journalist who worked on the newspaper and yearbook. Both of these interests continued throughout his life, the one in his lifelong love affair with baseball, the other in his hunt-and-peck typing style—though he did, in his seventies, learn touch typing.

More than anything, Hand wanted to be a professional baseball player, and he did play semipro ball in Tooele for a time. But his interests in writing and in literature began to take him in another direction. He had a flair for languages and began to busy himself with the study of Latin and Greek; he picked up Dutch from his stepmother and developed an interest in German. This interest in the study of languages continued throughout his life; he later taught himself Scandinavian languages and even learned Portuguese when he was in his late seventies for an essay on the beliefs and customs of the fishermen of San Pedro, California.

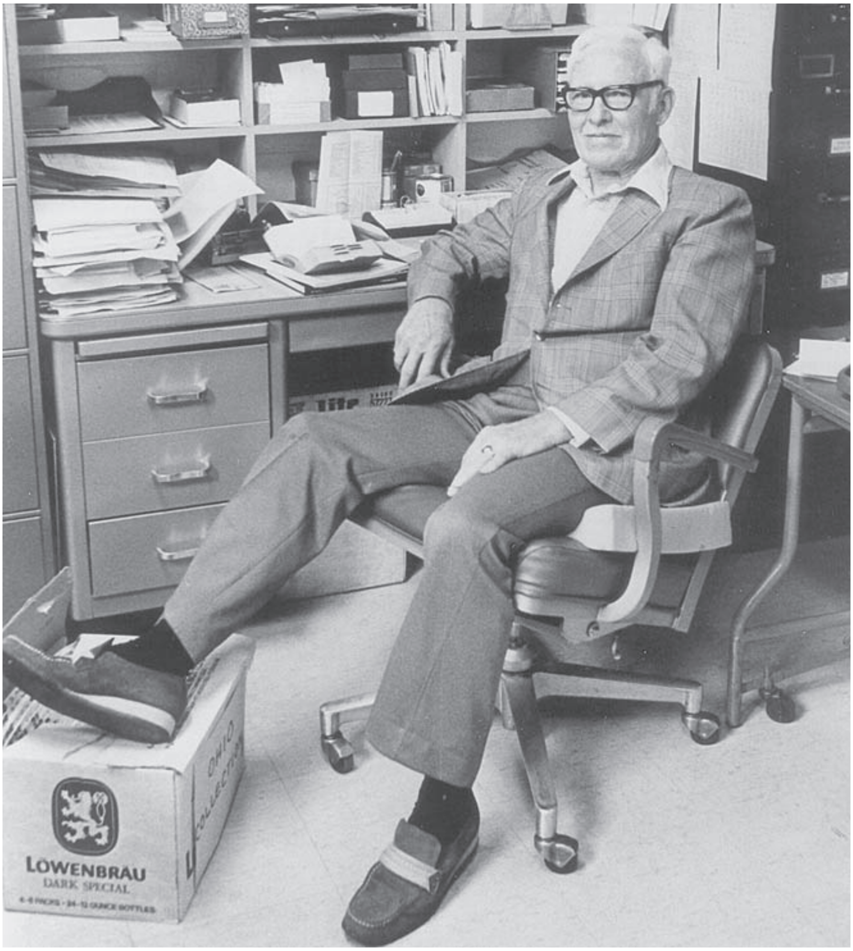
After serving a mission in Germany for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Hand entered the University of Utah and obtained his B.A. in German in 1933 and his M.A. the following year. Two years later, he earned a Ph.D. in German from the University of Chicago, where he wrote, under the direction of renowned folklorist Archer Taylor, his doctoral dissertation on an Alpine folk lyric. Their personal and professional friendship continued to the end of Taylor's life.

As Hand's interest in folklore grew and his intellectual perspectives developed, he turned to the folklore of his own religious background and published in 1938 the first major article on legends of the Three Nephites. In ensuing years, he became less active in the church but never broke with it, maintaining his respect for the faith and his interest in its cultural dimensions. Along with his friends Alta and Austin Fife and Hector Lee, he joined a growing group of scholars who made Utah and Mormon culture into a field of folkloristic inquiry unprecedented in the American West.

Although his influence and interests in folklore were national and international in scope, his academic service was almost entirely at the University of California, Los Angeles. After a year as an instructor of German at the University of Minnesota in 1936–37, he moved to UCLA as an instructor and, except for visiting professorships and consultancies around the world, remained at UCLA for his entire career. He served as chair of the Department of Germanic Languages from 1947 to 1950 and as director of the Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology, the program he pioneered and championed, from 1961 until his retirement in 1974.

So intense and unremitting was his dedication to the establishment and continuance of this center that he turned down repeated offers from other prestigious universities (including two from Indiana University, where he was wanted as a successor to Stith Thompson). He felt that he was more critically needed at UCLA than anywhere else because he conceived of the program in Comparative Folklore and Mythology as virtually the only American academic program that insisted on training students both in the management of archives and indexes and in the comparative, interdisciplinary perspective to be gained by concentration in a standard academic department. Until the end of his life, he consistently fought against the establishment of folklore as an independent discipline standing apart from other fields. In an interview with Michael Owen Jones, part of the American Folklore Society's Oral History Project, Hand argued the necessity for "careful training that can come not through folklore itself but through related academic disciplines of long and honorable standing. To reject this broader kind of graduate training is automatically to limit the scope and quality of the student's work. . . ."

In spite of his seemingly all-consuming tasks at UCLA, he was also an active fieldworker and researcher who felt that analysis and publication of texts were premature if attempted before the researcher had spent many years on the job, in the field, and in the archive. His fieldwork began in the late 1930s and continued unabated; all through the 1940s, '50s, and early '60s, he conducted fieldwork with occupational groups, especially miners in Montana, Utah, and California. Some thirty-five years later, one of the men he had interviewed in



Wayland Hand in his office at UCLA, 1986.

Butte, Montana, Kevin Shannon, recalled singing for a man in a bar, a man more interested in the songs than the liquor: "Yeah—that was him all right; recorder and tweed jacket; he couldn't get enough of those songs!"

At the same time, Hand was equally active in libraries and archives, and he was simultaneously keeping up with international scholarship. He began to urge others to begin publishing their work, to put their archives in order. He took over the compiling of the annual bibliography of folklore published by the Modern Language Association. He kept in touch with scholars and interested hobbyists ranging from callow graduate students to Episcopal vicars, encouraged them to publish, and indeed helped them bring their works into print: at the small end, a note that I wrote on a ballad of the Mountain Meadows Massacre done at Hand's insistence in 1959; at the big end, magnificent and extensive compendia such as the last two volumes of the *Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore* (which won him the international Giuseppe Pitrè Prize—the first time it had been awarded to an American), the Newbell Niles Puckett volumes of Ohio belief and superstition, and Anthon S. Cannon's compilation, *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah,* which Hand and Jeannine Talley finally saw through to publication in 1984. Whether as editor, coeditor, mover, shaker, middleman, or conscience, Hand was committed to bringing folklore to the attention of the scholarly world.

Because of his unceasing research and writing, it is even more stunning to note his extensive involvement with other dimensions of the world of folklore. In 1946 and 1954, he was associate director (with Stith Thompson) of the famous Folklore Institute of America, then held every summer at Indiana University. From 1947 to 1951, he was simultaneously the editor of the American Folklore Society Memoir Series and the *Journal of American Folklore.* With the latter, he instituted an "Editor's Page" and used it to foster extended discussions of current trends in the field by leading folklorists.

During his editorship of the *Journal*, there was a distinct, unmistakable shift away from anthropological studies and toward the subjects and issues that have made folklore studies distinct in the modern arena. While Hand saw no great divide between the two fields, it is clear from what he published that he was intellectually encouraging the kinds of analysis characterizing the best interdisciplinary perspectives then being developed in folklore. He continued this emphasis as editor of *Western Folklore* from 1954 to 1966, a period when it became one of the leading serials in the field.

His involvement in academic associations continued; in 1957–58, he was president of both the American Folklore Society and the Modern Language Association of Southern California, and he served as president of the California Folklore Society in 1969–70. During these years, he also served as a prominent and persuasive member of the editorial committee of the University of California Press, sponsored and participated in numerous national and international conferences and seminars, published a series of influential books on his favorite topics (magic, folk medicine, legend, belief), and saw more than 150 articles appear worldwide in several languages.

He was a founding member of the Board of Trustees of the American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress and served as its chairman in 1976–77. At the time of his death, he was active as a member of the Board of Directors of the newly established Mountain West Center for Regional Studies at Utah State University. Thus, although he did not much participate in (or savor) the various "critical movements" in folklore scholarship during the 1960s and '70s, he was personally and professionally involved in those aspects of the field that he considered to be of continuing, central importance. It is not surprising, then, that in the United States he was often referred to as the dean of the old-line gentlemen scholars; his friendly, diplomatic style endeared him to everyone, even those who felt that the old-line scholarship was passé.

The many honors that came to him for this long life of dedicated service are certainly not surprising, considering the depth of his involvement in the field. In 1942, he won the Chicago Folklore Society Prize for his *Dictionary of Words and Idioms Associated with Judas Iscariot.* Over the years, he received two Guggenheim research awards (1952–53 and 1960–61) and other grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the Library of Congress, the American Philosophical Society, the National Endowment for the Humanities (1976–86, in support of his huge project to produce an encyclopedia of American beliefs and superstitions), and the Skaggs Foundation.

In 1976, his colleagues and students at UCLA honored him by naming the folklore collection the Wayland D. Hand Library and again in 1986 with the establishment of the Wayland D. Hand Award for Academic Achievement. In 1981, he was invited to deliver the annual Fife Honor Lecture at Utah State University's Fife Folklore Conference; with typical modesty and dedication to task, he declined to speak of his own accomplishments and instead presented a comprehensive study of supernatural folklore in Utah based on a lifetime of research and reflection.

His international service and recognition were likewise impressive. He served as visiting professor and lecturer at dozens of universities around the world, including a stint at the University of Chile and frequent visits to the Philippines between 1965 and 1975 to help establish a research program in folklore for the Philippine Ministry of Education. He served as vice-president of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research and was made an honorary lifetime vice-president in 1978. He was also elected a fellow of the Folklore Society of Great Britain and of the Wellcome Museum of London, and in 1972 was made Knight First Class of the Order of the Lion of Finland in recognition of his contributions to international folklore scholarship.

Such a deluge of formal biographical data might give the wrong impression of the kind of person he was in real life. But as those who knew him are well aware, he was a person of rare wit and dignity, a person on whom both an impish smile and a tweed jacket looked natural. He was an indefatigable writer of letters to friends, to colleagues, to university presidents: letters in support of some project or program or conference; letters urging more scholarly work; letters of recommendation; letters that went more than halfway with the subject ("I've done a running one-and-a-half back jackknife for you in my letter to X; you'll be hearing from him soon").

Like his mentor Archer Taylor, he was a supporter and helper; cards and notes would remind friends of fugitive or foreign-language sources that might be of help on a current project. Phone calls between 4 and 6 A.M. ("Hi! This is W!") would inform colleagues of new issues, interesting films on TV, upcoming conferences, or threats to the field of folklore. He was a photographer of other folklorists and could hold forth for hours about the personalities captured in his slides, including anecdotes about their specialties, drinking habits, and embarrassing adventures at international border crossings.

FOLK BELIEFS
PEANUT BUTTER
MEDIUM
GARBAGE BAGS

Wayland Hand in the archive named after him at UCLA, 1986.

Although he had traveled throughout the world and had lectured in a number of languages, he was almost panicked about public speaking and admitted to close friends that he got butterflies and heart palpitations even when he had only to introduce someone. But with his neighbors, he was completely at home and knew all the children—where they were and what they were doing. On one occasion, leaving his house early one morning, he noticed a number of neighborhood women dressed in their bathrobes, leaning over a backyard fence in earnest conversation. He went back into the house, changed into his bathrobe, and went out to join them.

During the Iran hostage crisis of 1979–80, his coworkers heard a loud scraping sound coming slowly down the hall. Just as they were about to investigate, Hand's grinning face appeared in the doorway. Behind him was a huge tree branch entirely covered with bows of yellow ribbon. The branch stayed there in the hallway for more than a year as a visible sign of Hand's hope for freeing the hostages and of his participation in the nationwide exercise of a folk custom.

Wayland Hand was a Utah folklorist not only in his geographical origins but in spirit and interest as well. He had a lifelong fascination with Utah and with Mormon folklore, and even though the vast majority of his publications treated other topics, he expressed his interest in the state's folklore with articles written both at the beginning and at the end of his career. He was, in fact, instrumental in the founding of the Folklore Society of Utah (see chapter 23), for during a stint of summer teaching at the University of Utah in 1957, he encouraged faculty members Louis C. Zucker, Jack Adamson, Harold W. Bentley, Lester

Hubbard, and William Mulder to form a society. Its first newsletter, published in 1958, excerpted a letter from Hand, part of which said:

> Everyone who has collected folklore in Utah has been amazed at the strength of traditions which have endured from pioneer days, and no less at the blending of European and American folk materials. . . . A program of collecting, archiving, and ultimately of publication, I venture to say, should soon put Utah in the forefront of states interested in husbanding their folk traditions. It is in this sense of common cause that your colleagues in other western states salute you for the steps you have taken in effecting a formal organization and getting your work under way.

At the same time that he maintained his interest in and curiosity about the traditions of his native state, most of his work was international in scope and application, for he was equally at home in both arenas, a scholar's scholar of both the local and the universal. In the brief foreword he wrote for *Idaho Folklife: Homesteads to Headstones*, edited by Louis W. Attebery, his closing words—delivered in his distinctive Biblical style—may stand not only for the man himself but as one last encouragement to his colleagues and successors: "The field is ripe unto the harvest, the reapers and binders are in the fields, and the day, though weary, is still long" (ix).

This remarkable man was still very active in his profession long after his formal retirement: he was instrumental in arranging a conference on ballads at the Clark Library in Los Angeles in 1983; he helped to edit a book on occupational folklore in 1984; he wrote the single best history of western folklore scholarship in his foreword to *Idaho Folklife* (1985); in 1986, he was helping Utah State University found a center for regional studies and was starting to plan, with Gerhard Heilfurth of Marburg University in Germany, an international conference on mining folklore.

On October 22, 1986, he was on his way to the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in Baltimore. He had stopped over at the Wayne State University Folklore Archives, giving advice on their collections and enlisting their aid in the production of his life's dream, the *Encyclopedia of American Popular Beliefs and Superstitions*, a project growing out of more than forty years of dedicated, stubborn work and now, at long last, under review for possible publication. While making a connection at the Pittsburgh airport, Hand suffered a heart attack and died soon afterward. On the yellow pad he was carrying were some notes he had made on the way to the Detroit airport. At the top was written "Taxicab beliefs from Detroit," and underneath was a list of four items collected from the cab driver. One of them read, "A driver, fatigued, should pull off the road when he sees a white horse running alongside."

Austin and Alta Fife, Pioneer Folklorists

William A. Wilson

Austin and Alta Fife devoted much of their lives to interpreting the Mormon and western culture that had produced them. Just as their parents and grandparents had helped pioneer the West, they broke new ground in American folklore scholarship—in the study of Mormon folklore, cowboy and western folksong, and material folk culture—and charted a course others were to follow.

As Austin told me in an interview conducted at his home (31 May 1972), he was born in 1909 and attended public school in Idaho Falls, Idaho, and in Logan, Utah. He entered Utah State Agricultural College (now Utah State University) at Logan in 1928 and then from 1929 to 1932 served as a Mormon missionary in France, where he developed an abiding love for French literature and culture. When he returned from his mission, he reentered Utah State and there, in his junior year, met his bride-to-be, Alta Stephens.

Alta, three years younger than Austin, never completed her degree at Utah State because, in 1934, Austin won a fellowship to Stanford University and the couple moved to Palo Alto, California. In the decades to come, they became one of the most successful husband-and-wife research teams in American scholarship. With good cause, most of their major publications list Austin and Alta as coauthors. As Jill Terry Rudy has said in assessing the work of Alta and other "nonprofessionals" in an increasingly professionalized discipline, "Alta Fife's work at the borders of professional training stands as a contribution, and subtle challenge, to folklore studies. Because [she] held no academic degrees nor university positions, and because most of her published works were coauthored with her husband, acknowledging Fife's work and assessing her contribution requires an understanding and reassessment of the place of collaboration and family life in the conduct of scholarship" (p. 2).

After Austin finished his undergraduate degree in French language and literature, he remained at Stanford to complete a master's degree in French literature, moved on to Harvard and a second master's degree in Romance philology, then returned to Stanford to earn a doctorate in French and Spanish, which he completed in 1938. He began teaching at Santa Monica City College in 1939. Following the outbreak of World War II, he served in the military and then returned to teaching in 1946, this time at Occidental College in Los Angeles.

From there Austin and Alta moved to Washington, D.C., where he worked as a program officer for linguistic research with the U.S. Department of Education. In 1960, they came back to Utah State University, Austin to teach French language and literature and to serve later as head of the Department of Languages and Philosophy. Not until 1970–71, only a few years before his retirement, did his administrative duties ease enough to enable him finally to teach the subject for which many know him best—folklore.

Throughout Austin's academic career, he and Alta had pursued research in an area very different from Austin's teaching duties: collecting, documenting, archiving, and publishing the folklore of the American West. During his doctoral work at Stanford, Austin had served as research assistant to the distinguished scholar of Hispanic-American folklore, Aurelio Espinosa, Sr., who became something of a father figure to his young charges. Working with Espinosa on *Cuentos populares,* the folktales of Spain, Austin struck upon the notion of applying the methodology of folklore to his and Alta's own cultural traditions, those of Mormons in the Intermountain West. Thus, during school breaks and vacations, Austin and Alta began the collecting excursions into Mormon country that they eventually extended to most areas of the West. In fact, during Austin's wartime service, Alta continued collecting Mormon materials in and around West Bountiful, where she was living with her parents, as well as in Centerville, Manti, and other Utah communities.

As novice collectors, the Fifes developed a method of breaking down barriers and establishing trust between themselves and their contacts that would serve them well throughout their travels. Realizing that in Mormon Country everyone seems somehow related to everyone else, they used this interconnectedness to establish their credibility, as Austin said in the 1972 interview:

> I'll tell you about our method to interview an old-timer by the name of Zeke Johnson. . . . We finally got his address and called on him. I knocked on the door and said, "I'm Dr. Fife, here representing the Library of Congress collecting old-time stories." He stepped back a pace and looked at me and said, "Fife, huh? What relation are you to Jeanette Fife?" I had looked the genealogy up a little bit because I knew it would be a help in some communities. So I said, "Well, Jeanette Fife is my grandmother's sister." And he said, "Well, son, Jeanette Fife was my father's third plural wife." So he put his arm around me and hugged me, and then we were kinsmen. From then on there was no problem about his singing the songs or telling the stories we wanted.

In the collecting itself, Austin and Alta worked closely together: "Alta did stenographic work, so together we would get them talking about lore and tradition and pioneer reminiscences, and Alta took it down [first] in shorthand; later we got an acetate recording machine, portable. . . . We always explained to them that we were taking it; we never recorded without the people knowing that they were being transcribed either stenographically or by machine." Hector Lee recalled in his introduction to *Exploring Western Americana,* Alta's edition of Austin's essays, that "Austin would ask the questions, and Alta with her shorthand notebook would sit or stand discreetly in the background and take down what was being said. This technique was particularly effective when the material was sensitive and personal, such as accounts of supernatural experiences or superstitions. Many informants, when revealing intensely personal matters, could be intimidated by the too-obvious recording process but were not distracted by Alta's unobtrusive notations" (p. xvii). The Fifes' collecting endeavors led to an important article by Austin in the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1940, "The Legend of the Three Nephites among the Mormons," a piece that quickly caught the attention of prominent American folklorists and would surely have led to more publications had World War II not intervened.

Following the war, Austin and Alta resumed collecting in earnest, devoting much of their free time to the effort during Austin's tenure at Occidental College. Then in 1951, Austin won a Fulbright Exchange Professorship to France, where he was attached to the French National Museum as researcher and lecturer. In France, Austin called on Arnold Van Gennep, author of the influential *Rites of Passage*, "to get the feel of a great intellectual." Of Van Gennep he later said, in the same 1972 interview:

> Most beginning teachers in folklore give you folklore as material—as folksongs, as ballads, proverbs, superstitions; and you [can] know a hell of a lot of proverbs and yet not learn from them a damned thing about mankind. Van Gennep said this is all nonsense and said you must see these materials as a catalogue of the logical arrangement of human ideas, and you must look at it as it functions as a body of materials in the formation of values in a culture—items of inventory that make up the personality of the individual human being.

From Van Gennep, Austin developed organizing principles and cultural insights that would thereafter inform his interpretation of Mormon folklore. For he and Alta were attempting to demonstrate that the stories, songs, and customs they had collected were not just curious novelties of little consequence, as some believed, nor mere "items" to be recorded and catalogued by the scholar. They were, rather, vital functioning forces in Mormon society, shaping the values and practices of individual Mormons, as they said, "from the cradle to the grave." From studying this lore, one could indeed learn a great deal about mankind.

On returning to the United States, the Fifes took up the work once more. In 1953, Austin received a Rockefeller grant to do fieldwork, and they decided that the Moab area in southeast Utah was a promising site. At the time, the Fifes' daughters were six and twelve years of age, so the entire family packed their camping trailer and drove from Los Angeles to Moab. Alta described the trailer and their collecting in a 1992 interview with Anne F. Hatch:

Austin and Alta Fife demonstrating their fieldwork technique, Logan, late 1960s.

> [It] was very commodious for that date. It unfolded with beds on either side and had cupboard and stove and so on. And we brought it . . . thinking that after we collected, we would go do some camping . . . , and we were planning on living in a motel in Moab. And when we got there, there were two movie companies that were actively making movies, and there was no space in a motel whatsoever, so we parked our camper in an apricot orchard and spent seven weeks in town. . . . The movies had rented the only swimming pool in the town from the city, and they also needed all the ice . . . in the city to keep the cameras cool. . . . [I]t developed that Austin was related to almost everybody in town. So we had no problems with collecting there.

Finally, in 1956, some twenty years after they had first begun knocking on doors in southern Utah inquiring after Mormon stories and songs, they published *Saints of Sage and Saddle: Folklore Among the Mormons.* Much has been written about Mormon traditions in the years that have followed, but the Fifes' work still stands as the major study of Mormon folklore and one of the classics of American folklore scholarship. The book not only brought Mormon folklore to the attention of the scholarly world, but it also helped establish the validity of "American" folklore. To scholars overly concerned with locating European antecedents for American folk traditions, *Saints of Sage and Saddle* vividly demonstrates, as did all the Fifes' work, that the American experience has generated a rich body of indigenous lore.

Alta Fife, daughter Marian, and Austin Fife with their camping trailer and recording machine, Moab, 1954.

During World War II, Austin had served as historian for the Thirteenth Airborne Division in the South Seas, collecting personal reminiscences and writing unit histories that were "loaded with folk material." He became especially interested in the songs he heard soldiers sing in their spare time, accompanied by banjos and guitars. Just as his and Alta's developing interest in folk narrative had turned them toward their Mormon heritage in the 1930s, so, too, did his experience with folksong in the military move them toward research into their western heritage in the 1950s.

While collecting their Mormon material, Austin and Alta had also recorded a substantial number of cowboy songs and other songs of the West. With *Saints of Sage and Saddle* now off the press, they turned to this material in earnest, though they continued to record other Mormon lore as they encountered it. In 1958 and 1959, with the assistance of a Guggenheim fellowship, they traveled the country, assembling a manuscript collection to complement their extensive field recordings of cowboy songs. Among other places, they visited libraries and archives in Iowa, Illinois, New York, Washington, D.C., Kentucky, Virginia, Arizona, and Idaho.

In collecting the cowboy material, both in the field and in the library, the Fifes were motivated by the desire to weld the disparate songs into a cowboy epic. Austin believed, according to his friend Wayland Hand (personal communication), that "in its own beauty and grandeur, when all the cowboy materials are pieced together, you would have an equivalent of a grand epic of the American cowboy—attested to in thousands of verses, floating verses that if properly analyzed and brought together, would constitute something that would be comparable to Homer's epic." The Fifes' intention was to create such an epic from the field recordings and manuscripts they had collected, or, perhaps more modestly stated, to create a variorum edition of cowboy songs.

But before the work could be seriously undertaken, the Parkinson's disease that had plagued Austin for years worsened, and his long-held dream had to be let go. Instead of producing a variorum edition, he and Alta now had to do the next best thing: they began anthologizing their material, publishing in rapid succession a revision and commentary of N. Howard "Jack" Thorp's 1908 collection *Songs of the Cowboy* (1966); *Cowboy and Western Songs: A Comprehensive Anthology* (1969), which Austin considered their most important work; *Ballads of the Great West* (1970); and *Heaven on Horseback: Revivalist Songs and Verse in the Cowboy Idiom* (1970).

Even though Austin and Alta had had to abandon plans for the variorum edition, as late as 1972 Austin still hoped to continue their study of some of the best individual cowboy songs. He said, "I want to write scholarly articles on ten or twelve of the great cowboy songs using my own 4 x 6 card catalogue before someone else uses it and becomes the scholar I should have been—making the 4 x 6 cards and then never using the damned things." This hope, too, had to yield to his debilitating illness.

But Austin himself did not yield. In the long process of gathering their materials and of editing, collating, and writing their books, he and Alta had assembled one of the finest archives in America—an archive that could, they realized, make possible the continuation of their work by a new generation of scholars and the eventual fulfillment of their dream. In the 1972 interview, Austin gave a glimpse of the careful thoroughness that characterized his and Alta's work and revealed his understanding of its ultimate importance:

> If you're going to say something about the history of a song, doggone it, you've got to research the thing out even in the most esoteric publications you can find. And it's in that domain . . . that our archive will be quite meaningful because we've got many thousands of cards, up to five or six hundred cards on a single song, which will make it possible for myself now, and for other scholars later, to say something definitive about the dissemination and origins and cultural impact that a given song may have. We have been in-the-field folklorists. We've talked to hundreds of people, and we've recorded this material, and the study comprises the archival form [of] those interviews and library research, where we've done it. . . . And it involves principally an index of western and cowboy song which comprises bound volumes of actual transcriptions, stenographic or machine or otherwise. It involves the tapes that we have actually made in the field. It involves the 4 x 6 comprehensive index bringing all those materials together and all of the books or other published encounters with those songs. So, for example, I could go to, let's say "The Strawberry Roan" . . . and pull out one hundred 4 x 6 cards which will give me every manifestation of "Strawberry Roan" that I have had in my life's career as a researcher—a singer in the field,

> a book, an LP recording, an old 78 r.p.m. recording, any of them at all. So in a sense I could, if I were a doctoral adviser, launch a student on any one of one hundred Ph.D. dissertations just by saying, "These are the cards; now take off from there." I would have every manifestation that I have encountered, every article that's been written that's critical about it, every remark a politician has made about it, if it made print, and so on—it's there. And the back-up is there, either in our bound volumes from our field collecting . . . or in the tapes that we have made . . . [of] the actual singing. And by the way, all the tapes, nearly, have been transcribed into musical notation. We have the melodic line transcribed by an ethnomusicologist, with even sometimes a paragraph of description of the musical problems involved.

The Fifes' passion for documenting and archiving expressions of western culture extended beyond story and song to folk material culture, to the material forms that had been imprinted on their minds as they grew up in the Great Basin and as they had traveled through the western landscape. In 1948, with his cousin James Fife, Austin published an article in *Western Folklore* titled "Hay Derricks of the Great Basin and Upper Snake River Valley." Thus began another phase of the Fifes' documenting efforts. Over the years, they photographed, documented, archived, and carefully indexed thousands of images of material objects of the American West, from ranch fences to stone houses. (These slides and indexes, as well as the Mormon and cowboy collections, are now housed in the Fife Folklore Archives at Utah State University.) In 1968, Austin organized a regional conference of the American Folklore Society at Utah State University, focusing primarily on material culture; in 1969, he, Alta, and Henry Glassie published the proceedings of the conference as *Forms Upon the Frontier: Folklife and Folk Arts in the United States*. Until more substantial texts became available, *Forms Upon the Frontier* served for several years as a textbook in the rapidly developing field of material culture studies. And Austin and Alta had once again been pioneers.

Early in his career, Austin translated what became *The Borzoi Book of French Folk Tales* (1956) by Paul Delarue. It is fitting that his final publication was a translation of Van Gennep's *Manuel de Folklore Français Contemporain*. Sandwiched between these products of his beloved French culture are the works—in Mormon folklore, in cowboy and western song, in material culture traditions, and in archiving—that have made a lasting contribution to our understanding of the American West. Between them also was a life of professional activity. Austin helped found the California Folklore Society and served as vice-president of the American Folklore Society and president of the Folklore Society of Utah. He was also a fellow of the American Folklore Society and of the Utah State Historical Society. Alta, too, served a professional organization as secretary-treasurer of the Folklore Society of Utah.

After Austin's death in 1986, Alta collected many of the essays and articles that he had written with her assistance and published them as *Exploring Western Americana*, a fitting tribute to the Fifes' love of travel, of fieldwork, and of their collaboration as scholars. Alta continued assembling the field collections, editing and preparing articles for publication, and indexing photos and tapes until the end of her life in 1996. And as Barre Toelken revealed in his obituary for Alta in the *American Folklore Society Newsletter* (26, 2; April 1997), ". . . those who knew the couple well knew that in their fieldwork each considered the other absolutely indispensable; those who were more closely acquainted with them also knew that Alta was the writer, a fact she adamantly refused to acknowledge in public" (p. 3).

It would be tempting to comment further on the significance of all this work—on the feelings of the Fifes toward the people they studied, on the impact of their work on these people and on themselves—but it's probably more fitting to let Austin comment himself:

> Above all, I would like to say you can't be objective as a teacher or scholar unless you respect the belief of the person who told you that particular variant of [let us say, the Mormon legend of] the seagulls and the crickets. You've got to respect that. You don't have to say it is true and absolutely true and nothing but the truth, but you have to respect him for his attitude toward the legend as he told it. If you can't do that, then objectivity doesn't mean anything at all. I think I have inspired a few people to look objectively at their own culture without any sense of humiliation. And maybe to make them see. Juanita Brooks paid us a compliment when she said, "Austin has made us see things that we hadn't seen before in our culture."
>
> It goes right back to my hitches with the church in my young manhood. If I look at the thing over the long stream, it's the fact that any group of people living together with an ethnic identity can substantiate itself or find itself in jeopardy in about equal portions. If I were an Aleut . . . , my mythological system would be just as valid and just as subject to criticism as was my own as a young Latter-day Saint. So this makes me absolutely noncultural, if you want to call it that, or perhaps it makes me the other extreme, omni-ethnic, which I hope.

Lester Hubbard and the Folksongs of Utah

Hal Cannon

On a summer's day in 1947, Lester Hubbard climbed down from his car and approached a neatly fenced rose garden in the little town of Orderville in southern Utah. On the walk, dressed in a long, old-fashioned black dress, stood a tiny, elderly woman. Hubbard introduced himself. Mary E. Hoyt interrupted, "Oh, I know who you are. I've been expecting you." "No," replied Hubbard, "that's not possible. No one knew we were coming." "Yes," she said distractedly, "please ask your wife to come in and we can get started."

Hubbard was at a loss. He always found it difficult to ask strangers to share something as close to their private lives as a cherished song, especially when he recorded it on that new-fangled and intimidating aluminum-disk recorder. Yet Barbara, his wife, just had to smile to build the necessary trust. But here was an extremely old woman who not only didn't ask why the couple wanted to record these old songs but had seemingly been expecting their visit. It baffled his professorial logic, but he didn't object.

Unquestioning, he walked into Mrs. Hoyt's pioneer-era home lugging the cumbersome machine. He set up the microphone, tested the battery, set a blank disc on the platen. Then Mrs. Hoyt began to sing, a rare old song that Hubbard had heard about but never collected: "The United Order," about the communal social organization of the early years of Mormonism. She finished and immediately began the old Scottish ballad "The Braes of Strachblane." Something about her rendition was especially chilling, unexplainably plaintive. There was silence as she finished:

> Come all my pretty fair maids wherever you may be,
> Don't slight any young man for his poverty;
> For the slighting of a young man you may never get again,
> Brokenhearted you may wander on the braes of Strachblane.

She looked up. "I'm sorry, but I'm very tired. I must excuse myself." Hubbard and his wife packed up their equipment and Mrs. Hoyt saw them to the door.

They drove on to Kanab to spend the night. A day later, the local newspaper announced that Mary C. Hoyt had died the night of the Hubbards' visit.

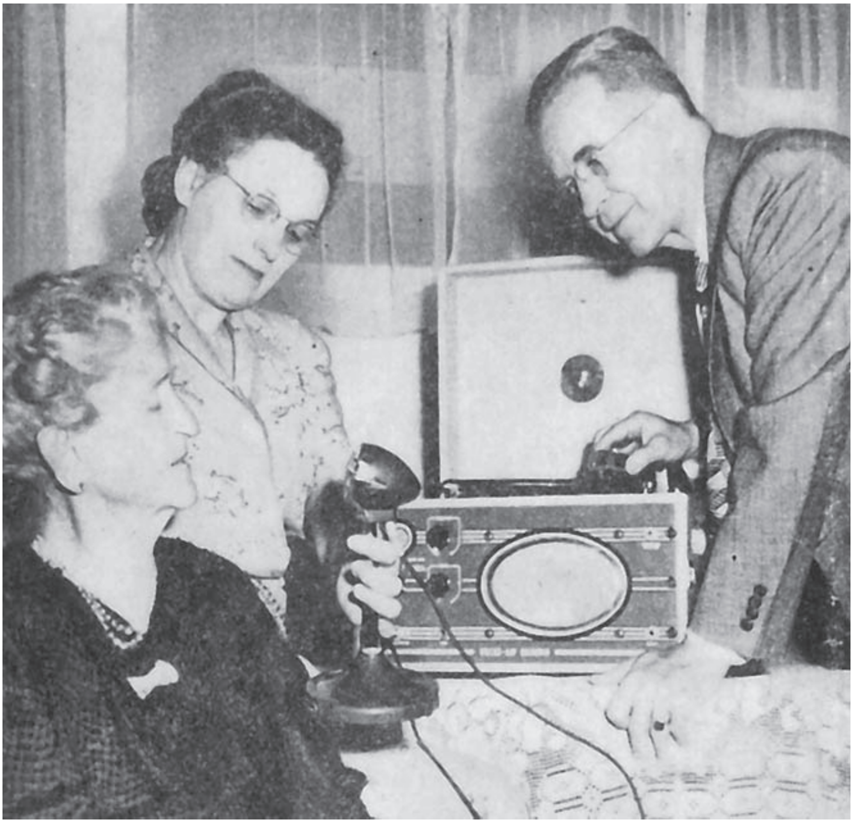
That was the most memorable of the stories that Professor Hubbard told me about his collecting experiences when I interviewed him in 1976. This combination of intellectual curiosity and spirituality touched much of his life and marked him from an early age. Born in 1892, he grew up in the small farming community of Willard, Utah, north of Ogden, an area renowned for its orchards. From the beginning, he loved to study. His mother demanded that all her children read and become educated, and two of his brothers graduated from Harvard. Hubbard himself attended Brigham Young University for one year before being drafted into the Army to serve in World War I. Following the war, he stayed in France for a year and studied at the Sorbonne. When his funds ran out, he returned to Utah, married his high-school sweetheart Barbara Larsen, and completed his B.A. at the University of Utah.

For the next fourteen years, the Hubbards were occupied with raising their two daughters and making enough money so that Lester could complete his schooling. He taught at high schools in Montpelier, Idaho, and Ogden, Utah, then moved to the University of Chicago for his master's degree and to the University of California at Berkeley for his Ph.D., which he completed in 1933 with a dissertation on the works of John Dryden, the seventeenth-century English poet, critic, and playwright. Even before his dissertation was completed, he had begun teaching at the University of Utah in the English Department.

Living away from Utah had given Hubbard a growing appreciation for the cultural heritage he had inherited from his pioneer forebears. He had previously taken for granted the verbal and musical lore that had been part of everyday life in Willard when he was growing up. His father had been a staunch and pious Mormon bishop; his mother was a woman of keen mind, fascinated by the richness and diversity of human life. Despite his concentration on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British literature, some of his mother's wide-ranging interests must have rubbed off on Hubbard, for he delved into gardening and natural science (for years he wrote articles for the *Deseret News* on these subjects) and, eventually, into folklore.

At some point, he began looking at the ballad collections of the Harvard scholar Francis James Child, who had compiled a massive number of English and Scottish popular ballads into five volumes published between 1882 and 1898. Child's collection contained many very old songs (in fact, Child felt that there were no other ballads but these), but in paging through them, Hubbard realized that many of these songs were still being sung in Utah—by his own mother. In 1946, he purchased a Recordio home recorder which made recordings on aluminum discs and went to his mother to study her repertoire of traditional ballads.

He was overwhelmed by the power of his mother's songs, the historical content of the lyrics, and the poetic qualities that he discerned. The importance that these old songs had for those who sang them made a strong impression on the young scholar. His curiosity led him to ask his mother for other songs she remembered, songs that her fiddle-playing father, her mother, and the farmhands sang during and after field work. Sally Hubbard, then eighty-three



Barbara and Lester Hubbard recording Lester's mother, Sally, c. 1950.

years of age, came up with song after song—a total of 134, plus twenty-nine fragments. Some were popular sentimental songs, some derivations of English ballads, others topical songs of pioneer Utah. The songs intrigued Hubbard so much that he went on to visit his mother's sister-in-law, Lottie Heed of Ogden, who knew still more. Soon the hobby of collecting folksongs had become a regular weekend pastime for the Hubbards.

Pursuing this hobby was entirely an individualistic effort. Hubbard always felt that his colleagues in the English Department thought the study of folksongs trivial. Except for informal social occasions, he was never asked to lecture on the subject. Yet he went forward, forming associations with other Utah folklorists who shared his interests. He corresponded regularly with Austin Fife, first at Occidental College in Los Angeles, later at Utah State University, and with Hector Lee, who had taught at the University of Utah and had then worked as a dean at Chico and Sonoma state colleges in California. Austin Fife and his wife, Alta, along with Thomas Cheney at Brigham Young University, were already deeply involved in the collection of Mormon songs at the time that Hubbard began his own research.

In the summer of 1947, the Hubbards set out on what was to be the most ambitious of their collecting trips. Aided by a small grant from the Utah Humanities Research Foundation (which Lee had established with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation), the Hubbards set out to tour the state and to collect as many songs as possible. Barbara's sociable nature made it relatively easy for her to explain their quest; Lester did the recording.

On a field trip to southwestern Utah they met James Jepson of Hurricane. Jepson, then in his early nineties, had a wonderful memory for songs and ended up singing over a hundred to the Hubbards—everything from "The Golden Vanity" to "Hard Times." Jepson shared Hubbard's love for the old songs and was very particular about getting all of the words right. He told Hubbard that in his early days as a driver of freight wagons he had marked the miles by the number of verses that he sang as he jolted along the red sandy tracks of southern Utah.

Thirty years later, I visited the Jepson home in Hurricane. John's son Jesse was then in his last years and sang some of his father's old songs for me, along with popular songs of his own generation. And there I also met younger members of the family, who had held onto the value of singing and music as central to the structure of their family. The songs had changed, but the value placed on the music was intact. Thanks in part to Hubbard's foresight, these values and the family and community heritage that accompany them have been preserved.

Over the next fifteen years, the Hubbards continued collecting songs, recording them on the old Recordio, then taking them back to Salt Lake City where Hubbard transcribed the words, had a musical friend—Kenly W. Whitelock—transcribe the tunes, and then organized the songs according to content, historical relevance, and significance in the state's development. During the 1940s and '50s, Hubbard published articles in *Western Folklore*, the *Utah Humanities Review,* and the *Journal of American Folklore* (with LeRoy J. Robertson) on topics ranging from Child ballads collected in Utah to militant Mormon ballads.

By the late 1950s, Hubbard had amassed the largest collection of Utah folk music anywhere. He had collected over a thousand songs, most of them from elderly people throughout the state. One of the most noteworthy aspects of this collection is that Hubbard accepted the entire repertoires of his informants, collecting popular and contemporary music along with the pioneer song and the early modern ballad. Though he had great interest in the texts of the oldest ballads—the most popular focus of study for folklorists of his generation—he kept the recorder running for songs that might have seemed to him less noteworthy, less lasting. But the result of what became the Hubbard Folklore Collection in the Special Collections at the University of Utah's Marriott Library was a body of song that reflects the wide range of musical interests of Utah's people in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In 1961, having finally edited his collection down to what he thought were the 250 most significant songs, he published *Ballads and Songs from Utah* with the University of Utah Press. Characteristically, the book was dedicated "To my wife, Barbara, with gratitude and affection." The spring, 1959 edition of the

Barbara and Lester Hubbard, Jan Harold Brunvand (standing), Hal Cannon, and David Gardner, president of the University of Utah, examine the recording *The New Beehive Songster, Vol. I,* compiled from the Hubbards' recordings of Utah folksongs, 1975.

Folklore Society of Utah newsletter announced the forthcoming publication and commented that Hubbard's work had shown "an ideal combination of sensitive appreciation and scholarly interpretation. As collector of Utah folksong, he is probably unequalled."

Soon after the publication of his book, Hubbard suffered a heart attack and decided to retire from teaching. He lived for seventeen more years at his home near the university, spending much of his time gardening with his wife. He also taught himself to play the guitar and began singing some of the songs he had collected. He died in 1978 at the age of 86.

By the late 1960s, I was beginning to cut classes at the University of Utah to listen to recordings from the Hubbard Collection in the university library. That was the start of what became a project to edit the early recordings made by Hubbard and the Fifes and to release an album of the best performances from these old recordings. In 1975, *The New Beehive Songster, Vol. I,* edited by Tom Carter, Jan Harold Brunvand, and me, was released. During this time, I got to know Dr. Hubbard personally, and it was then that he told me about his collecting experiences, including his meeting with Mary Hoyt. Much of the rest of my information came from the Hubbards' daughter Gene Croft, who had done the illustrations for the songbook.

She characterized her mother and father as people who set a goal for their lives and kept to it. She also said that they were a great example of how two people can live and work together throughout life with love for each other and a sense of humor. To those of us who have inherited the mantle of documenting folk culture in the West, Lester and Barbara Hubbard remain fine examples of dedicated collectors with high standards of scholarship.

Thomas Cheney and the Dilemmas of Mormon Folklore

George H. Schoemaker

Among those who have collected, classified, and annotated the folksongs of Great Britain and North America, three names stand out. The first is Francis James Child, to whom we are indebted for his great collection of English and Scottish ballads. The second is Cecil J. Sharp, who came from England to the southern Appalachians to reveal to us the rich ballad heritage of the United States. The third is G. Malcolm Laws, Jr., whose collections of British and American broadside ballads further expanded our knowledge of the Anglophone folksong tradition.

The influence of Child, Sharp, and Laws, and the ongoing debate—sometimes called "the ballad wars"—over the origins of folksongs affected scholars and collectors of folk music all over the country. In Utah, Lester Hubbard, Austin and Alta Fife, and Thomas Cheney were especially active in collecting and transcribing the folksongs of Utah and the Intermountain West, and in comparing them with songs from the British Isles and the eastern United States. Cheney, late professor emeritus at Brigham Young University, was—along with Hubbard and Levette J. Davidson of Colorado—one of the first people to collect the folk music of the West. But Cheney's introduction to folklore, like many aspects of his life, came quite by accident.

He was born in 1901 in Victor, Idaho, a small Mormon farming community east of Idaho Falls. Family lore relates that Cheney's mother gave birth to Thomas with the help of a midwife at the cost of three dollars. After finishing high school, he borrowed fifty dollars and went to nine weeks of summer school at Ricks College in Rexburg, Idaho, where he qualified for elementary-school teaching; he promptly began a teaching career. He continued his education by attending Utah State Agricultural College, now Utah State University, where he received a B.S. in English (Cheney told me in a 1986 interview that a B.A. in English did not exist then). He continued, "I started out in education and was bored with education classes, so much that I shifted to English. . . ."

Cheney served a mission for the LDS Church to southern California from 1924 to 1926. Upon his return, he continued teaching in his home town and eventually became a principal there. In 1930, he recalled, he decided to attend the University of Idaho during the summer session as a master's-degree student; it was there that he had his first introduction into the world of folklore:

> George Morey Miller was chairman of the English Department there and I had quite an experience with him to begin with. I went into a room where they were registering graduate students in English, and Miller sat down at the back. . . . he saw me, and he said, "Who are you?" and I announced my name, and he said, "Where are you from?" and I said, "Southeastern Idaho." He said, "Are you a Mormon?" and I said, "Yes, sir." And he said, "You admit it?" And I said, "Yes, I do," and he smiled for the first time and said, "There was a fellow came up from southeastern Idaho not long ago and he said he was a Presbyterian. He thought it wouldn't do him any good to say he was Mormon." He talked me into registering for a course in Child ballads, English, American, and Scottish popular ballads. . . . By the way, he actually knew and studied under Francis James Child.

Miller persuaded Cheney to do his master's thesis on ballads, ballads to be collected among Mormons in Utah and Idaho. Cheney collected approximately seventy-five songs and compared them to the English and Scottish ballads in the Child canon. When I asked him how he did his field recordings, he stated that "I didn't work on the music at all there, I just collected the words. I did have them [the informants] sing the songs, and I learned some of the songs myself, but as far as those seventy-five songs were concerned, I didn't have the recording materials, there weren't recording devices available in the 1930s at all, well, not for the common people. It'd be so expensive, you simply couldn't do it. . . ." Cheney completed his coursework during the summer sessions and eventually graduated in 1936 after completing his thesis.

Cheney then joined the English faculty at Brigham Young University. While at BYU, he taught courses in English Romantic literature, and then the department chairman, P. A. Christiansen, suggested that he teach a course in the English, Scottish, and American ballads. His courses were always well attended, and, admitted Cheney, "The classes were interesting, but to tell the truth, in my own feeling, they are not as educational as it would be to study the masters of literature."

Yet while teaching his folklore courses, he always tried to give wide exposure to the material and to inspire "great thought and great action." Cheney's personal philosophy of teaching included two objectives: first, to stimulate the intellect of students by the development of sound reasoning; second, to develop the heart. Developing and maintaining a proper balance between the intellect and emotions, Cheney felt, was the key to making life a rich experience.

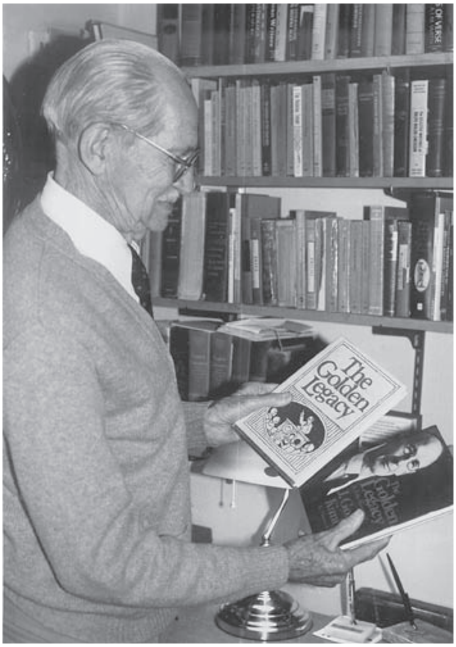
While he was on the faculty at BYU, Cheney received several summer grants to continue his collecting of folksongs. Between 1954 and 1958, he did fieldwork in Utah and Idaho, gathering approximately 250 folksongs for a two-volume collection that he was preparing for publication by the American Folklore Society.

Cheney had originally titled this collection *Songs of the Wasatch and Tetons* (mountain ranges in Utah and on the Idaho-Wyoming border), but Richard Dorson, president of the society, asked him to change the title because Dorson thought it sounded too much like American Indian songs. Through the tenure of several different presidents and shifting editorial boards, Cheney had to revise, delete from, expand, and contract his book. Finally, after five years, the AFS published *Mormon Songs from the Rocky Mountains* (1968) through the University of Texas Press as part of its Memoir Series.

One of the more humorous folksongs from the collection is "Zack, the Mormon Engineer." This song is more comic than satiric in its portrayal of a polygamous Mormon bishop, Zack Black, who was an engineer for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad and had a wife in every town that he passed through:

> Old Zack he came to Utah
> Way back in seventy-three,
> A right good Mormon gentleman
> And a Bishop too was he.
> He drove a locomotive for the D. and R. G.,
> With women he was popular,
> As popular as could be,
> And when he'd whistle – ooh! ooh!
> Mamma'd understand
> That Zack was headed homeward
> On the Denver and Rio Grande.
>
> Old Zack he had a wife-e
> In every railroad town
> No matter where he stopped
> He had a place to lay him down,
> And when his train was coming
> He wanted her to know
> So as he passed each wife-e's home
> His whistle, he would blow,
> And when he'd whistle – ooh! ooh!
> Mamma'd understand
> That Zack was headed homeward
> On the Denver and Rio Grande. (p. 179)

Cheney's second book, *The Golden Legacy: A Folk History of J. Golden Kimball,* became a center of controversy at Brigham Young University as soon as it was published in 1973. It was the first printed collection of anecdotes and reminiscences about the popular Mormon Church authority, J. Golden Kimball (1853–1938), who was renowned for his humor, compassion, and occasional violations of the Mormon morality code (see chapter 15). Cheney recalled that



Thomas E. Cheney examines the two published versions of his controversial book, *The Golden Legacy*. Photo taken 1986, when Cheney was eighty-five.

the manuscript was initially received with great enthusiasm by Brigham Young University Press and was worked over very rapidly. Cheney had written a chapter called "Salty Slips and Anachronisms," and he was certain that the editors would not wish to publish the book because of the colorful language the chapter contained. He asked the editors at the press if they were going to publish the book with that chapter, and they said, "Well, that's the best chapter in the book, sure we want to publish it." The book was published and six thousand copies were printed. A short time after the book appeared in book stores, somebody read it and, according to Cheney, demanded the book be withdrawn immediately. Only fifty copies had been sold. The press was left with the remaining 5950 copies, and, said Cheney, "Well, some of them over there said, 'We're going to have a big bonfire and burn your books, and we'll circle around and sing'—what was it they were going to sing? Some satire in regard to it."

After the banning of the book, Cheney requested a conference with University President Dallin Oaks and several others of his administration. President Oaks said the book had been banned because of a page that contained two stories about J. Golden Kimball and Heber J. Grant, the president and prophet of the church from 1918 to 1945. The stories concerned the difficulties each was having with his health, and both stories contained a four-letter word that might have been offensive to some, though perhaps the narration of the urinary problems of the church's leader was the real cause of the ban. Peregrine Smith, Inc. republished the book in 1974 with the offensive material deleted and other, presumably inoffensive, stories substituted.

In the early 1960s, Cheney was asked to serve as folklorist and consultant for the recording of an album titled *The Mormon Pioneers* for Columbia Records' Legacy Collection. With Cheney's advice, the producers chose folksongs collected by Cheney, Lester Hubbard, and Austin and Alta Fife. Cheney also contributed historical material and photographs for the album. The producers initially settled on about forty songs, among which were two about polygamy: "Zack, the Mormon Engineer" and "Brigham Young, the Western Pioneer." Mormon Tabernacle Choir President Lester F. Hewlett and organist Alexander Schreiner reviewed the proposed contents, and in the final selection, "Zack" and "Brigham Young" were omitted, and the album was reduced to seventeen songs on one disk. A short time later, the Columbia Records producer in New York called Cheney on the telephone and said, "Where's 'Zack, the Mormon Engineer'?" Cheney told him what had happened, and the producer said, "All right, if the Tabernacle Choir doesn't want it, then we won't publish it." Cheney said that Columbia was anxious to keep good relations with the Tabernacle Choir because the company made a lot of money from the choir's recordings.

Eventually, through many difficulties, the recording project was completed in 1965. In an effort to meet market demand, Columbia hired for the project such well-known revivalist singers and musicians as Ed McCurdy, Ramblin' Jack Elliott (the album omitted the nickname), Clayton Krehbiel, Oscar Brand, Eric Weisberg, and John Sebastian, along with a chorus of local singers. The result was an odd combination of songs and performers: Jack Elliott singing "The Mormon Battalion Song," Ed McCurdy (with chorus) performing "This Is the Place," and Oscar Brand doing "The Seagulls and the Crickets," with Weisberg and Sebastian as back-up musicians on banjo and guitar.

Cheney was also active in the Folklore Society of Utah, serving as president in 1963–64 and acting as editor for the society's publication, *Lore of Faith and Folly* (1971), a book-length collection of essays on Utah folklore by a number of different folklorists. His last publication, a largely autobiographical account of his Idaho boyhood combined with local history, was titled *Voices from the Bottom of the Bowl: A Folk History of Teton Valley, Idaho, 1823–1952.* Published in 1991, it varies from humorous anecdote to ironic commentary to nostalgic reminiscence in portraying with objectivity and exactitude the joys and difficulties of growing up in a small Mormon town at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Asked about his perceptions of folksong scholarship and how it has changed since he did his fieldwork, Cheney commented that he thought the true folk ballad had died out and that the transmitting of the songs was scarcely done orally anymore. Rather, in his opinion, "since we have a more literate society now, and so much publication, we have very few true ballads. . . . There is going to be a lot of present-day trash that's going to be lodged eventually in folk collections because the songs are sung now by rock singers and have very little literary value at all."

Even in his later years—he died in 1993 at the age of 92—Cheney was a lively and supportive enthusiast of folklore studies. He always insisted that, ironically, his main area of study was English Romantic literature and that he fell into the study of folksongs by accident. It seems, said Cheney, that "often life is like that. . . . You decide you want to do something in some line, and yet the opportunities come in another line." And because he walked through an open door, he became known as a folklorist, a collector of songs, a ballad scholar. And whether his students knew him as a professor of Romantic literature or of folksong and ballad, Thomas Cheney's contributions earned him respect and admiration from scholars internationally.

Olive Woolley Burt, Collector of Murder Ballads

Ann Reichman

In May 1958, Olive Burt wrote to Harold W. Bentley accepting an invitation to serve on the Advisory Council of the newly formed Folklore Society of Utah. "I am flattered to be asked," she wrote with her usual enthusiasm, "and will be proud to act. I am hoping for many good things to come from this group, and know it will serve a real purpose for the state."

The rest of the Advisory Council was a prestigious group of literary academics: Jack H. Adamson, Juanita Brooks, Lester Hubbard, and William Mulder. "We were a bunch of amateurs," Mulder said in an interview in 1987, "not a folklorist in the lot, except Hubbard and [vice president Thomas] Cheney. Hal [Bentley] liked to put together a good mix." Although most of the council members were not formally trained in folklore, Mulder said, they were all interested in the subject and were willing to help organize the society.

During the first years of the society, Olive Burt wrote letters urging the group to broaden its membership by encouraging writers, historians, and students to join. She felt strongly that membership should be open to all interested parties in Utah's communities as well as on its campuses. She participated in folklore conferences and workshops as a speaker and panel member, and talked up the society to other groups with which she was associated.

For Burt, the organizing of the Folklore Society was timely. Oxford University Press was about to release her book, *American Murder Ballads and Their Stories*, the culmination of a lifetime of collecting. *Ballads* was a definite departure from her other books, eventually numbering more than fifty, which were primarily biographies and histories intended for young people.

In 1958, Wayland Hand, editor of *Western Folklore*, published Burt's article "The Minstrelsy of Murder" prior to the publication of the book. Burt began the article with an explanation of her purpose in gathering American murder ballads:

> We are all somewhat acquainted with the extent to which murder and mayhem make up the themes of the classic Scottish ballads. What is not generally known

> is that here in America, just as in the Old World, homicide is a favorite subject for poets and singers. In the early American settlements the people followed the customs of their native lands—and one of these customs was to print up broadsides or penny sheets telling the story of particularly interesting local crimes. . . . My lifelong hobby has been collecting murder ballads, many from old folks who claim these particular songs were never published. (p. 141)

In correspondence with Burt, Hand commented favorably on her membership on the Advisory Council of the Folklore Society of Utah, and in response Burt replied, "I am happy to be included on the board . . . and I hope we can make a real contribution to the overall picture. I am getting so carried away by the fascination of folklore that I wish I had been properly trained in that area. However, I will do what I can."

In a brief foreword to the *Ballads*, Burt wrote of the appeal ballads had for her mother and of the songs and stories told by a Scottish-Canadian uncle who frequently visited the family. Burt's mother had been in the habit of lulling her children to sleep with ballads. Their favorites, said Burt, were the grisly ones. "Perhaps this wasn't the proper emotional or intellectual fare for a small boy and girl, but I can't help thinking it had more to recommend it than the horrors of television. . . . For one thing, it was real. It was the stuff of which literature is made. Those old . . . ballads have come down through the years as an expression of the life and customs of the time. They have reality and permanence . . ." (p. xi).

Olive Woolley Burt was the only girl in a family of nine children. At the time of her birth, 26 May 1894, her parents, Agnes Forsyth and Jed F. Woolley, were living in Ann Arbor, Michigan, where Jed was attending the University of Michigan. In 1897, the family returned to Salt Lake City to make their home. Agnes, who had been born and raised in Toquerville in southwestern Utah, felt that the air, food, and climate in that part of the state were more conducive to physical growth than the Salt Lake City environment, so Olive often spent summers with relatives in southern Utah. The experience gave her a lifelong interest in the area and its folkways.

During this period, she also began exercising her writing skills. She was eight when she wrote a poem called "When Papa Sells a Gold Mine" and sent it to the *San Francisco Chronicle*. She was paid two dollars on publication. She also assisted an older brother who was the neighborhood school correspondent for the *Salt Lake Tribune* and she quickly began contributing articles and interviews.

In 1913, when she was nineteen, she began teaching elementary school in southern Utah, first in Washington County and later in Garfield County, in her spare time contributing articles and columns to local newspapers. This pattern of combining teaching with journalism continued for much of her career. In 1918, she received her B.A. from the University of Utah and in 1922 married Clinton Ray Burt, whom she had met when both were working for the Garfield County schools. They became the parents of two daughters, Beverly and Forsyth, and one son, Robin.

M.W.A.
Award
1958

Olive Burt with the Edgar Award she won for *American Murder Ballads*, 1958.

In 1927, after moving back to Salt Lake City, Burt joined the staff of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, working primarily as editor of the children's section. In her foreword to the *Ballads,* she recalled the atmosphere of a daily newspaper: "There in a world that dealt with reality, and specifically with the reality of crime, I became interested in true crime cases" (p. xi). Impressed with the reporting of crime stories by the newspaper staff, she began reading true murder cases and eventually tried her hand at writing articles for crime magazines. She also discovered that ballads were frequently composed at the time of a murder or trial, and she began searching out ballads connected with crimes. "And a whole new world of fascinating people was opened up for me," she wrote, "people who spend their lives chasing down, collecting, and often publishing the songs of the people—the folk songs of the country. I was suddenly launched on a study of the folklore of murder" (p. xii).

Ballads received the Edgar Award (named for Edgar Allan Poe) from the Mystery Writers of America. Newspaper and magazine reviewers were generally enthusiastic. Archie Green, writing in the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1962, called the book a "delightful slice of Americana" and commented that the book was "neither a serious folkloristic study nor a folksong collection. It is rather a personal gathering of some 135 poems, songs, and ballads presented in part or in full with music provided for 26 pieces" (p. 73). John Greenway wrote in *Western Folklore* that, although the book was not written "in a scholarly fashion," folklorists could still infer useful principles from it. One was that "the principal successor of balladry among the folk was not popular music, as so often is assumed, but the popular press, which has merely enprosed the chief ballad themes of murder, illicit love, and political trivia."

At the time of its publication, *Ballads* was the only collection concerned exclusively with the folklore of murder, and it still offers the reader an adventure down an exciting side street of American history. One hundred twelve ballads indigenous to the United States range across the entire period of American history and through most regions of the country. They tell of murder for profit, for revenge, even for love of God. Two things are common to all of them: each ballad describes a historically verifiable murder, and each, as nearly as Burt could determine, was the work of a humble, usually anonymous, minstrel. "As such," she wrote, "they are the voice of the people, speaking authoritatively upon one of the tragic but very real aspects of our civilization" (p. xiii).

Although a number of the ballads contained in her book had previously been published elsewhere, virtually all 112 were collected by Burt herself, either by firsthand, informal fieldwork or by digging into newspapers or manuscript sources. She wrote, for example, to every state historical society in the country, asking for local murder ballads from their files. The beginning of the collection, however, came from her family, especially her mother:

> My mother's scrapbook has a "crazy-patch" cover of silk pieces. When I was a little girl, Mother would point out the different bits of silk and relate their histories. . . . "This was from your grandmother's brown Dolman [a kind of coat]. She bought the silk at the Z.C.M.I. [a Utah department store] once when she took a wagonload of dried peaches to Salt Lake."
>
> Inside the book were scraps just as fascinating—yellowed clippings from old newspapers. Since Mother loved mournful songs, she used to cut and save sad verses. (p. 3)

The contextual information accompanying most of the ballads contains similar reminiscences of time and place, marking when, where, and how Burt found the ballads.

Besides the many songs that she tracked down herself, several of the entries were found by her husband, children, and other family members. Describing one memorable occasion, she wrote, "Good fortune sometimes smiles on the ballad collector" (p. 18). She and her husband were visiting his relatives in Ulysses, Pennsylvania, in the autumn of 1946. While reading the weekly paper, Burt noticed a request for an old poem about the first murder committed in Potter County, Pennsylvania. She asked various friends and relatives they visited if they knew of such a poem until an aunt of her husband's found a yellowed clipping dated 1880 in her sewing basket. The poem was a protest about the way a physician had dealt with the body of an executed murderer—he had boiled it down and preserved the skeleton (pp. 18–21).

During the time that she worked at the *Deseret News* as an editor, a man came in to sell a story. She decided against using it, but he replied that inasmuch as he had been a prospector, rancher, and sheepherder, he must know something that would be of interest to her. She asked about murder ballads. “My father was a great singer,” he replied. “Used to sing all the time around the campfire, even at real parties and such. Give me a day or two and I’m sure I can recollect some of his songs.” Within a day or so, he brought in seven verses of “The Song of Harry Orchard,” which begins:

> Harry Orchard is in prison,
> The reason you all know;
> He killed Frank Steunenberg
> Right here in Idaho. (p. 94)

On her many travels, Burt learned that often a chance acquaintance on a bus, train, or plane might offer a fragment of a ballad. Such was the case on a flight to La Paz, Bolivia, in 1950. The version of “The Vance Song” that appeared in *Ballads* she learned from her seat mate—Chauncey Morgan of Winchester, Virginia—who recited thirteen stanzas of the ballad as he knew it (pp. 221–24).

Feuds over water rights were not uncommon in the arid regions of the country. While going through her mother’s belongings after her death, Burt found a handwritten ballad about such a feud. The subject was an incident that occurred 23 July 1899 in Kanab, in southern Utah. “I have no way of knowing whether it is her own composition,” Burt wrote, “but since it tells the story as she told it, and since she was rather given to writing verses upon emotional occasions, I like to consider ‘The Recent Kanab Tragedy’ as her original work.” Ten stanzas in length, the ballad begins:

> In Kanab they will always remember
> This Twenty-Fourth of July [Utah’s Pioneer Day]
> For this year there’s no celebration
> No band plays and no pennants fly
> It happened because of hot anger—
> A quarrel about their water right—
> William Roundy accused Dan Seegmiller
> Of stealing his turn in the night. [turn: hours allotted for irrigating]
> So Roundy jumped up on his pony,
> Rode right down to Seegmiller’s door;
> He shouted. “Come out and I’ll show you,
> You’ll not steal my turn any more!” (pp. 243–44)

Even though it seemed to Burt that ballad-making had gone into a decline by the 1950s, the concluding pages of her book contained the ballad of Don Jesse Neal, who was executed in 1955 for the murder of a Salt Lake City policeman. Vard Jones, a newspaperman, composed the four verses, which Burt included “because of the hope it holds for a continuation of this art form.” The chorus goes:

> Jesse Neal, Jesse Neal
> Now he stands before the court of last appeal.
> As the judges sit to ponder
> All the crimes he did down yonder,
> Only they and Jesse know the story well. (p. 261)

Burt was an energetic world traveler who frequently wrote about the places she visited. She was especially interested in local customs and folkways, and incorporated them into many of the books she wrote for young people. In 1968, Burt and her friend and colleague, Mabel Harmer, went on a "vagabond tour" of Europe, "unscheduled, unaccompanied." Both were in their seventies at the time. "Olive was full of ideas, and she was prolific," Mabel Harmer remembered (personal communication). In the few days that the two women spent in Bulgaria, Burt collected enough information for her book, *Our World, Bulgaria*. Of an evening of folk music and dance, she noted "very noisy and active, native not 'captivated.'" She jotted down bits of information about clothing and food and details of architecture, all of which she wove into the book. In contrast, Harmer also mentioned Burt's exhaustive research for *Ballads*, commenting, "That was no quickie."

Burt's books for children and young people were used extensively in schools. The first, *Choice Recitations for the Grammar Grades,* was published in 1928; the last, *Rescued! America's Endangered Wildlife on the Comeback Trail,* appeared in 1980, when she was 86. In between, she published one or more books almost yearly. Details of folklife—customs, music, foodways—found their way into much of her writing, lending flavor and authenticity. Often she inserted bits of lore into the thoughts of her characters, as in this passage from *Petticoats West*: "She smiled at the plot of dandelions—no one in Boston would tolerate such a thing. But Hortense had told her that Catherine Maynard cultivated dandelions as a remedy for many of the commoner ailments."

Burt spent much of her career encouraging young writers to develop their skills. During her years at the *Tribune,* she conducted junior journalism programs through which passed columnist Jack Anderson, communications professor Milton C. Hollstein, and historian Dale L. Morgan, among others. In the 1940s, she worked as the *Tribune* librarian and held a similar post at the *Deseret News* from 1952 to 1957.

Burt was active in a number of professional organizations, in addition to her work with the Folklore Society of Utah. In 1936, she helped organize the Utah Chapter of the League of Western Writers and became its charter president, and she continued as an active member when it became the independent League of Utah Writers in 1940. She was charter president of the Utah Chapter of the National Federation of Press Women in 1956 and was named a fellow of the Utah State Historical Society in 1964. She received the Distinguished Alumni Award from the University of Utah in 1978.

She died 10 September 1981, age 87. Harold Schindler wrote of her in the *Utah Historical Quarterly,* "Her influence with aspiring writers and artists was

Olive Burt's lifetime of publications produced a stack of books that reached her waist.

profound, as was her capacity to recognize and encourage ability in others" (vol. 49, p. 389). She was less than five feet in height, and a stack of her published works reached above her waist, testimony to her dedication and self-discipline. Like others of her generation, she found folklore at times a quaint and colorful expression of the people, an aspect of post-World War II romanticism. Yet it was also personally meaningful to her, calling up as it did those childhood summers in southern Utah and the freshness and originality that she treasured in children.

When she worked on her biography of Sarah J. Hale, *First Woman Editor,* Burt must have sensed a kinship of ideas: both women cared deeply for their families and their work, both were persistent and determined, both pursued clearly defined goals. In writing of Hale's death, Burt suggested that the words of a character in one of Hale's stories could have served as an epitaph. Those words could also have been applicable to Olive Burt: "Do not grieve that I am at rest, but rouse up all your energies for the work that is before you."

Note: Much of the material in this sketch was obtained from the Olive Woolley Burt Collection in Manuscripts, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. Everett Cooley, Mabel Harmer, and William Mulder were kind enough to share with me memories of their association with Olive Burt.

Helen Papanikolas, Folklorist of Ethnicity

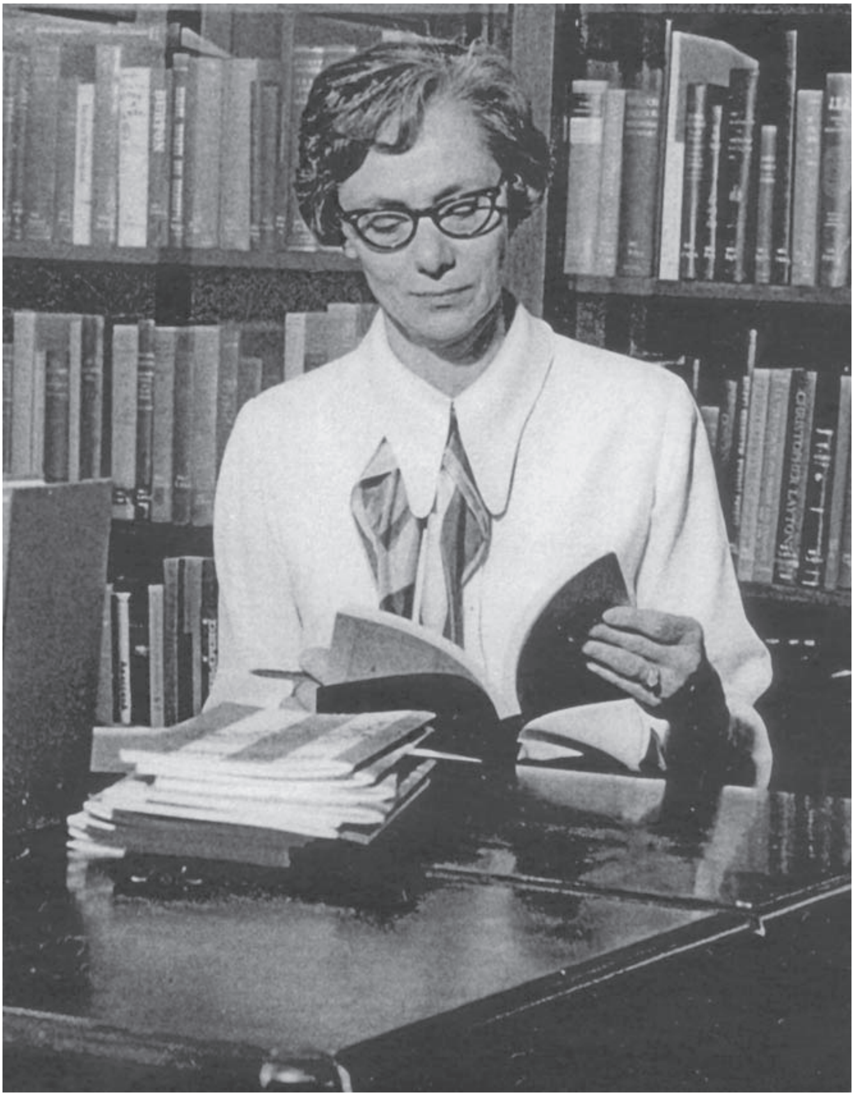
Yiorgos Anagnostou

As an ethnohistorian and folklorist, Helen Zeese Papanikolas focused much of her professional energy on documenting the early twentieth-century immigrant and labor cultures of Utah, with a specific focus on the Greek case. For more than fifty years, she researched, wrote, and published scores of essays and books on Utah's diverse ethnic groups, their histories and cultures. In *An Amulet of Greek Earth: Generations of Immigrant Folk Culture* (2002), she extended her research beyond Utah and chronicled the cultural history of Greek America.

In the 1990s, Papanikolas also sustained her unremitting dedication to the writer's trade by turning to fiction. This literary turn was necessary, according to her, as a response to aging. She wrote in her short story "Father Constantine and Mrs. Tsangoglou," "When my vision precluded my using the microfilm machine to survey old newspapers and documents, I turned to fiction to show the emotional life of the Greek immigrants and their progeny" (p. 7). In this way, literature could serve as an alternative to scholarship, exploring imaginatively the affective components and inner dynamic of Greek America, particularly of women.

Yet it would be inaccurate to characterize Papanikolas's interest in fiction as simply a literary turn. Rather, it was a return after an almost fifty-year hiatus, for her first published piece, "The Fortress and the Prison" (1947), was an excerpt from a novel never published in its entirety. Furthermore, it would be a mistake to approach Papanikolas's ethnohistoric research independent of her literary work. Elements of immigrant folklore abound in her fiction. In her novel, *The Time of the Little Black Bird* (2001), she fictionalized a folk healer and midwife based on a real person about whom she wrote extensively in her folkloric and historic works. Moreover, the literary quality of her scholarly work has drawn particular attention. Her writing has been praised as "lucid and graceful" by Charles S. Peterson and as an "elegant prose which reaches beyond conventional history in the intimacy of the view it presents, but it still retains the precision of statement so essential to good historical writing."

With the authority of an eyewitness, a Utah native, a Greek community insider, an ethnic historian, and a folklorist, Papanikolas has maintained that



Helen Papanikolas doing research, 1970.

the advent of the post-World War II period marked the waning of Greek immigrant folklife in America. She calls this historical moment "The End of the Great Immigrant Era" and associates the abandonment of folk culture with postwar prosperity and assimilation. Throughout her work, she consistently emphasizes this theme of cultural loss. In her 1984 essay "Wrestling with Death: Greek Immigrant Funeral Customs in Utah," for instance, she observes that "laments [common among early twentieth-century immigrants] have not been sung since the early 1940s" (p. 40). Postwar America signaled a dramatic shift when "the transplanted culture of the Greeks lost much of its color" (p. 49), and "[t]he richness of Greek folklife in America was radically diminished" (p. 40). Papanikolas set out to document the traditions of her parents' generation in her capacity as an ethnohistorian of labor. Her mining of the past relied on oral interviews recorded from Greek immigrant pioneers as well as painstaking archival research and detailed ethnographic observation. The importance of folklore in the lives of early Greek immigrants became evident to her during interview sessions about labor strife, when, as she said in 2002, "the respondents' answers . . . veered off into Greek customs and lore." As a result, the systematic documentation of traditional beliefs and customs became an integral component of her historical research. "Although folklore may be considered by some to be beyond the scope of history," she said in "The Greek Immigrant in Utah," "I always ask women about customs and folklore, much of which they have not used for a long time and have almost forgotten" (pp. 48–49).

Along with Dorothy Demetrakopoulos Lee, Richard Dorson, Robert Georges, and Gregory Gizelis, Papanikolas has been a pioneer folklorist of Greek America. She recognized the value of including the cultures of minorities in the history of a region before it was fashionable to do so. In this endeavor, she was encouraged by the inclusive policies of the Utah State Historical Society and its publication, the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, which regularly featured her early work. She also embraced (and defended) interviewing as a method of documenting the past long before the community project in oral history became a legitimate and popular research method. Tracing her career as an interviewer is like witnessing the great changes that took place in the technologies of recording oral accounts. In the early 1950s, while researching "The Greeks of Carbon County" (1954), her scholarly debut, she "interviewed many Greek men and women, writing quickly on yellow pads, the words often almost illegible." In the early 1970s, in preparation for the seminal *The Peoples of Utah* (1976), which she edited, she "used a heavy, bulky tape recording machine until small models became available." Her pioneering work anticipated the ethnic revival that followed the Civil Rights Movement and the reappraisal of the value of folk culture in Greek America.

Although Papanikolas did not specialize in folklore (she received a degree in bacteriology from the University of Utah in 1939) and did not generally participate in theoretical debates within the folklore discipline, she brought to her research the invaluable sensibility of a fieldworker. The social conditions of her upbringing as a simultaneous insider (through her family's Greek immigrant background) and an outsider (through participation in social life beyond the confines of the immigrant community) enabled her to experience, early on, the anthropological method of participant observation. The paradoxical state of observing while participating in social situations, a staple of formal training in anthropology, has been an important part of Papanikolas's research from the start.

The child of Greek immigrants, Papanikolas was raised in an environment steeped in immigrant traditions which she documented as an adult. In her own autobiographical writings, like "Growing Up Greek" (1980, rpt. 1995),

Helen Papanikolas signs a copy of *The Peoples of Utah* for Third District Judge James Sawaya, 1976.

Papanikolas emphasized the formative role of the sensory experiences of immigrant culture upon her social identity. Her early exposure to Greek folklore was inextricably interwoven with her witnessing of economic and social activities interspersed with smells, sounds, and visual cues associated with immigrant life:

> How joyous when the warm yeasty scent of baking bread filled the air and mothers called us to eat slices of warm bread slathered with butter. . . . The beginning of schools and the ritual making of wine and tomato paste in Greek Town would for years mean autumn to me. . . . Mothers carried out buckets full of tomato skins, which were immediately pounced on by a mass of droning, iridescent blue-green flies. All the while the mothers called to each other over wire fences, mostly about the children. Folk cures for fevers, for the dread *pounta*—pneumonia—and croup, judicious advice on who was best for dispelling the evil eye. (p. 9, 1995 ed.)

With the dissolution of Greek towns and the immigrant way of life long gone, this sensory aesthetic, still preserved in the rituals of the Greek Orthodox Church, also found a place in her fiction, as in "Father Constantine": "The red votive lights suspended over the icons glowed. Basil plants at the foot of the icon screen gave off a sweet scent that mingled with the acrid blue of incense" (p. 10).

An intimate knowledge of everyday sociability and a sensitivity to the sensory dimensions of a culture, which might take years for an outsider to develop, were an integral component of Papanikolas's upbringing.

Yet Papanikolas did not grow up insulated within the confines of Greek immigrant culture. Her bicultural upbringing began very early within her family surroundings, and she credited especially the formative influence of a family friend, Sarah "Killarney" Reynolds. The Irish neighbor, "her mother's mentor in all things American" ("Growing Up Greek," p. 5) introduced American cooking to the Zeese family, convinced the mother to anglicize the name of Helen's sister from *Panaghiota* to Jo, and advised her to send the children to the YMCA Sunday School. In the latter, Helen was taught, in Miriam Murphy's words, about a "blond, blue-eyed 'American Jesus'" whom she contrasted with the "'dark, grieving Christ' of Orthodoxy" (p. 247). Papanikolas's memories of growing up in Helper in eastern Utah are replete with contrasts between "American" and Greek Orthodox culture, exhibiting a heightened appreciation of difference. Beginning early, she developed a consciousness of cultural alternatives, so that the reflexive awareness of cultural differences—the staple of a folklorist's sensibility—became an integral part of Papanikolas's socialization between two cultures.

Papanikolas's propensity to detach herself from Greek immigrant culture may have been enhanced by her family's middle-class status. Her father's financial success enabled the family to reside away from Helper's Greek Town, an arrangement which situated her as an outsider to the immigrant community. In her autobiographical writings, she frequently refers to the feelings of alienation and distance she experienced from her ethnic peers. An insider conversant with immigrant networks, she was at the same time a sympathetic but, at times, critical outsider. A sense of ambivalence rather than total identification characterizes her connection with immigrant culture, as she said in *Emily-George:* "Although visiting Greek Town was usually satisfying, I did not want to live there in the houses with their lean-tos, sheds, washhouses, and where mothers wrung the necks of the chickens . . ." (p. 21). The early experience of cultural between-ness, in other words, nurtured Papanikolas's ethnographic sensibility.

An outsider's professional detachment can also be discerned in Papanikolas's early folkloristic writings. In her "Greek Folklore of Carbon County" (1971), she surveyed a gamut of immigrant folk beliefs and practices—the telling of folk tales, beliefs in the evil eye, behaviors surrounding rites of passage such as weddings and funerals, folk cures, traditional celebrations, divination rituals—and reported their social significance. Folk tales, for instance, offered moral lessons, teaching "the children the necessity of faith through folklore" (p. 69). In another example, the traditional practice of the wearing of amulets as a protection from the dangers of the Evil Eye acquired new significance in response to the pervasiveness of a new threat, racist nativism: "During the Ku Klux Klan attacks against the Mediterranean immigrants and Catholics in 1923 and 1924, children wore amulets around their necks and slept with them under their pillows to keep away nightmares" (p. 68). In addition to serving as an economic and social "survival kit," in Steve Siporin's phrase ("Folklife and Survival," p. 81), traditional knowledge for Utah's immigrants was also useful to ease psychological terror.

In her detailed documentation of Greek funerary customs in "Wrestling with Death," Papanikolas approached folklore as a total way of life and the immigrants as subjects who "[f]ollow the profound command of culture" (p. 30). According to Papanikolas, tradition determines behavior as the immigrants unquestioningly submit to its dictates. Her contrast between the attitudes of American and Cretan mine laborers in response to death premonitions is telling: "American" miners "stayed away from the mines when they had premonitions and bad dreams. . . . The Cretans were not so encumbered. Whether they had bad dreams or not and even if the sense of doom was inside them, they reported to their shifts because Fate could not be cheated; one's fate was determined at birth" ("Greek Folklore," p. 73). In this view, immigrants are granted no agency but are seen as shackled by tradition.

In the same essay, immigrant folklore stands for intractable difference: "If the natives had known the elements of this folklore, they would have had the ultimate proof of what they already expounded: 'Like oil and water. They don't mix'" (pp. 63–64). Folklore here works as a cultural divide, setting the natives and the immigrants apart. It represents transplanted Old World culture, which stands in opposition to American modernity. In Papanikolas's writings, folklore often represents provincialism and backwardness even for immigrants themselves as they assimilate modernity's scorn for their own traditions: "Most of this folklore is no longer practiced. The children of the immigrants are now [in 1971] in their forties and fifties. They scoff at the Evil Eye; they long ago rebelled at the keening of the *mirologia.* The immigrants themselves began to see the impropriety of it all, and shamed the later immigrants who came after the Second World War. These outwardly dropped what they could still secretly believe" (p. 76).

Here, then, the immigrants reject wholesale what was earlier a total way of life for them. Often, it is the men who rebuff tradition. The women's expressive culture of ritual lamentation, communicated through "eerie wails . . . pierc[ing] the air" (p. 74), is sacrificed in conformity to modernity's demand for discipline and emotional control: "With the passing of the old-country folklore, other changes have come. A grief-wounded patriarch commanded his children as they left for the funeral of his wife of fifty-five years, 'Now watch. Control yourselves. We mustn't make a spectacle of ourselves'" (p. 76). Folklore in this instance is made a badge of shame, a stigma that can be rejected at will, replaced by an appropriate decorum dictated by the mainstream.

In yet another early work, Papanikolas adopted an alternative method to document Greek traditions and in doing so offered a nuanced view of the significance of folklore for early immigrant life. In "Magerou, the Greek Midwife" (1970, rpt. 1996), Papanikolas examines a culture-bearer, an individual renowned for her profound folk knowledge and skills within the social environment in which she is enmeshed. This approach results in a view of tradition as a dynamic cultural resource, the significance of which depends on specific contexts. In this account, folklore emerges as a valuable heritage, often serving as an enduring alternative to modern practices.

For this essay, Papanikolas collected oral testimonies to piece together a biography of Georgia Latherou Magerou (1867–1950), an immigrant woman legendary for her skills as a folk healer, midwife, and matchmaker. Attentive to the social contexts in which Magerou applied her folk expertise, Papanikolas portrays Magerou as a complex individual. In doing so, she challenges a number of assumptions about immigrant folklore. First, the fact that Magerou's household observed two religious traditions, Greek Orthodox and Catholic (Magerou's husband was Croatian), illustrates that different traditions can coexist and accommodate each other. This example complicates the view of tradition as a total way of life. Secondly, we learn that Magerou gradually adopted a number of modern medical practices to supplement her traditional curing methods, showing that individuals do not blindly follow tradition but venture outside of it to adopt selectively alternative practices that work well for their purposes. Furthermore, the essay demonstrates that the abandonment of tradition does not necessarily mean its total rejection. Specific social and political circumstances can lead individuals to revitalize a tradition they had previously renounced. For example, many immigrant women returned to their traditional midwife, Magerou, when they were confronted with the fearful possibility that their doctors were members of the Ku Klux Klan. Here, the return to tradition ensures some measure of confidence among members of an ethnic group despised by others.

Early in the twentieth century, scholars and laypersons alike, including assimilated immigrants, saw tradition as the opposite of modernity. The latter stood for progress, order, and ultimately national belonging. The former represented backwardness and undesirable ties to the Old World. The essay on Magerou invites us to go beyond these simplistic dichotomies and to rethink the relationship between tradition and modernity. In an era when company doctors in industrial labor camps were all too quick to amputate the legs of injured laborers, Magerou's folk medical practices offered a humane alternative. She was credited with saving the legs of two individuals from amputation when modern medicine seemingly offered no other hope for treatment. In other words, tradition could at times offer a more compassionate approach to human problems than modern "scientific" medicine. Leg amputation meant the economic and social ruin of the immigrants and their families, yet it was often the method of choice for doctors because it was time-saving and cost-effective. Says Papanikolas, "Amputations were hastily performed" and immigrants "felt they were coldly treated, like animals, not human beings" (p. 163, 1996 ed.). In an era of unregulated capitalism sanctioning quick and inexpensive medical "solutions" in response to industrial accidents, the immigrants were subjected to a violent aspect of modernity. In this instance, traditions that were disparaged by modernity offered a caring, often superior alternative.

Papanikolas makes Magerou the symbol "of the color and uniqueness of Greek immigrant life" (p. 169). This representation of Magerou humanizes immigrants as complex and multidimensional human beings, and challenges misconceptions about the folk. Disparaged as backward, hated as inferior, and scorned as disposable in the labor market, immigrants nevertheless possessed human qualities that were not recognized by nonimmigrants at the time. The portrait of Magerou helps restore the humanity of immigrants, particularly women, by emphasizing their profound capacity for empathy toward other human beings.

Magerou's compassion for others extended beyond her professional dedication as a committed folk healer. Once, "she spent four months with one Nevada family whose mother had died" (p. 167). Greek culture sanctions this kind of behavior and even has a specific term for it, *psychika*, "acts of mercy that were good for one's soul. Her [Magerou's] life was a litany of *psychika*" ("Greek Immigrant Women," p. 22). Magerou was not the only one demonstrating such uncompromising humanity. In Carbon County, where there was no midwife, Mrs. Haralambos (Angheliki) Koulouris, "selflessly and without pay cared for newborn babies and their mothers" ("Greek Folklore," p. 77).

The same generosity was extended to outsiders in the community as well. In "Growing Up Greek," Papanikolas recalled that her own house was a popular target for booksellers and transients alike. Her own mother, an avid reader, "bought from every bookseller who came to the door" and never turned down a transient's request for a handout: "Both transients and booksellers knocked on our doors, the booksellers at the front, the transients at the back. To be hungry was the worst of calamities for my mother and transients begged her to hurry as freight trains chugged out of the railyards" (p. 5). Still another immigrant woman, Yiannina, also stands out in Papanikolas's folkloric writings for her profound capacity to help others:

> No child went without shoes or food if she knew about it and it did not matter if they were the children of immigrants or Americans. People remembered that she could set out with Uncle John's bootleg money in her purse to buy her sons clothing; it was gone by the time she reached town. On the way she saw a child with worn-out overalls, another with ripped-off shoe soles. When Christ Jouflas, future mayor of Helper, was orphaned, she raised him along with her eight children until his father married again ("Women in the Mining Communities," p. 86).

Although one of Papanikolas's major contributions is documenting the humane qualities of immigrants, she has not idealized the immigrant past. Though she has professed her profound connection with aspects of immigrant culture, her fiction and scholarly work do not fail to cast a critical perspective on certain Greek immigrant customs. Nor has she adopted an unreflective approach to ethnicity. As a public person, she has not hesitated to speak out against exploitation and racism, not sparing hyphenated Americans when they acquiesce to discriminatory ideologies against new immigrants and minorities.

Papanikolas had this to say about her drive to document the early Greek immigrant experience: "When an article was published about an important event and did not include the Greeks, I immediately researched the subject and wrote an essay to show their participation" ("The Time," p. 20). Through this relentless commitment to inclusion, Papanikolas has contributed to an expanded understanding of Utah; along with other scholars, she has been instrumental in reconceptualizing Utah from a homogeneous to a diverse place. The uniform culture of Utah canonized by traditional historiography has been defamiliarized, becoming a world of the past.

As we anticipate the contributions of a new generation of historians whom she directly nurtured, we also envision a young generation of folklorists to build on her legacy. Although the immigrant folklore of the early twentieth century may not be centrally relevant to third- and fourth-generation Greek Americans, there remains a wealth of lore about immigration that merits documentation and analysis. Furthermore, the exposure of immigrants to American popular culture has resulted in fascinating new cultural forms in which elements of Greek folk culture and American popular culture often coexist. In view of the dynamic nature of Greek ethnic folklore, the questions awaiting answers are intriguing. What are the current views of Greek Americans towards immigrant folklore? What narratives about immigration do Greek Americans tell, and to what end? What is the place of tradition in assimilated Greek America? In what manner is the Greek immigrant past useful to Greek Americans today? The folk traditions of contemporary ethnic Greek America, far removed from, yet still connected to, the immigrant experience, await their researchers, thanks to Helen Papanikolas's pioneering efforts.

Part II

The Second and Third Generations of Folklorists

Bert Wilson, Jan Brunvand, and Barre Toelken (shown here in 1978) developed folklore programs at the state's three major universities, participated actively in the Fife Conferences, and published widely.

“On Being Human”: The Legacy of William A. Wilson

George H. Schoemaker

An old photograph hanging on the wall of William Albert (Bert) Wilson’s home office depicts his father posing with a section gang on the railroad. It is obvious that he is the foreman of the crew, for he is wearing a dress shirt and tie while everyone else is wearing work shirts and coveralls. In an interview (1 May 2003), Wilson commented that the inclusion of his father among the railroad workers in the photograph attests to his father’s ability to work well with others of all incomes and backgrounds. Wilson said, “An uncle of mine said that [my father] could get more work out of fewer men with less effort than anybody he had ever seen. I wish I had had his abilities.” But not only did Wilson absorb his father’s abilities to work with people, like many sons he surpassed the father by learning the stories of his own culture, his own upbringing, and writing about it in a critical yet loving manner. It was this lifelong connection with everyday, unremarkable people that would become Wilson’s trademark in his approach to scholarship, teaching, and community service. A survey of his life makes clear that the circumstances from which he ascended to his position as world-renowned folklorist and scholar were also seemingly unremarkable.

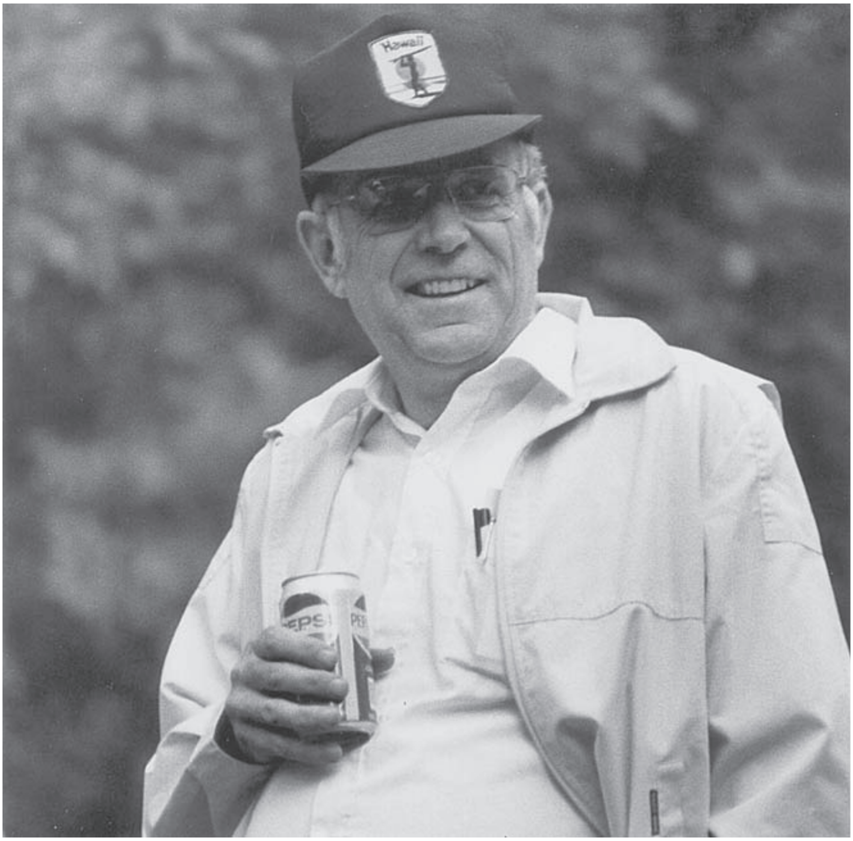
“Bert” (as he is affectionately known to everyone) was born in Tremonton, Utah, in 1933 but grew up in a railroad family in Downey, Idaho. His father and most of his uncles and brothers worked for the Union Pacific Railroad in some capacity. It is not surprising, then, that the morning after his high-school graduation, Bert caught a train and joined his father working on the railroad. Wilson reminisced (all quotations are drawn from the May 2003 interview), “In some ways I never went back. . . . of course I went back, but there was a separation that took place, in my mind at least, that night, that cut me loose from those strings that held me in Downey.”

In addition to working for the railroad, Wilson’s father farmed eighty acres of hay and raised dairy cattle. It was within this working community of the family that Wilson became immersed in the world of storytelling: “. . . my dad wasn’t a storyteller, but my mother’s brothers were, so at dinnertime during Thanksgiving and other celebrations, when we’d all gather there, they would engage in these storytelling events, . . . each one presenting himself as the most heroic person that ever worked for the railroad." Wilson also values the more private stories told by his mother about her life growing up on an Idaho homestead, even though at the time he didn't think of them as anything special—except that he always enjoyed them and liked to hear them.

In 1953, after completing a couple of years of college at Brigham Young University (BYU) in Provo, Utah, Wilson traveled to Finland as a missionary for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormon Church). He felt very much at home in Finland and came to admire the Finns and their language and culture. He also became aware of the importance of the Finnish national epic, *The Kalevala,* and learned enough about it that he determined to study it seriously upon his return to the university.

Wilson had decided to major in English; his goal was to obtain a teaching certificate and eventually teach high school, but once he completed his bachelor's degree, he decided to go on and obtain a master's from BYU while teaching English at Bountiful High School to support his wife, a young Finnish woman named Hannele Blomqvist whom he had met while serving his mission. At the time, BYU was experiencing rapid growth and was in serious need of new professors to keep up with the school's expansion. Consequently, when Wilson was meeting with the chair of his thesis committee, he was offered a teaching job as a special instructor at BYU. Once he finished his master's degree in 1962, his colleague Robert Blair, a professor of linguistics and a former missionary in Finland, encouraged Wilson to go to Indiana University (IU) because it had first-rate Uralic studies and folklore programs. Wilson wasn't particularly enthusiastic about studying folklore, but he thought that it would help him better understand *The Kalevala* and Finnish literature, and that IU would provide him with the best programs in both disciplines.

Having received a National Defense Language Fellowship to study Finnish and Estonian, Wilson began his studies at IU, where he became interested in Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), a German scholar of folklore and literature who developed the Romantic notion that the soul of a nation or people could be discovered through their folk traditions. In 1965–66, Wilson spent sixteen months in the library of the Finnish Literature Society on a grant from the Fulbright Commission and brought back to Indiana volumes of notes and other materials on the cultural history of Finland. With an outline of all his Finnish materials, he went to consult with the director of Indiana's Folklore Institute, Richard M. Dorson, about possible topics for a Ph.D. dissertation. Dorson looked at the outline and told Wilson that he had a lifetime's worth of topics for possible research, but he looked at one particular point and said, "There's your thesis, right there." What Dorson had pointed out was the interplay between scholarship and nationalism in Finland and how each influenced the other in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This kernel of encouragement eventually led to Wilson's dissertation, later published by Indiana University Press under the title *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland* (1976).



William A. "Bert" Wilson, director of the folklore program at Utah State University from 1978 to 1984, at the annual Fife Conference steak fry, 1985.

It took Wilson longer than he expected to complete the dissertation. He had resumed teaching a full load of courses for the English Department at BYU in 1967 but then developed thyroid cancer and underwent five surgical procedures in a span of two years to combat the disease. Finally, in 1973, he took a leave of absence from BYU so that he could go back to IU to complete his dissertation. During his first stay in Bloomington, he had become well acquainted with Dorson, who said he was pleased that "a Mormon" was coming to the Folklore Institute to study. Dorson had already published his survey, *American Folklore,* and was then working on *Buying the Wind,* a study of American regional folklore; both books had important sections on Mormon folklore. Wilson explained:

> The irony was that I had never thought at all, at that point in my life, of having any folklore myself. I had the notion that folklore belonged to everybody else and I had all the wrong notions that people have about folklore. But that one conversation got me thinking and I picked up and read [Austin and Alta] Fifes'

> *Saints of Sage and Saddle* and wrote a review for it in one of his [Dorson's] classes. He liked it a lot, and that got me looking at my own culture. And I did the fieldwork project at IU that we all had to do, collecting [Three] Nephite stories from fellow Mormon students and from faculty members there. Dorson was amazed that I could collect Mormon folklore outside of Utah, because he still had the idea that Utah was a culturally isolated enclave.

Wilson's academic interests, then, were two-pronged from the beginning of his career at IU. On the international level, he was researching Finnish literature and culture with a special emphasis on folklore and *The Kalevala*; in the United States, he began to focus on Mormon folklore studies and other subjects related to the American West, an interest that developed further when he spent the summer of 1978 participating in a project supported by the American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress to document ranching culture in Paradise Valley, Nevada.

Beginning in 1969, when he published his first article, "Mormon Legends of the Three Nephites Collected at Indiana University," Wilson gained an international reputation for his studies of Mormon folklore and for his insistence that individuals can do some of their best work within their own cultures. His work has opened doors to the intricacies of Mormon culture, particularly with his dozens of articles on the folklore of Mormon missionaries, on Mormon humor, on religious narratives and legends, on the portrayal of minority groups in Mormon folklore, and on the importance of folklore in its interaction with the religious, social, and historical dimensions of Mormonism. Other important work, published primarily in the 1990s, has focused on family folklore and storytelling, relying on the narrative traditions of his family and his Idaho upbringing.

Perhaps most noteworthy about his research has been his consistent focus on the multidimensional role that folklore plays in human societies. He has shown, for example, that the lore of Mormon missionaries simultaneously supports behavioral codes and the Mormon hierarchy of authority, yet also provides the missionaries the opportunity to imagine the possibility of rebelling against those very strictures. Other articles have shown the utility of folklore collection and research for historians and literary scholars, and several major articles have placed folklore firmly within the humanities disciplines as a worthy companion to history, philosophy, and literature. His numerous articles on Mormon folklore have emphasized the universality of folk expression and tradition within religiously based folk groups, at the same time reminding his readers of the role of folklore in defining and maintaining a group's system of beliefs and values.

Wilson was also instrumental in furthering folkloristics in Utah through the development of university folklore programs and archives and through his support of the Folklore Society of Utah (FSU). While FSU had a long history in Utah, dating back to 1958 (see chapter 23), the society in the early 1970s had entered a period of relative inactivity, and Wilson—who had just been elected the society's president—wanted to see it become more vigorous by cultivating interest in Utah folklore among academicians, students, and regular Utahns.

During Wilson's tenure as president, Austin Fife suggested dissolving FSU and turning over all its records, fieldwork, documentation, and notes to either the State Historical Society or the University of Utah Library's Special Collections. Wilson demurred. He felt that Utah needed FSU, so he worked out a collaboration with Charles Peterson, then director of the State Historical Society—an arrangement that continued with Peterson's successor, Melvin T. Smith—to hold FSU meetings in conjunction with the annual meetings of the State Historical Society. This move helped to save FSU and brought new life to the society. Participants in the folklore section of the meeting were mostly Wilson's students; occasionally, faculty also presented papers. According to Wilson, the partnership with the State Historical Society helped to lend an air of legitimacy to the burgeoning folklore studies programs in Utah, especially since the state lacked a folklore journal of its own.

In addition to his work with FSU, Wilson also traveled throughout the state on a kind of personal crusade for folklore studies, giving lectures for the Humanities Council or the Historical Society on the subject of local culture to "anyone who would listen. . . . Sometimes I'd have a good audience, sometimes I'd have three or four people, but I talked with anyone who would listen about folklore." Many of his numerous articles since that time have been published in history as well as folklore journals. His tireless efforts over a thirty-year period to build bridges between folklore and history and to reveal their mutual interests culminated in his receiving two major awards in 2002: the Leonard J. Arrington Award from the Mormon History Association for "a distinctive contribution to the cause of Mormon History," and the Américo Paredes Award from the American Folklore Society "for outstanding community engagement and for encouraging students and colleagues to work within their home communities."

Another important step in the development of folklore studies in Utah came with the appointment of Utah's first state folklorist in 1976. At the time, Barre Toelken, then of the University of Oregon, was a member of the Folk Arts Panel for the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), and he flew to Salt Lake City to talk about the position with Wilson, Jan Harold Brunvand, and Hal Cannon. While the development of a Folk Arts Program within the Utah Arts Council, the state arts agency, seemed broadly supported in Utah because of its attractive combination of scholarship and public outreach, there was, in Wilson's words, mild opposition about "muddying the waters between the academy and the public sector." Nevertheless, the position was authorized with initial funding from the Endowment, Cannon was appointed to the position, and Wilson went on to serve for eight years on the Board of the Utah Arts Council, where he also chaired the Folk Arts Panel.

In the early 1980s, Wilson was appointed to the NEA Folk Arts Panel, on which he served for four years. During this period, Cannon submitted an application requesting financial support for the first Cowboy Poetry Gathering, to

Bert Wilson learns how to find water from a local dowser, or water witch. Fife Conference, 1979.

be held in Elko, Nevada, in January 1985. At the time, there was a perception among some folklorists in the East that such a festival was not in keeping with the goals of the NEA Folk Arts section. Wilson lobbied hard to get the grant approved and funded by the panel; twenty years later, what is now the National Cowboy Poetry Gathering is financially self-supporting and has become the most important national festival for cowboy performance arts.

After eleven years teaching folklore in the English Department at BYU, Wilson accepted an offer from Utah State University in 1978 to direct, develop, and expand a folklore program offering both undergraduate and graduate courses to be cross-listed in both English and history. He expanded the undergraduate curriculum and laid the foundation for the development of a master's degree program in American studies with a folklore emphasis.

At the same time, Wilson began directing the Fife Folklore Conference, which met every summer at Utah State University beginning in 1977. The first conference had been held the year before he arrived at USU, and its popularity continued to grow after his arrival; it is now considered one of the premier folklore conferences in the United States (see chapter 24). Soon after the conference's inception, Wilson, Cannon, and Carol Edison began encouraging public-sector folklorists from the western states to hold their own meetings in conjunction with the conference, a setting that provided valuable interplay between public-sector and academic folklorists. Wilson continued to direct the conference, with Barbara Lloyd as codirector, until 1984, when he returned to BYU as professor of folklore and Scandinavian studies and chair of the English Department.

From the time that he taught his first folklore course at BYU, Wilson had been amassing term projects and items of folklore gathered by his students. Eventually he sought space, first at BYU, later at USU, to house what had become an important collection of Utah folklore. Wilson's model for organizing and systematizing these archives derived from Jan Harold Brunvand's generic classification system in *The Study of American Folklore.* Wilson elaborated on Brunvand's typology and created a system that is infinitely expandable; it is still used at BYU, USU, and other institutions, and a modified version is in use at the archives of the Utah Arts Council's Folk Arts Program.

The undergraduate and graduate programs at USU and the Fife Conference developed further during the years that Wilson was at the helm, but those years were fruitful in other ways as well. From 1979 to 1983, he edited *Western Folklore*, one of the flagship journals of folklore scholarship in the United States. Wilson jokes, "The dean was very supportive [of having *Western Folklore* edited at USU] because . . . we had *Western American Literature*, the *Western Historical Quarterly,* and now to have *Western Folklore*, it was the Holy Trinity at Utah State!" Wilson approached the editing of *Western Folklore* with the goal that most of the articles accepted for publication in the journal ought to be ones that could be assigned in college folklore courses and which the average college student could understand.

This down-to-earth approach to editing the journal was really an extension of Wilson's approach to everything he has done in his life. As he has said, if he couldn't create and build and make connections to other disciplines, fields, and levels of society, then the activity wasn't worth pursuing. His stories of his grandmother, his mother, and his railroading family are all infused with the heroism of everyday people. He said:

> I wanted my children to know their grandmother's stories, because they were crucially valuable to me . . . through my work in folklore, and I had come now to understand—especially when folklore began moving not just to third-hand stories but to personal narrative—I began to see the value in what nobody ever told me was valuable when I was young. Those stories of my uncles and my mother shaped my life, gave me a worldview, gave me a sympathy for common, ordinary people that I think I still have, and that nobody ever valued in my education through my master's degree. . . . When I went to Finland and saw, good grief, how the creative efforts of the common, ordinary people there had been used to build an entire nation and create a national identity in a country that was fragmented and had no unity, I began to really find the field I should have been in all along.

The impact of Wilson's contributions to the development of folkloristics in Utah is still being felt. He has been a tireless crusader in making people in Utah see folklore as a legitimate discipline and field of study, not only in the academy but also in his presentations and discussions with ordinary people. In doing so, Wilson has helped the people of Utah become aware of their living state treasures, the numerous folk artists and performers living in their own backyards. His invitation to deliver BYU's Distinguished Faculty Lecture and his appointment as humanities professor of folklore and literature, both in 1990, are evidence of his success in helping to establish folklore as a legitimate area of study within the state in addition to the national and international recognition of his scholarship. He has been a program builder at both BYU and USU, with the consistent goal of creating programs that would outlast him. Testament to his success is the fact that by the year 2000, each school had three full-time folklorists—plus some part-timers—teaching, advising students, building the archives, doing research, and writing for publication. The archives that Wilson established, now part of special collections at their respective university libraries, and the Fife Folklore Conference continue as major resources for research and learning.

The importance of Wilson's scholarship and leadership in the development of Mormon folklore studies in the United States, and his contributions to European and Finnish studies both in the United States and Finland, have been recognized with over thirty fellowships and honors, including the Arrington Award; the Paredes Prize; the Charles Redd Award from the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters; the Aimo Turunen Medal from the Kalevala Society of Finland; and the Utah Governor's Award in the Arts. In 2003, the folklore archive at BYU was renamed the William A. Wilson Folklore Archive. Despite these honors, despite his eighty-seven publications and hundreds of public lectures and presentations, he says that he still thinks that his most significant contribution is in his efforts to recognize the fundamental worth of the individual: "I believe in the worth of every human being, not just in the elite, not just in the well-educated, but every living person is as worthwhile as any other living person—and folklore brought me into that."

Barre Toelken, Folklorist of Culture and Performance

Matthew Irwin

Barre Toelken, longtime director of the Utah State University folklore program (1985–2003), was born in 1935 to John and Sylvia Toelken in Enfield, in the Quabbin Valley of western Massachusetts. He grew up in a large extended family with strong traditions of singing, music, and material culture.

But young Barre didn't get to live out his youth in that place. The town in which he was born was slated for demolition. Massachusetts had exercised eminent domain and begun converting the Quabbin Valley into a reservoir for thirsty Bostonians. The impetus of "progress" won out over the rights of the inhabitants, who were paid, they were told, fair market value for their homes and businesses and were then forced to vacate. Some of Toelken's oldest memories are of entire houses lumbering slowly by on enormous truck trailers, followed by their displaced owners.

The Toelken family was forced to move and they resettled here and there in various towns before ending up in Springfield, where Barre's father found work as a machinist. Yet Springfield would never truly feel as much like home as Enfield in the once-picturesque but now inundated Quabbin Valley. Seeing a cold, uniform reservoir where his small but vibrant community had once stood was critical in forever casting Toelken as a cultural preservationist. Being uprooted at such an impressionable age affected him deeply and may well have contributed to his profound understanding of marginalized people's sense of community and his own ever-evolving sense of place. In fact, Toelken has sometimes said that after death he would like to be cremated and his ashes cast upon the surface of the reservoir so that Bostonians can eat (or drink) the dust of one of the many people displaced by their incessant thirst. He did, however, manage to save the door handle to the Enfield church where the eighteenth-century Puritan minister and philosopher, Jonathan Edwards, preached his famous sermon, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God."

Toelken's mother Sylvia played the piano, and the two of them spent long hours singing together. He grew to love music and singing so much that he tested his mother's stamina. Whenever he saw her pick up a book, either to read to him or to enjoy for herself, Barre would insist vehemently that she sing him the text. Fairy tale or nursery rhyme, the text didn't matter, but he would bounce up and down and demand, "Sing! Sing it to me!" She usually obliged and perhaps unwittingly fostered his interest in ballads and folksongs; she later remarked how he somehow had always equated words with song or tune. In short, he was a natural-born ballad scholar who eventually became a fine ballad singer in his own right.

His imagination, too, seemingly began to effloresce in new and interesting ways. One afternoon, as Barre's mother was working in the kitchen, she heard the family cat emit a blood-curdling yowl. She tore around the corner into the living room where her son had pinned the pet down and was trying his best to decapitate it with a toy wooden saw. After rescuing the shaken feline, she demanded that Barre explain himself. As it turned out, Sylvia herself was the inadvertent architect of this murder-in-the-making. Barre insisted quite matter-of-factly that he was doing nothing wrong. His mother, he said, had told him a fairy tale in which the hero encountered a beast of some sort blocking his way on a journey. When the monster rushed the hero, he cut off its head, but in its place sprouted seven new, even fiercer heads. Barre had merely been testing the process out on the cat. His belief in the magic of folktales led him to see if he could become the only kid in the neighborhood with a seven-headed cat. It surely had to work—because the folktale said it had. Such incidents always made his mother wonder what manner of man her child would become.

As he walked the streets of Springfield in 1952, the teenaged Toelken happened upon two young men clad in white shirts and black pants. Never one to shy away from interesting-looking strangers, he stopped when the Elders thrust out their hands. They small-talked their way through personal introductions and Toelken was impressed by their openheartedness. A few weeks later, Toelken and the Mormon missionaries met again, and they struck up more conversation. Always interested in new cultures, Toelken admitted he knew little about Mormonism, and he began to listen to the young men. He was intrigued both by their message and by how enthusiastically they reminisced about their home state of Utah and the Intermountain West.

Toelken sensed that Springfield would become for him only a dead-end town, and he knew he wanted to try his hand at college somewhere. He had performed well in his high-school biology class and his teacher convinced him that, with the right education, he could end up working outside in nature rather than in the dust-filled dimness and din of a local machine shop. He researched a bit, and encouraged by the LDS missionaries' recollections of Utah, he settled on Utah State Agricultural College's renowned forestry program. By the autumn of 1953, young Toelken was 2,000 miles from home in the mountain town of Logan in northern Utah.

After moving to the Cache Valley and asking a few more questions, Toelken's interest in Mormonism as a belief system flagged, but his love of the West only swelled. True to his initial goals, he started out majoring in forestry but soon opted for a university studies major, a degree plan based in the Honors College. He now could enroll in anything that suited his fancy—and he did. He ended up with a B.S. in English and German, eventually graduating in 1957. But before he left USU, his life took an unexpected turn that would change him forever.

Along with other whites and many Navajos, Toelken decided to explore the deserts of southeastern Utah as another young party to the Cold War uranium rush. While there, the nineteen-year-old prospector contracted pneumonia in an out-of-the-way canyon on the Navajo reservation. Delirious with fever, he collapsed. He awoke disoriented and found himself lying in the center of a traditional hogan with a gray-haired man sitting at his head. The hogan was full of men and women, and the near-death Toelken was, he later realized, a fortunate participant in a Navajo healing ceremony. He drifted off into feverish oblivion. After three days of fitful half-sleep, he regained consciousness. When he awoke and looked around with new color in his face and renewed light in his eyes, the medicine men silently arose and went home. He was warm and safe in the Yellowman home. Yellowman's wife continued to nurse him back to health; somehow he knew that his life would forever after be changed.

Toelken's time among the Navajo caught him off guard. Ambition for mineral discoveries receded into the distance, but he wasn't prepared for a different kind of wealth that he was encountering. Amid a culture saturated with story, song, dance, art, and especially humor, Toelken found himself enchanted with his new family and their people. He was so impressed that he stayed on for a while, recalling, in a 2003 interview, "these people were poor—unimaginably poor. They lived out in what we whites would call the middle of nowhere, but they would give graciously and joyfully even to the point of their own hunger and deprivation." Such generosity dumbfounded the young Toelken; he never forgot it and later incorporated it into his own way of life. The Navajo were unlike any other people he'd ever known, yet he couldn't remain forever. He returned to Logan, but much of him remained in southern Utah.

Toelken had planned to stay on at USU to pursue a master's degree, but his application was rejected by the president of the university on grounds that he was "too dangerous to have around influencing 'impressionable undergraduates.'" His crime? He had been the leader of an "unofficial and outlawed" student organization called the Human Relations Society, which investigated and protested against human injustice. It was the late 1950s, and USU was very homogeneous culturally. Often, foreign students or those displaying various types of "otherness" were dismissed from the university for engaging in "troublesome activities," and Toelken, apparently, was a "troublemaker."

When Washington State University's English department head came to Utah, he heard about Toelken's situation and inquired about it to USU President Chase. Dr. Buchanan wondered why a student as "colorful" as Toelken could find no place in a USU graduate program. Chase informed Buchanan that Toelken had spoken and written animated diatribes against various administrative decisions "that didn't concern him" and that he was not welcome to spend additional time on campus. In short, Toelken had embarrassed the university. Professor Buchanan replied, “We may differ with our students on various issues at WSU, but at least we can extend them the four freedoms. We’re going to offer Mr. Toelken a fellowship.” This conversation occurred without Toelken’s knowledge, but within a few weeks he received a handwritten letter from the WSU president inviting him to Pullman, Washington. Meanwhile Toelken had married Miiko Kubota in 1957 in his former home of Springfield; Miiko is Japanese-American, a native of Utah, but interracial marriages were forbidden by law throughout the West until the 1960s.

Finishing his master’s degree, Toelken followed a friend to the University of Oregon in Eugene, where he started out studying American literature, specifically the humor of Thoreau. He drifted into English literature, studying Chaucer mostly, and then discovered what he thought would be his life’s work: ballads.

One year into his doctoral work, Visiting Professor Arthur G. Brodeur of Harvard arrived to teach at Oregon. Brodeur had inherited some of George Lyman Kittredge’s dual interests in early English literature and the ballad, and Oregon’s department head quipped to Toelken that someone had finally arrived who could examine him. Toelken completed his Ph.D. in 1964 and moved on to teach at the University of Utah for two years, after which the Toelkens moved back to Eugene where Toelken settled into a career as an academic folklorist.

Toelken admits that he spent much of his academic life “catching up” on folkloristics, other folklorists, and the various schools of thought in folklore theory. At first, he engaged himself in teaching mostly medieval English literature but found himself more interested in literary connections to folklore. From *Beowulf* to T.S. Eliot, he searched for and led his students through examples of literature arising out of folklore. Toelken confesses that he was always more captivated by what various cultural groups did than by what scholars wrote about them. Ironically, in all his schooling, Toelken never took a folklore course. When asked how he became a folklorist, he responded, “I always was. I always sensed that knowing the customs and ways of people was important. I somehow knew that even when I was a kid. Our family had singers on both sides, and I grew up singing whaling and sea songs. I also came of age in a working environment full of traditions, and since I had seen the [Quabbin] valley disappear, I decided that I would always strive to commit to memory as much of what was traditional and customary in any culture I encountered—before the memories were all gone.”

One of the main reasons Toelken had wanted to return to Utah was to be nearer his adopted Navajo kin and to reimmerse himself in Utah’s folklore, an interest that began with his first publication, in 1959, on “The Ballad of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.” Still, through the 1960s, most of his research focused on the ballad and on medieval literature. It wasn’t until 1969, with the publication of his pathbreaking “The ‘Pretty Languages’ of Yellowman: Genre, Mode, and Texture in Navaho Coyote Narratives,” that Toelken began incorporating his experiences with his Navajo family into a broad analysis of the ways that language, storytelling, context, and performance are linked to human culture and worldview.

Toelken's commitment to understanding human behavior and the importance of its contexts—in contradistinction to a reliance on texts alone—placed him in alliance with those "Young Turks" who were developing the contextual or performance approach to folklore studies at the universities of Pennsylvania and Texas at Austin in the late '60s and early '70s.

These interests were borne out in other publications with implications for folklore theory that followed: "Folklore, Worldview, and Communication" in *Folklore: Performance and Communication* (1975); "The Performative Aspect of Northwest Superstition and Popular Belief" (*Northwest Folklore* 4, 1985); "Belief Performances Along the Pacific Northwest Coast" in *By Land and By Sea: Studies in the Folklore of Work and Leisure* (1985); and a number of articles in German for European journals. Much of this thinking about the performative nature of folklore was distilled into an innovative interpretation of folklore in his introductory text, *The Dynamics of Folklore* (1979, revised and expanded ed., 1996). Instead of using the time-honored genre-centered approach to folklore, Toelken focused instead on process, enactment, and performance in describing not only the materials or items of folklore but their social and community contexts, the ways individuals enact them, and their meanings to their performers and their communities.

Many of the same concerns animate Toelken's continued work with ballads and with the folk traditions of Germany and Japan. *Ghosts and the Japanese: Cultural Experience in Japanese Death Legends* (cowritten with Michiko Iwasaka, 1994) goes beyond the typical collection of tales to assess Japanese culture as it reveals itself through its ghostlore. Similarly, *Morning Dew and Roses: Nuance, Metaphor, and Meaning in Folksong* (1995) uses ballad texts to assess their inhering cultural metaphors of significance.

The 1969 publication of "The 'Pretty Languages' of Yellowman," which appeared first in the journal *Genre* and was then reprinted in *Folklore Genres* edited by Dan Ben-Amos, established Toelken's place as a folklorist, one who was alert to the potential insights of anthropology and linguistics as well as literature. It also became the first in a series of essays on Native American folklore, particularly Navajo myth, that have had powerful implications for Toelken's career and, more broadly, the study of religion and culture. Toelken followed up on this article with "Ma'i Jołdloshi: Legendary Styles and Navaho Myth" (1971), "Seeing with a Native Eye: How Many Sheep Will It Hold?" (1976), "The Demands of Harmony: An Appreciation of Navajo Relations" (1977), "Poetic Retranslation and the 'Pretty Languages' of Yellowman" (coauthored with Tacheeni Scott, 1981), "The Moccasin Telegraph and Other Improbabilities" (1995), and other articles. In each, Toelken has worked toward an ever-deeper understanding of the dynamic complexities of language, myth, and worldview among a people who are simultaneously neighbors and Utah residents but who see the world from perspectives radically different from those of European heritage.

More importantly, Toelken's series of essays, written over nearly forty years, reflect his constant rethinking of his work and his reevaluation of his place as collector, analyst, and interpreter. For example, he has analyzed why he did not

Barre Toelken's singing and guitar playing were regular features of the Fife Folklore Conference and his classes.

collect from women, and how contexts and his own ideas about gender relations influenced his decisions and directed his attention. Navajos are a matrilineal culture, yet in the process of his zealous efforts to capture and preserve Navajo narrative culture, he recorded and analyzed tales only the men were telling. Even more ironic, when Toelken collaborated with Tacheeni Scott, a young Navajo scholar, and issued a corrective retraction of his earlier work in "Poetic Retranslation and the 'Pretty Languages' of Yellowman" (1981), the retraction had the effect of undermining work that other scholars had based on the first essay. Scholarly reaction was mixed, ranging from uproar to deliberate indifference. No one wanted to admit the reality of Toelken's rethinking and its consequences for Navajo scholarship. Well into the twenty-first century, the first article is still far more widely cited than its successors.

Especially in his 1996 and 1998 articles, "From Entertainment to Realization" and "The Yellowman Tapes, 1966–1997," and in a plenary address to the

American Folklore Society in 2003, Toelken discussed frankly and openly the rethinking that has been part of his scholarship and his life since his first experiences living with Navajo people. He has become increasingly sensitive to and aware of Navajo beliefs regarding the power of spoken language and the constant presence of death as reflected in witchcraft, warnings, and other omens, and he eventually concluded that he would limit both his collection and analysis of the Coyote tales that are central in Navajo culture. In his 1987 article, "Life and Death in the Navajo Coyote Tales," he distinguishes four levels of meaning for these narratives: those that he calls entertainment (level I), moral worldview (II), medicine (III), and witchcraft (IV). And he concludes:

> Even if I reject [the Navajo] warning that there is danger in deeper inquiry into the stories, for me to actually do further work would necessitate a repudiation of Navajo beliefs and values—treasures that I feel ought to be strengthened and nurtured by folklore scholarship, not weakened, denigrated, or given away to curious onlookers.
>
> Just as a folklorist needs to know where to begin, so one needs to recognize where to stop, and I have decided to stop here. My intention is to deal with Level IV of the Navajo stories not at all, beyond acknowledging here that it exists and that it is considered dangerous by those in whose world it functions. Level III, while fascinating, involves such heavy implications for Level IV that I think it should also be left alone by outsiders; the present essay is the fullest statement I anticipate making on it. (pp. 399–400)

In these respects, Toelken contrasts markedly with many scholars, some of whom have urged him to collect and write about materials that the Navajo consider sacred or not to be shared with outsiders or limited to particular seasons of the year. He has said forthrightly that he has doubts about journalists and anthropologists who advocate "quick fixes and fast theories." And, in "The Yellowman Tapes, 1966–1997," he recounts his decision to pack up and mail to the Yellowman family his entire collection of tape recordings of Coyote stories, some thirty years' worth, knowing that they would be destroyed by the family because of the potential dangers if the tapes were played in the wrong situation or at the wrong time of year.

The culmination of his constant rethinking of his research into Native American cultures is *The Anguish of Snails: Native American Folklore in the West* (2003), which is both a restatement of much of his previous research and another stage in the dynamic rethinking that has characterized his work. Here he surveys the ways in which Native American traditions are performed, with chapters on visual and material arts, dance, story and song, humor, and modes of thought, with evidence drawn from a lifetime of research in the Pacific Northwest, the Southwest, and the Intermountain West.

Yet publication and research are only a means to an end with Toelken. He wants primarily to know people and their worldviews and ways of life more fully.

When queried, he freely admitted that his tenure as a scholar of Navajo culture was purely accidental, though fortuitous for both Toelken and those who know him and his work. Over the years, he said, "I have become much less interested in lofty, ivy-covered, ivory tower folklore theory and theoretical thinking (or unthinking), than in what I and others can learn from other people by paying close attention to the people themselves. The kinds of cultural expression people deem important enough to pass on among themselves and to others is the kind of folklore I want to help cultures perpetuate and preserve."

Toelken remains suspicious of any theory that is conceptualized as "the way that all folklore works." Such ideological frameworks may leave important aspects of cultures completely out of consideration. Folklorists, according to Toelken, may be blinded by what they *want* to see, rather than awakened by what is *really there*. He can only say as much because he admits he learned that painful lesson personally. Moreover, folklorists miss the boat when they select or mold lore to fit their theoretical models. Toelken believes that such models are important, but only as a basis for understanding. The center of his work and his thinking is not in the texts but in the people:

> Folklore is dynamic, alive, variant, and persistent. Among folklorists, it might seem absurdly elementary to reiterate, but the *folklore* should come first, the literature second. The meat of our scholarship is in the lore itself, not in the theory. From the Arctic to Tierra del Fuego, culture and worldview change with each tribe, and literary people are tragically missing out, often choosing not to deal with the dizzying array of cultural performance and meaning, so they work with theoretical models instead of people. The more sad for them.

One of the most important ways Toelken influenced the academic folklore community internationally as well as locally was through his participation in and directorship of the annual Fife Folklore Conference at Utah State University. Dating back to the late 1970s, the Fife Conference has brought alive local, regional, and international folklore for the Cache Valley's residents and for visiting students and scholars (see chapter 24). Before attending a Fife Conference, Toelken says, most of his students "don't realize the universality of folklore, let alone have an interest in exploring it." The long-term results and overall satisfaction he drew from putting on the Fife Conference is the sense of a public much more cognizant about what folklore is and the meanings it can have for them individually and communally. Toelken contends that because of the Fife Conference and USU's outstanding folklore faculty, folklore has become increasingly meaningful and visible in the area and in the state. Toelken hopes that the USU program has, in his words, engendered the

> true spirit of folklore—namely, that it is ongoing, continual, always in flux. This is the vibrant legacy of Utah State University's folklore program: that we teach people the excitement of a discipline (or hobby) always new, always alive,

Barre Toelken and his daughter, Vanessa Brown, teach traditional Native American dance, Fife Conference, 1986.

> always dynamic, and *never* definitive. Our students have been awakened to the idea that folklore is constantly being passed down and preserved all around them, and that cultural expression is worth investigating intimately. They learn that folklore will at once always persevere and always change.

Toelken would consider the success of his students to be his most rewarding legacy. Working on four continents, Toelken's scholastic descendants have spread out across the world with the idea that gleaning meaning from cultural expression is important, indeed crucial in human history and human relations. The list of his students is far too extensive to recount here, but it is noteworthy that people came from all over the world on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, an occasion marked by the publication in his honor of *Worldviews and the American West: The Life of the Place Itself*, edited by Polly Stewart, Steve Siporin, C. W. Sullivan, and Suzi Jones. It is a dynamic and diverse collection of essays that reflect Toelken's personal and scholarly influence. His affable accessibility has shaped how countless scholars approach their students, their colleagues, and their scholarship.

Toelken has served extensively in the cause of advancing folklore scholarship along with cultural, social, and academic awareness, both locally and internationally. From 1968 to 1985, he served as the curator of the Randall Mills Archives of Northwest Folklore at the University of Oregon. During that period, he held other posts and positions as well. In 1979, he was the director of the Montana Folklife Project for the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress. From 1976 to 1979, he chaired the Folk Arts Panel for the National Endowment for the Arts. In 1977–78, he was president of the American Folklore Society, and he served as a member of the Society's Executive Board from 1971 to 1976 and again from 1991 to 1994. From 1987 to 1990, he chaired the Board of Directors of the Western Folklife Center. On the national level, he was a congressional appointee to the Board of Trustees for the American Folklife Center, cochairing in 1988 and serving as chair in 1989. He has edited three prominent folklore journals during his career: *Northwest Folklore* (1963–66), *Journal of American Folklore* (1973–76), and *Western Folklore* (2002–04).

On July 5, 2002, Toelken sustained a massive stroke. He was at his office in the Fife Folklore Archives when he suddenly became dizzy and disoriented. He drove home, picked up Miiko, and drove to the Logan hospital where it took some time to diagnose the problem and its severity. By the end of the first evening, Toelken could neither speak nor move the right side of his body. He was, for all practical purposes, paralyzed. So, too, were his family, friends, and the folklore community. Luckily, Toelken didn't believe that his condition was permanent. He set his aim toward recovery and after many long months of hospitalization and intense physical, occupational, and speech therapy, he picked up his research and writing again and has continued to teach, even though he's technically retired.

Perhaps most miraculous and inspiring is that in the midst of recovery, he managed to complete his magnum opus, *The Anguish of Snails,* his tribute to his many friends and adoptive families near and far. It is a work reflective of fifty years of trial and error, of meeting, befriending, knowing, and often losing Native American friends. Most importantly, it is an exhortation to cultural sensitivity, as well as a source for speculation, discovery, and insight.

Jan Harold Brunvand and the Urban Legend

Jacqueline S. Thursby

One of the most widely published folklorists of his generation, Jan Harold Brunvand taught for thirty years (1966–1996) at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City. During his career, he gained international recognition for his work on urban legends. He also researched, taught, and published on other topics including regional lore, folklore in literature, and European folk studies. Elected a Fellow of the American Folklore Society in 1974, Brunvand served as editor of the *Journal of American Folklore* (1976–1980) and president of the American Folklore Society (1985). An active member of several regional, national, and international folklore societies, he was also a popular speaker at universities and conferences. Also a Fellow of the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal (CSICOP), he published articles and commentaries in the committee's journal, *Skeptical Inquirer*, spoke at its conventions, and received its Distinguished Skeptic Award in 2003.

As the CSICOP award indicates, Brunvand has been in the forefront of making the discipline of folklore more comprehensible to the general public, particularly in his use of sources from popular culture. In delivering the 2000 Fife Honor Lecture at the Fife Folklore Conference at Utah State University, Brunvand told the audience, "What I collect from newspapers and what I will focus on here are the examples of living folklore that find their way into contemporary newsprint, especially in quotations from news sources, in letters to the editor, in advice columns, and sometimes in cartoons and comic strips" ("Folklore in the News," p. 51). Though Brunvand has made it clear that he did not invent the term, his energetic interest in contemporary lore and the popularity of his publications have added the words "urban legend" to the lexicon of phrases widely used by the media both in the United States and abroad.

Brunvand was born in 1933 in Cadillac, Michigan, to parents from Kristiansand in southern Norway. When he was very young, he and his mother, then expecting her second child, traveled to Norway on an old ship, the *Stavangerfjord*. Brunvand's brother Tor was born after they arrived, and the three of them lived with the boys' grandparents there for more than a year. His brother

Dick was born after their return to the United States. Jan returned to Norway as a twenty-year-old and later as a Fulbright scholar; even then, some people remembered him and thought that he should still be able to speak Norwegian. Though he was not deliberately taught the language in his childhood home, he did pick up some and later used it in his graduate studies.

Brunvand's father was a highway engineer with the state of Michigan. Most of Jan's early life was spent in Lansing, the state capital, where he was educated in the public schools and excelled in English studies. Deciding to major in journalism, he went to Michigan State University and there fell under the spell of folklore through a course taught by Richard M. Dorson. Brunvand, in a 1990 interview with Everett L. Cooley, remembered the experience as "great" and "wonderful." He began assisting Dorson with organizing and archiving his own and students' papers, and the experience helped to set Brunvand's academic direction for the future. While still an undergraduate, he was able to take two graduate courses from Dorson and then decided to continue his studies with a master's in English.

In the summer of 1953, he attended a summer school program for Americans at the University of Oslo and returned in 1956–57 on a Fulbright scholarship accompanied by Judy, his bride of four days. In both his undergraduate studies with Dorson and his graduate work in English at Michigan State, Brunvand pursued Norwegian folklore as a topic. Under Dorson's tutelage, he first collected lore from his Norwegian father and then researched folklore and folktales at the University of Oslo, where he gathered information about Askeladden or "ash lad," a symbol of rags-to-riches success. This figure is popularly called "the Norwegian male Cinderella."

At the beginning of the 1957 academic year, Dorson moved to Indiana University at Bloomington as the new director of the Folklore Institute, and Brunvand became a Ph.D. student in the English department at the same institution. After one year in that program, Brunvand changed his emphasis to folklore, working as a research assistant in the folklore library followed by a two-year stint as the folklore archivist. Brunvand's first article, about Norwegian folklore, was published in *Midwest Folklore*; his second, which appeared in the *Journal of American Folklore*, was drawn from his research in Norway on Askeladden. He completed his Ph.D. in 1961 with a historic-geographic dissertation on the folktale background of *The Taming of the Shrew* (Aarne Thompson type 901), a study based on more than four hundred versions of the tale. The study was eventually published by Garland in 1991.

After graduation, Brunvand took his first faculty position at the University of Idaho at Moscow where, over time, he taught a variety of courses including folklore, American literature, composition, the literature of the American West, and a humanities course; he also established a folklore archive in the library for the housing of student papers. His own research and publications continued, including work on tales about regional Münchausens (local characters who develop an autobiography of aggrandizement based on tall tales and exaggerations). Brunvand's article, "Len Henry: North Idaho Münchausen," describing a

Jan Harold Brunvand interviewing singer Mary Jane Fairbanks, Edwardsville, Illinois, 1966.

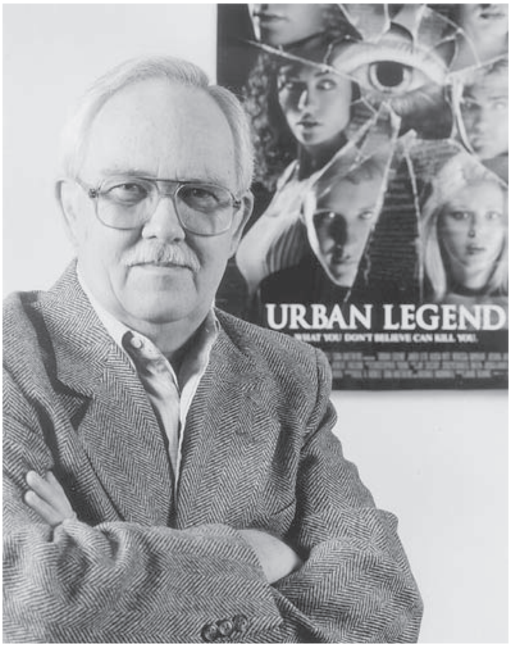
character he learned about from a student, was published while he was in Idaho and has been reprinted several times since. At the same time, Brunvand was challenged in finding an adequate folklore text for his students. Encouraged by a book representative from W. W. Norton, he began to write his own textbook, *The Study of American Folklore* (1968); the fourth edition was published in 1998.

Changes in the administration, the heavy workload at the University of Idaho, and little money for travel prompted Brunvand to accept a faculty appointment in the English Department at Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville in 1965. There he was promoted to associate professor and given a reduced teaching load. After a year of teaching, doing research, and drafting the folklore textbook, Brunvand moved to the English Department at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, replacing Barre Toelken, who was moving back to Oregon. Brunvand had learned to ski when he was four years old and had begun fly fishing in Idaho and thoroughly enjoyed both. Salt Lake City and the region around it offered him the sports that meant the best in recreation to him. The Brunvands, not LDS, were often asked how they felt about living in the predominantly Mormon culture of Utah. "We feel quite welcome," Brunvand said in his interview with Cooley. "When we came with four cute small children, we looked like the average local family. The missionaries and the home teachers came around, and they were very nice . . . we were never pestered by anyone."

One of the first things Brunvand did after he settled in was to visit Lester Hubbard, who had for years taught a ballad course at the university but was by then retired. Brunvand played a role in getting Hubbard's vast ballad collection donated to the university and transferred from aluminum disks and acetate records to less perishable tape. He also came to know Louis Zucker, a founder and the first president of the Folklore Society of Utah and a major figure in procuring folklore-related books for the library. To become better acquainted with his fellow folklorists, Brunvand and his family drove to Logan to meet Austin and Alta Fife. He also familiarized himself with the work of Harold Folland, Jack Adamson, Hector Lee, and BYU's Thomas Cheney. Brunvand continued to teach folklore and English courses and published prolifically on a number of topics. In 1971, in the midst of work on a variety of other studies, he published *A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah*, a basic introductory text that addressed students and the general public as well. In the 1980s he became seriously interested in urban legends.

Brunvand had for some time been introducing urban legends to his students as contemporary living folklore, and then in the late 1970s Keith Cunningham asked him to come to Northern Arizona University as guest lecturer for his folkore classes. There Brunvand gave a lecture on the topic of urban legends, which became the basis for a June 1980 article in *Psychology Today.* That first article carried a line at the bottom that suggested that it was a part of a forthcoming book (W. W. Norton had already expressed an interest). The popular article led to guest appearances on radio talk shows and on the late-night *David Letterman Show.* Later, Norton published Brunvand's first book of contemporary legends, *The Vanishing Hitchhiker* (1981), initially as a supplement to the textbook. After favorable reviews in the media and increasing sales, Norton converted it to a trade book, backed it with more advertising, and placed it in general bookstores. Continuing his research through correspondence, library research, and the internet, Brunvand published three more books—*The Choking Doberman, The Mexican Pet*, and *Curses, Broiled Again!*—over the next nine years, and his files of urban legends kept growing. In 1987, he was invited by United Features Syndicate to write a syndicated newspaper column which ran twice weekly from 1987 to 1992. In all, 562 columns were released, and Brunvand incorporated most of that material into books, articles, and lectures based largely on input from readers of his columns and books. Other urban legend collections followed: *The Baby Train, Too Good to Be True, The Encyclopedia of Urban Legends*, and a collection of essays, *The Truth Never Stands in the Way of a Good Story.*

After he retired in 1996, Brunvand stopped accepting most speaking engagements, because, he said, "Frankly, I'm tired of saying much the same thing over and over again." One talk that he does recall was at the Broadmore Hotel in Colorado Springs:


URBAN LEGEND
WHAT YOU DON'T BELIEVE CAN KILL YOU

Jan Harold Brunvand's collections of urban legends have spawned books, articles, newspaper columns, and—as here—horror movies.

> . . . it was a convention or a gathering sponsored by IBM, for academic deans in humanities. The idea was to sell them IBM computers, I am sure, but they just wanted an after-dinner speaker. . . . I flew over and stayed in a nice hotel [and] worked up a talk on the computer in modern folklore. Everybody had a few drinks before, so they were an easy audience to entertain. I had the idea of printing it all out on tractor-feed paper with the holes. Then I put some scotch tape on it so it wouldn't come apart. I just ran it off the top of the podium as I spoke, the way that the paper spills out of the computer printer. I wondered if they would think that it was funny or not. But as it got longer and longer it spilled out more and more on the floor and I got to some of the better items. It went over beautifully. So I thought that maybe I should do something, kind of a book or article on the computer in folklore. At any rate, I consider these kinds of speaking things . . . as semi-scholarly. They are based on my research, but they are usually presented in a more popular way and also partly as a service.

Brunvand and his family are avid bikers, hikers, and skiers and have traveled all over the world. Accompanied by his family, Brunvand studied folk architecture in Romania on Fulbright and Guggenheim research grants, a continuing project which resulted in *Casa Frumoasa: The House Beautiful in Rural Romania* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003). In 1987–88, he and Judy lived for several months in New Zealand, where Jan continued writing and gathering stories. In a personal communication in 2003, he commented:

> My own tendency lately is to do what is fun and appeals to me. Thus, I have a paper on the fractured proverbs uttered by Captain Jack Aubrey in Patrick O'Brian's twenty-volume nautical novel series for the California Folklore Society meeting, and another paper on "urban legend" as a household phrase (in popular media, etc.) for the International Society for Contemporary Legend Research. Otherwise, I just finished another urban lore book, this time on horror legends, tentatively titled *Be Afraid, Be Very Afraid*, which will be published in 2004 and will probably be my last such work.

In addition to his professional contributions (he has said that "I think of my career as teaching and research, especially research and writing"), Brunvand spends lots of time with his four children and five grandchildren and, as the signature block attached to his e-mail attests, "Emeritus means retired, and I take that status seriously. Look for me on the trout stream or the ski run rather than the library." Generations of folklore students have gleaned their first knowledge of folklore from Brunvand's textbook, and both Utah and the United States are richer in knowledge about contemporary storytelling and urban lore through the work of this distinguished scholar who lives, collects, and writes in Salt Lake City.

The Third Generation of Utah Folklorists

Michael Christensen

INTRODUCTION

From the snowcapped peaks of the Wasatch Mountains to the brilliant red rock of Zion National Park, from the glittering Salt Flats to the swift waters of the Colorado River, Utah's diverse topography has been noted by writers and recreationists, explorers and environmentalists, tourists and locals. Utah is both bountiful and desolate, both oasis and desert. This varied landscape can be seen as both sacred and profane, although people do not always agree on which is which. Simply put, Utah's landscape is diverse, and so, too, is Utah folklore scholarship. This diversity is especially evident among what might be called the third generation of Utah folklorists. This dynamic group has been working in the state since about 1975, and, taken as a whole, provides a kind of road map marking the scholarly trends and new directions of Utah folklore work. The research interests of these academic and public folklorists include Mormon folklore, the folklore of Utah and the American West, Utah's ethnic groups, international folklore, folklore and education, and archiving.

MORMON FOLKLORE

Scholarship on Mormon folklore (see chapter 15) began in earnest in the 1930s but got additional notice in the 1950s and '60s, particularly in Richard Dorson's *Buying the Wind: Regional Folklore in the United States* (1964). In this volume, Dorson summarizes many of the oral traditions of Utah Mormons and notes that the "study of folklore has attracted a number of Mormons and former Mormons," including "such university professors as Wayland Hand, Austin Fife, Stuart Gallacher, and Terrence Hansen . . . " (p. 498). This legacy has been continued by many other Utah folklorists, Mormon and non-Mormon alike.

One significant contributor to the study of Mormon folklore is Eric Eliason, English professor at Brigham Young University since 1997. Eliason has authored a book on J. Golden Kimball narratives and numerous articles on Mormon folklore, in addition to editing *Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion* in 2001. His articles and book chapters explore the expressive culture of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) in a variety of ways, including Latter-day Saint conversion narratives, family folklore, pioneer lore and identity, popular historical expression, and naming practices in LDS history.

Jill Terry Rudy, also a professor at Brigham Young University, is another folklorist who has researched Mormon culture and the importance of genealogy and family tradition to Latter-day Saint families. With Eliason and Kristi Young, Rudy authored "Valuing, Preserving, and Transmitting Family Traditions" for a book centering on the LDS church's 1995 public declaration regarding families, marriage, and parenting. Rudy has also explored "the other" in missionary food experiences.

Also contributing to the study of Mormon folklore is Margaret K. Brady of the University of Utah's English Department. Her research interests in this area specifically target the experiences of Mormon women in Utah, as revealed in her case study of Mary Susannah Fowler, a Mormon healer and folk poet. The first wife in a nineteenth-century polygamous family and mother of eight, Mary Fowler led a life of selflessness and commitment to her family and community. Some of Brady's previous work documenting Mormon women's culture has explored how LDS women find empowerment and control in a patriarchal religious system. She argues that sharing visionary narratives regarding unborn children with other Mormon women can help to reestablish a sense of control in one's life.

Another Brigham Young University folklorist is Jacqueline S. Thursby, who has contributed to the study of Mormon traditions in a number of ways. Of particular note is her work with Utah cemeteries and funerary practices. She has published works on polygamist gravesites and on the carving of Mormon temples on gravestones, and she is engaged in a long-term study of ghost-town graveyards in Utah. Her *American Funerals, Mourning, and Foods*, a book-length discussion of funerals and mourning rituals, is published by the University Press of Kentucky.

Thursby's research on Mormon gravesites is partly indebted to work by two of Utah's public-sector folklorists. Carol A. Edison, folk arts program coordinator for the Utah Arts Council, and her colleague George H. Schoemaker have published numerous articles on material culture in Utah with particular attention to documenting the dynamic changes in Mormon gravesites. Edison's contributions explore the artistry of Utah's early gravestone carvers, including four English stonecarvers in Salt Lake City. Edison has also scripted a walking tour documenting gravestones in the Parowan cemetery in southwestern Utah and an article describing Mormon gravestones as postmortem expressions of identity and belief. Schoemaker has published three articles on the transformation of Salt Lake temple symbols and other themes in nineteenth-century Mormon tombstone art. Besides documenting gravemarkers as expressive culture, Edison has contributed to the study of Mormon folk tradition in a series of publications on crafts, food, and material culture.

Mormon vernacular furniture has been researched by Anne F. Hatch, formerly of the Utah Humanities Council, and Elaine Thatcher, associate director of the Mountain West Center for Regional Studies at Utah State University. In 1991, Hatch authored "The Beehive Buffet," an article describing her family's Victorian sideboard—which once belonged to Brigham Young—and the family narratives associated with it. Thatcher's study of Cache Valley vernacular furniture describes furniture-making and the range of available furnishings before the coming of the railroad in 1869.

Richard Oman, senior curator at the [LDS] Museum of Church History and Art in Salt Lake City, has contributed greatly to research on Mormon ethnic and folk artists. In addition to museum exhibits of European-style paintings and sculpture, Oman has curated exhibits of pioneer-era furniture, quilts, and folk art as well as the indigenous artistry of Panamanians, Indonesians, southwest Native Americans, and the Hmong people of southeast Asia. He has published widely on related topics, including articles on quilting, furniture, Native American arts, and temple symbols.

Also at the Utah Arts Council is assistant folk arts coordinator Craig R. Miller. His research in Mormon folklore documents the social lives of early settlers, particularly trends and traditions in dancing and dance music. "Dance Halls of Deseret" and *Social Dance in the Mormon West* reveal the music Mormons listened to in the public arena and the steps they danced to its accompaniment. More specifically, *Social Dance* "talks about more than just dance. With nearly one hundred photographs from private and public collections, it reveals the dances, the music, the settings, and the people who keep this heritage alive. It tells how communities, families, and individuals have maintained this tradition for the benefit of future generations" (http://arts.utah.gov/folkarts/). Miller has also published many field recordings and sheet music to accompany the publications.

Public-sector folklorist Hal Cannon of the Western Folklife Center has produced numerous publications and recordings that have significantly contributed to the study of the Mormon West. His fieldwork and research have resulted in five LP recordings documenting Utah's pioneer folk-music traditions, and he has also conducted research on the beehive, symbol of the Mormon work ethic, industry, and the prophesized "land of milk and honey." This work was reflected in a large exhibit and an exhibit guide, both titled *The Grand Beehive*, produced by Cannon in 1980. In the same year, BYU Press published his *Utah Folk Art: A Catalog of Material Culture*, exploring Utah's pioneer and Native folk art traditions.

Kristi A. Young of BYU and Ronda Walker of Utah Valley State College have also contributed to the ongoing study of Mormon folk culture. Young has made presentations on a wide variety of Mormon subjects, particularly the power of tradition in Mormon families. Her most significant research has been on the dating practices, courtship customs, and wedding-reception traditions of Utah's young Mormons. In Walker's case, her interest in Mormon folklore has directed her to quilt-making traditions. Her lectures at quilt shops and to quilt guilds have enabled people interested in Mormon quilting traditions to realize the significance of their labor. She has also published articles on Mormon trousseaus, rites of passage within Mormon culture, family foodways, LDS urban legends, and aspects of Mormon women's lives, including the effects of separation on Mormon mothers and their missionary sons.

Utah and the American West

In addition to studying the folk traditions of Utah's Mormon community, academic and public folklorists alike have contributed an enormous body of work investigating the folklore of the American West. The usual suspects are here, including cowboy culture, Native American traditions, nature and the environment, and women in the West. These topics are deeply connected, providing a network of beliefs, attitudes, expressions, and worldviews strongly connected to the western landscape.

The eclectic approach to issues concerning the West is well represented by the work of Lisa Gabbert, who began teaching regional folklore and other topics at Utah State University in 2004. Gabbert's interests in the West range from festival and tourism—she wrote her Ph.D. dissertation on a winter festival in McCall, Idaho—to place names to material culture. She has also published on religious themes in urban legends and on the history of folklore studies.

Cowboy Culture

Cowboys are, thanks to Hollywood and popular literature, inextricably linked with the American West. Even though the popular image of the cowboy and the realities of life in the West have little similarity, people all over the world continue to perceive cowboys, in Guy Logsdon's phrasing, as the "mythical heroes of the Western United States, their image synonymous with ethics, integrity, loyalty, and rugged individualism" (*American Folklore: An Encyclopedia,* p. 172). Although this individualistic image may contain a kernel of truth in some cases, the realities of the cowboy's life are often revealed through a variety of traditional behaviors and expressive culture. From cowboy stories, songs, and poems to cowboy folk art and foodways, Utah's folklorists have collected and studied vernacular expression to craft an overview of real life on the ranges and prairies of the American West.

A substantial portion of Hal Cannon's work has involved capturing the life and expressive culture of the cowboy. In addition to numerous television and radio programs, CD recordings, and exhibits, Cannon's comprehensive research in this field has addressed cowboy poetry, songs, rhymes, and folk art. In 1985, he edited *Cowboy Poetry: A Gathering*, the first anthology of cowboy poetry since Austin and Alta Fife's *Ballads of the Great West* (1970). Cannon also edited and authored the introductions for *New Cowboy Poetry: A Contemporary Gathering* (1990), collections of the poems of Curley Fletcher and Bruce Kiskaddon, and *Buckaroo: Visions and Voices of the American Cowboy*. His publications have won three Wrangler Awards from the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum.

David Stanley, professor of English at Westminster College in Salt Lake City, has also documented cowboy traditions in the American West. In addition to producing and editing a CD recording of cowboy poetry for the Smithsonian, Stanley has edited, with Elaine Thatcher, *Cowboy Poets & Cowboy Poetry* (2000). Included in the volume is his introductory essay, "Cowboy Poetry Then and Now: An Overview," in which he summarizes the historical changes in cowboy poetry, audience, and performance. In addition, Stanley authored "Orderly Disorder: Form and Tension in Cowboy Poetry" for the same text. Other Utahns contributing articles to *Cowboy Poets & Cowboy Poetry* include Thatcher, Edison, and Miller. An earlier publication by Edison, *Cowboy Poetry from Utah: An Anthology*, includes essays defining the cowboy poetry tradition and selections of poems by seventeen Utah poets.

Another Utah folklorist who has directed her energies at documenting the rich traditions of cowboys is Utah State University's Jan Roush, particularly in the area of cowboy storytelling. This emphasis is perhaps best illustrated in her 1988 edition of *Pulling Leather: Being the Early Recollections of a Cowboy on the Wyoming Range, 1884–1889,* coedited with Lawrence Clayton. Roush's interests in cowboy narratives were also featured in the *Literary History of the American West* in 1997, and she and Clayton also collaborated on three studies of the everyday life of the western cowboy: "A Cowboy for a Day" (1989), "I Worked the Sybille Ditch" (1989), and "Mustanging in Texas" (1987).

Also documenting the lives of cowboys and ranchers in the West is Salt Lake Community College English professor Liz Montague. With her colleague, anthropologist John Fritz, Montague has codirected the Dugout Ranch Cultural Inventory Project, which seeks to preserve and interpret one of the oldest and most important ranches in southeastern Utah, now owned by the Nature Conservancy. A leading participant in the project since 1998, Montague developed a fieldwork school, enabling SLCC students to conduct folklore fieldwork with people who have worked or are continuing to work on the ranch. Once complete, this collection of personal narratives will be an invaluable addition to the physical inventory of the ranch.

Deirdre M. Paulsen, codirector of Brigham Young University's Student Publications Lab, looked to her grandfather, Rowland Rider, for insights into cowboy culture. Rider, Paulsen explains, was an articulate storyteller who loved to recall his experiences on the Kaibab Plateau, the Arizona Strip, the Grand Canyon, and the area around Kanab, Utah. Paulsen's work with Rider resulted in her master's thesis and two publications: *Sixshooters and Sagebrush* (1979)

David Stanley, Elaine Thatcher, Carol Edison, and Craig Miller (l to r) all worked at the Chase Home in Liberty Park in the 1980s. Photo taken at Iron Mountain, Wyoming, in 1991 at the wedding of Hal Cannon and Teresa Jordan.

and *The Roll-Away Saloon and Other Stories of the Arizona Strip* (1985). These collections of stories include descriptions of meeting Theodore Roosevelt and Zane Grey and represent one of the few publications about the life of a Mormon cowboy. Her personal narrative, "How, Kemosabe," looks at Rider's death from both a folklorist's and a granddaughter's point of view.

Native American Traditions

In addition to cowboy culture, many Utah folklorists have focused on Utah's Native American communities, including the Navajo, Ute, Paiute, Goshute, and Shoshone. Material culture, narratives, customs, and the interstices of history and religion are represented, offering a glimpse into the lives of Utah's earliest human inhabitants, both then and now (see chapter 14).

Continuing with her research on material culture, Carol Edison has found particular interest in documenting contemporary Native craftspeople. These living folk artists include some of Utah's finest Navajo basket weavers. Her introduction to *Willow Stories: Utah Navajo Baskets* emphasizes not only the importance of keeping the practice of Navajo basketry alive, but also the significance of the stories that are directly tied to the baskets' meaning and creation; these "story baskets" typically feature images from traditional Navajo myths and ceremonies.

Margaret K. Brady has also contributed to researching Native American folklore, particularly verbal traditions. Of particular note is her work with Navajo children, oral traditions, and education. Her *"Some Kind of Power": Navajo Children's Skinwalker Narratives*, was published in 1984, providing a study of the structural, stylistic, and interactional features of narratives performed by fifth- and sixth-grade Navajo students about skinwalkers, Navajo witches who walk the night disguised as animals intending to harm others.

Utah State University professor Jeannie Thomas has also researched Native American culture, recognizing the significance of both history and religion. In 1992, Thomas published "The Bighorn Medicine Wheel: When Native American Religion Becomes American History." This article provides a discussion of the historical backgrounds and past and present cultural significance of an important religious site high in the Bighorn Mountains of Wyoming.

Nature and the Environment

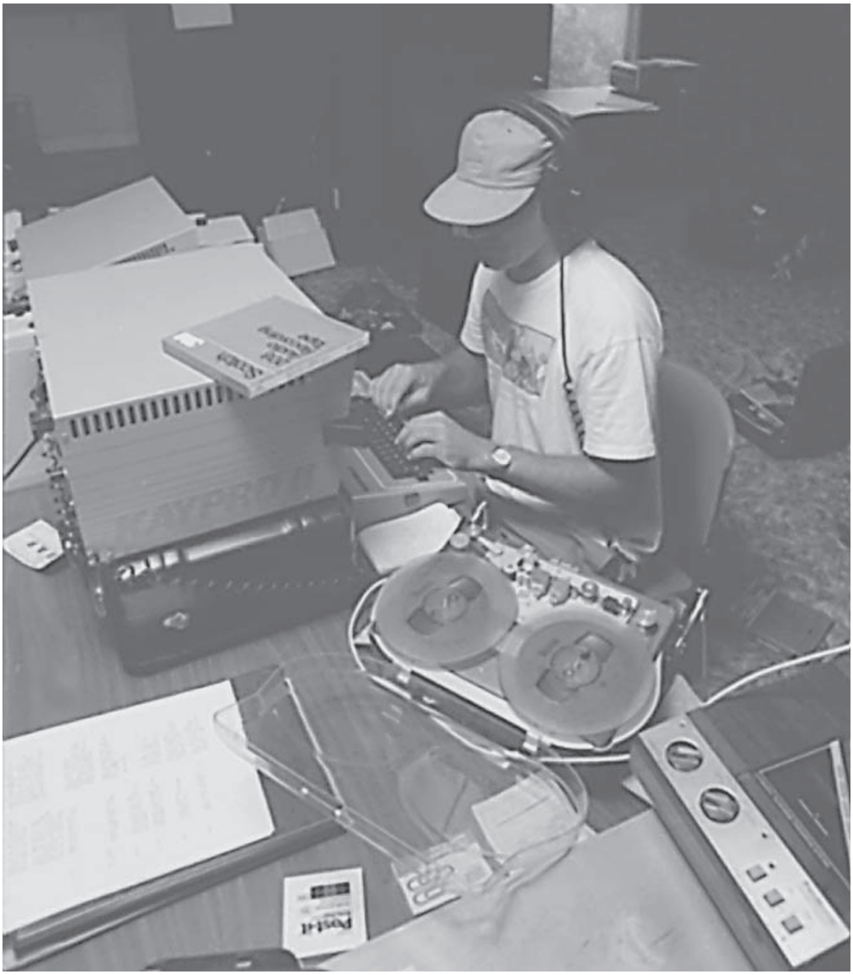
Representing both the academic and public sectors, David Stanley and Elaine Thatcher have both developed a particular interest in nature and the environment. Their independent fieldwork and research explores the relationships between humans and the land we inhabit, including how we shape the land, and, in turn, how it shapes us. This trend in Utah folklore scholarship covers many topics, including land-use ethics, sense of place, and Utah's national parks.

After conducting fieldwork on how people order their domestic spaces and yardscapes in the Pine Barrens of New Jersey, Thatcher returned to Utah interested in how people relate to the natural environment. Thatcher worked with the Utah Humanities Council managing an environmental ethics project in 1993, a project that resulted in *Nature and Tradition: The Ethics of Land Use in Western Communities.* She also produced, with Jack Loeffler, *The Spirit of Place,* a thirteen-part radio series on the relationship between traditional cultures and natural environments in the West.

Stanley has contributed two 1984 publications on the folklore of Utah's national parks and the partnership between state humanities councils and parks. In 1990, he followed up these efforts with "Folklore, Landscape, and the National Parks" in a special issue of *Blue Mountain Shadows*, a journal focused on documenting the folklore and folklife of San Juan County and the Four Corners region.

Thomas Carter, a Utah native who returned to the state to research nineteenth-century housing traditions in Sanpete County for his doctoral degree in folklore at Indiana University, worked for the Utah State Historical Society before starting to teach architectural history at the University of Utah. He has published widely on vernacular architecture in Utah and the West, and he also headed a 1985 cultural resource survey in Grouse Creek, in far northwestern Utah. This project brought together the combined knowledge and energies of architectural historians, historic preservationists, folklorists, and media specialists.

Filmmaker Chris Simon, a resident of Moab, began her career in California and produced documentaries on a California folk poet originally from



The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey demonstrated cooperation among folklorists, historians, and historic preservationists. Here, Thomas Carter enters data into a Kaypro computer, 1985.

Oklahoma, on an Oakland shipwright and folk artist, and on a Cuban musician in Los Angeles. More recently, she created for the Western Folklife Center a series of five-minute films on cowboy crafts: rawhide braiding, silverwork, saddlemaking, and horsehair hitching (2003). She also filmed a documentary on legendary southeast Utah backcountry guide and river rat Kent Frost.

Women in the West

As in other areas of scholarly inquiry, women's perspectives as expressed through folklore are often under- or misrepresented. This is certainly true when studying the American West, a region and subject often thought to be primarily a male domain. Still, some Utah folklorists have intensively researched the lives of women who helped to settle the American West. Margaret Brady, Jeannie Thomas, and Jan Roush have all published work that not only provides overviews of how western women viewed their world, but also explains how they confronted the difficulties of frontier life and how they are currently represented in contemporary popular culture.

Brady's article in *Worldviews and the American West: The Life of the Place Itself* (ed. Polly Stewart et al.) explores relationships among women on the frontier. "In Her Own Words: Women's Frontier Friendships in Letters, Diaries, and Reminiscences" considers what "the world of the nineteenth-century West look[ed] like from the vantage points of women . . ." (p. 2). Thomas takes a different approach; her studies in gender are varied, not only commenting on western themes but combining them with contemporary material and popular culture. Perhaps most notable is her work with Barbie, the popular Mattel doll. "Ride 'Em, Barbie Girl: Commodifying Folklore, Place, and the Exotic" (also in *Worldviews and the American West*) inspects "one strategy used in selling Barbie: the marketing of folkloric themes" (p. 65). In essence, Thomas argues that marketers have tapped into distinct folk communities when creating dolls, including western and Native American women in addition to the exotic "Dolls of the World" collection. These idealized, romanticized, and often stereotyped representations (as in many Hollywood films) are directly linked to outsiders' notions of what these groups are supposed to be like, in essence a commodification of folklore. Her book, *Naked Barbies, Warrior Joes*, further develops the theme, exploring yard art, legends, and other forms of "visible gender."

Thomas further explores this theme, although through less obvious objects (no Barbie pink here), in "Pickup Trucks, Horses, Women, and Foreplay: The Fluidity of Folklore" (1995). In addition to noting the creative augmentation and adornment of the pickup truck (a valued tool as well as a symbol on western farms and ranches), she describes the position of women in western society through everyday speech, country-music lyrics, epitaphs, and joke cycles. The result is a comprehensive look at the everyday expressions of contemporary cowboy culture, how it reveals the place and role of women in this context and "the feminine [as] an integral part of culture" (p. 226).

Most notable of Thomas's work in women's studies is her 1997 award-winning book *Featherless Chickens, Laughing Women, and Serious Stories* (University Press of Virginia). For the book, Thomas collected a number of stories detailing the serious events of her mother's and grandmothers' lives and described the significant role played by laughter in the performance and interpretation of those stories. Although this study does not detail the experiences of women in the West specifically, the themes she touches upon directly parallel those of her Utah colleagues.

UTAH'S ETHNIC GROUPS AND INTERNATIONAL FOLKLORE

While a good portion of Utah folklorists' research interests focus on Mormons and the American West, other scholars have found success in documenting the traditions of Utah's ethnic minorities. Often, outsiders do not fully recognize the diversity Utah offers. But, as Margaret K. Brady explains in *Ethnic Folklore in Utah,* "it becomes clear to any who take more than a cursory glance that Utah is far more interesting and ethnically diverse than they might ever expect" (p. 3). Recognizing and appreciating the ethnic diversity of Utah is an integral part of understanding the rich history and traditions of Utah's past. Further, many of Utah's folklorists have conducted significant research in other countries and regions.

In addition to his work documenting the folk art and folklife of Idaho, Utah State University's Steve Siporin has published *American Folk Masters: The National Heritage Fellows*, a collection of portraits of the most outstanding folk artists in the United States. The publication received an honorable mention in the competition for the Giuseppe Pitrè International Folklore Prize in 1993.

Steve Siporin's research has carried him from Oregon to Idaho to Utah to Italy and Portugal; his knowledge of public folklore has added greatly to the Utah State University folklore program and to the annual Fife Conference. Here, he discusses the conference with Alta Fife (1987).

Margaret K. Brady has done fieldwork in Navajo country in Arizona, in southern and western Utah, and on islands off the coast of Ireland. Here she visits Mac O'Donoghue of Cape Clear Island, Ireland (2002).

Siporin's major body of work has concerned the cultures of Italian Jews and Italian-Americans. Nearly twenty articles, published both nationally and internationally, have described and analyzed many facets of Italian Jewish culture. Joke cycles, ethnographic and historical studies, foodways, and narratives provide a comprehensive overview of the folk traditions of Italy's Jewish community. Siporin's fieldwork in this area has taken him to, among other places, Pitigliano, where he conducted an ethnographic/historic study of Jewish identity and the uses of Jewish heritage by non-Jews in the former Little Jerusalem of Italy.

Siporin's research interests have also led him to Price, Utah, a less exotic but quite significant location in Utah's ethnic history. In 1990, he published "Our Way of Life Was Very Clear," an article documenting the transformation of immigrant Italians to Italian-Americans based on in-depth interviews with selected Italian-Americans, the Nick family in particular. This fieldwork also resulted in "Folklife and Survival: The Italian-Americans of Carbon County, Utah" (1992).

In addition to her gender-focused research on Mormon and western women, Margaret K. Brady has also contributed to the study of ethnic folklore through her editing of a 1984 special issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* and through her research in Native American cultures. Her own interest in ethnic folklore results from her experience as a researcher of children's folklore in Texas; by observing African-American girls at play, Brady was able to offer folkloric perspectives on child development in her 1974 article "'Gonna Shimmy Shimmy 'Til the Sun Goes Down': Aspects of Verbal and Nonverbal Socialization in the Play of Black Girls." More recently, Brady has done extensive fieldwork among present and former residents of islands off the western coast of Ireland, and her interest in personal history is also resulting in a major new project to document the life stories of elderly Utahns.

Brigham Young University folklorists Eric Eliason and Jacqueline S. Thursby have also contributed to the study of both ethnic communities and international folklore. Beginning with his M.A. thesis about the Caribbean Island of Saba, Eliason has published *The Fruit of Her Hands: Saba Lace History and Patterns* (1997), a portrait of folk artists and their intricate designs in traditional needlework. In addition, Eliason is continuing research on changing folkways, focusing particularly on English foxhunting traditions.

Thursby has also done research in ethnic folkways, specifically with Basques in America. Her early work provided an overview of Basque traditions in *Summer Studies in the Basque Country,* a University of Nevada-Reno alumni publication. This research has developed into a more specific exploration of Basque women's narratives, resulting in her 1999 book *Mother's Table, Father's Chair: Cultural Narratives of Basque American Women*, a work that explores topics ranging from the immigrant experience to difficulties of acculturation to gender issues. Her most recent publication is a chapter on Basque foods published in Lucy Long's *Culinary Tourism* (2004), and she is continuing ethnographic work with three Basque families in the sheep industry in Idaho.

Deirdre Paulsen's recent research has focused on Russian folklore, and "what it reveals of the Russian soul." On a trip to Russia, Paulsen met Galina Sysoeva, a Russian folklorist who studies southern Russian wedding traditions. Sysoeva invited Paulsen to help lead a fieldwork project along the Don River, collecting narratives from eighty- and ninety-year-old women who remember the folklore of pre-Soviet Russia. The results of this partnership include *Russia: Hidden Memory*, a documentary film that in 1996 won an Intermountain Emmy as well as the Catholic Gabriel Award in the Documentary Division. In addition, Paulsen has published "Russian Women: Finding Roots and Growing Stronger," an article based on her fieldwork experiences with Russian women.

Another Utah folklorist with both a national and international perspective is Kimberly Lau, who teaches folklore and gender studies at the University of Utah with interests ranging from feminist theory to ethnography to tourism. She has written on the ways in which local cultural productions are resold in capitalist marketplaces throughout the world, but also on the ways that local cultures rework international popular culture. Her work includes well-received articles on globalization and commodification and a book, *New Age Capitalism: Making Money East of Eden* (2000), which examines the appropriation of traditional practices for capitalist purposes. Lau has also lectured and published on the writing of ethnographies and on multiculturalism and diversity.

Utah's public-sector folklorists have worked extensively with ethnic communities closer to home. With their sights set on documenting Utah's ethnic folk arts and artists, Carol A. Edison, Craig R. Miller, Anne F. Hatch, and George H. Schoemaker have researched and documented Utah's traditional arts and artists as a means to understanding Utah's ethnic and international communities.

Research in this area includes Edison's "Folk and Ethnic Arts in Utah," as well as extensive work with Utah's growing Latino communities that resulted in *Hecho en Utah (Made in Utah): A Cultural History of Utah's Spanish-Speaking Communities* (1992), a comprehensive look at Utah's Latino arts community, including a fifty-six-page collection of essays by respected community scholars along with a study of community identity in the 1990s and more than fifty photos of musicians, dancers, and artists. For this project, Edison examined trends in Hispanic folk art in "Contemporary Hispanic Arts," while Miller produced three cassettes of studio recordings of traditional Latino music.

Folklore and Education

Another trend in Utah folklore scholarship explores the relationship between folklore and education and the various approaches to incorporating folklore within the educational system. In some cases, folklore has been combined with other disciplines; in others, it is used to teach a particular academic subject. Additionally, some educators look at the possibilities in teaching particular genres of folklore, while others explore the role of folk arts in education.

Jan Roush's research in this area includes the internet, a newer realm of folkloric inquiry, and the teaching of family folklore. Interested in online research possibilities, Roush has explored the ethics of conducting folklore fieldwork on the internet and has offered practical considerations for other folklorists using this medium. Her interests in folklore and teaching also resulted in a *Southern Folklore* article titled "Is There a Folklorist in the Family?: Teaching Family Folklore."

Brigham Young University folklorists Jill Terry Rudy and Jacqueline Thursby and Utah State's Randy Williams also have interests in the relationship between folklore and education. Thursby's faculty assignments in folklore and secondary English education have resulted in a number of publications describing the usefulness of teaching folklore in the literature classroom. In two of her publications, Thursby focuses on classroom dynamics by examining the construction of discussion in the English classroom and how to cross cultural boundaries respectfully in order to help reluctant readers. In other articles, she offers a more folkloric approach as in "Folklore, Ethics, and Conflicted Narratives" (1999) and "A Grave Situation: Folkloristics and the Language Arts Classroom" (2000).

Rudy's interests in folklore and education have resulted in publications ranging from history and the humanities to literature and rhetoric. *The Folklore Historian* published Rudy's article analyzing Stith Thompson's *Four Symposia* as well as her essay on George Lyman Kittredge, and *College English* (May 2004) published her article on connections between folklore and English studies in the work of Thompson, Kittredge, and Francis James Child. Rudy also considered the influence of rhetoric on ballad scholarship in "Considering Rhetoric's Wayward Child: Ballad Scholarship and Intradisciplinary Conflict" in the *Journal of Folklore Research* (1998).

USU folklorist Randy Williams, the curator of the Fife Folklore Archives, has worked to develop partnerships throughout the state, especially between the arts community and public education. In fact, the majority of her fieldwork, presentations, and workshops have addressed the benefits of having Utah educators partner with local tradition-bearers and artisans. Her master's thesis, "Experiencing Folk Art in the Classroom," laid the groundwork for other endeavors, including the "Folklife and Folk Art Education Resource Guide" (1997). Williams has also presented to the Utah State Office of Education, detailing the benefits of having folk artists visit Utah's classrooms, and has directed a Utah Arts Council Arts in Education workshop. Her work, like that of many others, exemplifies the commitment Utah's folklorists have made to the general public and to public education.

FIELDWORK AND ARCHIVING

Several of Utah's folklorists in the public sector have published works concerning folklore fieldwork and archiving, an often-neglected topic receiving more attention as archival collections expand and age. Noted for her work in this field is Barbara Lloyd, former director of USU's Fife Archives and now associate director at the Center for Folklore Studies at the Ohio State University. While at USU, she created the index for the Austin and Alta Fife fieldwork recordings of cowboy and western songs (1993) and the inventory for the Grouse Creek Cultural Survey (1989). Lloyd also created the folksong and ballad index to the Fife Mormon and Americana collections and edited a collection of essays on folklore and the supernatural, *Out of the Ordinary*. Lloyd's successor as archivist, Randy Williams, has also done presentations on the value of archives to local communities.

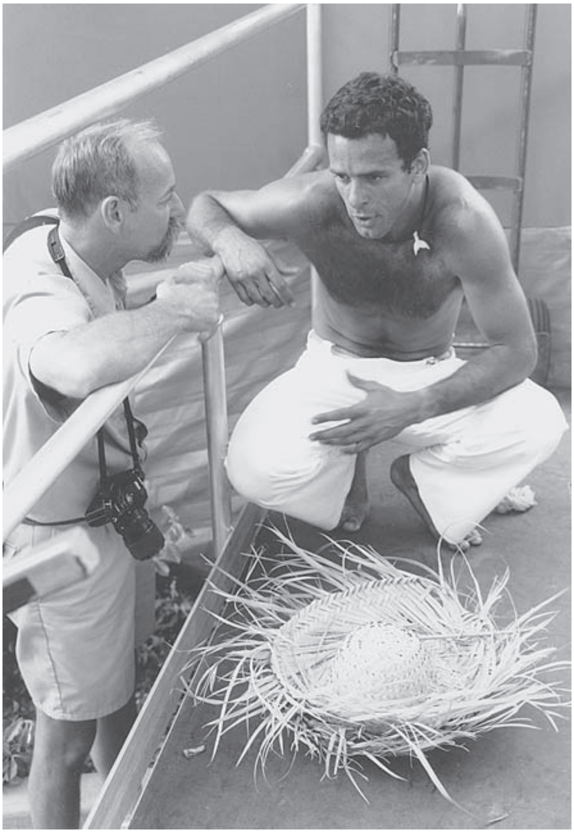
Like Williams, Deirdre Paulsen has combined interests in archiving and working with the public. She has done public presentations, lectures, and demonstrations on how to preserve and archive family stories, family traditions, and material culture. She also published, in 1988, *Preserving the Precious: A Conservation Manual for Paper Documents, Photographs, and Textile Art.*

CONCLUSION

Utah's working folklorists and their research interests are highly varied and extremely diverse. Current themes, trends, and directions in Utah folklore scholarship are even more diverse than the state itself, and this broad foundation can provide future folklorists with research opportunities built on the work of this third generation. Most notable in recent years has been the expansion of research interests from Mormon folklore to the folklore of Utah generally, and from there to the folklore of the American West and to national and international topics. Expanded horizons in folklore theory and the incorporation of perspectives drawn from other fields—anthropology, literature, history, cultural studies, ethnic studies, women's studies, and others—have dramatically changed both the subject matter and the analytical approaches to folklore in the state.

PART III

STUDIES IN UTAH FOLKLORE AND FOLKLIFE



Craig Miller interviews Brazilian capoeira performer Thomaz da Silva at the Living Traditions Festival in Salt Lake City, 1999.

Native American Folklore Studies

Kathryn L. MacKay

Richard Komas was a young Pahvant Ute who grew up at Corn Creek near Fillmore in central Utah. In 1874 he enrolled as a student at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania; the next year he worked for John Wesley Powell at the newly created Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D. C. As Powell described the collaboration in his *Anthropology of the Numa*: ". . . at present I am engaged in writing mythological tales as they are related to me by a Ute Indian who is skilled in such lore. I take them down as he dictates them slowly, word for word, then arrange in an interlinear translation, and then follow with a free translation" (p. 11).

A generation later, in 1910, the ethnographer Edward Sapir worked with another young man from Utah in a study of Ute and Paiute oral texts. Tony Tillohash was a Paiute from Kaibab in southern Utah who was studying at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. Sapir secured employment for Tillohash at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, and Tillohash became not only Sapir's informant and translator but also a first-hand source for a seminar in American Indian linguistics at the university. Sapir praised Tillohash's ". . . unfailing good humor and patience [which] also helped materially to lighten a task that demanded unusual concentration" (*Southern Paiute and Ute*, p. 319).

In the fall of 1939, Anne Milne (Cooke) Smith traveled with fellow students Alden Hayes and Douglas Osborne to various Western Shoshone communities in southwestern Utah and southeastern Nevada. Smith had just completed her Ph.D. dissertation in Yale's Anthropology Department; the thesis argued that the Great Basin constituted a single culture area based on the tales told by its Native people. Deciding to collect Shoshone tales in addition to the Ute tales she had used for her dissertation, Smith was guided to storytellers by fellow anthropologists Julian Steward, Jack Harris, and Omer Stewart.

One of Smith's Native storytellers was a Goshute from Deep Creek, Utah, on the Nevada border. Then in his nineties, he was called "Commodore." Smith commented in her notes that his repertoire was so extensive as to "tire her out." On one occasion, she wrote steadily from 9:30 A.M. until 1:00 P.M.—not directly from the Shoshone, but from the English translation given by Lily Pete. These collections of tales were not published until 1992 and 1993.

In the 1950s, Barre Toelken became connected to the Little Wagon and Yellowman Navajo families living in Montezuma Canyon, Utah. He listened to their stories and took notes out of personal interest. Then in the 1960s, as a folklorist at the University of Oregon, Toelken more deliberately recorded Hugh Yellowman telling stories to his family. Most of the stories were never published and, in the 1990s, after Yellowman's death, Toelken returned the tapes to the family.

In the 1960s, the tobacco heiress Doris Duke funded an ambitious project to conduct oral interviews with Native Americans throughout the United States. The American West Center at the University of Utah directed this work in the Four Corners region. Among the many Utah Indians interviewed by students and staff were Moroni Timbimboo, his wife, and their daughter Mae Parry. These interviews and other materials became part of the study Parry subsequently published on the history of the Northwestern Shoshone.

These examples of collaboration between Utah Native American informants and non-Indian ethnographers are rather typical of the politics of folklore studies. Folklore developed as an academic discipline with uneven power dynamics. The researchers were usually outsiders to the groups they studied and had the power to ask the questions and to collect and dispose of the data in ways that benefited them personally and professionally.

Native American folklore studies are particularly problematic. Researchers in the nineteenth century rushed to collect languages, stories, and artifacts in Native communities even as government policies, federal and local, were deliberately disrupting and destroying those communities—their resources, political and social structures, family and religious traditions. Directives to American Indians from the dominant society were contradictory. On the one hand, programs in education, employment, and government required Native people to assimilate. On the other hand, researchers and collectors required the people to perform their ethnic traditions according to archaic stereotypes.

Well into the twentieth century, researchers sought informants who could give them stories and materials with which the former tried to reconstruct so-called traditional cultures, often ignoring expressions about their informants' "lived lives," which the researchers viewed as evidence of cultural decline rather than cultural inventiveness. Through their publications and museum exhibits, non-Indian researchers became the "translators" of Native experiences for audiences who knew little or nothing of those cultures. Too few public presentations of American Indian folklore—oral and material—were made from the perspective of the members of the producing communities.

Native Americans are among the indigenous peoples who have been most frequently researched. Anthropologists, archeologists, historians, sociologists, linguists have all explained their notions of Indian history and culture—mostly to other non-Indians. And the question about who "owns" the texts, transcripts, recordings, photographs, and artifacts collected by researchers is an ongoing ethical and legal issue in Indian country. In recent years, tribes have begun to demand—and win—increased control over archeological resources and ethnological materials. Tribes are challenging the legal and political powers of scholars who have traditionally viewed themselves as the stewards of Native American cultural expressions. Contemporary efforts at collaboration between tribal groups and museums and academic organizations have only made us more mindful of issues of cultural jurisdiction.

Most Native American folklore studies have been based on limited fieldwork, often conducted during the summer rather than the winter months, the traditional time of storytelling. Ethnographers have for generations sought out not a representative sample of the Native folk group but rather one or a few individuals known for their detailed memories or for their willingness to talk to non-Indians. Researchers have also assumed that ethnicity and the collected "objects" are isomorphically related. And although these studies reflect the interactions of a small number of specific individuals, the products—whether literary, performance, or material—are invariably termed "tribal."

"Because I asked" was the reason Toelken gave for Yellowman's willingness to tell him Coyote stories, give him instructions about hunting rituals, and perform Yeibichei songs. And because other gracious (and occasionally mischievous) persons have been willing (or been persuaded) to share stories, skills, events, expressions, objects, and information with others who "asked," there exist rich collections of Utah American Indian folklore. Most non-Indian scholars have made judgments similar to those of Wick R. Miller, when in 1972 he published work begun in 1965 with Goshute informants. In *Newe Natekwinappeh: Shoshoni Stories and Dictionary*, Miller addressed "the Shoshoni Reader":

> There are some of you who do not think it is good to publish these stories. You argue that the white man has stolen your land and almost everything else belonging to you. Your languages and your traditional stories are some of the few things you have left, and now, some of you say, I am taking them away and making them available to any white man that wants them, and some of whom will use their knowledge against you. . . . I can appreciate the feelings of those of you who say this, but I cannot agree. There are others of you who feel that this important knowledge is being lost, and for this reason it is good to save it by publishing it in a book. With this, I agree. (p. 4)

The modern trend to publish such materials has indeed made the texts more available to Indian and non-Indian alike, but such static presentations only emphasize that the "real text" is the one performed within the folk group. The printed texts are important artifacts, but they are not the culture itself. Hopefully, other Native scholars will be willing to comment and critique these artifacts as has Beverly Crum (Western Shoshone, Owyhee, Nevada) with *Shoshone Tales*, tales collected by Anne Smith in the 1930s but not published until 1993. Crum worked for several years with Miller and has collaborated with other scholars to publish several works in Shoshone language and literature, most recently

Newe Hupia: Shoshoni Poetry Songs. In *Shoshone Tales,* Smith quoted Crum about traditional stories, many of them told originally by Crum's mother, Anna Premo: "Seeing these stories written on paper is a new experience for me. It is an isolating experience because in a 'live setting' the whole family listened and responded vocally to the storyteller. . . . the storyteller would answer questions if you asked" (p. 180).

Studies of the folklore of Utah's American Indians parallel their accessibility as subjects. Many Spanish and other non-Indian travelers into Utah Indian country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries occupied a "middle ground" with the Native peoples—a middle ground of commerce and information transfer. Descriptions of Native lifeways, ceremonies, and economic strategies are scattered through the writings created by explorers, trappers, and traders, such as the descriptions recorded in the 1776 journal kept by Father Escalante on his journey through Utah from Santa Fe. In the 1840s, the non-Indians who came to occupy Utah Indian country were Mormons from the East and Midwest. Their relations with the Native peoples were of ever-increasing subjugation and displacement. Although most Mormons were little concerned about documenting Native ways, stories from Natives were sometimes noted in journals written by Mormons who learned Native languages and then became interpreters and translators of Mormon religious texts, people like Dimick Huntington, George W. Hill, Ammon H. Tenney, and Jacob Hamblin. In 1910, Elijah N. Wilson wrote his memoirs of a youth spent among the Goshutes. And there was created in the twentieth century something of a "literary genre" of Indian stories published under the auspices of the LDS church and written for children without attribution of sources, such as William R. Palmer's *Pahute Indian Legends* (1946) and Milton R. Hunter's *Utah Indian Stories* (four editions between 1946 and 1960).

The deliberate and systematic collection of the folklore of Utah's American Indians has been opportunistic, dependent on available funding and the vagaries of white attitudes towards Indians—the salvage sentiments of the 1800s, the repentant recovery efforts of the 1930s, and the liberal angst of the 1970s. Expertise and funding have been supported by the federal government, such as Powell's fieldwork (1868–1889), and the 1887 recording of the Navajo Mountain Chant by Washington Matthews. Large museums such as the Smithsonian Institution, the University of Pennsylvania Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Museum of the American Indian of the Heye Foundation have over the years sponsored fieldwork to gather tales and artifacts for display and study. The Smithsonian and the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography at Harvard, for example, provided support for Edward Palmer, a professional collector, on his visits to Utah during the 1870s, when he gathered up archeological and ethnographic artifacts from the Southern Paiute Indians. Universities outside of Utah have also sponsored ethnographic studies of Utah's Indians, such as Omer Stewart's study of the Goshutes in the 1930s under the auspices of the University of California and Yvonne Milspaw's work in the 1970s for her Indiana University dissertation on Great Basin oral narratives.

Anthropologists, historians, and folklorists with Utah universities and cultural organizations have developed major studies of American Indians in the latter half of the twentieth century. University of Utah professor Wick Miller and his students worked during the 1970s and '80s on Shoshone linguistics, and oral interviews with Utah Navajos were done in the 1980s under the supervision of Robert McPherson with the San Juan County Historical Commission. In the 1970s and '80s, federal funds available to Utah Indian tribes made possible contracts with the American West Center, University of Utah, which resulted in tribal histories and curriculum materials based on personal narratives, tales, and ethnographic materials collected in the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project and earlier studies. These publications include *Stories of Our Ancestors* by Fred Conetah and others, which assembled fifty-four tales from various collections; *Ute Mountain Ute Stories, Games, and Noise Makers*, published by the Ute Mountain Ute Tribe; *A History of the Northern Ute People* by Kathryn L. MacKay and Fred Conetah; and *Ute Ways* and *The Way It Was Told*, published by the Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe. Support and recognition from the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council since the 1980s has helped sustain Native artists such as the Navajo basketmaker Mary Holiday Black, who received in 1995 a National Heritage Fellowship, the highest honor given to American folk artists.

Ute Folklore

Tales

In 1868, John Wesley Powell (1834–1902), with support from several Illinois educational institutions and the Smithsonian, led a party of volunteers to the Rocky Mountains. This was Powell's second trip to the area as part of his scientific explorations of the West. Although his main goal that winter was to collect geological and geographic data about the region, Powell felt compelled to learn more about the people whose homeland he was exploring. This first systematic study of the Indians of the Colorado Plateau began a thirty-year interest in the Native peoples of the American West. A group of Northern Utes, under Douglass and Antero, were camped near Powell's party on the White River, and Powell spent weeks learning to speak Ute, collecting stories, compiling vocabularies, participating in dances and cures, and trading buckskins for artifacts.

From 1870 through 1873, Powell made several trips to southern Utah and collected tales and miscellaneous ethnographic data from Shivwits and Kaibab Paiutes; in 1871, he collected "Uintah Ute" vocabulary and tale outlines during a trip from the Uintah Indian Agency to Gunnison, Utah. In May 1873, Powell was appointed Special Commissioner of Indian Affairs to investigate the "conditions and wants" of the various Numic-speaking tribes in the Great Basin region. He and G.W. Ingalls met with delegations of Ute, Goshute, and Northwestern and Western Shoshone in Salt Lake City, where Powell collected a "Ute vocabulary" from Pon-pu-war (Jim). In late June, Powell and a group of Indians started south from Salt Lake City, meeting with various groups on the way: Utes at Fillmore and Kanab, a delegation of Goshutes and Paiutes at St. George. Kanosh, a leader of the Pahvant Ute, living at Fillmore, was one of Powell's major informants. On board the Union Pacific train bound east, Powell recorded "Ute Vocabulary" provided by "Joe."

Utes Richard Komas and Wonroan were also informants for the "Ute Vocabulary," and Komas served as an interpreter for the special commission of 1873 before his work on the East Coast. Together he and Powell produced several Ute vocabularies and tale collections. The "Story of the Eagle," told by Komas, is the only extant version of a tale taken down by Powell in text form with interlinear and literal translations.

In 1875, Powell traveled widely over Utah to review the geology of the region. He also met with various Indian groups, made collections of their implements and clothing, and added to his Shoshone vocabulary and collection of tales. Powell spent time in Utah again in 1877, mostly in northern Utah where he collected the "Weber River Ute" vocabulary. In the early 1880s, Powell traveled to Nevada and California to collect tales, vocabularies, and other data from the Northern Paiute and Western Shoshone.

Powell approached the Indians he interviewed and observed with an attitude of genuine curiosity. He spoke Ute and Southern Paiute passably well but on occasion relied on interpreters, including Jacob Hamblin. Powell described his method of inquiry in a publication coauthored with George Ingalls:

> I tell the Indians that I wish to spend some months in their country during the coming year and that I would like them to treat me as a friend. I do not wish to trade; do not want their lands. . . . I tell them that all the great and good white men are anxious to know very many things, that they spend much time in learning, and that the greatest man is he who knows the most; that the white men want to know all about the mountains and the valleys, the rivers and the canyons, the beasts and birds and snakes. . . . I tell them I wish to learn about . . . themselves . . . and that I want to take pictures of everything and show them to my friends.

The tales found in Powell's manuscripts are in English and are summaries of plots rather than literal translations from the Numic languages. He omitted nearly all scatological and sexual references in the tales he collected, and he separated the stylized "songs and chants" within the tales from the tales themselves, making it impossible to understand the relationships between the tales and the songs and the manner in which the informants presented them. Powell believed that grammar reflected evolutionary stages in cultural development; therefore he collected texts to obtain data that informed his great project of classifying tribal relationships in Native North America. Some of the Ute tales were published in 1881 as part of the first annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology; most were not published until Don D. and Catherine S. Fowler edited Powell's *Anthropology of the Numa* for the Smithsonian in 1971.

For some twenty years after Powell's last fieldwork (1880) with Numic peoples in California and Nevada, no ethnographic studies were done among the Ute. Then in 1900, Alfred L. Kroeber (1876–1960)—student of the great anthropologist Franz Boas—collected twelve tales from Uintah Utes, although he did not provide information about his informants. Kroeber's Ute collection reflected his determination (as explained in the preface to his *Handbook of the Indians of California*) to "reconstruct and present the scheme within which these people in ancient and more recent times lived their lives" (p. v) rather than to understand "the relations of the natives with the whites and of the events befalling them after such contact was established" (p. vi).

Ten years later, J. Alden Mason published in the *Journal of American Folklore* thirty tales he had collected in the summer of 1909 from Uintah Utes at White Rocks, Utah. His informants—Snake John, Andrew Frank, and John Duncan—were all respected leaders among the Ute and told the tales to Mason in English. Duncan also translated three tales told by his father Jim. One of the tales, "Wildcat Gets a New Face," was published in Stith Thompson's influential 1928 collection, *Tales of the North American Indians.*

Mason was on an expedition sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and led by Edward Sapir (1884–1939), a linguist who had trained with Boas and worked with Kroeber. Sapir and Mason planned a long-term study of Ute language and culture, but the project was not funded by the museum, although the photographs Sapir took of Ute artifacts, architecture, and activities were published by Anne Smith in her 1974 *Ethnography of the Northern Utes.* Mason transferred to the University of California at Berkeley, where he took his Ph.D. under Kroeber. Sapir remained in Philadelphia and began studying Southern Paiute with Tony Tillohash. Sapir's work with the Southern Paiute and Uintah Ute was the first time that Great Basin folktales were recorded in the narrators' vernacular with careful linguistic analysis. However, Sapir did not publish any of the Ute tales (most of which had been told to him by Charlie Mack) until 1930.

Another Boas student, Leslie Spier (1893–1961), became interested in Native American cultures while working at the American Museum of Natural History. In the 1930s, while teaching at Yale University, Spier supervised the work of Anne M. Cooke (Smith) (1900–1981), who wrote a master's thesis on the material culture of the Northern Ute and wrote "An Analysis of Great Basin Mythology" as her Ph.D. dissertation. The over one hundred stories included in her dissertation were collected in English during the summer of 1936 from more than twenty Uintah, White River, and Uncompahgre informants on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation—some of whom, like John Duncan, had worked with previous investigators. Others who contributed to Smith's research were Stella Kurump, Agnes Marianna, Stella Victor, Kurump (Katie) Longhair, Charlie Wash, Lulu Chapoose, Ruth Narants, Achis Myore, Morgan Grant, Old Mary, Lincoln Picket, Pearl Perika, Archup, Stella LaRose, Arrochis, Alwine, Mamie Alhandra, Liza Mayor, Janie, and Tecumseh Murray.

Following the guidance of her mentors Spier and Sapir, Smith limited her observations about contemporary Ute economics, social organization, or political affairs. She continued the tradition of asking her informants to tell her stories only of origins, the supernatural, and tricksters. The tales were not published until 1992, although in the 1950s Smith used her field notes to testify about "Cultural Differences and Similarities between Uintah and White River Utes" in an Indian Claims Commission case.

When Smith's collection of *Ute Tales* was finally published, the foreword was written by Joseph Jorgensen. As a graduate student at the University of Utah in the 1950s, he worked under the formidable Jesse Jennings, who then dominated Utah archeology. Jorgensen's 1960 master's thesis, "Functions of Ute Folklore," borrowed from the collections of Smith, Mason, and Kroeber and added twenty-three tales that he collected from Katie Longhair, Marianna Provo, Victor Archup, Pearl Perika, Achis and Henry Myore, Mary Noble, Harriet Johnson, Ouray McCook, Maggie Appa, Juanita Groves, and Sarah Hanker. In the thesis, Jorgensen asserted that the old stories were seldom told anymore and no longer functioned to transmit culture and tradition. As Jorgensen matured as a scholar, however, he came to appreciate that folklore is more than old tales not often told but is a range of genres which serve to validate and educate members of the group. Jorgensen continued his field research through the 1960s—expanding to include informants in several Ute and Shoshone communities—and produced a masterful study on *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless* (1972).

Beginning in 1966, American Tobacco Company heiress Doris Duke made yearly grants of money to universities in Arizona, Florida, Illinois, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Utah in support of efforts to collect Native American oral histories. Between 1968 and 1972, graduate students and faculty working for the American West Center, University of Utah, conducted over 1500 interviews with forty-two different tribes or groups, making this the largest of the several state projects. Only one Goshute was interviewed, Maude Moon, who was working in Salt Lake City with Wick Miller; no Utah Navajo was interviewed; and several of the Southern Paiute stories were collected from a non-Indian living in Cedar City. However, many interviews were done at Ute communities in the Uintah Basin and southern Utah. Most of the stories collected have not been published, although increasing numbers of scholars are mining the collection for historical accounts and personal narratives.

The Doris Duke Oral History Project continued the practice of collecting stories mostly from informants living in reservation communities, even though by the 1960s more than half of all American Indians lived in urban areas where employment and education were more available. Hopefully, in the future, there will be more stories collected from urban Indian informants such as the conversations with Utes, Shoshones, and members of other nations documented by Keith Cunningham and published as *American Indians' Kitchen-Table Stories* in 1992.

The Doris Duke project is part of a long tradition of "Indian autobiographies"—American Indian life stories told to non-Indian investigators. An example is *Conversations with Connor Chapoose,* as recorded by Y. T. Witherspoon in 1960 and published in 1993. Chapoose (1905–1961) was a leader on the Uintah-Ouray Reservation, had worked as an interpreter, and was employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1944 he helped establish the National Council of American Indians. The text includes not only Chapoose's history but Ute stories, medicines, and beliefs.

Material Culture

John Wesley Powell's interest in language focused his collecting primarily on verbal lore, but he did collect additional data on many other aspects of Numic life: social organization, curing practices, leadership patterns, and material culture. His collection of material culture, now on deposit at the American Museum of Natural History in Washington, D. C., includes clothing, utensils, saddles, hunting equipment, basketry, games, and toys. That collection was reorganized and stabilized in the 1880s by Otis T. Mason, a curator at the museum, who also began publishing reports on the basketwork, cradles, skin-dressing, arrows, and textile arts of "North American Aborigines." The descriptions, including photographs and sketches, of the collection were published under Powell's name as *Material Culture of the Numa* by Don D. Fowler and John F. Matley for the Smithsonian Institution in 1979.

In 1907, Stewart Culin (1858–1929) included in his massive study, *Games of the North American Indians,* Ute gaming pieces that he had collected and researched; he claimed that this study would direct attention to "the remarkable analogies existing between the oriental and modern European games . . . and those of American Indians" (p. 29).

In the 1930s, Albert Kroeber and Robert Lowie at the University of California, Berkeley, supervised a major research project, initially with funds from the Works Progress Administration, to produce "Cultural Element Distributions" for various Indian groups. One of their graduate students, Omer C. Stewart (1908–1991), who later became professor of anthropology at the University of Colorado, collected information and artifacts from Utes at Myton, Whiterocks, and Randlett, Utah; he published his research in 1942. Anne M. Cooke Smith also collected artifacts on her 1937 trip to the Uintah reservation. Her sketches and photographs of objects and her descriptions of cures, dances, and ceremonies were published in 1974 for the Museum of New Mexico as *Ethnography of the Northern Utes.*

During the 1930s, the Uintah Basin Industrial Convention was held annually at Fort Duchesne. People came from all over the Uintah Basin. Courses were given by professors from the Utah Agricultural College (Utah State University); there were parades and rodeos. At the Indian Fair, non-Indians could buy baskets and leather and beaded goods made by Utes for the tourist trade. In the

The late Billy Mike of the Ute Mountain Ute shows flute-building techniques to Aldean Ketchum, who learned to make and play flutes through a Utah Arts Council apprenticeship, 1990.

1940s, federal employees set up an Arts and Crafts Guild, the Tribal Business Committee loaned money for supplies, and artists were encouraged to create beaded buckskin items. But with little market for the goods, production faltered. More successful in terms of marketing has been the Ute Mountain Indian Pottery project, which was incorporated in the 1970s. Souvenir wares have been mixed with traditional art objects in private and public collections throughout the state.

Ute Mountain Ute traditional artists have also been encouraged and recognized by programs of apprenticeships and awards through the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council. Apprentice Aldean Ketchum was awarded support in 1990 to work with his grandfather, master flute maker Billy Mike, whose father Jim was the guide for William Douglass in the 1909 "discovery" of Rainbow Bridge. Patty Dutchie (1918–1999), master cradleboard maker from White Mesa, received the Governor's Folk Art Award in 1991; her work and that of many other Native craftspeople are part of the state art collection.

Museums such as the Utah Museum of Natural History on the University of Utah campus, the (LDS) Church Museum of History and Art in Salt Lake City, Edge of the Cedars State Park Museum in Blanding, and Iron Mission State Park Museum in Cedar City have archeological and ethnographic collections from various Utah Native communities and regularly present exhibits. However, the first major museum exhibit, "Ute Indian Arts & Culture," to include pre- and post-contact as well as contemporary materials was not assembled until 2000, when the Taylor Museum of Southwestern Studies at the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center brought together pieces from several collections in Utah, Colorado, and elsewhere in a fine celebration of Ute folk arts with an exhibit catalogue edited by William Wroth.

Lifeways and Ceremonies

Northern Ute were included in two major studies of Native American music—those of Frances Densmore in 1922 and of Willard Rhodes in the 1940s. Densmore (1867–1957) began her life's work after hearing Native American music at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. She made her first field expedition in 1903 and became formally employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1907. Of her seventy-nine field trips, Densmore made two into Ute country, in 1914 and 1916. She recorded over one hundred songs from twenty-five singers, including Andrew Frank and Charles Mack, who had worked previously with other ethnographers. Fred Mart, who had attended the Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was Densmore's interpreter. Hers was the first recording of Ute Bear Dance songs.

The recordings of Uintah, White River, and Uncompahgre Utes were all made at Whiterocks, Utah, the headquarters of the Uintah and Ouray Agency and a community in which many other researchers had worked and would work. Densmore recorded songs, took photographs of the singers and musical instruments, and made comparisons of Chippewa, Sioux, and Ute songs with Slovak songs. She made musical notations, took notes on the manner of delivery of the songs, and described the use of the songs—washing the wounded, accompanying hand games, and contributing to storytelling. Densmore even recorded a speech given by Red Cap, one of those who had led nearly four hundred Utes from Utah to South Dakota in 1905 hoping to make an alliance with the Sioux in protest against the opening of the Ute reservation to white settlers. As a consequence, her study is a rich source of information about Ute ceremonial, social, and individual creative expressions. In the 1980s, the Smithsonian Institution, through the Utah Folk Arts Program, returned to the Northern Ute Tribal Business Committee copies of Densmore's recordings and manuscripts.

The second major study of North American Indian music was conducted by Willard Rhodes (1901–1992) between 1940 and 1952. Rhodes, who later became the first professor of ethnomusicology at Columbia University, then worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. With equipment supplied in part by the Library of Congress (which became the depository of the collection), Rhodes recorded the music sung and played for him by members of fifty Indian tribes living primarily in the West. Describing Indian music as "not a relic of the dead past but a vital, dynamic force," Rhodes documented traditional songs, Christian hymns in Native languages, and music of recent composition. In the summer of 1951, Rhodes recorded from informants at Whiterocks thirty-three songs, many of which were peyote songs.

Bear Dance at Randlett on the Uintah-Ouray Northern Ute Reservation, eastern Utah, 2002.

In 1998, Canyon Records released a collection of *Traditional Ute Songs* recorded in 1974 by Southern Ute Sun Dance leader and singer Edward Bent Box, Sr. He and singers from Ignacio, Colorado, and from Allen Canyon and White Mesa, Utah, recorded Ute war dance, Bear Dance, and Sun Dance songs. Box contributed notes for all the selections.

Of all the Ute folkways, none has intrigued scholars more than social and religious ceremonies—the Bear Dance, the Sun Dance, and peyote meetings. Descriptions of the Bear Dance, the only dance originating with the Ute, have been published by Cripple Creek, Colorado mining entrepreneur Verner Z. Reed (1896), University of California at Berkeley anthropologist Robert H. Lowie (1915), BYU archeologist Albert B. Reagan (1930), anthropologist Julian Steward of the University of Utah (1932), Joseph Jorgensen (1964), and ethnologist Anne M. Cooke. There has also been some recent (1999) speculation that two rock art panels in the Uncompahgre Plateau region of western Colorado, one of which is dated as Late Historic Ute (1830–1880), reflect narrative elements and symbolism associated with the dance.

Bear Dance songs often have lyrics, some received by the singers in dreams, more often incorporating local gossip and/or comments on the dancers and thereby reflecting the social nature of the occasion. The Ute Bear Dance, which continues to be held in the spring by both the Northern and White Mesa Ute, has been incorporated into curriculum materials in Utah and Colorado state education systems. A videotape, *The Ute Bear Dance Story,* was produced in the

1980s by Larry Cesspooch in a teenage video workshop and was distributed by Ute Audio-Visual.

In 1890, a Northern Ute medicine man, Grant Bullethead, brought the Sun Dance from the Eastern Shoshone of the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. Comments about and efforts to restrict the Sun Dance on the Northern Ute reservation can be found in the reports of BIA agents of the time. For example, Superintendent Jewell D. Martin failed in 1913 to convince Ute leaders to hold Bear and Sun Dances together at midsummer fairs as a sort of ceremonial sideshow. Mr. Merriman at the Whiterocks Trading Post took photographs of the Bear and Sun Dances in 1900 and J. D. Clark of the Smithsonian did the same in 1906. Robert Lowie (1915) and Frances Densmore (1922) included in their publications brief accounts of the dance from informants. Anne M. Smith claimed that her 1937 description was "possibly the earliest . . . by an eyewitness of a Northern Ute Sun Dance" (*Ethnography*, p. 175). And John A. Jones reported on the Sun Dance for the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1957. Joseph Jorgensen's 1972 analysis continues to be the most complete ethnohistory to date on the subject.

Sam Lone Bear, an Oglala Sioux, had introduced the peyote crossfire ritual to the Northern Ute in 1914, and the intrepid Anne M. Smith claimed to have been the first white person on the Uintah Reservation to attend a peyote meeting. Her personal narrative of that event, in her 1974 ethnography, is vivid and poignant (p. 167). While collecting materials in 1938, Omer Stewart also observed and participated in an all-night peyote meeting held on the Ute Mountain Ute reservation. Stewart was then finishing his graduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and he became an advocate for American Indian religious freedom, publishing several articles and a monograph cowritten with David F. Aberle, *Navajo and Ute Peyotism* (1957). In that text, Stewart notes his work with Harriet Tavapont, an informant for several anthropologists, and includes photos of Snake John, Charlie Mack, Peatch, Tabioque, and Ebenezer.

Finally, John R. Alley, Jr. surveyed the impact of the first Euro-Americans in his article summarizing the impact of the fur trade on Northern Ute and Southern Paiute hunting and customs. Stephen P. Van Hoak conducted a similar historical survey to analyze the effects of the acquisition of horses on Ute foodways, myths, and hunting practices.

Southern Paiute Folklore

Tales

In 1870, John Wesley Powell received a congressional appropriation to continue his explorations of the Colorado River. He arrived in Salt Lake City in August and, on the advice of LDS church leader Brigham Young, secured the services of Jacob Hamblin as guide and go-between with the Indians. Powell and Hamblin met Chuarumpeak, the leader of the Kaibab Paiute band, and some of his people on the headwaters of the Sevier River in early September. Powell and Hamblin also met with members of the Shivwits band and in the fall traveled to the Hopi mesas. In December, Powell and Hamblin went to Fort Defiance, New Mexico, where they negotiated a peace settlement between the Navajos and the Mormons. Over the next several years, as Powell continued his fieldwork in the Rocky Mountains, he recorded tales, lifeways, and language, collecting materials from Southern Paiutes, Utes, Goshutes, and Shoshones.

Powell's work with Southern Paiutes was not extended by scholars for some decades, not until the remarkable collaboration between anthropologist Edward Sapir and Southern Paiute informant Tony Tillohash. Sapir (1884–1939) began studying the language with Tillohash in 1910. Their collaboration, which produced published texts and a collection of recorded songs still archived at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, resulted in what has been called the most artful grammatical description ever written of an American Indian language. Tillohash analyzed his native language, told stories, sang songs, and made study models of traditional Southern Paiute weapons and utensils—a remarkable outpouring of individual and cultural expression. Not until 1930 was the *Southern Paiute* study published, and it was 1992 before the 209 Southern Paiute song texts that Sapir collected from Tillohash were published as part of Sapir's *Collected Works*. Annotations were provided by Robert Franklin and Pamela Bunte, with notes by Thomas Vennum, Jr. on the musical transcriptions which had originally been prepared by Sapir's father, Jacob Sapir.

Knowledgeable and creative, Tillohash continued to collaborate with other scholars as they furthered their professional careers. Robert H. Lowie (1883–1957), whose first fieldwork was with the Shoshone, spent his professional lifetime working with American Indian folklore, which he considered the "remnant" necessary to study cultures that he thought were disappearing. Lowie did not list Tillohash as an informant, but the largest group of Southern Paiute tales that he published in 1924 were from the Shivwits community where Tillohash lived (the remainder were from Moapa). Lowie's student Isabel T. Kelly (1906–1982) did acknowledge Tillohash as guide and informant through the years of her work with Southern Paiute shamanism (1939) and ethnography (1964). Her informants at Kaibab were Captain George, Sarah Frank, Little Jim, and Peter Henderson. Kelly also used Sapir's notes and his photographs of Tillohash demonstrating the uses of various artifacts. Tillohash also worked with Philip Drucker, Omer C. Steward, Robert Euler, and Catherine Fowler; as late as 1967, he was interviewed for several hours by Fowler for the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project.

By the 1940s, several scholars had developed specializations in Great Basin folklore and anthropology. Like Powell, many of these scholars worked with Ute, Paiute, Goshute, and Western Shoshone sources. For example, Julian Steward (1902–1972) studied Owens Valley (California) Paiute (1936), Northern and Goshute Shoshone (1943), and White River Ute (1953). His colleague Robert Manners (1913–1996) studied Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi (1974), and Robert C. Euler studied several Paiute groups; his *Southern Paiute Ethnohistory* was published in 1966. Omer C. Stewart did fieldwork in 1937–1938 "to ascertain the culture of various groups of Goshute, Ute, Southern Paiute, and Navajo Indians as they were before the advent of European culture," even though he admitted "an absolute accurate reconstruction of the culture of any of the groups represented is impossible at this time" ("Ute-Southern Paiute," p. 231). Stewart worked with Southern Paiutes Rosie Timmican, Frank Mustache, Annie Harrison, Sarah Williams, Dick Indian, Little Jim Smoke, and Joe Frances and Dagaibitsi from the San Juan community.

These scholars were all expert witnesses in the Southern Paiute cases before the Indian Claims Commission (1946–1978). The Act establishing the ICC gave carte blanche to "any Indian tribe, band, or other identifiable group of American Indians residing within the territorial limits of the United States" to file claims against the federal government for land lost without due process transfer of title, for unfulfilled treaty obligations, and for other federal violations of tribal rights. The key to a successful ICC claim was proof by a tribe that it had held exclusive occupation of a clearly defined area "from time immemorial" until some specified date, when it was lost to federal malfeasance. Attorneys for the five groups of Paiutes in Utah and Arizona and unaffiliated off-reservation Paiutes filed a land claim in 1951, asking for compensation for unlawful seizure of tribal territory by the United States. Omer C. Stewart testified for the Southern Paiute, and Julian Steward, Robert Manners, and Robert Euler for the government. The accumulated body of research in Southern Paiute folklore, ethnography, linguistics, and history was used in many of the case arguments—with, as Martha C. Knack says in her 2001 book on the Southern Paiute, Omer C. Stewart "systematically and scathingly rebutt[ing]" (p. 248) the government witnesses. At the end of the hearing, the Southern Paiute were awarded a judgment of $8.25 million as compensation (1965). In the meantime, however, the federal government had terminated four small reservations in southern Utah and withdrawn from its trust relationship with the Paiute. Only a small community near Cedar City remained intact, its land owned by the Mormon Church.

After termination and despite the distribution of land-claims money, Utah Paiutes remained poor, contacts with non-Indian neighbors and institutions remained minimal, and few scholars concerned themselves with the traditions or lived strategies of the Southern Paiute. In the 1960s, research on Southern Paiute ethnography and ethnohistory was conducted by Robert Euler, Catherine S. Fowler, and others in conjunction with the Upper Colorado River Basin Archaeological Salvage Project of the University of Utah. About the same time, the Native American Rights Fund was invited to send a team to investigate ways to improve Paiute housing. The NARF investigator, Martha C. Knack, conducted interviews, assembled field notes, and did archival research on Southern Paiute history, religion, and folklore. With support from non-Indian and Paiute advocates, an effort began to restore federal recognition of the five groups of Utah Southern Paiutes as an Indian tribe. That effort culminated in the 1980 Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah Restoration Act.

San Juan Southern Paiutes live at Willow Springs, Arizona, and at Navajo Mountain on the Arizona-Utah border. This Paiute group was never officially recognized by the federal government, but with the Paiute restoration, San Juan leaders petitioned under the Federal Acknowledgment Program and were awarded federal legal status in 1990. At that time they were the only Southern Paiute tribe still making everyday use of the language and with children still able to speak it. In recent years, the tribe has contracted with anthropologists and linguists, including Pamela A. Bunte and Robert J. Franklin, to record language and narratives as part of a revitalization program; they published a study in 1967.

During the decade of restoration efforts, several Southern Paiutes were interviewed by researchers with the Doris Duke Oral History Project. Most of the stories collected have still not been published. In 1992, however, LaVan Martineau (1932–2000) published his collection *The Southern Paiutes: Legends, Lore, Language, and Lineage,* taking pride in his status as an amateur and not a scholar.

Material Culture

Scholars have been deeply involved in the collecting of materials produced by Southern Paiutes, materials which are now housed in several state and national museums. The most comprehensive ethnographic collections of the Southern Paiute are those amassed by Sapir and Kelly. Omer Stewart in the 1930s investigated and reported on the phenomenon of Ute and Paiute weavers in southern Utah producing basketry—particularly black, red, and white wedding baskets—to Navajo specifications. However, that tradition has declined. In 1986, the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian in Santa Fe produced a major exhibit called *Translating Tradition: Basketry Arts of the San Juan Paiutes.* The catalogue of that exhibit included analysis by Pamela A. Bunte and biographical profiles of the weavers and their students.

Lifeways and Ceremonies

The Round Dance is the oldest and most widespread dance style in the Great Basin. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, in his narrative of the second Powell expedition down the Green and Colorado rivers, described a Kaibab Southern Paiute Round Dance, and Powell collected two Kaibab songs from the occasion, suggesting to later scholars that the Round Dance may have included a kind of antiphonal call-and-response pattern. The Round Dance developed into other dance forms, some of which continue to be practiced, such as the Turkey Dance and the Ladies' Choice Dance.

One important still-practiced ceremony among the Southern Paiute is the Cry, or Mourning Ceremony, which was probably adopted from Southern California Paiute groups in the late 1800s and was described by Sapir in 1912. Holding the ceremony a year or more after a death, kin shared and exchanged food and gifts in honor and memory of the deceased. Often, objects such as baskets made for the occasion were destroyed in a ceremonial burning. Family members sang songs that had come to them in dreams or been learned from other singers. Nowadays the Cry is usually combined with the funeral.

To celebrate their restoration to federal tribal status, the Southern Paiute held a "Restoration Gathering and Pow Wow" in 1980. Since then, the spring powwow (spelling of the word varies) has become an annual event. Other powwows are held throughout the state—some, like the Northern Ute Pow-Wow, are long-standing events; others, like the Native American Festival at Liberty Park in Salt Lake City, held in conjunction with the Days of '47 Parade on 24 July, are of more recent origin. Other tribal gatherings around the state include the Heber Valley Pow Wow, the Utah International Veterans' Day Pow Wow in Murray, the West Valley City Contest Pow Wow, a Goshute-sponsored Pow Wow in Tooele County, the Ute Thanksgiving Pow Wow at Fort Duchesne, the Thunderbird Contest in Cedar City, the White Mesa Ute Bear Dance near Blanding, the Northern Navajo Fair in Bluff, and the Native American Arts Festival near Monticello. Powwows are also sponsored by Native American student organizations at various Utah colleges and universities.

GOSHUTE FOLKLORE

Tales and Lifeways

In 2000, the children and teachers of Ibapah Elementary School retold and illustrated *Pia Toya: A Goshute Indian Legend.* The lively story and vibrant colors of the text are a determined assertion of Goshute culture and identity. The Goshute people who live on the Deep Creek Reservation, which straddles the Utah-Nevada border, number about ninety; other Goshutes live to the east on the Skull Valley Reservation. When Powell and Ingalls reported the number of Goshutes in Utah in the 1870s, they offered a figure of 256. This small population and isolated homeland have not attracted many researchers since to Goshute folklore and ethnography.

However, in the 1910s, as the federal government was establishing the two small reservations for the Goshute, University of Utah ethnobotanist and historian Ralph V. Chamberlin reported on his 1906–1910 fieldwork among the Goshute in "Place and Personal Names of the Gosiute . . ." and "Ethnobotony of the Gosiute Indians." In the 1930s, Omer C. Stewart and Julian H. Steward both included Goshute informants in their cultural element distribution studies of American Indians in the Great Basin. Stewart worked with Commodore, Tom Badger, and John Pete at Deep Creek; Steward worked with Grouse Creek Jack and Moody. He also worked with Northwestern Shoshones Ray Diamond and his sister Rachel Perdache at Washakie, and with Joe Pikavits, a Southern Paiute who lived with survivors of the Pahvant Ute community at Kanosh. Also in that decade, Brigham Young University archeologist Albert Reagan published Goshute tales and history in LDS church magazines, following up with a 1934 article for the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters.

Anne M. Smith's research companion, Alden Hayes, reported in 1940 on his observations of the "Peyote Cult on the Gosiute Reservation at Deep Creek, Utah." Photographs of Goshute at Deep Creek in the 1930s are part of the Vyrie Grey Collection at the Marriott Library, University of Utah. Carling Malouf included photographs of informants and material culture in his 1940 study, *The Gosiute Indians.* Malouf continued his fieldwork at intervals, publishing additional studies and coauthoring, with University of Utah anthropologist Elmer R. Smith, speculations about "Some Gosiute Mythological Characters and Concepts" (1947), an article based on a few partial tales remembered by a single Goshute narrator.

Wick Miller published Goshute tales in the Shoshone language as part of his 1960s Shoshoni Dialect Project sponsored by the National Science Foundation. Maude Moon (Pattun), then in her seventies, told Miller nearly fifty stories and an equal number of ethnographic and historical accounts. Other Goshute informants—Minnie Bonamont Bishop, Jimmy Steele, and Mabel Pugie—gave Miller nearly one hundred stories and historical accounts. Steele's sister, Lillie Pete, and her daughter, Genevieve Henroid, also helped Miller with the translations and transcriptions.

Material Culture

Basketry is an important tradition among the Goshute, as it was among all the Numic peoples. Powell collected baskets from the Southern Paiute, White River Ute, and Deep Creek Goshute. Omer Stewart collected baskets at Ibapah in the 1930s, Malouf in the 1940s. In 1986, two Goshute basketmakers, Molly McCurdy (1908–1999) and Mollie Bonamont (1908–1994) were given the Governor's Folk Arts Award in recognition of their fine work. Both women made cradleboards, baskets, and buckskin work gloves which were prized by tribal members and non-Indian ranchers alike. Members of the Bonamont family were informants for Julian Steward in the 1930s, Wick Miller in the 1960s, and Margaret K. Brady in the 1980s.

NORTHWESTERN SHOSHONE FOLKLORE

Tales

In 1995, the Northwestern Band of Shoshone numbered 454 members. The tribe staffed two offices to serve tribal members—one in Blackfoot, Idaho, and the other in Brigham City, Utah. In 2003, the Trust for Public Land, with support from the American West Heritage Center, turned over to the tribe twenty-six of the 1,200 acres designated in 1990 by the National Park Service as a National Historic Landmark: the site of the Bear River Massacre (1863) in northern Utah near the Idaho border. There is no Northwestern Shoshone Reservation; this land is the only land owned by the tribe, although tribal members had occupied from 1880 to 1960 a nearby tract of land purchased by the LDS church for the

David Stanley interviews Mae Parry of the Shoshone tribe in Centerville, 1988. Mrs. Parry was chairwoman and historian of the tribe as well as a skilled beadworker.

settling of Shoshones converted to Mormonism, a settlement named after the respected Eastern Shoshone leader Washakie (1804–1900).

There have been two major Northwestern Shoshone writers: Willie Ottogary and Mae Parry. Ottogary (c. 1867–1929) was a leader of the Washakie Shoshone in the 1910s. He represented the Northwestern Shoshone in Washington, D.C., in several negotiations over land and resources, and he supported the 1917–1918 draft-resistence activities among the Goshute. From 1906 through 1929, Ottogary wrote over 400 letters published in *The Journal* (a Logan, Utah, newspaper), the *Tremont Times*, and the *Box Elder Journal.* These letters included personal narratives about his life, his farm work, and his travels, along with the doings of Washakie people, social activities, Sun Dances, and special occasions. He wrote about land issues, new technological innovations, economic development, everyday life. The letters to *The Journal* were republished in 1967, with a larger collection in 2000.

Mae Parry is the great-granddaughter of Northwestern Shoshone leader Sagwich Timbimboo, granddaughter of Yeager Timbimboo, and daughter of Moroni Timbimboo. In other words, she is descended from survivors of the Bear River Massacre. Parry reports that Yeager would tell the grandchildren the story of the massacre over and over again until she had memorized it. Parry continued this tradition with her own family members with support from a 1991 Utah Folk Arts Apprenticeship Grant. Parry first published her family's account of the massacre in 1976 as "Massacre at Bia Ogoi." She was the major informant for Scott

R. Christensen in his 1999 study of *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822–1884.* And Parry used her own collection of personal narratives, historical accounts, and reminiscences for her major study of "The Northwestern Shoshone" published in *A History of Utah's American Indians,* edited by Forrest S. Cuch.

NAVAJO FOLKLORE

Tales

The Navajo are one of the most frequently researched groups of Indians in North America. Anthropologists, archeologists, sociologists, and historians have all taken turns explaining their views of Navajo history and culture. Navajo tales, materials, and ceremonies fill publications and museum collections. The folklore of the Utah Northern Navajo, fewer in numbers and living in greater isolation, is less studied.

One of the earliest versions of a Navajo ceremonial to have been directly translated with accuracy was collected by an army medical doctor and friend of John Wesley Powell, Washington Matthews (1843–1905), who worked in 1887 with a Navajo named Juan. *The Mountain Chant,* published first in the Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1887), has become a literary classic. The ceremony expresses Navajo sanctity of place through references to the northern part of Navajo land, although the ceremony observed by Matthews took place twenty miles northwest of Fort Wingate, Arizona. Matthews seems to have had great respect for the Navajo who invited him to witness the public performances of the chant, and he tried to capture the poetry of the performance—although later scholars suggest he breached confidence in publishing his information. He did excise sexually explicit burlesque portions, which were not published until 1997.

The western writer Charles Kelly (1889–1971) interviewed Hoskaninni Begay in 1939 (with Ray Hunt as interpreter) in Begay's hogan near Goulding's Trading Post in Monument Valley. Begay was the son of Hoskaninni (also Hoskinnini), who led his family and friends into hiding near Navajo Mountain during the 1863 roundup of Navajos by troops under the command of Col. Christopher "Kit" Carson. Kelly asked Begay about his father's life and his own. Begay "answered the innumerable questions put to him without hesitation and, I believe, with the utmost honesty. He was glad to know that the story of his family was to be recorded in permanent form," which it was, in 1953.

Another Utah Navajo autobiography is *The Journey of Navajo Oshley, An Autobiography and Life History.* Winston Hurst, while studying the Navajo and Ute community near Westwater Canyon for a master's degree at Eastern New Mexico University, recorded fourteen interviews with Oshley, whose son was a schoolmate. Oshley was again interviewed in 1968 as part of the Doris Duke Oral History Project. Robert S. McPherson edited transcripts of the Hurst tapes for the 2000 publication. Interviews from the Doris Duke Project also brought together Navajo informant and writer Clyde Benally with members of the American West Center staff to produce for the San Juan School District *Dineji Nakeé Naahane: A Utah Navajo History.*

In 1971, a number of Utah Navajo became concerned about the constantly rising water level of Lake Powell and its possible adverse consequences for Rainbow Bridge, a sacred site for the Navajo. Karl Luckert, professor of religious studies at Southwest Missouri State University, was asked to document the sacred significance of Rainbow Bridge. In 1973 he secured a grant through the Smithsonian's Urgent Anthropology Program (begun in 1966 to support research on cultures undergoing rapid change) to tape the Navajo Coyoteway Myth. Luckert's work was used in a lawsuit filed in behalf of the Navajo singers to prevent Lake Powell water from reaching the bridge; the study was published in 1977.

Since he began working for the Utah Navajo Development Council in the 1970s, Robert McPherson has become the major scholar of the Utah Navajo. He has developed his studies with support from the San Juan County Historical Commission and in interactions with his students at the Blanding campus of the College of Eastern Utah. His 1992 publication, *Sacred Land, Sacred View: Navajo Perceptions of the Four Corners Region,* and his 2001 publication, *Navajo Land, Navajo Culture: The Utah Experience in the Twentieth Century,* are both rich in stories, experiences, and comments from Navajo informants.

McPherson was also the first editor of *Blue Mountain Shadows,* a journal dedicated to the folklore and history of San Juan County. The publication, which began in 1987 as an oral history project by a group of high-school students, has included interviews and reminiscences by American Indians living in the county. In 1990, for example, Barre Toelken told the life story of weaver Zonnie Johnson in "Traditional Navajo Arts in Southeastern Utah."

Toelken (see chapter 11) collected Navajo stories for over forty years, principally from Hugh Yellowman (Zonnie Johnson's son) with whose family Toelken lived in the 1950s. The Yellowman tapes included Coyote stories, Yeibichei songs, instructions about hunting rituals and various crafts, and histories of early Navajo settlement. Although Toelken used these tapes as resources for his teaching and his publications—one story was included in the *Norton Anthology of American Literature*—he eventually decided to return the tapes to the Yellowman family, supposing that they would be destroyed and explaining that Navajo culture did not really exist in its "documented expressions" but rather in its "live interactions." Toelken determined that the tapes belonged to the Yellowman family and not to him nor to the rest of the world.

Material Culture

The Edge of the Cedars Museum in San Juan County has offered several exhibits and Indian fairs featuring Navajo storytellers, artists, and dancers. This organization, along with *Blue Mountain Shadows* and the San Juan County Historical Commission, have extensive collections of primary documents, artifacts, photographs, and materials from Ute, Paiute, and Navajo residents.

However, most of this material is not accessible to the general public or to Native communities.

Increasingly available to the public, for purchase and on exhibit, are Utah Navajo baskets. In the relatively isolated area of Douglas Mesa, the Bitsinnie, Black, and Rock families continue to make ceremonial baskets for use by the many medicine men within their community. The basket-makers were encouraged by the Simpsons, a family of traders who had owned the Blue Mountain Trading Post in Blanding before moving to Bluff where they started Twin Rocks Trading Post in 1989. Members of the basket-making families began experimenting with weaving techniques to produce a new genre: the Navajo pictorial basket. The numbers, figures, and colors woven into the baskets reference Navajo ceremonial life. The design ideas of these families have revolutionized and revitalized basket weaving in the area. The Utah Folk Arts Program gave additional support to Mary Holiday Black and nine of her eleven children who have become proficient at weaving both classic and pictorial baskets. Black once explained her work: "There are many basket stories; if we stop making the baskets, we lose the stories." In 1995, she became the first Utahn and first Navajo folk artist to receive a National Heritage Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts. The Douglas Mesa artists were featured in the 1996 publication *Willow Stories: Utah Navajo Baskets*, edited by Carol Edison. Mary Holiday Black is also one of the basket-makers featured in Susan Brown McGreevy's *Indian Basketry Artists of the Southwest: Deep Roots, New Growth.*

Conclusion

Studies of Utah American Indian folklore have involved many indigenous teachers who took on as apprentices non-Indian ethnographers, linguists, historians, and anthropologists to serve mainly the ends of the researchers: intellectual curiosity, personal enrichment, professional advancement. Out of the interactions of these individuals, out of first-hand experiences of trying to understand the ways of existence of living people, have been created rich repositories of cultural materials—personal and tribal histories, law, religion, linguistics, medical practices, entertainment, arts, music. Most of this material has been disseminated to non-Indian audiences, although some has been used to replenish indigenous sources of identity.

A common aim of tribal communities is to persist and to flourish as distinct entities within the dominant economic and legal structures of American society. The Native groups of Utah have fought to retain and expand land bases, to restore their federal legal status, to reestablish claims over sacred and significant sites. From studying people as artifacts to mutually satisfying collaborations, from collecting only certain "tribal" works of lore to celebrating the individual capacity to transcend culture-specific codes, American Indian folklore scholarship is in constant motion. The politics of expression and disclosure must ever be negotiated. The power of cultural expressions that nourish the human spirit must ever be affirmed.

Mormon Folklore Studies

Jill Terry Rudy

The first folklore item I collected in my "Introduction to Folklore" class as an undergraduate in 1987 was the story of the Bountiful Witch. As I heard it, an old pioneer woman put the evil eye on a little boy in her Bountiful, Utah, neighborhood. The boy became sick and remained so until some women in his Mormon congregation met in a barn to reverse the spell by ripping apart a chicken and having the boy eat the heart and drink the blood. When the boy recovered, the women knew a witch had put a spell on him. My roommate told me this story when asked if she knew any folklore I could collect for my class assignment. The pioneer past, the evil eye, a witch, and a gruesome deed to destroy a spell assured me that the story I turned in would definitely be folklore.

When Professor William A. "Bert" Wilson returned my collected item, I found that my story was folkloric in a way much more interesting than just the demonstration of the continuity of superstitious beliefs in Mormon Utah. I learned that the story had circulated in both oral and print versions and that various performances of the story contained striking similarities but also some differences. My roommate told me that she had heard the story from her professor during a discussion of the Salem witch trials; she thought the professor told the story to show that even pioneer Mormons could believe in witches, not just New England Puritans. In responding to my item, Wilson explained that he had read the story in a project submitted by one of his graduate students several years before and remembered telling the story to my roommate's professor. I also learned that the Bountiful Witch narrative was originally collected from a masterful storyteller, and in that context, it was appreciated as a family story that demonstrated the fortitude of the narrator's ancestor. If studying folklore meant I could spend time hearing intriguing stories, pondering how traditional expressions reflect or contradict cultural norms, and discovering how the meaning of a narrative changes from one teller and performance situation to another, I was hooked.

I did not know that Mormon traditions had been studied since the 1930s until Wilson asked me in 1988 to write an entry on Mormon folklore for the *Utah Folklife Newsletter*. At that time I concluded the essay by saying that "the purpose of Mormon folklore study will remain to explore and understand the

Mormon ethos as it is created and maintained by a wide variety of folkloric expressions of belief and custom." In returning to that assertion many years later, I am inclined to ask "why?" Why have folklorists in and out of the religious group identified Mormon folklore as a significant subject for study? Why do Mormons remain both an intriguing subject and an ongoing part of folklore as a profession? And, finally, why and how is the Mormon ethos perpetuated through traditional expressions?

To answer these questions, Wilson rightly asserts that folklore can be an uncertain mirror for cultural truths, and much of Mormon folklore study—if it focuses primarily on Utah Mormons and supernatural stories—will miss the mark of understanding the Mormon ethos. Yet Mormon experiences remain an integral part of life in Utah, and people continue to tell Three Nephite and other supernatural stories. Further, Mormon experiences correspond with other significant human experiences; conversion, migration, persecution, and rites of passage apply to other groups as well as Mormons. As Wilson has said, Mormons as religious individuals express through traditions "their need for security, their quest for meaning, their desire for the continuance of what they cherish most" ("The Concept of the West," p. 189). To study Mormon folklore, then, is to contemplate what it means to live on earth with dedication to the glory of God, a glory that for members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints still is grounded in practicing the principles that they believe lead to immortality and eternal life.

MORMONS AS "THE FOLK" AND MORMON LORE AS OBJECT OF STUDY

By choice and historical circumstances, members of the LDS Church have been recognized as a distinctive group from the church's founding. Organized officially in upstate New York in 1830, the church began with Joseph Smith's stories of heavenly visitations of God and Jesus Christ, the appearance of other angelic messengers, and the translation of new scripture, *The Book of Mormon*, from ancient golden plates. Wilson asserts in *The Handbook of American Folklore* that even in the nineteenth century, such claims "found themselves in conflict with mainstream America" and contributed to names, stories, and customs repeated and perpetuated by outsiders. Therefore, Wilson concludes, "The first folklore having to do with Mormons was probably that created about them by their enemies," including the initially derogatory nickname "Mormon" itself (p. 155). Perhaps the next type of folklore reflecting on the Mormon experience was narrative songs recounting in a favorable light the founding of the religion, the persecutions against the people, the trek across the plains, and the settlement of the West. Often these songs, such as "Brighter Days in Store," added new lyrics to familiar tunes, as Thomas E. Cheney showed in his *Mormon Songs*. "Brighter Days," a Mormon version of Stephen Foster's "Hard Times Come Again No More," includes references to historical events involving Joseph Smith, the grasshopper and cricket infestations, and "mobbers" (p. 92). The song conveys the optimistic worldview that despite persecutions and problems there will be "brighter days in store."

In the mid-twentieth century, traditional Mormon song materials were collected and published by Cheney, Austin and Alta Fife, Lester Hubbard, Levette Davidson, and other collectors with ties to Utah and/or Mormon heritage. In addition to studying Mormon songs, folklorists gathered other types of lore such as Three Nephite stories, beliefs, and customs. *Saints of Sage and Saddle* by the Fifes remains the most complete book-length treatment of Mormon folklore. Austin Fife may have overstated the case in claiming that "were every other document destroyed, it would still be possible, from the folk songs alone, to reconstruct in some detail the story of [Mormon] theology, their migrations, their conflicts with the Gentiles" (quoted in Cheney, p. xi). However, Fife's suggestion that the Mormon story could be reconstructed from folksongs demonstrates why Mormons were identified as a folk group with lore that deserved to be studied. Mormons and "anti-Mormons," or outsiders to the group, told stories, sang songs, and repeated customs and beliefs about members of the church. Mormons were a self-proclaimed "peculiar people" who had a distinctive range of traditions that matched what folklorists had studied and collected for more than a hundred years.

From at least the eighteenth century, "the folk" were conceptualized as lower-class, agrarian, and communal. The lore associated with the folk was therefore assumed to have artistic features which revealed, in a formal, patterned way, a people's values and ways of life. Many ballad collectors in the 1700s and 1800s subscribed to and promoted the idea that songs of the common people revealed the national character. These scholars assumed that stories and customs were elemental, even ancient, forms of poetic human expression; they saw in ballads and other types of lore a paradoxical blend of authentic humanity that could be heroic or common and was at once universal and yet particular to a people, place, or nation. They also assumed that peasants and common people maintained a sense of naturalness and simplicity through their expressions, even as the modern world and art became more rational and complex. While ballad collectors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries tended to prize the simple beliefs and expressions of the folk, early anthropologists such as Edward B. Tylor found old-time expressions and customs to be curious survivals from an earlier stage of human development. Those folklorists who viewed traditions as being at odds with civilization and modern life also believed that education would be an important way to uproot irrational lore.

Sometimes folklorists held both views: that the lore was artistically sound in a simple, natural way and that it was destined to be perpetuated by a people who remained quaint, backward, and out of touch with modern society. When the American Folklore Society was organized by William Wells Newell and other intellectuals in the 1880s, they recognized that America did not have a peasant class but rather groups with a distinctive heritage whose lore should be collected and published. By the 1930s, scholars who had been raised in the West recognized that Mormons had songs and stories similar to those that folklorists were collecting in other areas of the country and world. Even at mid-twentieth century, Mormons remained a close-knit minority who were still relatively isolated geographically and who maintained distinctive customs and beliefs.

The geographic isolation of the group definitely contributed to the identification of Mormons as a people ideal for folklore collecting. The physical location of the group in Utah and other western settlements gave folklorists an easy explanation for cultural coherence and unique traditions. Writing of Mormon songs in 1945, Levette Davidson of the University of Denver explained, "The migration of the Saints to the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 and the years following, resulted in a geographical isolation which permitted cultural inbreeding and encouraged communal life" (273). He presented his collection of songs as traditions that deserved study because they were "surviving from earlier times" and represented the more folkloric era of Mormon geographic and cultural isolation. In this essay and in other articles by Wayland Hand, the Fifes, and Hector Lee, it is the lingering elements and expressions of the Mormon past that interest these folklorists and, presumably, their reading audience. Others also began to acknowledge a distinctly Mormon place and culture. Wallace Stegner wrote *Mormon Country* in the early 1940s at the same time that many collections of Mormon folklore were being published, giving the people a distinctive status in the American West. A leading American folklorist, Richard M. Dorson, identified Utah Mormons as a distinct regional group in his 1959 book, *American Folklore.* Studies of vernacular architecture and material culture conducted by the Fifes and others both confirmed and sometimes challenged the idea of a distinct Mormon cultural region in the Great Basin.

The identification of Mormons as "folk," however, had more to do with distinctive beliefs and customs than with geographic isolation and an agrarian way of life. Mormons made good folk for study because, in addition to being associated with a particular region, they maintained through stories and customs their distinctive beliefs. While Mormon songs were collected because they revealed the history and values of the group, the Three Nephite legends appealed to folklorists because they showed the supernatural base of much Mormon thought. The stories usually describe the miraculous appearance of a man or, more rarely, two or three men who provide help, advice, or warning before disappearing in a mysterious way. The men are assumed to be the three Book of Mormon apostles who were granted their desire to remain on earth doing good works until the second coming of Christ. As with the Bountiful Witch story and its supernatural elements, some folklorists—including Lee, Hand, and the Fifes—recognized in Mormon traditions and belief an acceptance of supernatural occurrences that seemed antithetical to modern society, and thus quite folkloric. Following the lead of folklore collectors from Utah, Dorson identified Three Nephite stories as "one supreme legend," an important type of narrative involving claims to truth, historical characters, and/or supernatural happenings. Dorson explained his interest in Three Nephite stories and in Mormons as a folk group: "Mormon theology invited folklore of the supernatural with its strong commitment to intuitive knowledge and extrasensory experience" (p. 115). This "intuitive knowledge and extrasensory experience," probably called revelation and testimony by faithful Mormons, remains a sensitive and important consideration for Mormon folklore studies.

Mormons as Ongoing Subject in Folklore Studies

From the Grimms' publication of tales to Francis James Child's collection of English and Scottish ballads, scholars worked toward the goal of turning oral traditions into written texts for comparative study. This goal complemented, and sometimes overshadowed, the desire to represent and understand a group through its traditional expressions. To salvage what was thought to be perishable lore, many of the early published works on Mormon folklore contained numerous complete texts and some fragments of songs and stories from folklorists' fieldwork and from printed sources. Following standard methodologies of the time, most publications gave minimal analysis of either the texts or the contexts in which the traditions were collected or performed. Lester A. Hubbard and LeRoy J. Robertson's article, "Traditional Ballads from Utah" (1951) is an excellent example of trends in folklore studies that extended from the nineteenth into the twentieth centuries. The article published nine Child ballads that Hubbard had collected in Utah, songs identified by Child and indexed by his name and a classification number. In the article's introduction, Hubbard gives a short discussion of performance contexts and explains that British converts to the church remembered the songs and sang them to their children and grandchildren when they moved to Utah (pp. 37–38). The article is more an announcement that Child ballads were sung in Utah than an analysis of what the songs meant for the people who knew them.

In addressing the issue of Mormon cultural autonomy from a theological rather than a geographical angle, Austin Fife in "Folk Belief and Mormon Cultural Autonomy" (1948) countered this text-based trend in folklore studies, writing instead a cultural analysis based on items of folk belief and narrative in the Fife Mormon Collection. Published in the most prominent folklore journal in the country, the *Journal of American Folklore*, the article acknowledges a growing corpus of Mormon folklore scholarship. In a lengthy note, Fife explains that folklore studies of a Mormon theme have been "extremely limited," but he then gives references to twelve articles published in regional and national folklore journals in the previous decade. He also mentions Stegner's *Mormon Country*, Maurine Whipple's novel *The Giant Joshua*, and the Daughters of Utah Pioneers pamphlet series, *Heart Throbs of the West*, as sources for folkloric information, along with a few song publications and state, university, and church archives in Utah.

Fife's analysis links the distinctive qualities of Mormon belief and culture with the theology of Joseph Smith. Quoting the Articles of Faith, Fife develops

Three members of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers in pioneer costume. At left is Kate B. Carter, president of the DUP and longtime editor of many collections of history and folklore, including *Heart Throbs of the West.*

his theme that Mormonism is particularly attuned to “divine intercession in every act of man and the destiny of the world” (p. 21). Noting that there is a Mormon doctrine of salvation and godliness that also is “original in the extent of its departure from traditional Christian concepts,” Fife associates large families, genealogical research, and temple rites with Mormon belief systems. Carefully distancing Mormon beliefs from magic and illogical kinds of causation, Fife develops his main theme through examples showing “the intercession of the heavenly powers in the affairs of man” (p. 24). Many of the examples involve apparent alterations of natural laws and elements: floods, fires, and clouds appear to shield and protect Mormon groups and settlements; in other cases, a spiritual intermediary, like a Nephite or an ancestor in a dream, appears to give information and guidance. Fife notes examples of divine power used to rebuff enemies and the acknowledgement of evil spirits that attempt to counter divine intercessions. Rather than placing these folkloric events in the early history of the church, Fife concludes that such elements of Mormon experience continue because "the forces for the cultural absorption of Mormonia in the current of intellectual life have, at best, made only superficial penetration" (p. 28). Like Tylor and the survivalists, Fife seems to hope that intellectualism will overcome traditions and beliefs related to the supernatural. However, right up to the present, Mormon folklore studies continue to include traditional expressions related to divine intervention and the principles advocated in the Articles of Faith because these principles continue to animate the lives, belief, and outlook of Latter-day Saints.

As the study of Mormon lore shifted from the first generation of Hand, the Fifes, Lee, and others to the generation of Wilson, Toelken, and Brunvand (see chapters 10–12), many scholars have continued to maintain the view of Mormons as a distinct regional group connected with the American West and having a unique heritage and belief system. Research still focuses on texts of stories, customs, or songs, but the texts often come from student collections or archival materials rather than from the folklorist's own collecting trips or fieldwork. And the articles do not usually print verbatim texts but are more likely to quote from those texts in order to analyze meaning or to comment on specific aspects of Mormon worldview or on a particular folklore genre. Two of Brunvand's articles on Mormon jokes and supernatural legends demonstrate a mix of older and newer folklore concepts. For example, his article on jokes, "As the Saints Go Marching By," maintains the older view that Mormons "are . . . a folk group comparable in the homogeneity and strength of their traditions" to other regional groups identified by Dorson (p. 53). However, rather than relying on the familiar genres of songs and narratives, Brunvand instead discusses jokes and "the functions of current traditions known among or told about Mormons" (p. 54).

In another article on supernaturalism and Mormon legends, "Modern Legends of Mormondom," Brunvand maintains a regional viewpoint in the study of Mormon folklore. After giving a useful review of past work on Mormon legends, Brunvand advocates paying more attention to currently told stories, storytelling contexts, and the varying attitudes among participants in storytelling sessions (p. 191). In contrast, Toelken's studies of water narratives ("The Folklore of Water" and "Traditional Water Narratives") also focus on a region, the Mormon West, but he analyzes the narratives to address the thorny issues of "a culture that champions *group* cooperation but also encourages *individual* attainment" ("Traditional," p. 200). These changes in conducting and publishing folklore research reflect the movement from comparative studies and survivalist attitudes toward studies of the function and performance of traditions in the ongoing social life of a strongly interactive group.

Since the 1980s, there has been a distinct shift away from region as a determining feature of Mormon folklore and an extension of research to incorporate the founding of the church, its worldwide missionary efforts, and Mormon congregations in locations outside Utah. For example, in "Hecate in Habit," Jeannie Thomas mentions a specific place, Utah's Logan Canyon; however, she is more interested in issues of supernaturalism, interfaith relations, and gender and patriarchy suggested by stories of St. Anne's Retreat than in describing a Mormon region. In his discussion of marriage confirmation stories, George Schoemaker does not make region or place a significant element but rather categorizes the narratives and analyzes what the stories suggest about Mormon worldview. The methodology of these articles is similar to work by Margaret P. Baker, Suzanne Volmar Riches, Carolyn Gilkey, Elaine Lawless, Gloria Cronin, and Margaret K. Brady. As this list indicates, more women have begun conducting and publishing folklore research since the 1960s; their interests, combined with new approaches in folklore studies, have contributed additional genres and interpretive strategies to discussions of Mormon lore.

The dean of Mormon folklore studies in the past four decades has been William A. Wilson (see chapter 10), who has been able to define anew Mormon folklore studies by validating religious belief to folklorists and folklore to the Mormon public. In articles published in the 1970s and '80s, Wilson picks up the theme of divine intervention in human life that Fife found pervasive in Mormon traditional thought, finding such cultural patterns in legends, missionary lore, and family narratives, and analyzing both the contexts and functions of the stories.

In addition, Wilson began to redirect Mormon folklore studies away from assumptions of homogeneity, quaintness, and backwardness. In "Mormon Folklore" (1983), Wilson asserted, "Most studies to date have assumed a cultural homogeneity that in reality has never existed. The fact is that rural and urban Mormons, educated and uneducated Mormons, male and female Mormons, born-in-the-church and converted Mormons quite often view the world through different eyes and respond to it differently in their lore" (pp. 159–160). In 1989, he pressed the issue of changing the focus of Mormon folklore studies in his "The Study of Mormon Folklore: An Uncertain Mirror for Truth," in which he called for scholars to turn from supernatural narratives to stories of the "quiet lives of committed service . . . at the heart of the Mormon experience" (p. 109). He also noted the function for Mormons of faith-promoting stories and humor "to encourage proper behavior . . . [and] to ease the pressures by laughing at both themselves and at the system" (p. 106). Wilson asserts that the focus of Mormon folklore studies should be on universal as well as specifically Mormon issues: "We must finally discover behind Mormon folklore typical human beings coming to terms through their lore with enduring life and death questions that know neither temporal nor cultural boundaries" ("The Concept of the West," p. 189).

From the 1980s into the twenty-first century, a growing number of Mormon-affiliated scholars have found their way to folklore studies and may yet fulfill Wilson's call. Contemporary issues in folklore studies, literary studies, religious studies, and public-sector work have converged to make Mormon folklore an intriguing and expanding area of research in the United States and abroad. While folklore studies will always focus on genre and particular types of expression, there is an increasing interest in studying more than texts by conducting more detailed ethnographic research. Recent critiques of ethnography in anthropology and other fields have not diminished the scholarly and public interest in examining lived experience. Likewise, world events and academic trends related to issues of identity and heritage politics have not resolved concerns or dampened scholarly hopes about the value of studying traditional expressions linked with the lives and values of a people.

The most recent work on Mormon folklore has included historical topics like Eric Eliason's studies of pioneer nostalgia and J. Golden Kimball stories, Margaret K. Brady's significant book *Mormon Healer and Folk Poet*, and studies of contemporary narratives and customs. Eliason has commented that Wilson's focus on religious practices presages contemporary trends in religious studies to research "living religion," or ways that theology and religious principles are enacted in everyday life. Eliason also asserts, however, that the study of supernatural experiences and beliefs will remain a key area of study in Mormon folklore and religious lore in general. David Allred (personal communication) amplifies several areas of current intellectual interest that can be illuminated by the study of Mormon traditional expressions: "We need more research on the international church, the syncretism that comes with conversion. . . . The Mormon experience(s) open the door for research on some of the most significant human experiences and some of the trendy academic areas (syncretic belief systems and identity formation, for example)." Allred, Reinhold Hill, Glenn Ostlund, Kent Bean, and Danille Linquist are all conducting research that incorporates some of these academic trends in their analysis of Mormon life.

The Mormon Ethos and Traditional Expression

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, *ethos* comes from the Greek word for character, a person's nature or disposition; in nineteenth-century England, the word became associated with conveying the spirit, tone, or sentiment of a people or a community. When intellectuals assumed that the folk were one homogenous throng of people, it made some sense to assert that songs and tales known by the people would represent clearly the sentiments and values of the group. Given assumptions about knowledge and human behavior that gained credence during the eighteenth century, a religious group associated with prophecy, revelation, the building of Zion, and the attainment of eternal life would seem to be ideal to investigate whether actions and behaviors align with professed beliefs. Folklorists studying Mormons have found that the songs, stories, customs, and material culture of the group express a tendency to value a unique heritage, theology, and way of life attuned to the conflict of good and evil and the intervention of God in human affairs. Contrary to expectations that rationalism would stamp out such traditions and beliefs, folklorists and many other scholars now admit that religiosity is not a "survival" from a "primitive past" and that it deserves contemporary consideration and study.

Members of the Lucero Ward of the LDS Church in Salt Lake City, 1925; Spanish was spoken at the ward and members hosted frequent social activities.

Yet even the Bountiful Witch story suggests that such lore may contradict or conflict with official doctrine and with the beliefs of the group. Despite a bent toward accepting supernatural intervention in human experiences, pioneer Mormon leaders did not advocate witchcraft and neither did any of the storytellers who passed along the legend, an example of a tradition that does not square with doctrine or with the deeply held values of Latter-day Saints. Yet those traditions still suggest something about what it means to be a member of the church. Likewise, some of the traditions that most closely align with the Mormon ethos may not appear in diaries, family histories, archives, or published scholarship. As Wilson points out in "The Study of Mormon Folklore: An Uncertain Mirror for Truth," folklore scholarship may be "uncertain" because "the cultural reality reflected in a published work depends very often upon the predisposition and presuppositions of the scholars holding the mirror" (p. 107). The mundane nature of traditional acts like taking Cub Scouts on a hike to fulfill a church calling or of checking in on a neighbor may not appear on the radar screen of folklore studies; Wilson suggests these traditions have not become prominent in the study of Mormon lore, even though acts of service show the character of faith at the heart of Mormon life.

Whether collected, compared, analyzed, and published or not, the traditional actions and expressions of members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints appear in choices they make each day. For this reason there is value in gathering and studying examples of Mormon traditions enacted in everyday life.

Previous scholarship on Mormon lore need not be thrown out, however, because the focus on group identity, the Mormon West, and the past can contextualize studies that emphasize the contemporary lives of individual members of the group. Comparative studies with religious individuals and traditions from other groups also can give insights into how traditions create, deflect, and maintain group ethos.

Olive Burt asserted in her article on a dozen Mormon murder ballads that Mormon converts tended to be "the 'folk' of each country, and they brought with them the folkways and folklore of their native lands" (p. 141). As early articles on Mormon lore suggest, the geographic isolation of Utah and the Great Basin did not mean that Mormon culture was either homogenous or free from crime or sin. On the contrary, proselytizing efforts and the doctrine of free agency associated with the religion assured that cultural and behavioral diversity would always be an element of Mormon traditional life in addition to the insider/outsider conflicts that have continually shaped Mormon experiences. Because traditions show what people are used to and relate to what they value, a Mormon ethos can be better understood through continuing work in folklore studies. As indicated earlier, much work needs to be done on the international church, on the relationship between new members and outsiders with the established group, on the emergence of new traditions, and on those traditions that remain significant and dynamic over time and space. Eliason's collection *Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion* suggests the possibilities of studying the international church; Susan Buhler Taber's study of a year in her Delaware ward, *Mormon Lives*, answers some questions about how Mormons actually live their religion.

But there is much more work to do by interested scholars in and out of the church. Margaret K. Brady's work on Mormon women's visionary birth narratives and her book on Mary Susannah Fowler give important insights into Mormon experiences in the past and present; her work, like that of Jan Shipps in Mormon history, indicates the benefit of careful scholarship conducted by an outsider familiar with the group. The topics, theories, and methodologies for future research also are in place. Echoing Wilson's call to study lore nearer to the heart of Mormon experience, David Allred adds, "This means less work on Three Nephites and more work that focuses on personal experience narratives and narratives that define LDS identity—not J. Golden Kimball stories but rather Heber C. Kimball [an early church leader] stories. . . . The literature of Mormon folklore also may be too text-based. More ethnographic work needs to be done . . . [and] more performance-oriented work needs to happen" (personal communication).

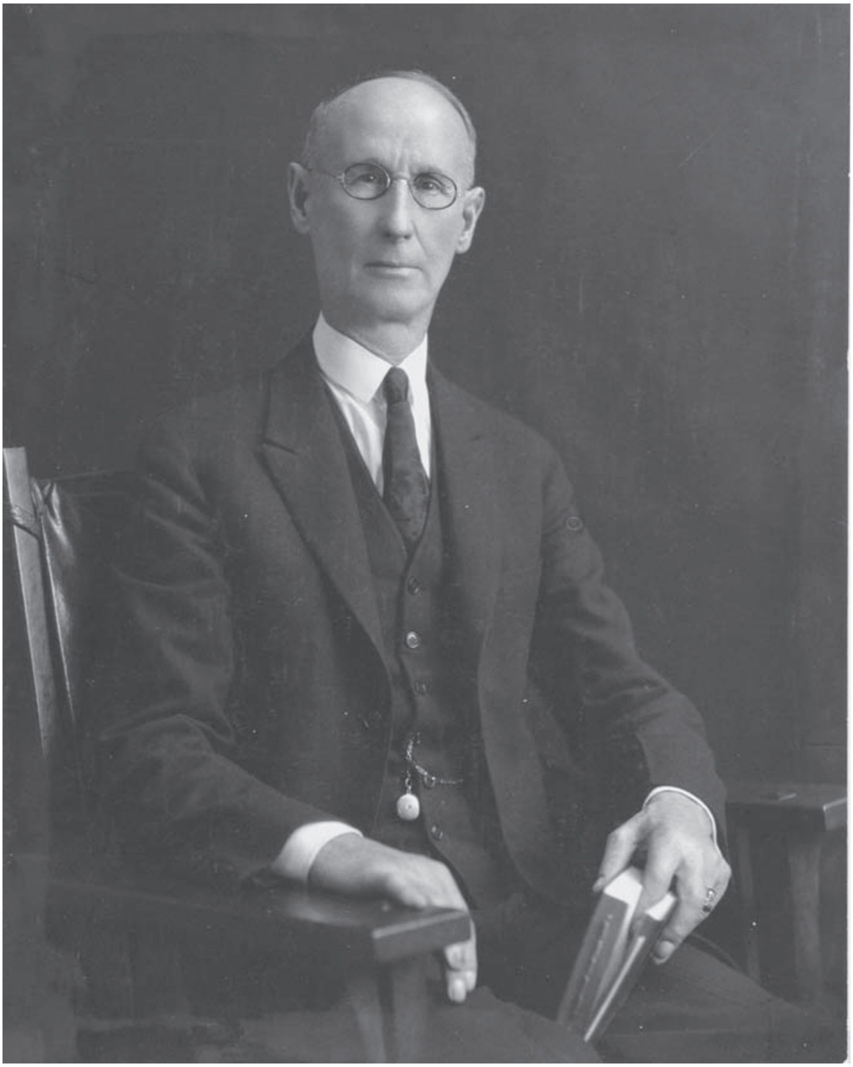
J. Golden Kimball Narratives

Eric A. Eliason

J. Golden Kimball (1853–1938), the son of much-married Mormon patriarch Heber C. Kimball, is the most significant folk hero in Utah Mormon history. Young Golden worked as a cowboy and mule-skinner and picked up the plain-speaking, cussing, and coffee-drinking habits associated with those trades. Later, as a student at Brigham Young University, he experienced a spiritual awakening and served first as a missionary, later as a mission president for the church. After Mormon leaders asked him to be a General Authority, he became the most popular public speaker in Mormon history—in large part because he maintained some of his rough, plain-spoken cowboy ways. A well-developed cycle of oral narratives sprang up around "Uncle Golden" that continue to be popular. In this legend cycle, J. Golden has become what I call a performer-hero, in that he earned his status as a folk hero less by deeds than by his skill as a verbal arts performer (see my study, *Jester for the Kingdom*). Below is one example of a typical J. Golden story where convention and propriety are sacrificed to make a more serious point:

> Once J. Golden Kimball was supposed to give a speech to a group of Mormons. The audience was really noisy—everyone was talking and seemed to be unaware that J. Golden Kimball was standing at the pulpit, waiting for them to settle down. He stood up there for quite a while and everyone ignored him and kept on talking. He got madder and finally shouted "GO TO HELL!" At once everyone's attention was on him, and they were really shocked. Then J. Golden Kimball continued, ". . . and there you will find people who didn't take advantage of their opportunities."
>
> —Female student, Atlanta, GA, 1969

Considering the singular character of Latter-day Saint culture, it is not surprising that the study of Mormons as a folk group has played an important part in American folklore studies and that Mormon folklore and Mormon folklorists have significantly shaped the field of folkloristics. The importance of J. Golden Kimball stories in the Mormon experience is evident in his appearance in virtually every landmark work of Mormon folklore scholarship.



J. Golden Kimball was a Mormon patriarch whose cowboy habits and background endeared him to church members.

In 1942, western literary great Wallace Stegner devoted considerable ink to Mormon folklore in general and half a chapter to J. Golden Kimball in particular in *Mormon Country*—his lyrical local-color book about what was then a little-visited American regional backwater. Stegner's treatment of Kimball inspired the founders of Mormon folklore studies, Austin and Alta Fife, to include a chapter on Kimball in their 1956 study *Saints of Sage and Saddle.* In this, the first comprehensive treatment of Mormon folklore, the Fifes call Elder Kimball "the most beloved preacher of the first four decades of our century." Richard Dorson—the dean of mid-century folklore studies—discovered "Uncle Golden" by reading the Fifes and listening to recorded performances of J. Golden Kimball stories by folklorist Hector Lee. Dorson included Kimball stories in the Mormon chapters of both *American Folklore* (1959) and his study of American regional folklore, *Buying the Wind* (1964). In the latter work, he touted this "cowboy who became a revered Mormon preacher and elder" as "part of living Mormon tradition" (p. 512).

In 1974, BYU professor Thomas E. Cheney published the first book about Kimball as folkloric figure—*The Golden Legacy: A Folk History of J. Golden Kimball.* Unfortunately, Cheney did not always distinguish between transcriptions of orally circulating stories, his own narratives, and sermon and book excerpts. In the 1970s and '80s, Mormon folklorist and Dorson protégé William A. Wilson occasionally touched on Kimball, particularly in his oft-reprinted essay "The Paradox of Mormon Folklore," in which he observed that "Mormons still tell more anecdotes about him [Kimball] than any other figure in Church history." Wilson was also the first to identify Kimball as Mormondom's major trickster figure. In 1999, J. Golden Kimball's nephew Stan Kimball produced the Utah-published *Mormonism's Colorful Cowboy: J. Golden Kimball Stories*, which consists mostly of written versions of the stories Stan Kimball himself liked to tell. Several other books and tapes appealing to general Mormon audiences have also appeared over the years.

The appeal of J. Golden Kimball stories reveals a certain amount of nascent rebellion, not so much against authority, but against the constraints of etiquette in Mormon cultural psychology. The tales' continuing popularity also helps chart the changing nature of the American West. J. Golden Kimball can be compared to a number of international religious trickster figures and constitutes a prototype of the performer-hero within a specific cultural matrix.

Latino Folklore Studies

Sarah M. Rudd

Today, even the untrained eye will easily find evidence that the traditions of Utah's Latino communities thrive. Just the other day, while waiting for a Sandy City traffic light to turn, I watched two girls drive by me in a sporty car. Their beautifully braided hair adorned with flowers and their white gowns decorated with colorful ribbons revealed that they were on their way to a fiesta where they would dance in full regalia to the sounds of traditional Mexican music. These young women brought to mind the words of Margarita Mendiola, dance instructor for the Cache Valley group Citlali: "When you come from a foreign country, the minute you hear your own music, the *mariachis,* all of it, your feet and eyes are moved. Then you sing, and not just songs for the shower, but you sing to share your music, and you feel more proud for knowing it, having it, and sharing it." Mendiola's passion for teaching and sharing her art is not uncommon. Everywhere in Utah, Latinos dedicate themselves to maintaining their traditions and keeping their beliefs alive for their families and communities.

But while many of Utah's Latinos find pride in enjoying and sharing their cultures, much of their folklore remains hidden from the majority of the Anglo community by shrouds of disinterest and lack of extensive study. Within the last two hundred years, both Spain and Mexico have claimed Utah as their own, and many Chicanos still claim that Utah is the mythical home of Aztlán. Utah continues to carry the DNA of these cultures within its lifeblood, yet until the 1990s, relatively little folklore research had been conducted in Utah's Latino communities. Even the terminology can be confusing to non-Latinos: "Chicano," "Hispanic," "Mexican-American," "Mexican," even "Spanish-American" can be heard, although the most accepted usage seems to be "Latino" for a man, "Latina" for a woman, and "Latinos" for a mixed group.

In 1973, in a study on folk medical practices called *curanderismo*, E. Ferol Benavides asked why so little research had been done, noting that although comparatively speaking Utah has historically had very small nonwhite populations, "the 'invisibility' of the Chicano extends even into areas where he should be most clearly visible. In a state internationally recognized for its rich folklore tradition and its distinguished folklore scholarship, Chicano folk tradition has gone unrecognized and unseen." I would contend, however, that Utah Latino folk traditions were not unseen, despite the fact that they were not given due attention.

In 1992, in an effort to give such attention, to stimulate interest, and to familiarize more of the public with Utah's Latino culture, the Utah Arts Council published *Hecho en Utah: A Cultural History of Utah's Spanish-Speaking Communities*. Edited by Carol A. Edison, Anne F. Hatch, and Craig R. Miller, *Hecho en Utah* is a fine collection of essays and photographs that uses both chronological history and traditional folk arts to tell the story of Utah's Latino peoples. David Knowlton introduces the collection with "America, América y Utah." Orlando A. Rivera writes of the Spanish Colonial New Mexicans who came to Utah, Edward H. Mayer gives a history of the Mexican community, and Sonia Alarcon Parker introduces more recent immigrants, the Latin Americans. Edison completes the volume with "Hispanic Folk and Ethnic Arts in Utah." Even the bibliography, "Hispanics in Utah," will prove helpful to today's scholars. *Hecho en Utah* is accompanied by three cassettes of music produced by Miller. He includes the musical traditions being played today by Utah Latinos from (1) the Caribbean and South America, (2) Mexico, and (3) Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado. Taken together, *Hecho en Utah* achieves its goal of contributing "to a greater understanding and appreciation, among all Utahns, of Hispanic history, culture and arts." It certainly ensures that Latino folk tradition in Utah is recognized.

Before *Hecho en Utah*, most of the publications that featured elements of Latino folklore were publications primarily dedicated to recording the history, migration, and integration into Utah's mainstream culture of the state's Latino population. Wallace Stegner, for example, in telling the history of Mexican-American miners in Bingham Canyon, included the tale of the legendary strike-breaker Rafael Lopez, who allegedly shot three harassing lawmen, survived an attempt to be smoked out of a mine tunnel, and escaped to join Pancho Villa in Mexico (*Mormon Country*, 1942). Other publications primarily focused on Hispanic or Mexican-American traditions, since most Utah Latinos were from the American Southwest and Mexico. Apart from Barbara McKillop's thesis, "An Ethnography of Foodways among Latin American Residents along the Wasatch Front," very little published material is available to those wanting to learn about the folkways of Utah's immigrants from Central America.

Because folk practice remains an important and highly valued facet of culture for those Latinos who live far from home, most publications about Latinos in Utah include reference to their folklore. An example is found in the work of Vincente V. Mayer who, in 1970, participated in an American West Center project to collect oral history from minority groups. From the research collected in that project, Mayer edited *Utah: A Hispanic History* (1974), a textbook for middle schools, which chronicles the social history and population shifts of the Spanish, the Mexicans, and the other Spanish-speaking peoples of Utah. But Mayer also includes rich details of the folk beliefs they practiced. In "After Escalante: The Spanish-Speaking People of Utah," Mayer explains how *curanderas* (healers)

Elisa y los Fronterisos perform at a Mondays in the Park concert in front of the Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts, 1989. The band members, who play *corridos* and *rancheras*, hail from Texas and moved to Utah in the 1960s.

heal such illnesses as *mal ojo* (evil eye) and *susto* (fright) and also describes the *colonias* (settlements) of Utah.

The *Utah Historical Quarterly* has been the primary publisher of articles that record the folklore of Utah Latinos. As early as 1928, Cecil Alter recognized the importance of the Spanish influence on Utah and published some of the journals of Father Escalante, leader of the first European group to enter what is now Utah in 1776. In 1972, Jerald H. Merrill contributed a history of Salt Lake City's Guadalupe Parish in "Fifty Years with a Future: Salt Lake's Guadalupe Mission and Parish." But it was Benavides's 1973 article on c*uranderismo* that was the first *Utah Historical Quarterly* article to be entirely folkloric in its scope. Benavides carefully records the names and practices of *curanderos* and *curanderas* in Utah and also stresses the need for further studies of Utah's Chicano folklore.

Published in 1981, Edward H. Mayer's article, "The Evolution of Culture and Tradition in Utah's Mexican-American Community," looks closely at the factors that have both preserved and modified Mexican-American culture in Utah, specifically language, religion, and *compadrazgo* (the spiritual relationship between a child's parents and godparents). Mayer explains how, during the early settlement of Mexicans and Hispanics in Utah, the pride of the first generation along with religious and family support sustained appreciation for cultural practices. Post-World War II years, though, brought much dissolution of language and cultural practices until the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s once again revitalized many of the values of the Mexican-American community. Mayer finishes by looking ahead and encouraging the Utah Spanish-speaking community to expend as much energy in preserving its language and customs as in attaining sociopolitical objectives. The *Hecho in Utah* collection affirms that Utah's Spanish-speaking community has indeed continued to expend such energy as it grows in population and develops more self-awareness.

In "Monticello, the Hispanic Gateway to Utah," William H. González and Genaro M. Padilla use descriptions of various folk practices to outline the early history and influence of Hispanics in Utah. Detailed descriptions of baptisms, marriage practices, funeral rites, and liturgical observances explain "the strength and devotion of the early Hispanic pioneers who came to Utah *buscando trabajo*, 'looking for work'" (p. 27). González and Padilla beautifully illustrate how early Hispanic immigrants to Utah maintained their cultural and social identity by observing basic life-cycle customs in the midst of cultural change. Like Benavides's article on *curanderismo*, this article has thorough descriptions of early Mexican-American and Hispanic folk practices in Utah.

Perhaps one of the most moving and accessible collections of Utah's Latino folklore is found in *Missing Stories: An Oral History of Ethnic and Minority Groups in Utah*, a collection of oral histories compiled by Leslie G. Kelen and Eileen Hallet Stone (1996). Edward H. Mayer prefaces the chapter on the "Chicano-Hispano Community" with a brief history of the Mexican, Hispanic, and Chicano presence in Utah. Like some of the earlier historical texts, Mayer's essay is addressed primarily to personal experiences and historical issues, but the folk traditions common to many of Utah's Hispanics and Mexican-Americans play a major part in the stories told in the collection. And the power of folk practices is underscored in each narrative. Food, courtship, and burial and religious customs, among others, are given as much detail as are the chronological events of each person's life. The narratives in this collection testify that family and belief traditions can sustain individuals and even whole families through economic hardships, drastic lifestyle changes, and discrimination.

One such example of the power of tradition to sustain a community can be found in the songs of miners as they protested the injustices of large mining operations. Employment opportunities in the railroad and mining industries attracted many of Utah's early Latino immigrants. In 1986, Nancy Taniguchi and David Stanley were able to record Elias Baca's song "¡Que Viva la Nación!" Baca grew up in Colorado, participated in the Colorado Coal Strike of 1913–14, survived the Ludlow Massacre of 1914, and continued to sing the *corridos* and songs of the strike when he moved to Carbon County, Utah. In "Harmonizing *Corrido* and Union Song at the Ludlow Massacre," Sarah Rudd explores how Baca combined *corrido* forms with union songs in order to bring strength and unity to his community. Baca's *corrido* is significant in that it reminds us that the voice of Hispanics is not silent during struggles, and it also reminds us that folk traditions change and merge in many ways with the new traditions and influences they meet.

Pueblo Nuestro, a group of Andean musicians living in the Salt Lake Valley, perform in Liberty Park, Salt Lake City, 1993.

The only comprehensive recent history of Utah's Mexican-Americans and Latinos is *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion: 1912–1999* (2000), by Jorge Iber, but it has very limited references to the folk traditions of Utah Latinos. In this work, Iber ventures into previously unexplored territory by closely examining the "differences and ties between *Católicos* and *Mormones* in northern Utah." Iber also provides solid research and analysis of recent demographic and economic trends that affect Utah's Latino communities.

Barre Toelken, in *The Dynamics of Folklore,* writes that we study folklore "by coming to grips with serious and complex matters related to everyday expression and cultural dynamics." Certainly, the demographics and chronological history of Utah Latinos have been well documented in a historical context, and some descriptions of their folk traditions can also be found. But explorations of how the folk traditions of today's Latinos reflect the serious and complex matters they encounter on a daily basis remain to be undertaken. When we look at the wealth of tradition and monumental contributions Utah Latinos pour into the state, we cannot forget to pay more scholarly attention to their folklore. "Just to be different, just to be seen, just to be noticed"—these are the reasons a young Cache Valley Latina gives for why her friend decorates his low-rider car. Let's take notice.

Ethnic Folklore Studies

Philip F. Notarianni

The investigation of ethnic diversity in Utah history has produced a large number of varied and dynamic studies by historians and folklorists, all of them concerned with traditions, customs, and change in the interaction between the Utah environment and nationality and ethnic groups. In the 1940s, most folklore studies concentrated on Indian legends, tales told from the non-Indian perspective, and Mormon folklore. In the 1950s, some scholars—including Helen Z. Papanikolas and William Mulder—turned their attention to other ethnic groups; they sensed that folk traditions and customs were vital ingredients in the ethnic experience of Greeks and Scandinavians, respectively, in Utah. Since then, the collection of ethnic folklore has affected the work of folklorists, historians, and geographers, and has moved from the simple narrative approach to analytical study. In addition, this scholarly interest in ethnic folklore has evolved into the programming of museum exhibitions and public celebrations of ethnic traditions.

Jan Harold Brunvand's *A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah* (1971) defines the "essence of all genuine folklore" as oral or customary transmission, the creation of varying forms, and folklore's possession by a "folk group" (p. 4). A folk group is "any group that has some distinctive folklore," says Brunvand, including ethnic and nationality groups. He adds that "a person shares the traditions of his group (or groups) unconsciously and casually" (pp. 21–22). This unconscious use of folklore is of particular importance in defining contemporary manifestations of ethnic folklore. A person's degree of sharing in the lore of his or her immigrant group may vary, depending upon how many generations ago the family immigrated, how clannish the settlement patterns were, and how actively the group maintained Old World customs. As examples, Brunvand cites Austrian wedding customs and Basque folkways.

The decade of the 1950s witnessed both a continuation of interest in Utah's Indians (see chapter 14) and the expansion of research into other ethnic groups. Some of these efforts, primarily narrative in nature, would form a solid foundation for future work. Most prominent of all was Austin and Alta Fife's study of Mormon folkways, *Saints of Sage and Saddle* (1956), which focused mainly on Mormon songs, narratives, and beliefs but also included stories of Indian

The Open Heart coffee house in "Greek Town," Salt Lake City, was a haven for Greek immigrants and their music during the 1920s. Owner Emmanuel Katsanevas stands at left.

encounters related by Mormons in Utah. The authors state succinctly that these were contemporary legends of Utah about Indians—a chronicle of stories and firsthand accounts from the pioneer point of view. About the same time, William Mulder chronicled the lives of Scandinavian immigrants to Utah in *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (1957) and in various articles in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* that explore the folk elements in Scandinavian life in Utah, primarily pertaining to language. In *Homeward to Zion*, Mulder devotes a chapter to "Mother Tongue" and how C. C. A. Christensen's Danish verse became an institution to his fellow immigrants. Thomas E. Cheney's "Scandinavian Immigrant Stories" (1959) recounts the tales common to that experience, and Dennis H. Atkin's "A History of Iosepa, the Utah Polynesian Colony" (1958) breaks new ground in providing sketches of life and celebrations in the Hawaiian colony in the Great Salt Lake Desert. A later essay on the same subject, Richard Poulsen's "Polynesians in the Desert: A Look at the Graves of Iosepa," examines the material culture left behind.

The decade of the 1950s also began the productive career of Helen Z. Papanikolas (see chapter 9) with the publication of "The Greeks of Carbon County" in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. A daughter of Greek immigrants, she brought to her analysis of folk beliefs and traditions an insider's knowledge of customs and a command of the Greek language. She also recognized very early the vital roles played by immigrant women in their families and communities;

her essay on "Magerou, the Greek Midwife," matriarch of the first Greek families in Midvale, Bingham Canyon, and Magna, is probably the earliest account of the life of an ethnic woman in Utah. In her work, Papanikolas mixed the history of the immigrants with an explanation of the folk elements that formed such a vital part of the interactions between immigrant and environment. Over more than fifty years of research and scholarship, Papanikolas wrote dozens of articles and books that reevaluated the immigrant experience, the concept of ethnicity, and the importance of folk traditions in the lives of those displaced and dislocated by the currents of war, nationalism, and economic privation.

In the 1960s, folksongs, ballads, and storytelling became an important focus of folklore studies in Utah. Lester A. Hubbard's *Ballads and Songs from Utah* (1961) chronicled ballads originally from England, Scotland and Ireland. Hubbard remarked in his introduction: "Imported largely by converts to Mormonism who came from Great Britain and various areas in the United States, these songs, which had lived in the hearts of the people because they expressed sentiments and feeling not limited to a group or religious creed, continued to provide a satisfying and emotional experience on the frontier" (p. xxi). Thomas E. Cheney's 1968 compilation, *Mormon Songs from the Rocky Mountains*, added specifically Mormon songs—many of them based on older tunes from the British Isles—to the rapidly growing documentation of Utah folk music.

Also in the 1960s, the parameters of folklore study in Utah were expanded. Jan Harold Brunvand and John C. Abramson studied the folk art of aspen-tree carving, much of it done by Basque and other Spanish-speaking sheepmen. The authors concluded that tree carvings are a traditional practice motivated by the urge to "record one's presence by making one's mark" (p. 94). Citing carvings by the Herrara brothers (sheepmen who left the "most striking examples of individualized name carvings" using decorative printing and, often, carved pictures), the article concludes that the significance of aspen-tree carvings is that they are an individual manifestation that is also recognized by the dominant culture. Thus, the carvings represent both cultural distinctiveness and the process of acculturation.

Claire Noall's "Serbian-Austrian Christmas at Highland Boy" appeared in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* in 1965. Through the memories of Dr. Paul Snelgrove Richards, Noall describes the Serbian Christmas celebration in the mining community of Bingham Canyon. Recalling the sights and smells of Christmas at the home of Pete and Milka Loverich and Milka Smilanich, Dr. Richards said that this experience had imparted to him a new and different concept of Christmas. Another study of elements of retention and change in Mormon Utah is the 1968 article on Scots Mormons by Frederick S. Buchanan. Primarily a historical narrative, this work also looks at the wearing of kilts and other folk customs. The increased interest in ethnic folklore was further evidenced by a collection of essays edited by Thomas Cheney called *Lore of Faith and Folly* (1971), a publication of the Folklore Society of Utah. In this volume, Juanita Brooks, Karl E. Young, and Ann G. Hansen all recount tales of contact with Indians from the

Euro-American perspective, and Mary Alice Collins writes of Swiss converts to Mormonism and their retention of cultural values, concluding that "you can still hear the Swiss cowbells jangle. . . " (p. 55).

The process of acculturation occupied a number of scholars in the 1970s. Cynthia Rice's thesis on Scandinavians in the Sanpete Valley looks at Scandinavian settlement through house types, fences and outbuildings, agricultural practices, and language retention. She concludes that to Scandinavians, affiliation with the Mormon Church meant accelerated acculturation, although later researchers would discover important Scandinavian retentions. In "Folklore of Utah's Little Scandinavia," William A. Wilson explored the legends and tales of Sanpete County's Danish population. Other studies focusing on acculturation were Joseph Stipanovich's survey of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which presents a history of immigration and intertwines analysis with elements of folk belief and tales transplanted from the homeland, and Philip F. Notarianni's "Utah's Ellis Island," which concerns the difficulties faced by immigrants in a multiethnic county.

The American Bicentennial in 1976 resulted in a landmark publication for the study of history and folklore among Utah's ethnic groups: *The Peoples of Utah*, heroically edited by Helen Papanikolas. With a chapter devoted to each important ethnic group in the state and with authors chosen primarily from those groups, the book launched much of the current interest in Utah's ethnic history. Central to many of the chapters is the discussion of the importance of group values. For example, Floyd A. O'Neil commences the section on the Utes with a quotation from Connor Chapoose: ". . . teach 'em to speak Ute. And don't let them ever forget how we're supposed to live, who we are, where we came from" (p. 27). Clyde J. Benally, a Navajo, summarizes Navajo values, customs, and traditions: "Father Sky is sacred," he says, "food and shelter are more than utilitarian objects" (p. 14). They are gifts from Mother Earth.

The Peoples of Utah, which was followed by a television documentary series of the same name, combines the history of Utah's major ethnic groups with discussions of folk events and practices and of important artifacts that enabled these groups to function in a new environment. Groups covered in the study are Native Americans, the British, Blacks, Scandinavians, Jews, Continental Europeans, the Chinese, Canadians, Italians, Japanese, Yugoslavs, peoples from the Middle East, Greeks, and Spanish-speaking people. Common to each of these groups was a sense of continuity with the past, a culture that has changed and is changing in a new environment, and the constant evolution of new forms of cultural expression.

Many of these same themes have been further developed by Leslie G. Kelen, himself an immigrant, whose work has focused on interviewing contemporary immigrants with regard to their personal and ethnic experiences and their attempts to become acculturated without abandoning their values and traditions. His major works include *The Other Utahns: A Photographic Portfolio* (profiles of immigrants with photographs by George Janecek, 1988), *Missing Stories:*

An Oral History of Ethnic and Minority Groups in Utah (chapters on individual ethnic groups, cowritten with Eileen Hallet Stone, 1996), and *Streaked with Light and Shadow: Portraits of Former Soviet Jews in Utah* (profiles with photographs by Kent M. Miles, 2000). Except in these works, little has been written about immigrants from Japan, China, and other Asian nations. One exception has been studies by Leonard J. Arrington and Sandra C. Taylor concerning the World War II internment camp at Topaz in western Utah and the Japanese-American residents' survival strategies; another is Daniel Liestman's article on the development of Chinatowns in Utah.

Ethnic values and elements of cultural distinctiveness also form the basis for Papanikolas's "Ethnicity in Mormondom: A Comparison of Immigrant and Mormon Cultures" (1978). The crux of this study is its recognition and definition of family and personal values as central to both cultures. For example, she notes that "Keeping the family name free of stain was a lifelong concern of immigrant peoples as it had been in their fatherlands" (p. 96). This study helped encourage other studies that illustrated how traditional values have been transmuted into new forms. Papanikolas's studies of changes in cultural tradition and her use of comparative methodology have led to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of history and folklore in Utah.

Continued interest in Scandinavian immigration is reflected in Richard C. Poulsen's study of the material culture of the Sanpete-Sevier area of central Utah (1979). For Poulsen, folk artifacts "represent thoughts, reactions, and feelings as much as they represent historical movements or processes," so the "symbolic meaning" of cultural artifacts must be understood (p. 131). In another study, "Folklore of Utah's Little Scandinavia," William A. Wilson states that folklore may originate in fancy, "but it may also be based on fact" (p. 149). Stories passed on are "often reshaped (probably unconsciously) to reflect the attitudes, values, and concerns of the people telling them" (p. 150). For Scandinavians living in the Sanpete/Sevier area, lore reflects beliefs and attitudes and functions to meet deeply felt needs. Wilson specifically mentions Scandinavian immigrant tales as contributing to these purposes.

The writings of Barre Toelken (see chapter 11) since the late 1960s are of central significance to scholarship in ethnic folklore. His analyses of elements of Navajo culture are especially important because they seek to view that culture according to its internal values and principles. Breaking with earlier anthropological models of describing Native Americans on "white man's terms," Toelken deals with native perspectives. His use of linguistic models and codes provides a needed dimension in understanding Navajo tales and other expressive forms more completely.

Utah Folk Art: A Catalog of Material Culture, edited by Hal Cannon in 1980, ushered in the decade of the '80s, a decade characterized by more critical analyses of ethnic folk traditions and folklore, especially of material culture. Essays in the volume include studies of prehistoric and historic Indian artifacts by Ann Elizabeth Nelson and Scandinavian housing by Thomas Carter. Other articles published in the early 1980s examine the immigrant experience further. Linda Bonar's study of Scots stonemasons in the town of Beaver is a comparative study of Scottish and Utah masonry. Similarly, Carter's study of decorative plastering in the Sanpete Valley demonstrates that plastering techniques formed a part of the cultural tradition of both English and Scandinavian immigrants. The underlying principles of design and their connection to cultural motivations are of primary significance.

Carbon County has been Utah's center for southern and eastern European immigrant groups. In 1981, *Carbon County: Eastern Utah's Industrialized Island*, edited by Philip F. Notarianni, presented a group of essays that discussed elements of ethnic folklore. Of particular importance were the connections between immigrants and the landscape. This theme provided the basis for another article on the Italian community in Helper by Notarianni and Richard Raspa, in which the authors observe that some Helper Italians interacted with the landscape in very traditional ways, recognizing the power of nature and harboring a respect for that power. As reflected in many landscaped yards, Italians often present an image of symmetry and order in the front, while the back yard reflects a more random life of seeming disorder, product of a peasant heritage. Another study of Italian and Italian-American folkways was produced by a team of researchers from the American Folklife Center in the Library of Congress; it was edited by David A. Taylor and John Alexander Williams (1992). It includes three studies of Carbon County Italians: immigrants from the Calabrese region by Philip F. Notarianni, "Folklore and Survival" by Steve Siporin, and Italian building traditions by Thomas Carter. In another article on the role of music and other expressive forms in the Nick (Nicolavo) family of Carbon County, Siporin observes that while forms may change, values do not. The concern for "quality" in food preparation, representing the reflection of honor in the family, remains intact, although the repertoire of food prepared has expanded to include other types. The Nick family, especially the singing group the Nick Sisters, expanded their interests into the realm of country-and-western music yet continued to sing traditional Italian and religious songs. As in the case of food, the values of sociability did not change, but the forms of its expression expanded.

Utah's Spanish-speaking population (see chapter 16) now forms the largest ethnic group in the state, one of growing influence because of its large numbers, the proximity of their places of origin, and the continuing arrival of newcomers. Studies by Edward H. Mayer and E. Ferol Benavides demonstrate the interaction of folk and cultural forces into new forms. For Spanish-speaking peoples, the maintenance of language continues to provide a key element in cultural identification.

Language is also closely examined as a key to the immigrant experience in Richard C. Poulsen's "Folk Material Culture of the Sanpete-Sevier Area." In this article, Poulsen concludes that the loss of language among Scandinavian immigrants was regressive and led in turn to a lack of material culture. Allan Kent Powell's study of German-speaking immigrants confirms that for this group language is also a key element. Many German-speaking immigrants, Powell concludes, have maintained ties to their homeland primarily through language, especially German theater and weekly radio programs. As Toelken has demonstrated in his studies of the Navajo, the linguistic dimension is of critical importance in understanding the full spectrum of a culture's underlying meaning.

Not surprisingly, many researchers of the folklore of Carbon County have focused on coal miners, beginning with Philip C. Sturges's essay in 1959. Another study by Marianne Fraser examines the beliefs of ethnic coal miners from Wales and England, concluding that "oral transmission of beliefs assisted both in the continuation of customs from one country to another and in the explanation of unpredictable, dangerous occurrences in a new nation" (p. 246). Allan Kent Powell's "Tragedy at Scofield" not only reviews the history of Utah's worst mining disaster but examines the beliefs and stereotypes that developed about Finnish miners in the wake of the explosion, a concern expanded by Craig Fuller in "Finns and the Winter Quarters Mine Disaster" (2002). A parallel study by Janeen Arnold Costa examines the mourning customs of Greeks, Italians, and African Americans after another mining tragedy, the Castle Gate Mine disaster.

Until the 1980s, Utah's Polynesian community had received scant attention from historians and folklorists. This deficiency was partially corrected in 1983, when the *Deseret News* published a special issue, *Utah's Polynesians: Zest from the Islands*, with articles by Joyce Hammond and others. The publication demonstrates how these immigrants, near the beginning of the cycle of the acculturation process, are maintaining their folk traditions and culture.

The *Utah Historical Quarterly* has also served as an important host to articles on ethnic history and folklore. The 1984 winter issue, with guest editor Margaret K. Brady, focused on *Ethnic Folklore in Utah*. Brady's introductory essay, "Ethnic Folklore in Utah: New Perspectives," summarizes the trends of the past and sets agendas for the future. She states that folklore provides "indices both to degree of assimilation and to degree of preserved ethnicity, for it is the expressive culture of [ethnic] groups that has provided the clearest indication of just how much of the traditional old country way of life has been and is being maintained" (p. 3). Perhaps her most telling observation is that the essays included in the volume "point to the necessity of examining the expressive forms of ethnic groups in Utah (the folk houses, the rituals, the jokes, the stories and songs) in new ways that will illuminate not only their resemblance to older, more traditional forms, but also their dynamic, innovative status as entirely new expressions of ethnic identity" (p. 4). Within this context, Brady views the evolution of ethnic folklore study from an initial interest in "survivals" (remnants) to examinations of cultural pluralism that emphasize the fluidity and dynamism within ethnic groups. Future research in ethnic folklore, she asserts, "needs to go even further in examining both traditional expressive forms and new forms, created in Utah, which nonetheless express a true sense of ethnic identity" (p. 7). Following Brady's introduction are articles on Hispanics, Greeks, Scandinavians, and Native Americans by, respectively, William H. González and

Genaro M. Padilla, Helen Papanikolas, Thomas Carter, and Patricia C. Albers and William R. James.

Other studies in the 1980s and '90s have examined foodways, beliefs, and religious practices. Richard Raspa's study of exotic foods among Italian-Americans in Carbon County delves into the area of ethnic food, finding meaning not only in the foods themselves but in their preparation and the perceptions maintained about them within the group. Raspa concludes, on the basis of oral testimony and observation of food preparation and consumption, that exotic foods "serve commemorative and celebrative ends more than economic and nutritional ones. Ultimately, the preparation and consumption of exotic food among these Italian-Americans is a nostalgic enactment of ethnic identity and familial solidarity . . . " (pp. 185–86). "Preparing and eating exotic food allow the performers to recreate their ethnic identity, maintain traditional boundaries with the dominant culture, and nurture familial closeness" (p. 193). Basque, Italian, Greek, Native American, and Irish beliefs and superstitions are also included in Anthon S. Cannon's *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah*, with entries gathered between the late 1930s and the 1960s. A 1997 study by Elaine Bapis examines the design and function of Greek home altars in the state.

Other studies on the Swedes of Grantsville by D. Michol Polson, on Swiss immigrants by Jessie L. Embry, on nineteenth-century Norwegian pottery by Kirk Henrichsen, and on English gravestone carvers by Carol Edison continue the examination of the assimilative capacity of the Mormon Church and its influence on old-country traditions. The authors generally conclude that the church tended to hasten cultural assimilation, largely because of the loss of the mother language, and that ethnic traditions tend to diminish rapidly in Utah.

All of these studies represent written materials on ethnic folklore in Utah. But the quest for understanding and explanation of folk culture among Utah's ethnic population has appeared in other forms as well. Tape- and disk-recorded materials—tales, stories, legends, and music—along with museum exhibitions and festivals have aided in the representation and interpretation of ethnic folk and material culture and its present-day manifestations. In 1964, for example, Hector Lee recorded *Folklore of the Mormon Country: J. Golden Kimball Stories Together with the Brother Petersen Yarns*. On the record, Lee recounts dialect stories that were "extremely popular among the many Scandinavian converts who made their way to the Mormon country of Utah and Idaho." The use of recorded stories and music was further developed in a series of ninety-minute radio programs originally aired by Salt Lake's KRCL between 1987 and 1999. On *Utah Traditions: Traditional Music and Cultural Identity*, producer-host Craig Miller presented music and cultural insights from Utah's Italian, Tongan, Lebanese, Greek, Yugoslavian, German, African American, Swiss, Swedish, and Native American communities.

The radio series on African Americans and Miller's essay on religious music is especially significant, along with the work of Ronald G. Coleman and KUED television's program "Utah's Black Legacy." These are among the few projects that

Greek-American musicians Jim Katsanevas (left) and George Marudas perform at the first Living Traditions Festival at This Is the Place State Park, 1986.

shed light on Utah's African American culture. The role of blacks in Mormon folklore—a topic of special importance following the admission of blacks to the priesthood in 1978—is the subject of William A. Wilson's "Folklore and History: Fact amid the Legends" (1973) and Wilson and Richard C. Poulsen's "The Curse of Cain and Other Stories: Blacks in Mormon Folklore" (1980).

Museum exhibitions have also been produced in or brought to Utah under the auspices of the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council (UAC), the Utah State Historical Society (USHS), the Utah Museum of Natural History (UMNH), the Salt Lake City Arts Council (SLCAC), and the Oral History Institute (OHI). These have included "The Greeks of Utah" (USHS), "Flower Cloths and Baskets: The Art of Indochinese Refugees" (UAC), "One with the Earth" (USHS-SLCAC), "Made in Utah: Contemporary Folk Art" (UAC), "Made in Utah: Polynesian Quilts" (UAC), "Folk Art from Utah" (UAC), "Ten Afro-American Quilters" (USHS), "Things Left Behind: Objects from the Historical Society Collection" (USHS), "Willow, Beads and Buckskin: The Folk Art of Utah's Great Basin Tribes" (UAC) and "Working Together: A Utah Portfolio" (OHI). The last of these is a photographic portrait of Utah's Black, Chinese, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Jewish, and Mexican/Hispanic communities. Many of these exhibitions and radio programs have received invaluable funding support from the Utah Humanities Council.

Beginning in 1986, a multi-ethnic festival, "Living Traditions: A Celebration of Salt Lake's Folk and Ethnic Arts," has developed and prospered under the sponsorship of the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council and the Salt Lake City Arts Council. The 1987 program for the festival, for example, contained essays on ethnic music, dance, crafts, and foods, as well as Steve Siporin's thoughtful commentary on the nature of ethnic folklore, in which he stresses the development of new traditions that express ethnic identity as part of today's world: ". . . all ethnic groups depend upon a wide variety of folk traditions to identify themselves and to express their feelings, attitudes, and values. . . . Folklore is the crystallized experience of our ancestors; it enables us to be part of the present without losing the past."

The study and presentation of ethnic folklore in Utah has indeed been varied, spanning some four decades and moving along a continuum from the simple reporting of tales, legends, and jokes to explanations and analyses of what they mean and how they can be interpreted. These endeavors have generally been focused on specific groups as folklorists and historians have probed aspects of the folk experience that shed new light on immigration and the ethnic experience.

Much remains to be accomplished. Scandinavians have received the most attention and recent immigrants from southeast Asia and Polynesia the least. Even with those groups that have been the most exhaustively studied, new perspectives are possible. For example, the artifacts brought to Utah by these people may offer rich explanations of cultural maintenance, adaptation, and change. Such objects can serve as vehicles, as support for identity, and as mediators between the past and present. In a parallel way, Utah's ethnic history has moved beyond the mere narrative of what happened and when. Interdisciplinary approaches must be used to explain the why and how of the ethnic experience and to examine closely the implications of that research. Folklore and the study of ethnic traditions and their transmission may hold the keys to answering these questions.

Material Culture Studies

Carol A. Edison

For over fifty years, Utah folklorists have been collecting, studying, and writing about the physical aspects of traditional culture surrounding them. Like many areas of Utah folklore and scholarship, this subject area was first explored by pioneering folklorists Austin E. and Alta S. Fife (see chapter 5) in the middle of the twentieth century; in fact, the first article on material culture in Utah, a study of hay derricks, was written by Austin and his brother James in 1948. For Austin and Alta, this field of inquiry developed over the fifteen summers they spent during the 1940s and '50s traveling with their two daughters in an old travel trailer with a bulky mass of recording equipment. Exploring Utah and surrounding states, they interviewed, photographed, observed, and took notes, documenting the folk traditions of the Mormon cultural region. Although their 1956 publication of *Saints of Sage and Saddle* devoted only two pages to the things people make, those pages included information on quilts and other textiles, rawhide and horsehair work, and vernacular fences, gates and hay derricks.

The following year, in "Folklore of Material Culture on the Rocky Mountain Frontier" (written in 1957 but not published until 1988), Austin explained that many objects are products of folk (nonprofessional) technology that result when knowledge passed down from antiquity combines with people's innate ingenuity. He outlined what he deemed integral to understanding the frontier experience: the layout of frontier towns; the design and materials used in building houses; the construction and special relationships of domestic buildings; the making of furniture and other home furnishings; the production of tools, clothing, and occupational gear; the ornamentation of both interior and exterior spaces; and the construction of cemeteries and grave markers. This outline suggested not only the need to inventory significant objects but also the need to address their production, placement, and use in the community and on the landscape. It provided a blueprint establishing the parameters for the study of material culture in Utah and elsewhere, a blueprint that still shapes work being done today.

Folk cultural expressions are often classified intro three major groups according to their means of expression: verbal, customary, and material. In concentrating on verbal folklore (ballads, fairy tales, myths) and customary folklore (beliefs, rituals, festivals), folklorists in this country often neglected material folklore long after their European colleagues had embraced it. But by the mid-1960s, this field of inquiry began to be recognized by a few members of the American Folklore Society, including the Fifes, who were members of a committee devoted to this topic. In 1965, at the Denver meeting of the American Folklore Society, a session titled "Material Folk Traditions from the United States" appeared on the program—apparently the first AFS panel devoted to this topic. Austin Fife's paper on rural mailboxes was part of the session.

In 1968, in an attempt to focus more attention on the still largely ignored area of material culture, the Fifes continued their pathbreaking work by organizing and hosting the first meeting in the U.S. to focus on material and social traditions. Held at Utah State University in Logan and cosponsored by the American Folklore Society and the Folklore Society of Utah, the meeting included an intensive week-long course titled "American Folk Cultures and Their Crafts" taught by the Fifes and Henry Glassie, as well as the unveiling of an exhibit of American material folk culture. The next year, 1969, the proceedings of the conference were published in a monograph coedited by the Fifes and Glassie and titled *Forms Upon the Frontier*. Austin contributed an essay describing the exhibit, which included artifacts and photographs such as woodsmen's tools from Maine, headdresses from the Pennsylvania Dutch, pottery and chairs from the Eastern Seaboard, crafts from Swedish communities in Kansas, and a variety of forms from the Intermountain West that included rawhide and horsehair work and photographs of "house types, ornamental and practical arts of the ranch and farm, western furniture and symbolic forms, fences, mailboxes, gravestones" (p. 22). The monograph also contained papers and abstracts presented during the workshop. Utah-oriented essays included one on aspen tree carvings coauthored by folklorist Jan Harold Brunvand and John C. Abramson and an abstract by art historian Maury Haseltine reporting on accomplishments and outlining work to be done in documenting Utah gravestones. Also of note is a section in Don Yoder's paper on folk costume dealing with Mormon temple garments. Glassie concluded, "Together the papers provide a statement of the contemporary status of folklife studies in the United States, the areas in which they are strong as well as the areas in which they are weak. With this book we have, also, an exciting glimpse of folklife's future" (p. 2).

In the 1970s, the field of material culture studies continued to evolve as other scholars became interested in the topic. Continuing the work begun in the Fifes' *Saints of Sage and Saddle* (1956) and *Forms Upon the Frontier* (1969), the Folklore Society of Utah published a volume on folk culture titled *Lore of Faith and Folly* (1971). The Fifes' thirteen-page essay, "Unsung Craftsmen," continues their examination of crafts (quilting, rug making, whittling, horsehair work), the built environment (houses, fences, gates, hay derricks), objects people find important enough to collect (Indian relics, fossils, antlers), and graveyards and gravestones with symbolic images and text. Even activities such as canning and butchering were included, foreshadowing later work devoted to foodways. Also in 1971, Jan Harold Brunvand's *A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah* was published, a joint effort by the Folk Culture Committee of the Utah Heritage Foundation and the University of Utah's Center for Studies of the American West. Designed as a call for readers to collect examples of the folklore around them and then submit materials to the university archive, the *Guide* listed folk material culture as one important area for collection, suggesting that "Material folk culture is probably the greatest frontier left in American folklore research and Utah's heritage promises to be one of the richest and most interesting of all" (p. 110).

During the mid-1970s, Utah writers from other disciplines became interested in related topics, a not-too-surprising development given longtime local interest in pioneer times and traditional ways. Horace Sorenson's Pioneer Village (a collection of pioneer-era buildings that was ultimately moved to an amusement park), the many Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP) relic halls—small museums—found throughout the state, and volumes of pioneer reminiscences—*Heart Throbs of the West*, *Treasures of Pioneer History*, *An Enduring Legacy*, and *Our Pioneer Heritage*—published by Kate B. Carter and the DUP starting in 1939, attest to this interest. Material culture studies really took off in the 1970s with Connie Morningstar's well-illustrated book on pioneer furniture, Shirley Paxman's book on the domestic arts of the pioneers, and Chris Rigby Arrington's article on the short-lived pioneer silk industry. Cultural geographer Richard Francaviglia, whose earlier work had helped define what he called the "Mormon cultural region," continued the Fifes' investigation of hay derricks. Richard Poulsen studied the graves of Iosepa, the misplaced settlement of Polynesian pioneers in Utah's west desert, and historian Helen Papanikolas wrote about the social and material traditions of Utah's Greeks in *Toil and Rage in a New Land.* Papanikolas also edited a landmark book, *The Peoples of Utah*, containing fourteen essays—some of which address material culture—about various ethnic groups in the state. The 1970s ended with the publication of two important pieces: Allen D. Roberts's comparison of the historical and contemporary uses of symbol in Mormon material culture and Richard Poulsen's "Folk Material Culture of the Sanpete-Sevier Area," which related the dwindling use of symbol to the loss of cultural identity. Both pieces helped move the study of material culture beyond inventories and descriptions by using culturally understood symbols that decorate or embellish material objects as a starting point for understanding not just the meaning of the symbols but the cultural significance of the objects they decorate.

The decade of the 1980s marked the flowering of material culture studies, beginning with the publication of *Utah Folk Art: A Catalog of Material Culture*, the first attempt to deal comprehensively with the subject. The publication was based on an exhibit of largely historical objects curated by Hal Cannon, who also edited the catalog, which featured articles and photo essays on historic and contemporary material expression. Anthropologist Ann Elizabeth Nelson and folklorist Thomas Carter wrote essays on Native American material traditions and folk architecture, respectively. Historian Nancy Richards wrote on Mormon crafts, focusing the most energy on pioneer furniture makers and thereby helping move the discourse from the artifact to the artisan. Two essays probed beyond the descriptive towards the symbolic, hypothesizing about function and meaning. Art historian Richard Oman and writer Susan Staker Oman provided an essay titled "Mormon Iconography" with emphasis on the persistent use of the beehive symbol, and the Fifes contributed "Gravestone Imagery," with nineteenth- and twentieth-century examples fleshing out their earlier work on the subject. Cannon's photo essays featured frontier furniture, ranch crafts, domestic crafts, woodcarving, and whittling, plus a selection of mostly historical paintings illustrating folklife subjects.

Cannon produced a second exhibition and catalog, *The Grand Beehive*, in 1980, also under the auspices of the Utah Arts Council. This project explored the use of the beehive symbol in historical as well as contemporary times, in both folk and fine art, and by government and commercial entities; the exhibit succeeded in refreshing memories and revitalizing use of this multifaceted state symbol. In the early 1980s, Mark Hamilton further added to the study of iconography with his monograph about the Salt Lake Temple. Elaine Thatcher wrote her master's thesis on nineteenth-century Cache Valley furniture, and Sandi Fox wrote a catalogue on Utah quilts for an exhibit at the Salt Lake Art Center. Shirley Paxman continued her study of domestic crafts and Richard Poulsen, in *The Pure Experience of Order*, expanded his investigation of folk symbolism by analyzing farming practices and the decoration of western fences in addition to discussing architecture and gravestones. Contemporary cultural expressions were also investigated in a supplement to the *Deseret News* on Polynesian-Utahns with an article by anthropologist Joyce Hammond on Polynesian quilts.

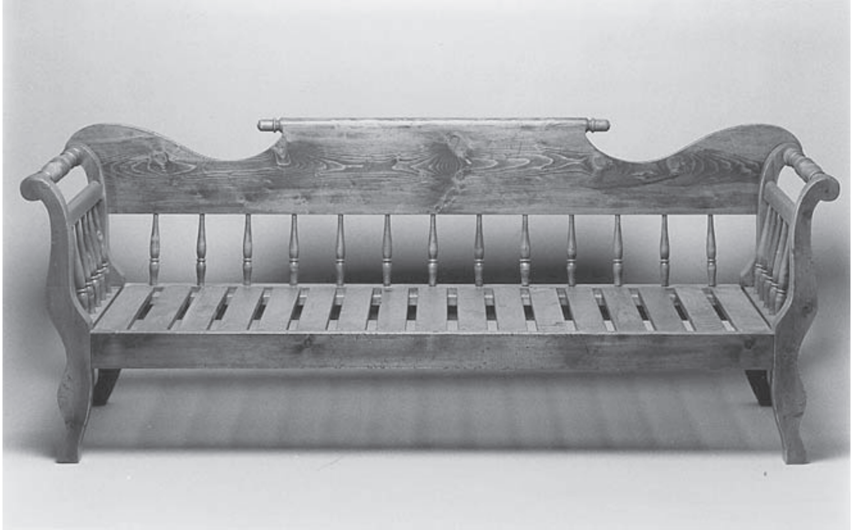
A growing interest in studying gardening, farming, and food preservation and preparation led to a number of studies of Utah foodways throughout the 1980s and '90s. Philip Notarianni, Richard Raspa, and Steve Siporin produced articles on Italian food traditions. Carol Edison documented Mormon foodways in Grouse Creek, Koosharem, and Fountain Green, and Jan Anderson compiled a cookbook of Utah recipes. Later, in 2003, the Utah Humanities Council developed a program called "Key Ingredients," with articles by Andrea Graham and others on regional foodways. Jacqueline S. Thursby and Jill Terry Rudy both published articles on Mormon foodways.

In 1988, a special issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* focusing on nineteenth-century material culture was edited and introduced by Thomas Carter. As Carter explains in his foreword, material culture studies can deal with such questions as the origin, development, and existence of a regional style and how such inquiries can contribute to our understanding of history and culture. The volume includes articles on furniture (Elaine Thatcher), gravestones (Carol Edison), pottery (Kirk Henrichsen), and domestic landscaping (Esther Ruth Truitt). Carter followed this project with another landmark publication coauthored with Carl Fleischhauer for the Library of Congress. *The Grouse Creek*

The cemetery at Fort Douglas, overlooking Salt Lake City, contains many hand-carved red sandstone grave markers.

Cultural Survey reports on an innovative project that investigated the possibility of conducting an inventory of cultural resources, both tangible (material objects) and intangible (verbal or social expressions), with historic preservation specialists and folklorists working together. The work speaks eloquently about the continuity of historical and contemporary folk traditions and suggests that folk communities should be addressed as entities rather than as collections of various expressive genres. A third landmark publication came out at the same time when Alta Fife completed the editing of *Exploring Western Americana*, a compilation of sixteen of Austin's articles, published and unpublished, including five that addressed material culture.

Towards the end of the 1980s, Utah gravestones became a particularly popular topic for folklorists. The Fifes' early interest in gravestones seemed to be bearing fruit. Carol Edison wrote about nineteenth-century markers in Parowan and Salt Lake and about twentieth-century markers in Utah and the Mormon cultural region, addressing carvers and their styles as well as the emergence of Mormon temples as the principal symbol on contemporary Mormon grave markers. George Schoemaker wrote about the cultural and symbolic changes that resulted from technological advances in gravestone production and the parallel changes in symbolism reflected over time on Mormon temples and gravestones. Arizona folklorist Keith Cunningham wrote about a nineteenth-century carver in Utah's Long Valley and published a cross-cultural comparison of Mormon, Zuni, and Navajo graves.



The “Mormon lounge” is a characteristic nineteenth-century piece of furniture that was typically made of softwood, then painted and grained to resemble more prestigious oak or mahogany. Contemporary craftspeople like Dale Peel of Mt. Pleasant make reproductions like this (2000).

Utah furniture seems to be another area of particular interest among folklorists. Moving beyond inventories of products and producers, Elaine Thatcher’s survey of nineteenth-century Cache Valley makers and their products (1988) wrestled with the question of local style, an issue Thomas Carter explored in depth by focusing on the Sanpete Valley’s pine cupboards in “Spindles and Spoon Racks.” His systematic analysis of a controlled group of objects showed how diverse stylistic elements can come together to create a distinctive local form, conveying previously unrecognized values and attitudes. Anne F. Hatch’s piece on her family’s pioneer-era “beehive buffet” deals with the important question of how objects can perpetuate and articulate meaning.

Throughout Utah’s academic community, the last decade of the twentieth century seemed to be a time for summarizing and taking stock. Historian Martha Bradley wrote an entry on folk art and Elaine Thatcher wrote one on material culture for the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (1992). Carol Edison contributed an essay, “Folk and Ethnic Arts in Utah,” to *Utah: State of the Arts* (1993) and an entry on Mormon material culture for *Mormon Americana: A Guide to Sources and Collections in the U. S.* In the same publication, art historian Richard Oman described Mormon quilts and Mormon pine furniture in his essay, “Sources for Mormon Visual Arts.”

In the mid-1990s, the material culture of Utah’s rapidly growing Spanish-speaking population was described by Edison in “Hispanic Folk and Ethnic Arts in Utah,” based on fieldwork done under the auspices of the Utah Arts Council with staff folklorists Anne F. Hatch and Craig R. Miller. The essay was included in their jointly edited publication, *Hecho en Utah [Made in Utah]: A History of Utah's Spanish-Speaking Communities* (1995). Another project of the Utah Arts Council's Folk Arts Program resulted in the 1996 publication of *Willow Stories: Utah Navajo Baskets,* a publication edited by Edison and containing her article, "Willow Stories: An Introduction." Both publications explore the importance of historical and contemporary material traditions and their value in perpetuating community-based skills and values.

In 1995, Marilyn Barker's coffee-table book, *The Legacy of Mormon Furniture,* was published. Primarily a compilation of early furniture makers and a description of their styles, Barker also included information about commonly used finishing techniques such as grain-painting, thereby expanding her audience to antique collectors and reproduction craftsmen. In the same way, Mary Bywater Cross's 1996 *Quilts and Women of the Mormon Migration* provides extensive information for those interested in women's history, migration history, and textile history through text supplemented with a variety of tables and charts. Kae Covington also wrote about quilts, sharing the photographic images and biographies of quilters gathered through a series of Quilt Documentation Days sponsored by the Utah Quilt Guild. And Elaine Bapis's analysis of the form and function of home altars in Greek Orthodox homes offered a contemporary expansion of some of Helen Papanikolas's earlier ethnographic work.

Only two titles appeared between 2000 and 2003—an overview of nineteenth-century gravestone carvers by Edison and an essay by Jacqueline S. Thursby on the use of Mormon temple images on gravestones. But given the history of interest and activity in documenting, analyzing, and writing about Utah's material culture and its crafts traditions—native, domestic, ethnic, and occupational—chances are good that more scholarship and writing about Utah's rich material traditions will take place in the future. Research by academic and public-sector folklorists will continue to expand our understanding of Utah material culture and of the legacy provided by Austin and Alta Fife, pioneers in the study of Utah's traditional culture who played a key role in establishing the study of material culture not only in the state, but in the United States as a whole.

Studies in Utah Vernacular Architecture

Thomas Carter

In a recording called *A Sense of Place,* novelist Wallace Stegner has spoken about the need for people to be placed, to be, that is, of a place. “You don’t know who you are,” Stegner warns, “until you know where you are.” And where you are is, quite simply, your environment, the land where you live. Part of this is natural and existed long before any humans came, and another part consists of fields, factories, houses, and roads, the things people construct in order to live. The way we have chosen to live is physically etched on the land and becomes a presence that affects both our everyday behavior and our collective consciousness. In Utah, for example, you can feel the mountains even when you can’t see them, standing there, providing a majestic backdrop to the neighborhoods we call home.

Historians, cultural geographers, and other scholars are well aware of this close connection between people and place; they have spent considerable time studying what they like to call the human landscape, the ways people have altered the natural world for their own social and economic purposes. Human landscapes are composed of many elements, but buildings have attracted the most attention. Amply endowed with social and cultural content, architecture—and particularly vernacular architecture, the common buildings found in rural and urban areas alike—has consistently served the historian as an index to human values and lifeways. Given Utah’s distinctive settlement history, it is not surprising that there has been a long tradition of vernacular architecture studies here.

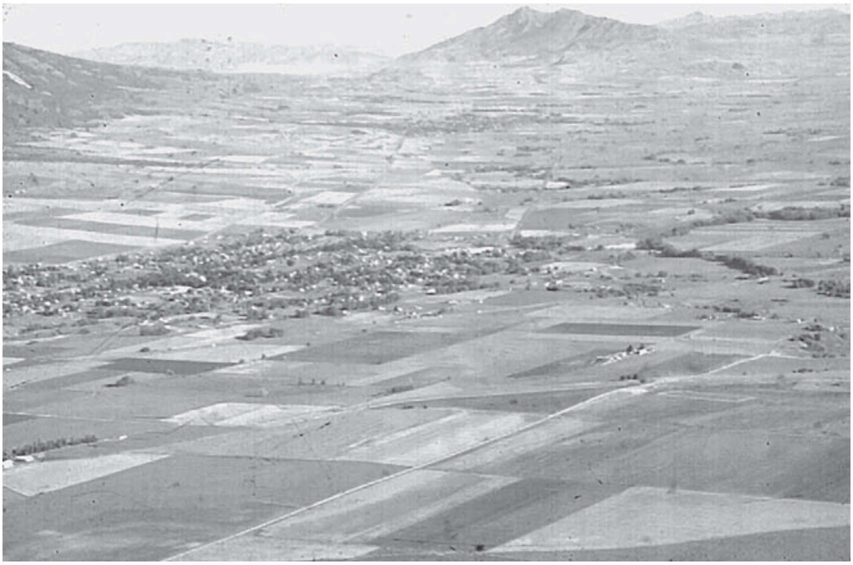
The very idea of Utah’s historical architecture immediately calls to mind the Mormons, who have played such a pivotal role in the state’s history. But the Mormons were not the first people who built dwellings here. Long before Joseph Smith received his revelation in upstate New York, Native American shelters dotted the Utah landscape, each constructed according to the prescribed cultural needs of their builders.

The best inventory of Indian architecture in our region is found in the Great Basin volume (no. 11) of the Smithsonian’s *Handbook of North American Indians,* edited by Warren L. d’Azevedo. This volume surveys the various native cultures within the state and includes a concise architectural description for each. The Western Shoshone, for example, a group that includes the Goshute of western Utah, lived primarily in lodges and caves, shelters well suited to their nomadic existence. The Northern Shoshone and Bannock, who roamed northernmost Utah and southern Idaho, lived in tipis and cone-shaped brush huts, as did the Eastern Shoshone, who occasionally ventured into the land that became northeastern Utah. All of these peoples were tied culturally to their Siouan neighbors to the east, tribes like the Lakota. The tipi eventually diffused southward into central Utah, where it was picked up during the nineteenth century by the Southern Paiutes and by the Utes, who had previously lived in brush huts.

While remarkably inclusive, the architectural information contained in the *Handbook* is necessarily cursory. More focused and therefore more comprehensive is *Native American Architecture* (1989) by Peter Nabokov and Robert Easton. This amply illustrated book is the best modern volume devoted to native building traditions throughout North America, including a great deal about the residents of the Great Basin. As a crossroads of native cultures, Utah is treated primarily within the context of larger chapters on the Great Plains and the Pueblo regions. Of note is the extensive discussion of the Navajo hogan, a building type which is also the subject of Stephen C. Jett's and Virginia E. Spencer's *Navajo Architecture: Forms, History, Distributions* (1981). With this exception, most studies of Native American building traditions in the state concentrate on historic and prehistoric structures; contemporary Indian architecture has been largely neglected.

The European architectural presence in Utah is, for better or worse, more apparent, especially during a winter temperature inversion. The brown cloud hovering over Salt Lake and Utah valleys is a material legacy of the Euro-American occupation of the West that began during the 1820s with the arrival of the mountain men, who left little behind but streams depleted of beaver. But soon there were trading posts, and when men such as Miles Goodyear decided to settle, cabins appeared. Goodyear's log house—probably the first European structure built in what eventually became Utah—is depicted in Jan Harold Brunvand's "A Survey of Mormon Housing Traditions in Utah." The Utah State Division of Parks and Recreation has reconstructed a replica of Fort Buenaventura in Ogden, near where Goodyear's cabin was located. Restored Fort Bridger, in southwestern Wyoming, also helps preserve the architectural imprint of the first years of western exploration by Euro-Americans.

The Mormon Trail passed through Fort Bridger, leading the wagons of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints into the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847. The arrival of the Mormons signals the beginning of another chapter in the human history of the Great Basin landscape. While pioneers in other regions scattered out across the land, Mormons gathered together in small agricultural towns with farmers commuting daily to surrounding fields. Such a nucleated design consciously expressed their communitarian ideals, for Mormons believed—as did other utopian movements of the period—that cooperation



Aerial photograph of the town of Wellsville (Mendon in background) in Cache County shows the village gridiron plan characteristic of Mormon settlements. Instead of dispersing across the landscape, farm families lived in town and walked or rode to their fields.

and group unity would be strengthened through close personal contact. The first intensive investigation of the Mormon settlement pattern was conducted by sociologist Lowery Nelson during the 1920s, with an updated version of his work appearing in 1952 as *The Mormon Village.* Geographer John Reps also provides an extensive history of the Mormon town in *Town Planning in Frontier America* (1969) and *Cities of the American West* (1979). Other thoughtful portraits are offered by Joseph Spencer, Richard H. Jackson, and Charles S. Peterson.

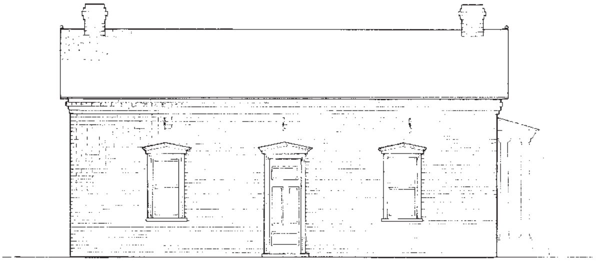
Mormon towns stood like islands in an ocean of mountains and desert, but they were far from isolated. Rather, they existed as links in a chain of settlements radiating out in all directions from the parent colony at Salt Lake City. The complex colonizing system adopted by the Saints in the Great Basin is the subject of several histories, although Leonard J. Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom* (1958) stands out for its excellent discussion of Mormon settlement policies and programs. The Mormon cultural influence on the region has also been extensively researched by geographers, most notably Donald W. Meinig, whose works have become classic studies in western regional history that have inspired many younger scholars.

Among them is Richard Francaviglia, who sought to flesh out the settlement model provided by Meinig by identifying key physical features found in Mormon-settled communities such as the gridiron town plan, irrigation ditches, Lombardy poplars, brick and stone houses, and hay derricks. Francaviglia must also be credited with coining the phrase "The Mormon Landscape," the title of his 1970 Ph.D. dissertation. The term has now achieved a broader meaning as the overarching name for the entire tangible side of Mormon settlement in the West. Francaviglia, of course, was not the first to notice Mormonism's distinctive material culture. In 1948, Austin Fife and James Fife had published a study of hay derricks in the Intermountain West in *Western Folklore*, but Francaviglia was the first to compile a comprehensive inventory of landscape features and to suggest the extent of their areal distribution.

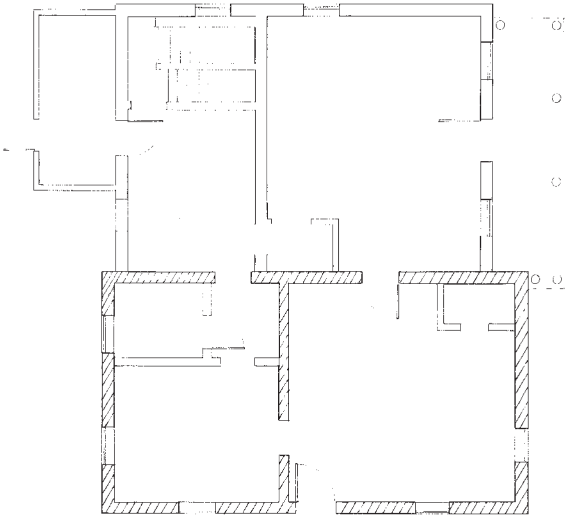
The recognition of a bona fide Mormon culture region with its own settlement characteristics has stimulated research in Mormon material culture generally and in architectural studies in particular. As far back as 1874, the intrepid Elizabeth Wood Kane traveled through Utah and produced *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona.* In 1924, Georgius Y. Cannon published "Early Domestic Architecture in and near Salt Lake City" in the magazine *American Architect and the Architectural Review*, and geographer Joseph C. Spencer's study of Mormon town planning in the Virgin River Valley produced a corollary article on house types of southern Utah. Several master's theses at the University of Utah were also devoted to vernacular architecture during this period. A broader survey showing the influx of housing fashions from the East is Colleen Whitley's *Brigham Young's Homes* (2002).

Not until the 1970s did Utah architectural studies truly gain momentum. This work, largely centered on housing, tended to be either descriptive in its documentation of particular types of Utah housing or directed toward substantiating what was felt to be the "regional" character of Mormon building traditions. Since regionalism implies a degree of internal uniformity—regions are defined by the presence of shared features—the regionalists' task naturally lay in demonstrating the consistency and relative homogeneity of design in Mormon housing. Into the descriptive camp fall overviews of nineteenth-century adobe architecture by Jonathan L. Fairbanks and of Mormon housing by Robert Winter, as well as city and village studies by Fred Markham, Richard Poulsen, and Cindy Rice. Also in the descriptive category is C. Mark Hamilton's research on nineteenth-century architecture and city planning.

Studies emphasizing regional uniformity include Francaviglia's 1971 "Mormon Central-Hall Houses in the American West," Dolores Hayden's Mormon chapter in *Seven American Utopias* (1976), Allen Noble's "Building Mormon Houses: A Preliminary Typology" (1983) and Leon Pitman's Ph.D. dissertation, "A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region" (1973). During these years, too, the first statewide surveys of Utah architecture appeared. Paul Goeldner's *Utah Catalog* (1969) surveyed the results of the work performed in the state by the Historic American Buildings Survey. Peter Goss began teaching history at the University of Utah's Graduate School of Architecture in 1970 and produced what remains the best general chronology in his "The Architectural History of Utah," published in 1975 in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. A broader basic reference work by Thomas Carter and Goss is *Utah's Historic Architecture, 1847–1940: A Guide* (1988).



EAST ELEVATION



FLOOR PLAN

Elevation and floor plan of the Niels Anderson house, Ephraim, Sanpete County, c. 1866. This three-room home, with bedroom and living room in front and kitchen to the rear, was the typical Mormon house during the period 1860–1890.

Another significant development during the 1970s was the initiation of a statewide architectural survey by the staff of the Utah State Historical Society's Preservation Office. This work generated the first comprehensive inventory of Utah's architectural resources. The results of the survey led, among other things, to a revision of the earlier regional paradigm and its assumption of architectural uniformity. New documentation, based on solid field research, revealed the presence of distinctive ethnic building traditions. Linda Bonar pioneered the way with her article "The Influence of the Scots Stonemasons in Beaver" (1981) and in her master's thesis on the Scots builder Thomas Frazer (1980). Thomas Carter's early work centered primarily on the contribution made to Utah's architecture by Scandinavian immigrants. The thesis of homogeneity and conservatism in Mormon architecture is analyzed in his dissertation, "Building Zion: Folk Architecture of Mormon Settlements in Utah's Sanpete Valley" (1984), and in several articles.

Most of these studies have been directed toward the original distribution of particular building styles and types. Attempts have been made, however, to get at the meaning of Utah's built environment. For example, why does the Mormon landscape look the way it does? What do the buildings reveal about deeper cultural values and social relationships among Mormons? Several studies tackle, obliquely at least, these difficult questions. Most notable in this regard is Austin Fife's "The Stone Houses of Northern Utah," a folklorist's attempt to discover the psychological underpinnings of Mormon housing. Mark Leone's penetrating (and undervalued) articles on the razing of the Coalville Tabernacle and on the physical organization of the Mormon village are inquiries into the most fundamental relationships between a people and their buildings. Thomas Carter's application of stucturalist theory to Utah buildings, "Folk Design in Utah Architecture," and an essay by Carter and Keith Bennett, "Houses with Two Fronts," are attempts at defining a particularly Mormon vernacular expression in architectural design.

Worth mentioning too, are studies that explore other aspects of Utah's vernacular landscape. Although Mormon studies have concentrated on domestic subjects, there are several good treatments of ecclesiastical buildings by Laurel Blank Andrew and Allen Roberts, along with Hamilton's essay on the Salt Lake Temple and Robert C. Mitchell's essay on the Mormon Tabernacle. Distinctive landscape features also receive attention. Austin Fife's studies of hay derricks and fences and Mark Leone's inquiry into Mormon town plans and fences are especially thoughtful.

Non-Mormon topics are less plentiful, and the Federal Government's extensive involvement in Utah remains essentially undocumented except for a study of Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City edited by Jody R. Stock. The mining landscape, another key chapter in the state's history, is likewise thin on documentation. Philip F. Notarianni's *Faith, Hope, and Prosperity: The Tintic Mining District* (1982) treats architecture peripherally, and Deborah Lyn Randall's M.A. thesis on Park City traces the stylistic evolution of workers' housing during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, suggesting that, although utilitarian, these houses followed larger trends in American architectural fashion. The architecture of ranching has been similarly neglected, with only *The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey* (1988) by Carter and Carl Fleischauer examining the impact of ranching on the landscape.

Non-Mormon ethnic architectural research has also progressed but has yet to achieve wide publication. Notarianni's exhaustive fieldwork in Carbon County among Italians, Greeks, and Latinos, for example, reveals a great deal about the adaptations made by immigrants to twentieth-century urban America, as does Carter's "The Architecture of Immigration." Likewise, William A. Wilson has discovered and explored several extant Finnish saunas in the mining community of Scofield. One wonders, too, if other examples of ethnic material culture could not be found among Utah's sizeable Latino and Asian populations.

The study of Utah's vernacular landscape remains, despite significant achievement, in its infancy. The process up to now has been largely that of discovery. We have identified most of the principal building types and technologies but know little of their meanings. Even the Mormon landscape needs further investigation, especially the architecture of polygamy. Paul Goeldner wrote his pioneering study, "The Architecture of Equal Comforts," in 1972, hypothesizing that a doubling of external features symbolized the polygamist husband's attempt to treat his wives equally. Thomas Carter's "Living the Principle" offers an alternative view, showing that housing multiple wives was more problematic and that, rather than simple symmetry, there were great disparities in accommodations. Commercial and communal structures are also underrepresented, one exception being Jalynn Olsen's booklet on the commercial and industrial architecture of Ogden.

Subregional traditions—particularly those in the Beaver-Parowan area of southwestern Utah and Bear Lake, Cache County in the north—beg for attention, as do the general topics of agriculture, industrialization, and recreation. Native Americans, ethnic groups, and suburbanites are populations that have largely eluded study, and it is interesting to note that there has never been a study of the contemporary Mormon home. Also to be accomplished is the analysis of the ways the Mormon culture region blends with—and differs from—the broader cultural patterns of the western landscape.

Part IV

Public Programs

UTAH ARTS COUNCIL
UTAH FOLK ARTS
MONDAYS IN THE PARK

Rajab Juma and Tarek Omar, musicians originally from the Middle East, perform at a Mondays in the Park concert in front of the Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts, 1988.

Public Folklore in Utah

Elaine Thatcher

Utah's traditional culture was perhaps first gathered and displayed for public edification either in a Mormon Church-owned museum that was located on Temple Square in Salt Lake City or in "relic halls" operated by the Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP). Early in the twentieth century, the DUP, founded in 1905, started gathering diaries and artifacts from members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) who crossed the plains to Utah before the coming of the railroad in 1869. There are eighty-eight DUP relic halls in Utah, all run by volunteers. The materials on display are generally identified but not interpreted.

During the Works Progress Administration period in the 1930s, some Utah traditional arts such as pioneer needlework were documented by artists and photographers. Then, in the 1960s, a smattering of recordings featuring Utah folklore appeared. Hector Lee's narration of J. Golden Kimball and Brother Petersen stories may be the first effort at interpreting folklore for the public—the record jacket had some minimal notes on how the stories came about. About the same time, Rosalie Sorrels recorded three albums featuring folksongs of Utah and Idaho. In both these cases, the collector became the performer and the original materials were left in the archives, the tradition bearers from whom the materials were collected left unrecognized.

The first release of original, field-gathered folk materials occurred in 1975, when two young traditional music aficionados, Thomas Carter and Hal Cannon, decided to produce a record album featuring songs recorded in the field by early folklorists. As an undergraduate at the University of Utah, Cannon had spent hours listening to the field recordings of Lester Hubbard and Austin and Alta Fife. Carter and Cannon wanted to produce a record that would feature the old recordings along with new versions of them by their band, the Deseret String Band. They wrote to Alan Jabbour, director of the newly minted Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts, inquiring about the possibility of a grant. Jabbour told them that the Endowment would be interested only in the release of the old recordings, not the new interpretations. Cannon recalled in a 2003 interview, "We had no idea. . . . I'd never even heard the word 'revivalist'. . . . That was quite a blow at the time, because to me the interesting thing was that I'd skipped class and gone up and just listened to all the Hubbard material and I loved it, and that it was going to live again."

Carter and Cannon contacted University of Utah folklorist Jan Harold Brunvand, and he helped them put together a successful NEA grant application. With additional money from the University of Utah Bicentennial Committee, the three produced *The New Beehive Songster, Volume One*, with field recordings mostly from the 1940s. The title for the record was adapted from a pamphlet of Utah songs from the 1860s.

For volume two of the project, "New Recordings of Utah Folk Music," Cannon traveled throughout Utah between July 1975 and July 1976, seeking out the same people (or their descendants) that Hubbard and the Fifes had recorded, as well as searching for new people to record. As with the first album, the songs were annotated in an accompanying booklet with an introduction to establish contexts. By the time he completed the fieldwork for this album, Cannon had become convinced of the value and need for supporting authentic traditions and their practitioners.

At about the same time, William A. "Bert" Wilson (see chapter 10), an English and folklore professor at Brigham Young University, began traveling throughout Utah giving lectures on folklore subjects, tailoring each lecture to the region he was visiting: "Coal Mining and Ethnic Minority Folklore" in Price, "Folklore and Local History" in Cedar City, "Green Beans and Golden Gators: The Folklore of Mormon Missionaries" in Provo, and "Forest Folklore: A History Resource" at a Forest Service workshop in Logan. In an interview (7 May 2003), he said that he considered himself "the missionary for folklore in Utah" during this time. He did not consider this kind of work public folklore, which for him had negative connotations because his attitude had been shaped by his association with Indiana University professor Richard Dorson and others who were wary of any use of folklore outside the academy. Wilson rather saw this work as an extension of his academic calling. However, his feelings about public folklore underwent a major change, beginning with his experience presenting the Meldrum family of quilters at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival in 1976. There he observed how festival patrons interacted with the Meldrums and saw that there was a public good being served by making people aware of their own traditions.

While these early projects and events brought folklore to the general public, a state-sponsored folk arts program had its Utah beginnings at the Utah State Division of Fine Arts (later to be known as the Utah Arts Council) in 1976. Utah has the oldest arts agency in the country—it was founded in 1899 with an all-volunteer board and staff and a state allocation. By the mid-1970s, the agency had been professionalized, and at a time when many other states were just starting to create their own arts agencies, Utah, with a reliable budget of state funds, was poised to take advantage of NEA dollars to create new programs and positions. During this period, the Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts was actively encouraging states to hire folk arts coordinators. The NEA's first folk arts program director, Alan Jabbour, and Bess Lomax Hawes, who succeeded him and expanded the program, actively nurtured new state folk arts programs. Over the years, Hawes became a friend and mentor to many young folk arts coordinators around the country.

Ruth Draper, director of the Division of Fine Arts, wrote a grant to the NEA for such a position, using state funds plus money from the Utah American Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission to match the federal funds requested. She found language in the agency's original enabling legislation that referred to stimulation "of an indigenous art, literature and music in this state," language which she saw as compatible with folk arts. She had in mind hiring Hal Cannon, whom she had known since he was a young boy and who had heard of her plans and expressed an interest in the position. Cannon had a master's degree in film from the Rhode Island School of Design and a bachelor's in journalism from the University of Utah. His lack of background in academic folklore concerned some people, but Draper became convinced that Cannon could do the job. He had taken some of Brunvand's folklore courses at the University of Utah as an undergraduate, and his friend Carter, who had gone to Indiana University to earn a Ph.D. in folklore, had a background that helped Cannon understand the basics of folklore theory, fieldwork, and scholarship. Cannon also accompanied traditional singer Kenneth Ward Atwood to the 1976 Smithsonian Folklife Festival, where he was able to rub shoulders with folklorists from around the country. Nevertheless, he knew there were skeptical eyes on him, and he felt pressure to produce good work in the first year of the program.

When Cannon was hired as the state folk arts coordinator, his was one of the first such positions in the country. Henry Glassie had worked as a state folklorist in Pennsylvania in 1966, though his was not a folk arts coordinator position as such jobs were later defined. As other arts agencies took up the challenge to establish folk arts programs, George Carey was hired in Maryland (1974) and Linda White in Tennessee (1975). As soon as he was officially employed in 1976, Cannon created a low-cost brochure that included a definition of folk arts, a list of the Utah Folk Arts Project's goals, a short bibliography, and the names of the Folk Arts Advisory Panel: Gail Barnette Della Piana (a member of the Fine Arts Board), Jan Brunvand, Ruth Draper, USU folklorist Austin Fife, Rowan Stutz (coordinator of arts in education for the State Office of Education), and Bert Wilson.

The presence of three academic folklorists on that committee was not a mistake. From the beginning, academic folklorists worked with and advised public sector folklorists in Utah. Cannon had first met Barre Toelken, Jan Brunvand, and Polly Stewart (a native of Utah who later had a teaching career in Maryland) through folk music networks. He consulted with Brunvand and Wilson when thinking about how to start the state folk arts program. This cooperative relationship between public and academic folklorists that began in the 1970s has continued to the present, and the folk arts advisory panel established then has continued to include academics. Part of this cooperation may be due to the fact that there were and are a disproportionately large number of academic folklorists in the state; even in the mid-1970s, Brigham Young University, the University of Utah, and Utah State University all had trained folklorists on their faculties. But, as Cannon said, ". . . it could have been a real revival sort of a deal. If I [had] . . . said, 'Oh, let's just have a bunch of folkies,' . . . it could have turned out very differently."

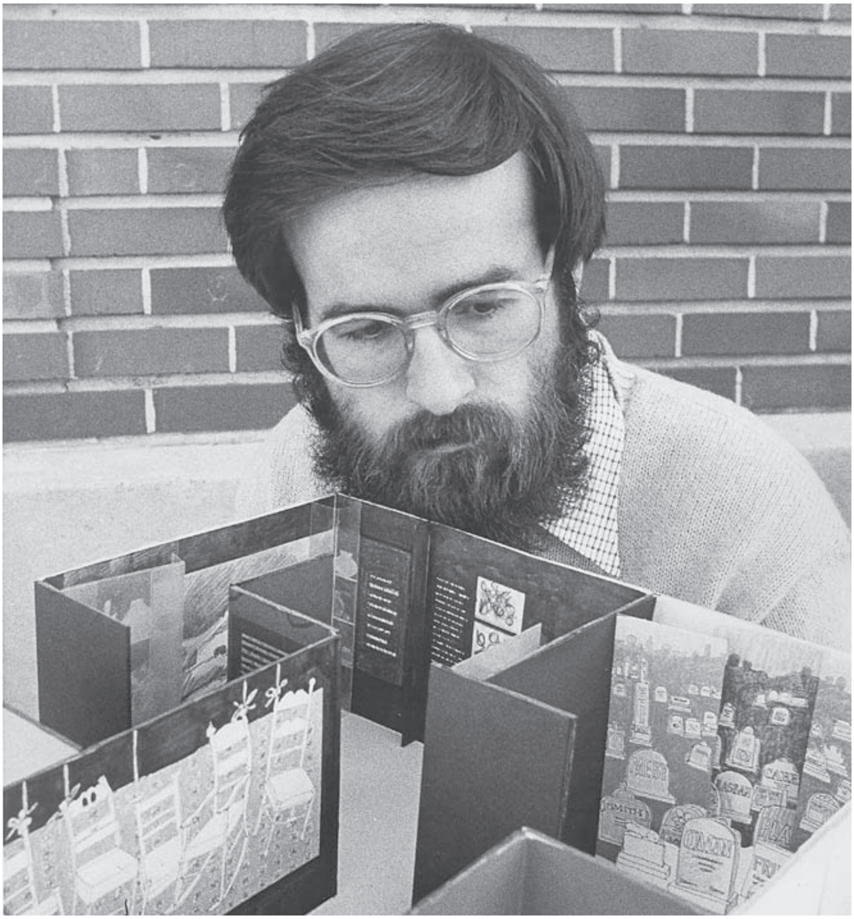
In the first year of the Utah Folk Arts Project, a building year, survey work was carried out, technical assistance was provided to several festivals, a statewide teacher-training workshop was held, and classroom workshops were given. Cannon also traveled around the state speaking about the program.

In the second year, Cannon created the Southern Utah Folklife Festival at Zion National Park in partnership with the National Park Service. The festival ran for many years, later under the sponsorship of Dixie College. At first, it was a project of the Utah State Division of Fine Arts, with Cannon and several hired hands making it work. It featured, in the words of Cannon's report to the NEA, "interesting, indigenous expressions, peculiar to the desert region, such as water-witching, desert plant use, sandstone cutting, unique pioneer music traditions, and Southern Paiute lifeways." The festival was funded by an NEA grant of $5,000 along with smaller contributions from the Division of Fine Arts, the National Park Service, the National Park Service Foundation, and the National Council for the Traditional Arts. A recording of the festival's music was made by the National Public Radio program, *Folk Festival USA*, and the University of Utah's public television station shot video footage there as well. Cannon enticed the radio program to cover the festival by telling the producers that they never featured western festivals or authentic folk musicians. "I sort of shamed them into coming down to record our program. . . . And then they went back and . . . edited out all the real great stuff," retaining only the folk-revival singers—Toelken, Cannon, and the Deseret String Band—rather than the featured tradition-bearers.

By the end of the first eighteen months of the Utah Folk Arts Project, it became clear to Cannon that he had many more ideas than he could pursue, so he hired Carol Edison, a family friend who was completing a master's degree in English, to go to southern Utah to manage the second Southern Utah Folklife Festival. There she worked with Bob Dalton of Dixie College and put on a successful festival in spite of never having done such work before.

In the meantime, Cannon began thinking about doing an exhibition of Utah folk art. The Library of Congress sponsored three meetings for public folklorists during these years, and there Cannon met and befriended Jim Griffith (Arizona), Mike Korn (Montana), Suzi Jones (first Oregon, then Alaska), Steve Siporin (Oregon and Idaho), Jane Beck (Vermont), and Steve Ohrn (Iowa), among others. The coordinators shared ideas and discussed work-related challenges, talking on the phone frequently. In particular, Cannon kept in touch on an almost daily basis with Jones, who had recently completed a similar folk arts exhibition in Oregon.

The exhibit was conceived as a survey project with a catalog to be published by BYU Press, and it was timed to coincide with the American Folklore Society



Hal Cannon examines a model of the Utah Folk Arts Exhibition, which debuted at the Hotel Utah in October, 1978.

meetings scheduled for Salt Lake City in the fall of 1978. Cannon hired fieldworkers: Thomas Carter, back from Indiana, worked on vernacular architecture; Ann Nelson researched Native American arts; Richard Oman gathered Mormon folk art; and Nancy Richards documented early Mormon furniture. Susan Oman oversaw the gathering of folk art for the exhibit, most of it borrowed from collectors and museums.

Once again working beyond their experience, Cannon and a group of helpers mounted an impressive exhibit, complete with a continuously running film of performances, in the Empire Room of the historic Hotel Utah downtown. The elegant room itself posed challenges for such a project because nothing could be hung on the walls; even the lighting had to be completely self-contained within the structure of the exhibit panels. Utahns who viewed the exhibit were generally enthusiastic, but unfortunately, not many people saw it. It was the year that many folklorists boycotted the AFS meeting to register their displeasure with the Mormon Church's opposition to the federal Equal Rights Amendment, and even locals did not turn out in large numbers, perhaps because of inadequate publicity. Later, however, the show traveled to other locations in the state, including Brigham Young University and the College of Southern Utah, where it was well-received. The attractive catalog, edited by Cannon, has remained a landmark publication on Utah folk art.

During the same period, a strong sense of community developed among state folk arts coordinators throughout the country as they created programs and approaches that would define public folklore for many years. In addition to gathering at the Library of Congress and at American Folklore Society meetings, they were from time to time invited to observe the NEA Folk Arts Panel as it reviewed grant applications. This experience gave them an intensive look at what was going on around the country and taught those who had less formal training the standards of the field as NEA had defined them. This association eventually led coordinators from the western states to come together at a regional meeting and, later, to develop a regional project focused on cowboy poetry. Both were the result of the westerners' feeling that the eastern establishment did not fully understand them or their constituencies.

Following the Utah Folk Art exhibit, the program produced a flurry of other projects. Cannon obtained additional funding to hire Edison full-time as assistant folk arts coordinator starting in November 1978. In its third year, in addition to the exhibition and the Southern Utah Folklife Festival, the program sponsored folk artists in the schools and a gravestone exhibition, gave funding to the Fife Folklore Conference (see chapter 24), provided technical assistance to a Scandinavian festival, and embarked on a survey of the music of Carbon and Grand counties. Folk artists from Carbon County were featured at the Utah Arts Festival that year, and that work led to a larger project on Carbon County ethnic music a couple of years later.

In 1979, Cannon decided to do another exhibition. In his work with the Utah Folk Art show, he had been impressed with the number of beehives he found in various places. Deriving from a Book of Mormon reference to honeybees, the beehive is a pervasive Mormon symbol connoting hard work and a willingness to sting outsiders who might try to bother the Saints in their isolated Great Basin home. Cannon approached Allen Dodworth, the director of the new Salt Lake Art Center, about collaborating on an exhibit that would focus on beehives in Utah culture. Cannon proposed an exhibit that would include not only traditional arts but also fine artists' interpretations of beehives, commissioned works from folk artists, popular arts such as business signs, and a "correspondence art" component featuring postcards sent in by over one hundred artists from around the world. The idea of commissioning folk artists to produce items using designs they would not ordinarily use, along with taking a folk/popular symbol and inviting fine artists to interpret it, evidently made the NEA Folk Arts Panel uncomfortable. They did not fund Cannon's grant request. However, the idea was attractive to Mervyn's Department Stores, which signed on as a sponsor.

The exhibit, which was on display at the Salt Lake Art Center from 12 September through 19 October 1980, was, in comparison to the Utah Folk Art exhibit, very popular. It was visually impressive and it resonated with local interest in history, heritage, and religious symbolism. It also gave needed visibility to the Folk Arts Program and built bridges between the folk arts and fine arts communities. After it closed, it traveled to the Renwick Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C., where it was on display for more than seven months in 1981.

At about the same time, other public folklore projects were being developed around the state. Bert Wilson, who had moved to Utah State University to develop a folklore program there, received NEA grants in 1979 and 1980 to identify, document, and present folk artists of northern Utah, southern Idaho, and western Wyoming at the Fife Conference and the Festival of the American West. The festival was an annual summer event of USU's Student Services and Development divisions, and folklorists and historians have had major doubts about it throughout its existence, primarily over the festival's accuracy in representing history and culture. Wilson thought to use NEA funds to bring in authentic folk artists for the festival, hoping to demonstrate to the organizers the difference between real tradition bearers and revivalists/reenactors. He also hoped that the interpretive signage used in the folk arts area would be an example for the festival organizers on how to make a public event both entertaining and educational. During the years of the NEA grants, Wilson's ideas were implemented, but they were largely abandoned afterward despite a short-lived committee of folklorists and historians that advised the festival in the 1990s. That group eventually resigned to protest the fact that their advice went unheeded.

In 1981, the growing community of western state folklorists decided to meet together to discuss issues of mutual concern. They received an NEA grant to pay their travel expenses, despite Bess Lomax Hawes's opposition. Hawes was throughout her career a supportive mentor for folk arts coordinators and a tireless advocate for the inclusion of traditional arts in federally funded programs; her influence can still be seen in the hundreds of community-based programs, from festivals to exhibits to publications, that came out of state folk arts programs. As state programs had developed, however, art forms that had not previously been documented by folklorists began to emerge, and the question of excellence in the arts had become harder to determine. Hawes's doubts about the utility of the regional gathering may have come out of the feeling that the development of regional associations might mean the loss of the NEA's control over definitions of artistic quality and community, with a possible result being the Folk Arts Program's vulnerability to criticism at the Endowment.

The first regional gathering of public sector folklorists was held June 22–26, 1981, in conjunction with the Fife Folklore Conference at Utah State University. The participating coordinators sent letters of support to the Endowment after

Throughout the 1980s, public-sector folklorists from around the western United States met annually in conjunction with the Fife Folklore Conference at Utah State University. Working sessions were held in the Fife Folklore Archives.

the meeting, expressing their hope that the gathering could receive more funding in the future, which it did, for a meeting held June 14–18, 1982. An important feature of having the meetings at the same time and place as the Fife Folklore Conference was the interchange between the public and the academic folklorists. The public folklorists gave one or two presentations to the Fife Conference audience, they often attended lectures by their academic colleagues—who came from various institutions from all around the country—and they were part of all the social gatherings of the Conference. This interaction further strengthened the friendship between Utah's public and academic folklorists.

The most important and far-reaching idea to come out of the western state folklorists' meetings was the very idea of a regional public folklorists' gathering. Since the first western meeting in 1981, several other such conferences have been created around the country. These gatherings have played an important role in policy, training, and program development in regional, state, and local folk arts programs. Early agendas of the western meetings show some of the same general areas of concern that continue to be discussed today: funding, organizational issues, fieldwork, and advocacy. Other topics have arisen as times have changed: the organization and preservation of archives, the situation of the next generation of public folklorists, cultural equity, intellectual property, and many other subjects. In addition, the western meeting has always included professional development workshops in areas such as writing, photography, audio production, and field recording.

The Utah Arts Council's Folk Arts Program and Utah State University continued to host the western meetings until 1993, when I went to work for the Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF) as the regional folk arts coordinator. At that point, I took on the management of the meetings and, after polling the group about a change in location, that year held them in Santa Fe, where WESTAF was located. This shift allowed the folklorists to attend sessions of the concurrent conference of the Western Alliance of Arts Administrators (WAAA) in Albuquerque. The change of location for the meetings was refreshing, both for the Utah folklorists, who had spent a tremendous amount of time over the years making arrangements, organizing field trips, and otherwise planning the meetings, and for the folklorists who attended, who had the opportunity to learn something about cultural groups and activities in another part of the West. From that time on, the group voted to move the meeting around the region.

The second important idea to emerge from the early years of these western meetings was the concept of interstate cooperation on a regional folk arts project. The topic was discussed at the first and second Fife gatherings, and also at a September 1982 meeting in Santa Fe organized by WESTAF. Previously, at a Library of Congress meeting of state folk arts coordinators, Arizona's Jim Griffith had broached the idea to other westerners that cowboy poetry, a tradition that could be found in most western states, might be an appropriate topic for a cooperative project. About 1983, prompted by discussions at the western regional meetings, Hal Cannon and Steve Siporin wrote an NEA grant application on behalf of the Sun Valley (Idaho) Center for the Arts and Humanities for fieldwork and planning for a cowboy poetry conference. Again, there were concerns at NEA about the project, according to Cannon, because of a sense that folk poetry might somehow lower the artistic standards of the NEA program, which had struggled hard and often to prove to skeptics that folk art could be of the highest artistic quality in its sphere, just as fine art could. Bert Wilson, serving on the NEA Folk Arts Panel, went to bat for western traditions, making the case for folk poetry—and cowboy poetry in particular—as a vibrant, community-based art form that ran the artistic gamut from hackneyed to ingenious and elevating. He was the driving force behind the funding that was awarded for the cowboy poetry fieldwork and planning, and later for implementation.

Cannon and Gary Stanton conducted much of the fieldwork for the Cowboy Poetry Gathering, but a major factor in the success of the event was the state folk arts coordinators' participation, both as fieldworkers and as staff for the first Gathering, which took place in January 1985. Some of the NEA grant money was distributed to the states to help defray fieldwork costs. The Gathering has continued as an annual event, now designated the National Cowboy Poetry Gathering, thanks to an Act of Congress; it celebrated its twentieth year with a retrospective exhibit in 2004.

From 1982 to 1985, Carol Edison's position as assistant folk arts coordinator had been funded by grants from the NEA, with her work centering primarily on documenting Native American, refugee, and rural communities and the

Navajo basket weaver Mary Holiday Black receives the Governor's Award in Folk Art from Utah Governor Michael Leavitt.

production of education materials; in 1985, the state assumed responsibility for her salary. In 1983, a third position—initially part-time and funded by grant monies—was created at the Folk Arts Program, and subsequently Craig R. Miller, David Stanley, Anne F. Hatch, and George H. Schoemaker worked there. Edison became coordinator after Cannon decided in 1985 to create the Western Folklife Center in Elko, Nevada, to administer the annual Cowboy Poetry Gathering; subsequently he served as executive director of the Center and later opened a Salt Lake City office to create media products, including radio programs and video productions, with the help of producer Taki Telonidis. The Western Folklife Center was, in fact, an outgrowth of the Utah Folklife Center, created as a nonprofit by Cannon in the late '70s as a means to raise money to support the programming of the Folk Arts Program.

Throughout the early years of the state folk arts program, no grants were awarded to cultural organizations in the state; instead, the program focused on fieldwork and special projects that presented Utah's traditional cultures to the public. In 1982, the arts council created the Governor's Folk Art Award, which was strictly honorific—no funds went with it. Later, two more awards were added to the program: the Cultural Heritage Award for people who weren't traditional artists but who helped maintain cultural identity, and the Service to Folk Art Award for people who, although not artists, assisted folk artists and their communities.

It was also in the mid-1980s that Bert Wilson was appointed to the Utah Arts Council board, with the specific idea that he would represent folk arts.

Thomas Carter and Margaret K. Brady had written letters to then-Governor Scott Matheson asking that a folklorist position be established on the board. The board had several slots designated for artists, one of which was "craftsman." In 1992, the legislature redefined that slot for a "folklore or folk arts working artist." That position has since been filled by an academic folklorist, including, in addition to Wilson, Barre Toelken and Brady.

It is remarkable that, beginning in 1983, Utah had a folk arts staff of three when most other state folk arts programs, especially in the West, had only one staff person. The presence of a folklorist on the UAC board was indicative of deep support for this kind of work and was certainly a factor in educating the board about the importance of folk arts. In a joint interview, Edison pointed out that each new staff addition was done with grant funds, so the small programming budget was never tapped for personnel. She said, ". . . we made the argument that people made the difference. . . . we could do a lot with elbow grease if we just had staff." Stanley added that another argument probably helped convince the board to support additional staffing: "[W]e were the only game in the state. That is, there were lots of museums that had visual arts collections, there were lots of creative writing programs in literature, but in terms of folklore . . . there was no exhibition space, nobody was producing concerts. . . . we weren't duplicating what other entities could or should be doing and we were not competing for either public charitable contributions or government money or foundation money or grant money." Edison also pointed out that as the National Endowment for the Arts began to place emphasis on serving "underserved" communities, the folk arts program was able to fulfill that need for the Utah Arts Council, so it was a good time to ask the board for more support.

The Cowboy Poetry Gathering was not the only folklife project focusing on cowboys and ranchers. In 1985, the Library of Congress, the Utah State Historic Preservation Office, the Utah Arts Council, the Western Folklife Center, the National Park Service, and Utah State University teamed up to do an intensive fieldwork project in Grouse Creek in far northwestern Utah. It was devised as a collaboration of folklorists, architectural historians, and historians to document both the tangible and intangible aspects of a community in order to understand it better, demonstrate the potential of cooperative research efforts, and possibly impact policies affecting historic preservation and cultural conservation. For three intensive weeks, researchers including Cannon, Edison, and Carter, who was the project manager, lived and worked in Grouse Creek. The work was grueling but the outcome was important. While such a large cooperative project is financially daunting to produce, the book that resulted from the work, edited by Carter and Carl Fleischhauer, showed the potential benefits of interagency and cross-disciplinary collaboration, especially in land management planning. Another cowboy project was Carol Edison's *Cowboy Poetry from Utah: An Anthology* (1985), based on fieldwork conducted for the Cowboy Poetry Gathering.

In the late 1980s, the Folk Arts Program increasingly turned its attention to ethnic groups and their traditions, moving away from its early focus on documenting the traditions of what the staff thought to be the last generation of old-time Mormon folk artists. Projects had been completed in the early 1980s on Laotian refugee arts, Polynesian quilting and music, and ethnic music. The appointment of Craig R. Miller, who had long been involved in ethnic folk dance and who was a founder of a popular Eastern European festival called Utahslavia, helped to turn the program's direction. In addition, the staff had been in contact with other folk arts coordinators from around the country and had observed the variety of projects being accomplished with ethnic communities. Looking back, Edison commented that the program's efforts to revitalize old-time Mormon arts "were not perceived well nationally. I stayed away from it. We moved into more focus on ethnic communities and minority communities in the state and I don't think we ever really looked back." She commented further that perhaps the Folk Arts Program should have paid more attention to Mormon culture "because we certainly have encouraged revitalization and revivalism in other communities, in ethnic communities and Native communities. We pat people on the back, we encourage them, we try and enable them to do that. Yet when it comes to our own cultural group, we haven't done any of those things in a very big way."

Beginning in 1987, Miller hosted a weekly program, "Utah Traditions," on community radio station KRCL. It began as a thirteen-part introduction to folk music in Utah funded by the Utah Humanities Council, intended, in the words of the program report, to explore "the process of how folk music is passed from one generation to the next, the context of family and community in maintaining traditions, and how folk music functions to reinforce cultural identity. Five additional programs explored religious music of Utah's Black residents, and three more programs explored the heritage and traditions of Utah's Greek community. Later programs explored ethnic traditions, community celebrations and the roots of contemporary folk expression in Utah."

In 1985, the Folk Arts Program was housed in an old water-pumping station in Salt Lake City's Reservoir Park, and the city had just announced plans to demolish the building. At the same time, Ruth Draper resigned from the UAC and became a regional representative of the NEA, and a new executive director, Carol Nixon, came to the arts council. At around the same time, the UAC Visual Arts Program, which had remodeled the historic Isaac Chase/Brigham Young home in Liberty Park to serve as exhibition space, announced that it would vacate the building. When the visual arts coordinator offered the building to the folk arts staff, they jumped at the opportunity to create a folk art museum.

The Folk Arts Program moved into the Chase Home in Fall 1986 and immediately the staff began to think more in terms of annual programs than the special projects that had previously occupied the program. Stanley pointed out, ". . . all of a sudden we had a facility to manage, walls to cover . . . concerts to arrange, and so the emphasis on special projects declined by a lot. And we started emphasizing annual recurring ones much more."

One of the annual projects developed by the staff was the Living Traditions Festival, conceived primarily by Edison in partnership with the Salt Lake City

Arts Council. The first festival was in May 1986, and it soon became an annual event on the weekend preceding Memorial Day weekend. Living Traditions focuses on the traditional arts of ethnic, occupational, and other communities within the Salt Lake Valley. It has done much to change local perceptions that Utah lacks ethnic diversity. Another benefit of the festival has been the building of trusting relationships between the Folk Arts Program and the ethnic communities in the Salt Lake Valley. Edison pointed out that because the festival provided opportunities for ethnic groups to share their traditions and make a little money, it became easier for the folklorists to approach those groups and to follow up with in-depth fieldwork in succeeding years.

Partnerships such as Living Traditions helped build support for the UAC Folk Arts Program and allowed the staff to develop networks with other organizations. Stanley worked with the Salt Lake Mayor's office on a downtown revitalization project focused on healthy neighborhoods, and he also helped document and present crafts traditions for Celebrate the City Festivals in 1985 and 1988, which marked the restoration of the ornate City & County Building, built in 1892. Stanley documented the work of stone cutters, slate roofers, gold-leaf artists, decorative plasterers, and other traditional craftspeople during the restoration and produced a photographic exhibition of their work.

Another fruitful partnership for the UAC Folk Arts Program was with the Folklore Society of Utah (see chapter 23). The society, which had been founded in 1958, had had its ups and downs over the years. Thomas Carter became president of the Society in the 1980s and initiated the production of a folklore newsletter. Around 1984, Stanley took over the editing of the newsletter and continued to do so after he joined the UAC staff. The Folk Arts Program used the newsletter to publicize its events, and Stanley also developed the newsletter as a place where people could publish short articles on various aspects of Utah folklore. The two organizations shared printing and mailing costs, and the Folklore Society managed the sales of recordings and publications pertinent to Utah folklore.

When Stanley was hired by the Folk Arts Program, one of his responsibilities was to work with schools. He conducted several teacher workshops aimed at encouraging teachers to incorporate more folk arts and folk artists into the classroom. However, such training was having only limited effect in the classroom, so in the late 1980s, the Folk Arts Program partnered with the UAC's Arts in Education program to arrange for folklorist residencies in the schools. The program hired independent folklorists like me (I did a month-long elementary-school residency in Vernal in September 1989) and graduate students like Karen Krieger from the folklore program at Utah State University to fill these residencies.

In 1989, in addition to his work on the program's annual projects, Stanley undertook a project on storytelling in which he made field recordings in context, recordings of groups of people whose members knew each other well and liked to tell stories. The groups included river guides, quilters, railroaders, and teenagers at a slumber party. The result of his work was a thirteen-part radio series, *Listening In: Utah Storytelling*, that was also released on cassette with an accompanying booklet. The series proved to be valuable in the classroom and was used by teachers of folklore in secondary and higher education.

Also in 1989 and again in concert with national trends, the Utah Arts Council received NEA funds to start a folk arts apprenticeship program. The federal funds were used to hire Craig R. Miller as apprenticeship program manager, and state money was used for the grants awarded to master artists to instruct apprentices. The Utah folklorists based their program on a model developed by Barbara Rahm in California as well as bits and pieces of other similar programs around the country. In the early years of the apprenticeship program, twelve to eighteen grants were awarded each year. By the late 1990s, that number had fallen lower, averaging around eight awards per year, probably because the folklorists were occupied with more annual programs, the renovation of the Chase Home, and bringing the archives up to standard. The staff learned quickly that applications in any given year tended to come from communities where fieldwork was being done.

The decade of the 1990s was one of growth in annual programs like Living Traditions and the Mondays in the Park concert series, in which folk artists performed in front of the Chase Home on summer evenings. Mondays were chosen for these concerts because in Mormon culture, Monday nights are reserved for family activities, and the folk arts staff figured that a free outdoor concert would attract families. The conjecture was correct, the concerts became increasingly popular, and the schedule was eventually expanded from one month of Monday concerts to two.

The 1990s were also a period of museum development. The Chase Home proved to be a hospitable environment for folk arts. The need to fill its galleries drove much of the fieldwork that was done after the program moved there. Edison was the power behind the development of the museum and its exhibits, with a new one every year until the building's 2000 renovation. Exhibits included "Save It For A Rainy Day" (1990), focusing on adaptive reuse and recycling of materials into art; "Hecho en Utah" (1992), a major project that included not only an exhibition of the arts of Spanish-speaking residents but also a lecture series, twelve concerts, three cassettes of music, and a book; "Shared Legacies" (1993), exhibiting the work of artists who participated in the first five years of the apprenticeship program; "Underneath the Western Skies" (1995) focusing on cowboy crafts; and "Willow Stories: Contemporary Navajo Baskets from the Simpson Collection" (1994), which represented only a small part of a major fieldwork effort dealing with Navajo basketry in the Douglas Mesa area of Monument Valley, where the art of Navajo basketry was preserved while it disappeared from other parts of the Navajo Nation. Thanks to Edison's nomination, basket weaver Mary Holiday Black received a National Heritage Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts in 1995, the first Navajo and the first Utahn to be so honored.

In 2000, after years of work by Edison to generate interest and raise funds, the Chase Home was renovated. The building is owned by the city of Salt Lake but houses a state-sponsored program, and much negotiating was necessary before renovation and financing plans were agreed upon. The building was sagging in several places, and the original adobe brick walls were deteriorating in spots as well. It also did not meet federal accessibility standards, and it was cold in the winter and insufferably hot in the summer. The restored building is ideal for the display of folk arts and stands as a monument to Edison's persistence and vision. Its setting in Liberty Park, a central gathering place, makes it easy for members of ethnic groups living nearby to visit the museum when they are in the park. It has four galleries that currently display 135 objects from the 267-piece state folk art collection, dating from the mid-1970s to the present.

In 1990, the Utah Legislature created an arts endowment in the state with an allocation of $2.3 million, which served as matching funds for $750,000 that came from NEA. Largely through David Stanley's efforts, the earnings from $150,000 of this NEA money were eventually earmarked to fund a new grant category, Ethnic Arts Grants, to be administered by the Folk Arts Program. These grants are "designed for Utah's ethnic communities to revitalize, strengthen and present their traditional or national art forms" (http://arts.utah.gov/folkarts/ethnicgrants.html). The Ethnic Arts Grants (both individual artists and organizations are eligible) fund not only traditional folk arts, but also popular and classical arts of ethnic communities, and they thus fill a gap that has often been problematic for folk arts programs.

As in other state folk arts programs, the Utah staff have found their time increasingly taken up with administrative duties and annual programs with less time available for fieldwork and special projects. However, through their nurturing over the years and the dissemination of grant funds to artists and communities, the infrastructure of folk arts has been strengthened. Organizations like ethnic dance groups, community centers, and local festivals are generally doing well and passing on their traditions thanks to the efforts of the folklorists at the Utah Arts Council, who now spend much of their time managing grant programs, providing technical assistance, and overseeing an important new effort to organize, stabilize, and make accessible the archival materials that the program has collected since 1976. A sound engineer has been hired to digitize the collections, and the Utah Folk Arts Program has become a national model for the indexing and storage of state folk arts collections, including photographs, recordings, and objects of art. The program is now participating with several other western state programs in a consortium dedicated to making such collections more accessible via the Internet and other resources. George H. Schoemaker, who joined the staff in 2000, takes the lead in much of this work, contributing both his academic background in folklore and his knowledge of computer technology.

Over the years the staff has produced a number of recordings and publications featuring Utah folk art traditions. Of particular note is Miller's work documenting old-time social dance traditions among rural Mormons. His research led to *An Old-Time Utah Dance Party,* cassette and CD versions of field recordings; a booklet covering the history of the tradition; and a spiral-bound booklet containing piano versions of the recordings along with dance steps. This project illustrates how the Folk Arts Program can help perpetuate Utah's traditional arts by preserving information so that it will be available to traditional communities for their future needs.

In addition to the Folk Arts Program, other institutions are contributing fieldwork and public programming. In 2001, the Bear River Association of Governments (BRAG) based in Logan, Utah State University's Mountain West Center for Regional Studies and its folklore program, and other entities, working in partnership with the Office of State History, began developing the Bear River Heritage Area. This heritage area, encompassing three counties in northern Utah and four in southeastern Idaho, is focused on economic development, tourism, and heritage preservation. In the earliest meetings dealing with the heritage area, BRAG Economic Development Director Cindy Hall invited USU folklorist Randy Williams to participate. Williams recommended that fieldwork be done to identify the cultural resources of the region, and she helped the heritage area raise funds from State History and the Utah Community Cultural Heritage Coordinating Committee, an interagency entity. Using these funds, three Utah State University folklore students were hired to work under the direction of independent folklorist Andrea Graham of Pocatello, Idaho. With some help from Williams and me, they spent the summer of 2001 interviewing, recording, and photographing tradition-bearers in the three Utah counties. In 2003, NEA funding was received to pay for similar work to be done in the Idaho counties, again with Graham leading the fieldworkers. The result of this work has been the production of a guidebook and website focusing on the cultural resources of the area. The Bear River Heritage Area Council, a group of business, tourism, government, and education leaders, continues to develop programs to promote those resources. The fieldwork documents (slides, tapes, notes) are housed in the Fife Folklore Archives at Utah State University.

Williams, whose advocacy of fieldwork for the heritage area was so effective, has been a quiet presence in Utah public sector folklore. A 1993 master's graduate of the USU folklore program, she was initially hired as archival assistant to Barbara Lloyd, then the Fife Folklore Archives director. Williams immediately became involved in public-sector projects. Building on her experience writing folklore curriculum for fourth-graders, she was hired by the Children's Museum of Utah to write curriculum to accompany a ranching exhibition. In 1994, her job title and responsibilities at USU were changed to program folklorist, doing public-sector work through the USU folklore program. She worked with elementary educators and supervised graduate students in school residencies, arranged for folk artists to appear at the Fife Folklore Conference, and worked for a time with the Festival of the American West. In 2001, her job was changed again, and she became full-time archivist and curator of the Fife Folklore Archives. However, she still does public projects when she can, and in 2003 she organized an oral history training workshop under the federal Veterans History Project.

Other USU master's graduates have also contributed to the public folklore scene in Utah. Anne F. Hatch, a 1991 graduate, went to work for the Utah Arts

Council in 1992 after Stanley left. She oversaw the apprenticeship program as one of her duties and hosted "Artspeak," a public affairs radio program on KRCL in Salt Lake. Karen Krieger graduated from USU about the same time as Hatch and later went to work as heritage coordinator for the Utah Division of Parks and Recreation. She serves on the State Native American Coordinating Board and helped create the Ute Tribe Olympic Exhibit in Midway, Utah, during the 2002 Winter Olympics. Sally Haueter, Michael Ward, Robin Parent, Lisa Duskin-Goede, Elizabeth Harvey, and Darcy Minter have all worked as student interns doing fieldwork for the Bear River Heritage Area and for USU's Mountain West Center for Regional Studies in 2001 and 2003. Haueter went on to be hired as manager of the National Cowboy Poetry Gathering, and fellow graduate Michael Christensen was hired as the staff folklorist at the Utah Cultural Celebration Center in West Valley City.

Hal Cannon has continued to be a major force in Utah public sector folklore. When the Western Folklife Center had a Utah office between 1986 and 1991, it sponsored a few projects in Utah, most notably Voices W.E.S.T., a festival of folk choral music. The event was Cannon's idea and featured group singing from a variety of cultures. I worked on the project while employed by WFC during those years, and when I left the Center in 1991, Meg Glaser took over coordination of Voices W.E.S.T. Cannon and the Western Folklife Center also sponsored a concert of cowboy poetry and music during the 2002 Winter Olympics. Despite the number of folklorists working on public programs in Utah, Cannon is still the most visible and is to many people the "face" of Utah folklore programs.

The generally cordial relationship between public and academic folklorists in Utah has benefited both sectors. Public sector programs have been informed by the understandings of academics, and academic programs like the Fife Folklore Conference have benefited from the participation of public folklorists. Graduate students have had opportunities to work in the field through internships with public folklore projects.

Without the consistent support and funding of the National Endowment for the Arts, most of the public programming in the state would never have happened. Nevertheless, there remains within the state and the region a persistent perception that those who serve on panels and staffs of the federal agencies do not understand the culture and folklore of the West. This perception led to the creation of the Cowboy Poetry Gathering as a demonstration of western folk arts, and to the development of the regional public folklorists' retreat as a place where western folklorists could discuss topics of mutual interest. Both projects became models for other regions.

Public programming of folk arts in Utah continues to be an important presence in the state, creating festivals, concerts, exhibits, and crafts demonstrations, carrying out research, and publishing books, articles, and recordings. The center of this activity has been the Utah Arts Council and its Folk Arts Program, which annually produces a major festival, a concert series, a museum exhibit, an apprenticeship program, and many public events in addition to managing one of the few state folk arts museums in the country, preserving an archival record of communities and their arts throughout the state, and making fieldwork available to the public through publications, audio and video recordings, radio programs, and other media products. Since its founding in 1976, it has brought to public awareness the quality of the state's folk arts, the diversity of its people and art forms, and the link between its heritage and its contemporary residents.

Under the Big Top: The Utah Humanities Council and Folklore

Anne F. Hatch

For thirty years, the Utah Humanities Council (UHC) has served Utah's public by providing resources, technical assistance, and funding for public humanities programming. Founded in 1974 as the Utah Endowment for the Humanities with initial funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the endowment's main activity was to pass on federal funds as grants for projects that brought humanities scholarship and topics to adults. These programs were designed to bridge the division between "town" and "gown" and to bring academic insights to the general public. Since the first year of grants in 1975, many folklore-related projects have received UHC funds, and as the agency developed and grew, its means of supporting folklore projects and folklorists grew as well. UHC developed a Speakers Bureau, discussion programs, support for resident scholars, research fellowships, annual awards, and other initiatives. In each of these areas, folklorists and folklore topics have appeared.

The complexity of support is reminiscent of a traveling circus with three rings under the big top: grants to folklorists at folklore institutions, grants to nonfolklore organizations using folklore scholarship, and grants to community-based organizations that use community scholars and presenters. The main events are surrounded by sideshows on the midway that provide funds for scholarly research, circulate films and books, and support scholarly presentations. As with a good circus production, many thrilling events happen concurrently and vie for one's attention, sometimes causing the observer to miss other attractions. It is doubtful that all the acts can be captured here, but the magnitude and significance of the projects supported over the years suggest the important part UHC has played for public folklore programs, folklore scholarship, and folklorists in Utah.

Defining the humanities for the general public has always been a challenge for UHC, and the place of folklore studies within the definition has been especially problematic. For the council, using a list of disciplines has been the most effective way to distinguish the term "humanities" from "humanitarian" or "humanism." In its earliest publications, UHC stated that

> according to the law establishing the National Endowment for the Humanities, the humanities include, but are not limited to, the study of the following: language, both modern and classical; linguistics; literature; history; jurisprudence; philosophy; archaeology; comparative religion; ethics; the history, criticism, theory and practice of the arts; and those aspects of the social sciences which have humanistic methods. (April 1980 newsletter)

In 1986—in a call for scholars to participate in the council's Speakers Bureau—folklore appeared for the first time as a discipline in a shorter list: "history, literature, philosophy, languages, linguistics, comparative religion, jurisprudence, **folklore,** ethics, archeology, and the history and criticism of the arts." But it somehow did not appear among the disciplines listed on the masthead of that same newsletter. In 1987, folklore was listed as a separate category for the UHC Merit Award, an award of distinction for a recently completed grant project which was presented to Bob King for his project "Folklore and Cultural Pluralism in Tooele." In 2004, folklore appeared as a subcategory of "interdisciplinary areas," which included "ethnic studies, international studies, women's studies, and **folklore**."

UHC also incorporated the ideas and ideals of folklore study in its first mission statement: "A regrant agency, the Utah Endowment Committee's task is to promote programs and provide service and portion funding for programs which, in its best judgment, will increase the appreciation of the humanities in Utah and which will teach and express the values and ideas derived from a study of the humanities." As UHC developed and its programs expanded, its mission changed, and the mission statement seems increasingly to embrace folklore studies: "UHC promotes understanding of human traditions, values, and issues through informed public discussion." The version of the mission statement adopted in 2003 extended these ideals even further, calling for "lifelong learning through programs that explore diverse traditions, values, and ideas to help us understand the past, participate fully in the present, and shape the future." Clearly UHC has embraced the work and subject of folklore as integral to the humanities.

Inside the Tent

What may not be apparent about folklore projects funded by UHC since 1974 is the amount of work each project represents, work that goes far beyond research and scholarship and public programming. Each grant is, in fact, a compilation of intensive planning, partnering, writing proposals, fund-raising, holding meetings, publicizing, telephoning, collecting references, gathering supporting materials, advertising, event planning, coordinating, showing up, and cleaning up. And then, to satisfy UHC's requirements for grant applicants, the reporting begins—compiling attendance figures, expenses, evaluations, qualitative and quantitative results, and lots of paperwork.

THE CENTER RING: COMPETITIVE GRANTS TO FOLKLORE ORGANIZATIONS AND/OR FOLKLORISTS

Early in its existence, UHC funded folklore-themed projects through a grants category dedicated to bringing humanities-based programs to Utah's general public, primarily out-of-school adults. These early projects focused primarily on Utah's ethnic history and diversity, with academic institutions serving as the sponsors. The primary goal of these programs was to expand Utahns' knowledge of the state's historic and contemporary diversity. Examples of these early projects include "History of Ethnic Minorities in Utah" (1975), "Ethnic Minorities in American Society" (1975), and "Ethnic Awareness: Utah's Multicultural Heritage" (1977).

Beginning in the early 1980s, as the Folk Arts Program at the Utah Arts Council grew and matured, grants written and directed by professional folklorists became more common. These proposals explored folklore topics that drew upon the skills and knowledge of the growing number of resident academic and public-sector folklorists. The first such project grant submitted was from the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at BYU and the Utah Arts Council; it was titled "Utah's Folk Culture" (1980) and featured six lectures about Utah folklife. The program coincided with the opening of the Utah State Historical Society offices at the Rio Grande Depot in Salt Lake City. Topics included the nature of Utah folk culture, the folk art of Utah Indians, Mormon craftsmen, and the imagery of gravestones. In subsequent years, the UHC funded projects from the Utah Folklife Center, the Utah Arts Council's Folk Arts Program, and the Folklore Society of Utah. Projects included "The Folklife of Utah's Dixie" (1982), "Tongan Culture in Utah" (1983), "Celebrations of the City" (1986), "Living Traditions Program Guide" (1987, Merit Award), "Utah Traditions" (1987), "Religious Music among Utah's Blacks" (1988), and "The History and Culture of Utah's Spanish-Speaking Communities" (1991, Merit Award).

In the early 1990s, the Folklore Society of Utah shifted its emphasis from supporting folklore research and public programs to providing a network for folklore students. At the same time, the Utah Arts Council's Folk Arts Program secured ongoing funds for much of its public programming. As a result, folklorist-driven applications from these agencies waned, although their staffs actively participated in other UHC programs.

Agencies and institutions outside public-sector folklore programs also received grant funds with regularity. These institutions included Utah State University's Tooele Extension for "Folklore and Cultural Pluralism of Tooele County" (1983, Merit Award), "Folklore and Cultural Identity in Carbon County" (1987), "Farmers, Outlaws, Immigrants" (1991), and, to Utah State University's Jensen Living Historical Farm, "Moments in Time" (1987). Other projects included "Carving Cache Valley" at USU's Merrill Library (1991, Merit Award), "Cowboy Poetry and Music" to Utah Public Radio (1998), "Blessed by Water, Worked by Hand," for the Bear River Association of Governments (2001, Merit

Veteran gospel singers the Utah Travelers perform at the Living Traditions Festival in Salt Lake City's Pioneer Trails (now This Is the Place) State Park, 1987.

One of the first folklore projects funded by the Utah Humanities Council (1988) was a radio series hosted by Craig Miller on community station KRCL. The programs, titled "Religious Music among Utah's Blacks," featured choirs and gospel groups, such as the Utah Travelers.

Award), "Cache Valley Ice Skating History " with the Bridgerland Community Ice Arena (2001), "Barn Stories of the Bear River Heritage Area" (2002, 2003) and "Veterans' Oral History Project" to the Mountain West Center and Special Collections at USU (2003), a "Storytelling Symposium" at Westminster College (1991), support for publication of *Cowboy Poets & Cowboy Poetry* (1997), and to Salt Lake Community College for "Writing Family Folklore" (2003).

Additional organizations involving folklorists included the University of Utah for "The Cowboy Way" (2001), the Utah Division of Parks and Recreation for "Ute Tribe Olympic Exhibit" (2002, Merit Award), Brigham Young University for "Bridging Communities with Folklore Archives" (2003), and the Moab Library for "Veterans' Oral History Project" (2003).

The trend for folklore projects has clearly mirrored the growing interest in cultural heritage tourism and economic development. Many of the more recent projects were designed to identify local aspects of traditional culture that could be highlighted through travel literature once the research and public program phases were concluded. Cultural survey work at Utah State University, in partnership with the Bear River Association of Governments, has become a nationally recognized model for tourism and economic development because of its thorough research and publications generated for local communities as well as the traveling public.

The Second Ring: Competitive Grants to Other Organizations

Beginning in 1975, many organizations used folklore themes and topics to explore Utah history and contemporary culture. Since most organizations did not have a folklorist on staff, they often relied on folklorists as core scholars, advisors, researchers, and presenters. Other organizations relied on a more general understanding of folklore topics, using community scholars or tradition-bearers for the folklore content. The majority of granted projects in this second category related to cultural diversity by either highlighting a particular ethnic group living in Utah or exploring the cultural traditions of other countries. Other topics included western heritage and pioneer traditional crafts, dance, and storytelling. Ethnic-based student groups on campuses as well as international folk dance and storytelling festivals have provided a regular opportunity to create public programs.

Beginning in 1980 and every year since, UHC has provided grant funds to campus-based ethnic student organizations to provide public programs celebrating ethnic heritage and traditions. Native American student organizations were the first to make use of UHC grants; the associations' names and the titles of their programs mirror the continually changing identity of Native Americans during this period. Examples include the Red American Student Organization at the University of Utah for "Symposium on Native American Traditional Belief and Philosophy" (1980), "Indian Emphasis Week" at Weber State College (1980), "Understanding the American Indian Pow Wow" at Southern Utah University (1985), "Indian Awareness Week" at the University of Utah (1987), and "Native American Dance Seminar" for the Snowbird Institute and the Intertribal Student Association (1987). In 2002, the Division of Indian Affairs for the State of Utah received a grant to republish *A History of Utah's American Indians*. By the 1990s, other ethnic-based student organizations became active on campuses, and support for Polynesian, Asian, Hispanic, and African American public programs was granted on a regular basis for such programs as "Pacific Islander Awareness Week" at the University of Utah

International folk dance festivals used UHC grant funds to provide workshops, lectures, and seminars about featured countries and occasionally used folklore scholars to provide context for the performances. Some of these programs included "Dixie Folkfest: Cultural Corners" (1994, 1995), "Carbon County International Folkfest" (1996, 1997, 1998), "Springville World Folkfest" (1997), and "Bountiful Folk Dance Festival" (2002). Similarly, storytelling festivals have used UHC grant funds to provide lectures and workshops of cultural information, as at the Utah Storytelling Guild's "Utah's Storyswap Festival" (1997) and the College of Eastern Utah's "Winter Storytelling Festival" (2002, 2003).

Additional multiethnic programs included "Ethnic Diversity," a monthly series of lectures sponsored by the Salt Lake Ethnic Arts Council (1991), the "Ethnic Studies Lecture Series" at the Utah State Prison (1996), a "Centennial and Ethnic Dance Series" sponsored by the Salt Lake Ethnic Arts Council (1996), and "Missing Stories" at the Salt Lake Public Library (1997). In Cedar City, the council supported "Multicultural Awareness Week" at Southern Utah University.

Some programs featured a single ethnic group and its traditions, such as a discussion of Irish customs at the Bountiful Davis Art Center (1987), a teacher's workshop on cultural traditions from India (State Office of Education, 1990), a printed guide to Native American ceremonies produced by the Basin West 2000 Fine Arts Council (1996), and "Afghan Culture and Diaspora" (Eastern Arts, 1998).

Other programs centered on an ethnic or traditional folk art, such as "What Is Native American Art?" at the Utah Museum of Fine Art (1987), "Our Quilting Heritage" at the John Wesley Powell Museum (1996), "Navajo Rug Weaving" at Edge of the Cedars State Park (1998), "Common Threads: Weaving Cultural Identity" at BYU's Museum of Peoples and Cultures (1998), "Treasures from the Trunk: Quilts of Migration" at Iron Mission State Park (1999), a "Symposium on Santos Carving" at Juan Diego Catholic High School (2001), and "Stories from Highway 89" along the Utah Heritage Highway (2002).

Programs that featured folklorists as project directors, lead scholars, or participants included "Ethnic Traditions and the Family" at the Salt Lake City School District (1980); an art education and outreach program for senior citizens (1981); a "Folklore and Heritage Fair" at the Edith Bowen Lab School (1981); a lecture, "Legends of Sanpete County," by William A. Wilson in Fairview (1985);

the keynote address, "Reflections on a Stone Mouse: Folk Arts in Everyday Life," by Barre Toelken at the Utah Arts Council annual conference (1985); "Afro-American Quilters" at the Utah State Historical Society (1986); the journal *Blue Mountain Shadows: San Juan County Folklore*, published by the San Juan County Historical Commission (1987); "Refugee Art," an exhibit at the Salt Lake Arts Council's Art Barn (1992); an interpretive tape tour of the Parowan cemetery sponsored by the Parowan Main Street Program (1997); "Voices, Visions, and Vastness of the West" by the Summit Institute (2000); "Harvest Homecoming" at Capitol Reef National Park (1999–2000); and "Barbie: A Woman of Her Times" at the Children's Museum of Utah (2001).

The Third Ring: Programs Sponsored by Community and Ethnic Organizations Featuring Tradition-Bearers and/or Community Scholars

Throughout the years, the Utah Humanities Council refined its definition of a humanities scholar. Eventually, in the late 1990s, the Board of Directors recognized the elders and tradition-bearers of Utah's Native American and ethnic communities as legitimate humanities scholars. Although Native American groups had regularly used UHC grants for public programs, this recognition of the importance of traditional knowledge began a new direction for UHC, which more actively sought out applications from community and ethnic groups. Although the primary audience for these programs was often specific to the community, all grants featured a component that appealed to the general Utah population as well.

Since the late 1970s, Native American tribes have sponsored the majority of programs in this category. The study of language and language preservation were the focus of the earliest granted projects and included an "Intertribal Ute Language Symposium" and "The Ute Language and Culture Maintenance Project" by the Ute Indian Tribe (1979) and, more recently, the "Paiute Language Conference" (1998) and "Huiva: Finding Our Roots" by the Northern Shoshone Tribe (2003).

In addition to the language projects, tribes occasionally sought funds for cultural or historical programs. The Paiute Tribe received grants to provide history programs in association with the Restoration Pow Wow including the "Second Annual Celebration" (1982) and later the program "Termination and Restoration: Pavement of Good Intentions" (1989). The Paiute Tribe also conducted several oral history projects (1986, 1987), and the White Mesa Ute Oral History Project took place in 1988. In 1989, a series of lectures featured tribal scholars presenting Native American artistry that included Wil Numkena, "Hopi: Internalizing Lifeways through Music and Dance"; John Ranier, "The Role of Flute in Native American Societies"; Mary Jane Bird, "American Indian Dance"; and Julius Chavez, "Navajo Dances: A Reflection of Spiritual Values." More recently, pow-wow organizers have sought UHC funds to provide educational information about the dances to visitors, including "Traditions in the Making" at the Delta Pow Wow (2002). Since 1999, the West Valley City Pow Wow has used UHC grant funds to provide cultural and historical presentations during the Saturday afternoon break of their annual August event. Presentation topics have included "Navajo Code-Talkers" (2000), "Apache Traditions" (2001), and "Celebrating Our Youth: Rites of Passage" from the Navajo, Goshute, and Paiute (2002).

Various ethnic organizations also fall under this category. Since the late 1970s, ethnic organizations have received funding to augment cultural festivals, provide lectures, and create exhibits about their communities and histories in Utah. The first grant was to Ballet Folklorico for a post-performance discussion panel for ethnic educators, linguists, and historians during a statewide tour (1979). Other UHC-funded projects included a lecture at Payson's Scottish Festival (1985), a lecture series sponsored by the German-American Society (1985), "The Hispanic Experience in Utah" (Utah Hispanic Association, 1985), "Russian Literature and Folk Tales" (Jewish Community Center, 1989 and 1990), "The Irish in Utah" exhibit by the Hibernian Society (1996), "Chinese Folk Music Appreciation" by the Hua Sheng Art Troupe (1996), "Utsav: A Festival of India" by the Indian Forum (1996), the Juneteenth Heritage Festival (1997–2001), Russia Days by the Utah-Russia Institute (1997), "Go Tell It on the Mountain: African Americans in Utah History" by Project Success (1997), "A Day of Remembrance" by the Japanese American Citizens League (1998), "Chinese Americans in Utah" by the Evergreen Chinese School (1999), the Scandinavian Festival in Ephraim (2002), and "Kalaripayatt: The Martial Art of India," by the India Cultural Center (2002).

A more modest number of programs were designed by community groups or craft associations, including "Chairs as Social Artifacts" by the Utah Woodturners Association (1989), the "On-Line Documentation Project" by the Utah Quilt Heritage Project (1997), and quilting history and workshops at the Panguitch Quilt Walk (1999).

The Sideshows: Support for Folklore Studies

UHC began offering stipends for research fellowships annually in the mid-1980s, and a number have gone to folklore scholars with one to a folk artist. These fellowships provided a modest stipend of $3000 and an additional $500 for the costs associated with three scholarly presentations to be given after the research project was completed. Fellowships were awarded to Carol Edison for her research on nineteenth-century gravestones (1989), to Cinda Baldwin for her survey of nineteenth-century folk pottery (1996), to artist-scholar Saied Farisi for his study "Tazhib: The Traditional Art Design of Persia" (1998), to David Stanley for research on ethnic music from Carbon County (2002), and to Thomas Carter for his project "Faith and Good Works: Making the Mormon Cultural Landscape in Utah's Sanpete Valley" (2003). Some of these fellowship recipients later did presentations as part of the UHC's Road Scholar's Program.

During the early 1980s, UHC also provided special grants for Humanists-in-Residence to conduct special projects. Scholars with folklore topics included Cynthia Schmidt Freeman, scholar of Hebrew language and literature, to develop an exhibit on Jewish culture and a theatrical production of Jewish folktales at the Children's Museum of Utah (1983); Betty Windy Boy, scholar in anthropology and ethnic studies, to create a permanent cultural exhibit at the Indian Awareness Center (1983); and David Stanley, independent scholar, to do research on "History and Folklore in Utah's National Parks" for the Utah Folklife Center (1984). Included in this category are folklorists that were hired as staffers for UHC-sponsored projects, including Elaine Thatcher for "Seeking Common Ground" (1992); Anne F. Hatch, who worked as UHC's program officer (2000–2004); and Andrea Graham, essayist, and Michael Christensen, program scholar, for "Key Ingredients: America by Food" (2002–2003).

Throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s, UHC published book reviews of scholarly work on a monthly basis. A number of these featured publications by Utah folklorists with reviews by fellow folklorists or other scholars. These reviews circulated folklore publications, theories, and scholarship to UHC's core constituency, thereby exposing the wider Utah humanities audience to the work of Utah folklorists. The reviews covered books on folk art, folk architecture, urban legends, Native American lore, cowboy poetry and culture, Greek-American history and custom, ethnic folklore, and even the folklore of Idaho.

Each year UHC presents a lifetime achievement award to an exemplary humanities scholar for his or her work in bringing humanities scholarship to the general public. Nominations are solicited and reviewed by the UHC Board of Directors. Recipients give a lecture at the annual awards ceremony in October and receive a modest honorarium. Two of the recipients have been folklorists: Helen Papanikolas in 1990 and Hal Cannon in 2002.

ALONG THE MIDWAY: SUPPORTING PUBLIC PRESENTATION BY FOLKLORE SCHOLARS

In 1984, UHC developed a list of humanities scholars that it promoted and financially supported for public lectures. Organizations could get a one-hour program free of charge if they provided a location, local publicity, and an audience. UHC selected the scholars on an annual basis and covered a modest honorarium, mileage reimbursement, and any other related travel costs. Now in its twentieth year, the Road Scholars program—formerly called the Speakers Bureau—is the most popular service provided by UHC. Lectures take place in libraries, senior centers, civic halls, county and town offices, and community centers. Virtually every community in Utah has hosted at least one Road Scholars speaker during the past twenty years. The program's popularity continues to grow among scholars, especially those willing to share their work with community groups and visit the far reaches of the state for a modest stipend. Folklore topics have ranged from J. Golden Kimball stories to foodways, from

Native American traditions to folktales, from ethnic and pioneer dance to festivals. Not only are folklore topics regularly featured, they have often proven to be among the most popular, especially Craig Miller's presentations on pioneer dance—often scheduled as many as a dozen times in a year—and any topic by Bart Anderson, who can fill a 300-seat auditorium to capacity. Currently available scholars and their topics, along with other program information, can be found on UHC's website, www.utahhumanities.org.

UHC houses a library of documentaries and sets of books which circulate to libraries and reading groups, often accompanied by a discussion leader to bring greater depth and context to the group discussion. Videos, films, and books with folklore themes pepper the collection, and several folklorists have been tapped to lead discussions. Most notably, Margaret K. Brady served as the scholar to develop a reading series on contemporary Native American literature commissioned by UHC for the Cultural Olympiad at the 2002 Winter Olympic Games. During 2001 and 2002, the five selected titles and Brady's discussion guide were part of an extensive statewide reading effort in celebration of the Olympics.

IN THE SHADOWS OF THE BIG TOP

Folklore projects at UHC have been overwhelmingly successful and popular, so it is ironic that folklore was central to two of the most conflicted and difficult episodes in UHC's history, one involving a programming fiasco, the other a debate over policy.

The Utah Humanities Council Traveling Tent Show is reportedly the biggest programming disaster in the history of the council. Funded in 1980 for statewide programs planned for the summer of 1981, this ambitious proposal incorporated the programming themes UHC had identified as priority topics. For presentation, the themes were to be wrapped into a traveling show in the style of the old-fashioned Chautauqua, popular in the Midwest at the time. Funds were allocated to the Humanities Tent Show Committee in support of this project:

> Local history lectures; folklife programs and exhibitions; programs on women's history; workshops on writing and preserving local, personal, and family histories; value questions associated with energy development and scarcity; and presentations and discussions on universal human values will be presented in the festive, nonintimidating setting of a traveling Humanities Tent Show. The show tour will include three-day residencies in the rural communities of Heber City, Vernal, Price, Castle Dale, Moab, Milford, Ephraim, Delta, Tooele, Roosevelt, Parowan, and Monticello.

The Tent Show Committee was formed in cooperation with the UHC Board and was comprised of UHC Board members and interested local organizers, and the oversight committee included staff from the Utah Folklife Center, a natural partner for developing the programs, overseeing the projects, and managing the funds. The bulk of the funding was allocated to purchase a tent and truck to haul the program and staging equipment throughout the state. The tent arrived in irreparable tatters and the truck was not much better. Plans were amended and in 1981 UHC announced the reformatted Traveling Tentless Show. A newsletter explained the change:

> The Utah Endowment for the Humanities Traveling Tent Show has followed its theme of "Changes and Constants" more closely than ever anticipated. The Tent Show obviously demanded a tent, yet insurmountable problems have prevented its transport from Lubbock to Utah. But the show must go on! The tent format has changed, but the programs remain constant. Eleven rural Utah communities still look forward to exciting educational entertainment.

The article goes on to describe a few of the constant programs that communities would participate in including a Community Play developed from locally conducted oral interviews, a Readers Theater production of "Heart's History" that tells the story of pioneer family life in the 1800s, and folklore elements: "In a burst of sheer entertainment, local musicians, poets and storytellers will present traditional songs and recitals from an earlier time. The whole community can participate in these folk art presentations, remembering the old days or getting a warm introduction to a fascinating part of Utah's culture." The show eventually went on in some form, though the public records do not include detailed reports. The project was probably doomed from the outset because the plan was overly ambitious, finances were inadequate, and the tent idea was unworkable.

The second conflict was more recent and more political in nature. As a private nonprofit agency, UHC has more autonomy than do state agencies such as the Utah Arts Council or the Utah State Historical Society. Thus, UHC has been able to operate independently of the State Legislature and the Governor's Office. As UHC's programming blossomed and requests for support for the humanities statewide grew, UHC sought additional funds to augment its annual appropriation from the National Endowment for the Humanities. In the mid-1990s, UHC received its first appropriation, $35,000, from the State of Utah, and within three years, the annual stipend grew to $65,000. Each year during the legislative session, UHC made a presentation to the Economic Development and Human Resources Appropriation Committee, highlighting some of the speakers from Road Scholars and reporting on the communities served with state funding during the previous year—always a compelling presentation. In 1997, a legislative staffer highlighted one of the presentation topics, titled "Gay Rodeo: Western Rural Heritage," for the attention of the committee. Some committee members pointed out that presenting this topic might have an adverse effect on UHC's annual appropriation.

During a subsequent UHC board meeting, the board members addressed the conflict: should UHC cut the gay rodeo topic to assure funding for the statewide program, or should UHC continue without state funding and present topics and scholars that were peer-reviewed and approved without regard for political influence? The decision was not an easy one, but careful review of UHC's budget confirmed that the council did not have sufficient funds to offset the loss of the state appropriation, so the board decided to remove the lecture topic from the Road Scholars catalog. The board then determined that even though the topic did not appear in the printed brochure, UHC would pay the expenses for the presentation if any group requested it—as happened once or twice. After those events, the UHC recognized gender studies as an interdisciplinary approach that draws from the humanities.

Conclusion

The problems with the Traveling Tent-to-Tentless Show and the conflict with the legislative committee demonstrate that humanities programming can be fickle, unpredictable, and loaded with political issues. Fortunately, such problems have been confined to these two, and the Utah Humanities Council has continued to expand its program offerings, redefine its subject matter and its mission, and experiment with new forms of programming. Folklore studies and presentations have been enormously benefited, both through funding support and through the increased visibility that UHC has provided by reaching out to a broad audience of Utah citizens.

Ethnic Organizations and the Maintenance of Tradition

Craig R. Miller

Most people may be surprised to learn that Utah is home to over seventy distinct ethnic organizations representing nationalities from every corner of the world. The number of organizations by itself is an indication that people place a great deal of importance on maintaining their ethnic heritage. Gaining perspective on Utah's history of immigration and recognizing patterns in the formation of ethnic organizations can help us achieve a deeper understanding of ourselves and our neighbors, and it can also help us understand how our community has grown and how it continues to evolve.

A dynamic relationship exists between immigrant groups and society at large. As immigrant groups strive toward acceptance and stability in an environment of changing values, traditions are shared, replaced, or completely discarded if they no longer fulfill a need for personal or group expression. Ethnic organizations can be viewed as a useful tool for buffering the painful transition between native home and adopted home. They provide a forum for individuals to share their experiences in coping with change while reinforcing the need to maintain cultural values despite the alteration of specific traditional ways.

Several distinct types of ethnic organizations exist in Utah. They exist to fulfill the needs of their constituent communities, needs that are representative of the immigrant experience. Therefore the structure and type of the organization is likely to reflect the relationship of the immigrant group to the larger society or the stage of the group's acculturation, rather than any quality inherent in the ethnic group itself.

Religious Organizations

Despite the universalistic claims of nearly all the great religions of the world, throughout history religion has often provided a structure for groups to organize on the basis of nationality. In practical application, it is difficult for individuals and societies to separate culture from religious expression and belief. To this day, the mention of a nationality often suggests a dominant religion: Israel—Jewish, Greece—Greek Orthodox, India—Hindu, Spain, Italy, or Poland—Catholic.

Besides offering spiritual guidance to their congregations, religious institutions in Utah also fill social needs and at times serve as headquarters for the activities of an ethnic community. Because of its active missionary program, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has attracted much immigration to Utah. Ethnic wards, branches, and foreign-language associations of the church are organized when a number of immigrants feels the need to attend religious services in their native language.

The LDS Church has always stressed the importance of assimilation into the main body of the church more than it has encouraged cultural diversity. Ethnic meetings are mainly organized to fill the needs of first-generation immigrants. Once the barrier of language has been conquered, church members are encouraged to attend neighborhood rather than ethnic wards.

Life spans of the ethnic wards follow similar trends. Due to the decline in immigration, many of the long-established European wards have been phased out, and those remaining serve a mostly elderly constituency. Recent years have seen a rise in the number of ethnic church organizations that reflect an increase in missionary work and subsequent immigration of peoples from the Pacific Islands and Southeast Asia.

The Catholic Church also provides services for ethnic minorities in Utah. Although most ethnic Catholics, notably the Italians, Irish, Slovenians, and Croatians, attend English-language masses at local parishes, there are other services organized for specific ethnic groups. Because of recent immigration trends, there are regular services in Polish, and an Eastern Rite of the Catholic Church attracts émigrés from the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There are also many Spanish-speaking congregations in Utah. St. Jude's Catholic Church serves as the social and religious organization for the ethnic communities which celebrate the Maronite Rite. Rather than Latin, this branch of the Catholic Church uses Aramaic, the language spoken by Jesus. Most Maronites are Christians of Lebanese, Syrian, or Armenian descent. After the dissolution of the Phoenician Lodge, St. Jude's became the focal organization in the Middle Eastern community, sponsoring dinners with traditional foods and social dancing accompanied by live folk music.

The Greek Orthodox Church is another outstanding example of a religious organization which identifies itself with a specific ethnic community. The mother of Eastern Orthodoxy, the Greek Church gave rise to the Serbian, Russian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Romanian Orthodox Churches, which are divided primarily on the basis of nationality. Salt Lake now has several Orthodox congregations, but it is a cathedral city for the Greek Orthodox faith, and the Greek community flourishes under its umbrella.

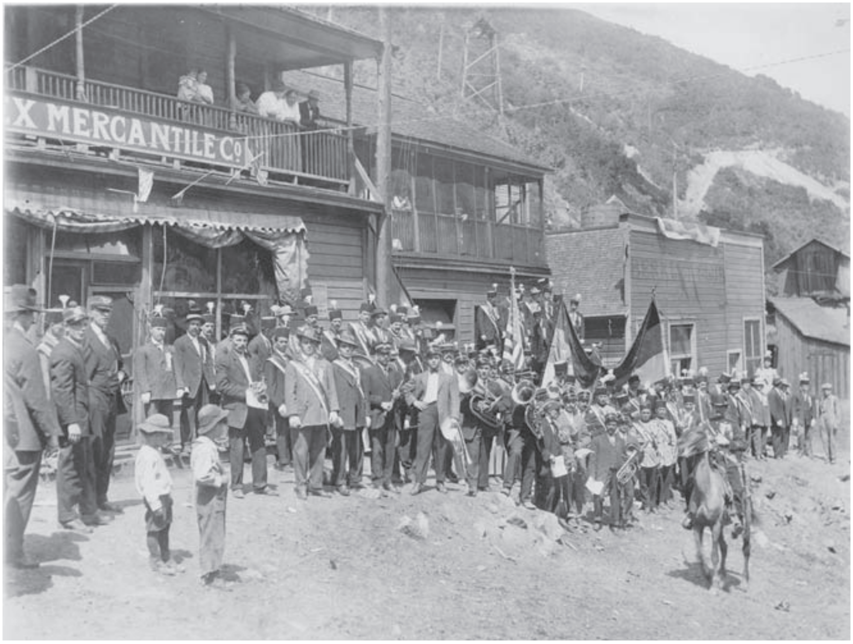
The Greeks are among the best organized of the minority communities in Utah. There are no fewer than twenty church and community organizations for music, dance, youth activities, community service, and fraternal meetings based on regional heritage. Through the many years of prejudice against immigrant Greeks and in recent years as well, the Greek Church has maintained strong community ties. As the focus of social and religious activity for Utah's Greek-Americans, the church has built a strong image for itself in the city through its sponsoring of the highly popular Greek Festival and the Hellenic Cultural Center and Museum.

The Kol Ami Temple and Jewish Community Center have stood at the center of Jewish cultural activity in Utah for the past fifty years, but in the twenty-first century, several other Jewish congregations were established. These are communities that identify themselves primarily by the traditions they uphold rather than a shared national origin or a single language their immigrant ancestors spoke. Despite their relatively small numbers, the strength of these organizations has ensured the maintenance of their feeling of community and their prominent place in the cultural mosaic of Utah. Cultural programs offered by the Jewish Community Center enlighten Utah audiences to Jewish expression in the arts, but the state is still a relatively isolated outpost of Jewish cultural life. Because they are difficult to obtain locally, kosher foods must be ordered in bulk by the congregations before holy days. A humorous story recounted by members of the Kol Ami congregation suggests the best place in Utah to buy horseradish for the Passover dinner is still the local plant nursery.

COMMUNITY ASSISTANCE

When immigrant groups face a hostile host society, or find social barriers preventing their economic advancement, or are confronted with situations stressful to their existence as ethnic entities, they tend to organize secular associations to provide community assistance. These organizations offer immediate, tangible help to individuals and provide direction and hope to the whole community. History shows that many of Utah's ethnic communities have organized for these reasons. Immigrant laborers who traditionally take low-paying jobs that native-born workers avoid are also the first to suffer exploitation. While enduring the transition to social and community acceptance, they must also contend with substandard working conditions, poor housing facilities, and social stigma.

Blacks and Asians were not the only groups to suffer from ethnic prejudice in early Utah. *The Peoples of Utah*, edited by Helen Papanikolas, chronicles the early years when Greeks were considered nonwhite "undesirable aliens." Such attitudes toward immigrants pervaded even academic circles, as is evidenced by a 1914–15 M.A. thesis entitled "On the Housing Problem in Salt Lake City." "The study," says Philip F. Notarianni, "began as an investigation of housing on Salt Lake's west side but ended as an undocumented degradation of southern and eastern Europeans, primarily Italians and Greeks . . ." ("Italianita in Utah," p. 321).



Many immigrant groups formed ethnic associations to promote identity and support for their members. In this photo, the Obilich and Dushan Serbian Lodge gathers in Bingham Canyon, Salt Lake County, 1920.

Early Assistance Organizations

Immigrants to Utah in the 1980s can find hope in the example of Utah's early Mediterranean immigrants. Through their own determination and sense of justice, they struggled to achieve labor reforms in the first half of the twentieth century and forged their own acceptance in an initially unreceptive society. During that period of intense social tension, ethnic fraternal lodges were established as mutual aid associations providing insurance, death benefits, and assistance to workers and their families. Similarly, ethnic credit unions were set up to provide loans to immigrants at a time when loan applications were routinely denied by the larger banks because of suspicions focused on the immigrants' supposed instability and untrustworthiness. The lodges also served as refuges for salvaging pride in cultural heritage. Nearly every ethnic lodge sponsored dances, dinners, and picnics for members. Some sponsored brass bands, foreign-language plays, and foreign-language publications. At least temporarily, they could offer diversion from the struggles of immigrant life. The long list of fraternal associations in Utah included Croatian, Danish, Greek, Italian, Norwegian, Phoenician, Serbian, Slovenian, and Swedish lodges.

A growing acceptance of European immigrant cultures and an improvement in working conditions after unionization gradually alleviated the worst social conditions which spawned the growth of these fraternal lodges. Members of these ethnic communities managed to break from their historical stereotypes and have now assimilated almost invisibly into the greater Utah society. Many of the fraternal organizations still exist, although the services they offer their communities have changed in emphasis. The more active organizations focus attention on maintaining ethnic ties and on building for their young people an interest and pride in their heritage.

Recent Immigration and New Communities in Transition

In recent years most immigrants to Utah have been non-European, including Pacific Islanders, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, and Africans. Like previous immigrant groups, they have brought with them traditional values and customs which at first seem exotic in a heavily Euro-American state. As in previous years, these new residents of Utah have formed their own social structures to aid the assimilation process and to reinforce their ethnic identities through the transition period.

The Asian Association of Utah is comprised of about ten ethnic organizations representing different Asian nationalities. Each organization sponsors its own community activities, but in conjunction with the other organizations they enjoy the increased community exposure and improved services that a unified group affords. The association participates in the Salt Lake County Refugee Coordinating Council, assuring that the Asian communities benefit from various assistance programs, including job training, social skills adjustment, and English-language training.

The Asian Association has been very successful in its efforts to maintain traditional arts and encourage their transmission to future generations. It has encouraged its constituent organizations to reinforce traditions among their members. In addition to working with their own people to facilitate the assimilation process, the Asian Association works with the community at large, increasing the general population's understanding of Asian cultures. The association sponsors an annual Asian Festival featuring local artists in performances and demonstrations. The festival succeeds in highlighting traditional arts and in providing models for younger members to maintain and revive traditional ways of cultural expression.

Utah now has representatives from nearly all the major Pacific Island cultures. Despite some similarities, the various groups speak different languages and maintain different customs. Although there have been several attempts to organize pan-Polynesian societies in Utah, the island communities generally tend to cling most strongly to traditional ties through large, extended families.

Hawaiians were the first Pacific Islanders to settle in Utah, but today Tongans are the most numerous. Local weddings and family celebrations can attract nearly a thousand participants for traditional food and entertainment. Although less numerous, Utah also has communities of Samoans, Maoris, Niue Islanders, Fijians, and Tahitians.

Quilting is an activity common to most of Utah's Pacific Island communities and is remarkably expressive of a shared aesthetic. Although quilting is a craft introduced to the Pacific by European missionaries, similar traditions, such as the making of Tongan tapa cloth, existed earlier. The blending of traditional culture and western materials has produced the modern Pacific Island quilts made in Utah. Each of the island cultures has its own blend of the traditional and the contemporary, and that blend is revealed through needlework, fabric, patterns, color, and construction. Similarly, the islander communities themselves follow common patterns of acculturation, but each maintains its own blend of island heritage and contemporary life.

Native Americans

A great irony exists in the cultural fabric of Utah. The only people truly native to this continent are treated like immigrants in their own land. Far from the nearest federally designated homeland or reservation, the Salt Lake Valley is an urban meeting ground for Native Americans from as many as thirty separate nations, each as different from each other as are the countries of Europe. After decades of suffering from a systematically imposed banning of religious and cultural traditions on and off their reservations, many individuals have immigrated to urban centers like Salt Lake. Removed from their cultural centers and stripped of strong links to the traditions of their own heritage, urban Natives increasingly turn to intertribal expressions of identity.

The Indian Walk-In Center provides a location for monthly intertribal powwows. Although the contemporary powwow is primarily based on dance and drum styles of the Plains Indians, it has achieved nationwide acceptance, particularly in urban centers, because it is a social vehicle for Indians to emphasize common bonds and strengthen their feeling of community. And because of other groups like the Red Spirit Drum Society and the Inter-Tribal Student Association at the University of Utah, Utah is becoming increasingly important as a cultural center for urban Indians.

Social Organizations

Even after an immigrant community has achieved a sense of equilibrium and acceptance, ethnic identity remains an important source of personal expression and community involvement. Utah boasts a long list of ethnic groups which meet mainly for social reasons so that their members can see old friends, share nostalgic memories, pass traditions along to children or friends, or perform music and dance in the old way. Participating in traditional activities and customs allows an individual to express and perpetuate community values as well as his or her own.

Edelweiss
Salt Lake City

The Swiss Chorus Edelweiss has been an important organization for people of Swiss descent since the 1930s.

Many local ethnic communities have no formal organizational structure but rely on a network of families and friends, who can be amazingly efficient at disseminating information. The Persians, for example, celebrate the first day of spring as the beginning of their New Year, and though they have no formal organization, hundreds attend the annual party held at a Salt Lake City hotel. Although the taped music is contemporary, it is decidedly non-Western and the dancing goes on late into the night.

Some of the groups in Utah recognize distinctive differentiations even among themselves. Utah's German community includes the German-American Society, the Silesian Club, the East Prussian Society, and the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia. Rumor has it that in earlier days there were also separate societies for West Prussians, Berliners, and Saxons.

Ethnic art forms also provide reasons for groups to organize. Since its founding in 1935, the Swiss Chorus Edelweiss has been the heart of Utah's Swiss community. Grounded in the strong tradition of Swiss singing societies and fortified by nostalgia for their homeland, the chorus has expanded to include dancers and several small instrumental groups. By itself their talent for music is not what makes this group exceptional. The chorus has compiled a booklet of "stories, recollections, impressions and testimonials" of their years as an organization that reveals how their love of music and respect for their Swiss heritage have been valuable vehicles which chorus members have used to enhance their lives in American society.

Many groups in Utah have renewed interest in their heritage and have begun reviving cultural traditions of the old country. Instructors have been imported to

Fraternidad El Salvador
ORDENE AQUI
PUPUSAS $2.00
POSTRE DE QUESO $1.00
PASTELITOS $1.00
LIMONADA $1.00
ORDER HERE
PUPUSAS $2.00

The Living Traditions Festival, held in Salt Lake City every May, encourages nonprofit ethnic organizations to participate in food sales. The profits are an important part of the budget for many of these clubs. This group from El Salvador was photographed in 2000.

teach folk dance to the Mexican community and step dances to the Irish. This is not just a recent phenomenon. Seventy years ago, a Yugoslav *tamburitza* instructor from the eastern United States inspired a group of girls to form a *tamburitza* orchestra. Though these instruments now hang silent on the wall of her family room, orchestra member Sophia Piedmont recalls the role she and the orchestra had in maintaining a Yugoslav identity in Utah during those early years.

More recently, ethnic groups in Utah have begun sponsoring cultural festivals. The interest generated by these events has the possibility of encouraging older community members to rekindle traditional values, to remember the old ways, and to present those traditions to descendants who have lost that part of their heritage. It is an opportunity for old and young alike to strengthen the bonds of folk tradition.

The ethnic festival in Utah is more than just a presentation of traditions. It is a celebration for an ethnic community which has won its struggle to assimilate into American society with its own identity intact. For members of an ethnic community, a festival is a public declaration of the pride they have for their homeland, their ancestors, and their heritage. For the city and the state at large, an ethnic festival is an opportunity to witness living traditions that are yet another facet of the fabric of heritage and tradition within the state.

The Folklore Society of Utah

David Stanley

Utah folklore studies were spurred on in the late 1950s and early ’60s, as in other states, by the folksong revival, a wave of national interest in folk music that owed much to the popularity of such urban-based performers as the Weavers, Harry Belafonte, Burl Ives, and the Kingston Trio. All across the country, folksingers, university students, labor organizers, and musicians banded together in folk music and folk dance clubs, founded coffee houses, organized concerts, and started small record companies to market their own musical talents and those of the venerable musicians of Appalachia and the Deep South whom they so admired. Folk festivals modeled after the largest and best-publicized, the Newport Folk Festival in Rhode Island, sprang up, as did local, state, and regional folklore societies.

Utah was very much part of this trend, with local performers like Rosalie and Jim Sorrels and Bruce “U. Utah” Phillips leading the revival. The Folklore Society of Utah, however, sprang not from the folksong revival but from the efforts of university-based academics. Wayland Hand (see chapter 4), a Salt Lake City native teaching at UCLA, returned to Utah in 1957 to teach in the summer school at the University of Utah. His appointment was arranged by Dean Harold Bentley of the Extension Division, who had long been interested in Utah folklore. On July 22, a “Folklore Evening” was held in the Student Union. Hand, whose enthusiasm for folklore matters was very contagious, spoke on “Folklore in America” and advocated organizing a folklore society on the model of other state-based groups. This society, Hand suggested, could build on the work Hector Lee had done in the 1940s through the Utah Humanities Research Foundation and the *Utah Humanities Review,* which had published a number of articles on folklore.

With a group of converts in place, the Folklore Society of Utah launched its inaugural event on 30 June 1958, with one hundred people in attendance. Austin Fife delivered an illustrated talk on “The Material Culture of the Utah Pioneers” (“fences, haystacks, quilts, etc.”). In a careful balancing of geographical and institutional interests, Louis Zucker, a professor of English at the University of Utah, was elected president, with J. Golden Taylor of Utah State University and Thomas E. Cheney of Brigham Young University as vice-presidents. The advisory council included Juanita Brooks, Olive Woolley Burt, Lester Hubbard, and several university professors. A. Russell Mortensen, then the director of the State Historical Society, offered to provide a meeting place.

In September of the same year, the society's Committee on Membership (Zucker, Burt, and Leland H. Monson) issued a two-page report that began: "Right now, the Folklore Society of Utah is a family of parents without children, a person with a head but no body, an instrument deficient in the means to accomplish its reason for existence." The report addressed the problem of recruiting substantial membership drawn from all over the state and suggested that "anyone who would want to take part in preserving the folklore of Utah by collecting or interpreting it" should be encouraged to join. Likely members might be found among teachers, individuals working in local history, members of writers' clubs, and writing students. The report suggested the publication of a newsletter several times a year and the formation of an archive. Membership dues were eventually set at $2.00 per year. A sustaining membership was $10.00, life membership $25.00, student membership $1.00.

The first newsletter of the Folklore Society of Utah appeared within a month, a three-page mimeographed publication that began, echoing Whitman, "*We introduce ourselves.* Like California, Texas, Kentucky, Kansas, Oregon and other states, Utah now has a state folk society, fully organized and 'ready for business.'" In a remarkably forward-looking statement, the writer—possibly Zucker—commented, "The need for such an association has been increasingly felt among the students and fanciers of the folk-culture of Utah's people, which means all of us. The time seems ripe at last to approach this culture according to the best modern methods. . . . In comparison with the work done on the local folklore in other states . . . the much already done here is deplorably sparse."

Activities announced in the first newsletter, not surprisingly, were primarily music performances. Cosponsored by Bentley's Extension Division at the University of Utah, the first concerts featured Guy Carawan (Orson Spencer Hall, $1.00) and Pete Seeger and Sonny Terry (Kingsbury Hall, $1.50). Also announced was an evening class called "Folklore and Balladry" to be taught by Rosalie Sorrels, who had an active career as a singer-songwriter based first in Utah, later in Idaho.

Collaboration between folklore societies and folk-music enthusiasts was common throughout the country, and Utah was no exception. By the following summer, Dean Bentley—certainly the moving force behind the society in its first fifteen years—had set up a week-long "Utah Folklore Workshop and Festival" with "Folk Songs and Dancing at the University of Utah, Orson Spencer Hall Auditorium." Faculty included John Greenway—later the editor of the *Journal of American Folklore* and a well-known revivalist singer—S. J. Sackett, Ed Cray, Olive Burt, Louis Zucker, Lester Hubbard, and Rosalie and Jim Sorrels. Activities included panels and talks on superstitions, folktales, folksongs and ballads; folk dance workshops directed by Wilford Marwedel; concerts; and a concluding picnic and "hootenanny" at Rancho Chico.

An early gathering of members of the Folklore Society of Utah, about 1958. Harold Bentley, dean of the Extension Division of the University of Utah, sits in the doorway at the rear, playing a guitar..

Rancho Chico was in many ways the center of Utah folk music around 1960. Bentley's suburban estate near the mouth of Little Cottonwood Canyon in the southeastern corner of the Salt Lake Valley, Rancho Chico was devoted to his favorite pursuits. He set up bleachers throughout the thirty acres for athletic and dramatic presentations, including (according to a reminiscence by his long-time friend Ernest Linford), "parts of Shakespeare and clips out of such dramas as 'Cyrano de Bergerac.'" Singalongs were commonplace, with Bentley playing mandolin. The summer conference-festivals continued at least through 1963 and drew upon the energies of the Intermountain Folk Music Council, which had been formed in March 1961 by Rosalie and Jim Sorrels to "collect and archive the folk music of the entire Intermountain West . . . and to stimulate popular interest in folk music." Over the years, the council, Bentley's Extension Division at the University of Utah, and the Folklore Society of Utah brought to Salt Lake City a number of nationally known singers, including Frank Hamilton, Kenneth S. Goldstein (later director of the folklore programs at the University of Pennsylvania and Memorial University in Newfoundland), and Appalachian singer Jean Ritchie.

Publication of the society's newsletter lapsed in the early '60s, then resumed in April 1963, when Thomas E. Cheney was elected president and Bentley became executive secretary. Membership was thirty-eight. During his term in office, Cheney supervised the publication of five newsletters and organized a meeting of the society in St. George in December 1964. Out of this meeting came plans for a book of articles about Utah folklore, but it would be another seven years before the project finally achieved fruition with the publication of *Lore of Faith and Folly*, edited by Cheney. Simultaneously, the ebbing of folk music's popularity across the country and a shift of national interest toward politics and rock music affected the society as well: by 1967, membership was down to twenty-one.

Austin Fife (see chapter 5) was elected president of the society in 1967, with Jan Harold Brunvand and Cheney as vice-presidents and Alta Fife as secretary-treasurer. With the Fifes' leadership, planning began for production of a program on Utah folklore which could be presented live to students and other audiences and which could be recorded on videotape for television showing. Also under consideration were an exhibit and program on folk arts and crafts, possibly for museum display, and the possibility of a joint meeting with the Utah State Historical Society, either on the interrelations of folklore and oral history or on oral traditions about Brigham Young.

An active period followed, with meetings with the Folk Culture Committee of the Utah Heritage Foundation (a nonprofit organization focused on historic preservation) to consider "the acquisition, restoration, and operation of a multiple-produce farm of the pre-automotive era," an idea which anticipated the eventual development of Cache County's Ronald B. Jensen Living Historical Farm, now part of Utah State University's American West Heritage Center, and Salt Lake County's Wheeler Historical Farm. Also under consideration was a survey of stone houses of northern Utah and the publication of a collector's guide to be written by Brunvand in consultation with other members of the committee; the volume was eventually published by the Heritage Foundation in 1971 as *A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah.* The following year, 1968, the society held a joint meeting with the American Folklore Society in Logan in July and a meeting with the Utah State Historical Society in September, also in Logan.

Despite this activity, almost all of it fueled by a handful of academic folklorists, the society entered another period of decline. In 1971, Austin Fife suggested disbanding the organization because "its potential clientele is too small to sustain a viable ongoing organization and program." William A. Wilson (see chapter 10), who had been elected president in 1968, responded, agreeing that the society was facing—as it always had—difficulties in appealing to a potential membership large enough to be self-sustaining. Unwilling to abandon the society, however, Wilson suggested the organization of local chapters and proposed that the society move away from "romantic antiquarianism" and take the collection and study of folklore more seriously. He also suggested that the society meet jointly with the State Historical Society, that a newsletter be published once a year, and that a state folklore journal be initiated, a suggestion that had been mulled over in the early sixties and rejected as too expensive.

The membership voted to preserve the society as an independent organization, and through the activities of Bentley, an ad hoc committee, and State

Annual meeting of the Folklore Society of Utah, Thomas Carter presiding, at the Denver and Rio Grande Western Depot in Salt Lake City (1981).

Historical Society Director Charles Peterson, a joint meeting with the Historical Society convened in September, 1972. Papers were presented by Wilson and by four students, the first time in the society's history that students were actively encouraged to present papers. Under Wilson's leadership, annual meetings in conjunction with the Historical Society continued to be held at locations throughout the state, and the society received a Merit Award from the American Association for State and Local History in recognition of these projects. These cooperative efforts also bore fruit in another way: the *Utah Historical Quarterly* began publishing articles on folklore, including special issues on Mormon folklore (1976), ethnic folklore (1984), vernacular architecture (1986), and material culture (1988).

Joint meetings with the Historical Society continued annually until the late 1980s, with the society presenting a mix of papers by students, academic folklorists, and public-sector folklorists. When Thomas Carter was elected president of the society in 1980, he revived the newsletter and started a membership drive that took advantage of the greatly increased number of students taking courses at the state's major universities. In 1984, the Utah Arts Council's Folk Arts Program and the society began publishing a joint newsletter under the editorship of David Stanley, eventually publishing three issues a year of eight or more pages, a run that ended in 1991 because of limited funding. These newsletters contained features on upcoming events like concerts, festivals, and exhibits; stories on apprenticeships, folk arts awards, and field projects; essays on the history of folklore in Utah; and lists of publications and recordings available for purchase.

In the early 1990s, the society rethought its mission after the State Historical Society broke the long tradition of joint meetings. With membership at about 200 and with folklore classes being taught at six different colleges and universities, the number of student projects was increasing exponentially and the time seemed ripe for the society to start its own annual meeting. Beginning with a meeting at the University of Utah, the society began holding all-day meetings with a keynote address by a professional folklorist and as many as twenty-four student papers by graduate and undergraduate students from the state's colleges and universities. In 2003, the society elected Elaine Thatcher its president, began publishing the best student papers from the annual meeting, and started planning for the October 2004 meeting of the American Folklore Society in Salt Lake City.

Lessons of Summer: The Fife Folklore Conference

Barbara Lloyd

Early in the 1930s, a young man sat traveling on a train in France. He watched a man and a woman across the aisle from him as they shared a single cigarette, passing it from one mouth to the other, entwined by breath and smoke, passing it as lovers whose lips lingered and explored. This was more than merely smoking a cigarette, this was private coupling—sensual and intimate.

It was clear to the young man that this way of smoking a cigarette was very different from anything he had ever seen in his own hometown in southern Idaho, deeply different, culturally different. He never forgot the image, and its impact along with other life experiences helped propel him into the study of folklore. The young man was Austin Fife, who at the time was serving as a missionary for the Mormon Church.

It is not inconsequential that the word "fife" refers to a small, high-pitched flute used primarily to accompany drums in a marching band or parade. Austin Fife, like some magical pied piper of folklore, captured many of us, but perhaps more importantly, he captured the attention of Utah State University department heads and the humanities college dean. His vision and effort in the 1960s and '70s led to the establishment of the folklore program and archives at USU.

Austin and Alta Fife (see chapter 5) met at Utah State University. As a married couple, they began folklore research together in the late 1930s when they were living in California, where Austin was a graduate student at Stanford University, serving as research assistant to the distinguished professor of Hispanic-American folklore, Aurelio Espinosa, Sr. After teaching in California and working for the Department of Education in Washington, D. C., Austin—accompanied, as always, by Alta—returned to Logan in 1960 to teach French and, eventually, folklore. In the mid-1970s, as Austin began planning his retirement, he negotiated with the Merrill Library to establish the Fife Folklife Archives and to find someone who could continue teaching his courses.

During this same period, Glenn Wilde, called "Reddy Kilowatt" by some who knew him well, was associate dean of the College of Humanities. For a number of years, Wilde had been directing the Western Writers Workshop every summer. It had been very successful, and in an effort to branch out, Glenn and Patricia Gardner, then a professor in the English Department, established the Fife Conference on Western Folklore in 1977. Guest faculty members of that first conference included Austin Fife, William A. "Bert" Wilson, Barre Toelken, Jan Harold Brunvand, Hal Cannon, and Thomas Carter.

Wilde, representing the College of Humanities, was also looking for a folklorist to replace Austin, and Bert Wilson, with a Ph.D. in folklore from Indiana University and a personal knowledge of the Intermountain West (see chapter 10), seemed the ideal candidate. Indeed, Bert was Austin's first choice as someone who could provide strong leadership for the new archive and who had the right kind of vision for the future, for what the USU folklore program could become. When USU offered the job to Bert, he agreed to help direct the second Fife Conference in 1978—though Glenn Wilde and I did most of the preliminary work while Bert was doing fieldwork in Nevada.

This was a time when *Foxfire* books were becoming very popular nationally, and we brought Eliot Wigginton, editor of the series, as one of the guest faculty members in 1978. That year the students visited the Jensen Living Historical Farm and Wilde hosted a pig roast in his backyard for the guest faculty members. Book publishers were invited to attend the conference and a display of folklore publications was featured in the USU Bookstore. This conference started a tradition for Utah State University Press and its staff, who often set up book displays on a sales table during breaks and, over the years, became part of USU's folklore family with a strong commitment to publishing books on folklore and the Intermountain West.

The basic format for the conference included a welcoming picnic supper and songfest for the faculty on Sunday evening; five days of lectures, workshops, demonstrations, and performances interspersed with evening concerts; and, after a few years, the Fife Honor Lecture. On Friday, the afternoon was given over to conferences with students, who then went home to complete a summer fieldwork project of collection and analysis. Once the project was submitted, the student received three hours of undergraduate or graduate credit. And the conference always concluded with a farewell dinner for faculty and staff.

In 1978, 1979, and 1980, the Fife Conference was held in August in order to correlate with the Festival of the American West. During 1979 and 1980, a National Endowment for the Arts grant supported some regional fieldwork, and folk artists from Utah demonstrated their skills on the veranda on the west side of Merrill Library. Carolyn Rhodes and Polly Stewart were the fieldworkers in those years. When Stewart was doing her work, she located singers and storytellers who put on an engaging evening program. From that time on, with support from the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council, the Fife Conference regularly scheduled evening performances—Tongans from Salt Lake City, an African American gospel choir from Ogden, a dance featuring Utah's own Salsa Brava. These performances were open to the public and offered a colorful array of traditional music and dance.

Faculty at the second Fife Conference, 1978. Left to right, standing: Hector Lee, Barre Toelken, Jan Brunvand, Howard Marshall, Austin Fife. Kneeling: Bert Wilson, Bruce Buckley, Wayland Hand.

In 1979, guest faculty members were Barre Toelken, Sylvia Grider, Jan Harold Brunvand, Suzi Jones, Roger Welsch, and David Hufford. During one evening, mid-conference, the guest faculty members had assembled for supper and socializing at a home in River Heights, located on a bluff across a ravine from campus. As the group began to disperse, Welsch and Hufford decided they would walk back to campus and the University Inn where they were staying. (This was the year that Hufford wore a three-piece pin-striped navy blue banker's suit and Welsch wore bib overalls.) It was after dark on a night with no moon, and they had no flashlight. But they assured the rest of us there would be no problem as they started their walk back to campus.

From this point, there is a bit of variation between Hufford's version of the story and Welsch's. Hufford's is something like this:

> We somehow found a path leading down the River Heights bluff, through the Thrushwood neighborhood and over to the spot where the land again rises sharply up to 400 North. Fortunately, we did find another path leading up the steep climb. But as we followed the path, we came nose-to-metal with one of the corrugated steel retaining walls that keeps 400 North from crashing to the bottom. This is a massive ridged structure that looks straight upward for roughly twenty to thirty feet. We decided this was the end of our path. I thought it best to bushwhack our way to where the path must surely continue; Roger, on the other hand, concluded that this WAS how the path continued and commenced scaling the cliff, like some huge bear working his way paw-by-paw up a tree. When Roger finally reached the top, sweaty and exhausted and in some real danger of falling, I was there waiting, calm and collected, to extend a hand to Roger and guide him back to the hotel.

Welsch's version of the same story runs as follows:

> A proud moment for American folklore . . . was the time I was faithful guide for a very loaded Dave Hufford in getting back to the dorms. Dave wanted to climb the mountains to the west . . . at night . . . in sandals . . . so I took him by the hand and said I'd walk him over to the dorms . . . right over there . . . we could see them from our host's backyard. What neither of us knew, of course, was that we had to go down that damn cliff, across a raging mountain river, and then scale the cliff at the other side and up to campus. We did it . . . drunk . . . and survived. At the dorm there were a lot of worried faces. . . . I think we got there about 3 or 4 A.M. To this day no one believes we scaled that damn cliff from the river up to the campus. We couldn't have done it sober.

Nineteen eighty-one was a significant year for the Fife Conference. It moved from meeting in August to meeting in June, and this was the year that the western folk arts coordinators began having their annual meetings in conjunction with the conference. This was also the first year for the Fife Honor Lecture, which was given by Wayland Hand (see chapter 4).

Bert Wilson started the practice of the Honor Lecture as a way to pay tribute to outstanding folklorists, and later, under the direction of Barre Toelken, the honor was extended to include anyone who was doing interesting work in folklore or folklore-related fields. The group of lecturers has included Hector Lee, Lynwood Montell, Roger Welsch, Barre Toelken, Bert Wilson, Archie Green, Bess Lomax Hawes, Alan Jabbour, Elliot Oring, Alan Dundes, Emory Sekaquaptewa, David Hufford, Wolfgang Mieder, Patrick Mullen, Henry Glassie, Hal Cannon and Teresa Jordan, James Griffith, Jan Harold Brunvand, Margaret K. Brady, Burt Feintuch, Carl Lindahl, and me.

Choosing the faculty for the Fife Conference was no easy task. We had to choose first-rate folklore scholars from around the country, but, as Bert Wilson wrote me, "Some first-rate folklore scholars are dreadfully dull in their public presentations." We wanted to pick people who could hold the attention of a very mixed audience ranging from beginning to advanced students, both young and mature, undergraduate and graduate, and who could inform students of major issues in folklore in a meaningful way. It also became clear early on that it helped to bring in scholars with a certain "sex appeal" or charisma.

I asked Bert Wilson, who directed the Conference until 1984, for his impressions. He wrote:

> It was a helluva lot of work, especially for a paranoid person like me. I made sure we had two slide projectors available at every presentation, just in case one failed. A couple of days before each conference, I would call each airline our presenters were using and reconfirm their reservations. Paranoia? Yes, but paranoia that paid off. One year the airline Roger Welsch was flying on to Salt Lake City had no record of his reservation—I'm still not sure whether that was the airline's fault or Roger's, probably Roger's. In any event I secured a reservation for him and got him to the conference to give another of his brilliant performances.
>
> A lot of work? Yes—but work that enriched my life immeasurably. I was always thrilled to be able to honor Austin and Alta Fife with a conference named after them. I took great pleasure in helping open up the world of folklore to public school teachers, librarians, local historians, folklore students from other universities, senior citizens who drifted in, and just about anyone with a zest for learning. Conference events all sort of blur together in my memory—folk arts presentations in front of the library, evening programs, steak fries up the canyon and singing afterwards around a blazing fire, conference faculty dinners at our home, visits to the Jensen Historical Farm, and brilliant . . . faculty lectures.
>
> [T]he personal relationships I was able to develop with conference faculty members were immensely rewarding. I count those good people who stood at our lecterns and shared their knowledge and their beliefs with us as my best friends. The morning after a conference was over and everyone had returned home, I always had an empty feeling. I knew we would have another conference the following year. But each conference developed its own personality and took on a life of its own, a life that had existed only once for a few short days and would never come again.

After everyone had left, Bert and I would go sit together in the cafeteria over a Pepsi and sometimes literally cry because the conference was over. And these feelings continued for Barre Toelken (see chapter 11) and me after we became directors of the conference in 1986—the same sense of having experienced something wonderful, the same emptiness at having it end. In later years, others served as conference directors, too: Steve Siporin, Star Coulbrooke, Jeannie Thomas, Randy Williams, and Jan Roush, often working in pairs, as we did, to

Opening night of the Fife Folklore Conference, 1982: steak fry at Guinavah Campground, Logan Canyon. Song leaders included Jim Griffith, Barre Toelken, and Hal Cannon.

share the workload. They seemed to have many of the same experiences and feelings. The conference was a perfect time for us to gather together people we loved, to talk about ideas we loved, and nothing else really mattered. It was and is a brief and shining moment for folklore.

In 1984, Bert decided to leave USU to return to Brigham Young University, although he and I continued to codirect the conference in 1984 and 1985. Barre arrived in 1985, and he and I codirected the 1986 conference. Steve Siporin directed the conference in 1987 and 1988, then Barre and I did it from 1989 to 1996, when I moved out of state. After that, Barre and Randy Williams were codirectors through 2001. Barre and Star Coulbrooke collaborated in 2002, and then, after Barre's stroke, Jan Roush and Jeannie Thomas organized the 2003 and 2004 conferences.

When I asked Barre to tell me something of his memories of the Fife Conference, he responded with a kaleidoscope of images, including

> sitting with Wayland Hand, Hector Lee, Austin Fife, and Bert Wilson, telling J. Golden Kimball stories and laughing ourselves silly; Elliott Oring and Simon Bronner singing a bluegrass song together facing each other nearly head to head; all of the many meals we shared as a group in Logan Canyon, at the Jensen Farm, at the Coppermill Restaurant, and in so many different homes that many of you generously opened to the conference over the years; trips to Bear Lake to collect raspberry milkshakes; the wonderful public sector fieldtrips throughout northern Utah and southern Idaho that were known as "grazes" as in "eating-your-way-across-the-land"; the work of Jean Irwin and

> the years the conference was joined by teachers sponsored by the Utah Arts Council; the impressive presenting style of Henry Glassie; and Bert Wilson's talk on toilet paper and ceiling tiles. Folklore covers a lot.

Barre tells the story of when native Louisianan Barry Ancelet came to Cache Valley. Ancelet was in awe of how the mountains rimmed the valley and of the fact that snow still covered some of the higher foothills. After the Saturday debriefing brunch at Barre's home, Ancelet took off on foot in shirtsleeves for a walk in the hills. After a long while, Barre became concerned about how long Ancelet had been away and decided someone better go after him. Barre found him walking back down the mountain with a plastic bag, obviously heavy and dripping water. "What have you got there?" asked Barre. "Snow," said Ancelet. "I want to take it home to my children. They've never seen snow before." And then Ancelet said, "It's cold up there." And Barre responded, "It isn't called the snowline for nothing."

There were some funny, strange, and poignant times at the Fife Conference, times that some of us still recollect with a bit of nostalgia and amusement, such as remembering the student who brought her baby to class with little bells on the baby's shoes, which jingled all five days, or the time conference participants were hypnotized and led from the room in a stupor, or once when a student told us about a ghost who had lived with her family in southern Utah for a number of years. Then there was the time when a male stripper joined us right after lunch and performed a happy birthday strip-tease greeting for someone who was turning forty that year; and I always hope to be able to remember seeing Barre Toelken, Hal Cannon, Dave Stanley, and Steve Siporin with their pants legs rolled up as they tried to dance the hula with our Hawaiian folk performers. And there were extraordinary times when someone performing or presenting was so captivating that total silence enveloped the room. In particular, I remember Kathy Neustadt's presentation, "Don't Put That in Your Mouth, You Don't Know Where It's Been: Food, Philosophy, and Body." What Kathy focused on was "licking," and through her presentation she had us all thinking a little differently about ourselves and food. And I remember quite vividly another time when a handsome young sign interpreter gracefully signed for an equally beautiful coed, and together they distracted us all as we watched a dance of hands.

I call this essay "Lessons of Summer" because some of the greatest lessons in folklore were available to be learned at the Fife Conference—some of which are about folklore, some not. I learned how Bert Wilson can worry a carpet threadbare with his pacing, while at the same time he can speak—like no one else—about family. I learned from him that the separations between fine art and folk art, between high-brow literature and folk narrative, are so minimal that it would be much more accurate to speak of all literature and not make the separations that we do.

From Fife, Lee, and Hand, I learned about the stuff itself—our folklore—and how it matters, even how texts can matter apart from context or performance

Traditional performers at the Fife Conference often requested audience participation. In 1986, the Halau Hula o Keola Hawai'ian Dancers of Salt Lake City coerced folklorists David Stanley, Barre Toelken, Hal Cannon, and Steve Siporin (left to right) into attempting the hula—without success.

(which may fly in the face of the thinking of many folklorists today), and how any context is magnified and often enriched and nourished by the traditional elements it may contain.

I remember the first time I heard David Hufford speak of liminal time. He was talking about celebrations, such as Christmas or Thanksgiving, and about how such events for that moment take time and move it from the horizontal plane in which we usually travel to a vertical stacking of time that creates a timelessness. He suggested that perhaps one of the important aspects of a recurring celebration was this aspect of past and present and future being combined, across years, across experiences, surmounting place and age, to connect generations and to connect our own individual experiences of life. Perhaps one reason why celebratory traditions of this kind continue is for this very reason—that through them we are removed from our daily lives and become, for the moment, initiates living in a liminal state between our own past and our own future and between whatever combinations of life or age or significant others they may hold.

From Roger Welsch I learned many things, but one small thing that has been significant in my life has to do with a story Roger told of the time when he was to be head dancer at a gourd dance with his Omaha Indian friends. He knew the day the dance was to take place, but he didn't know the time or place. In the morning, he tried to contact some of his friends, but no one was around. He got in his truck and drove through town but couldn't find anyone who knew where and when the event would happen. Finally, after a lot of searching, he stopped for a moment and sat in his truck and thought, "Where would my friends be this Saturday, how would I think about this if I were Native?" He figured he might find some of them at a local baseball diamond, so he drove over there and, sure enough, he saw a truck that belonged to his friend Clyde Sheridan. He parked and went into the stands and sat beside Clyde, and asked where and when the dance was going to be, but his friend said he didn't know and suggested that Roger sit and watch the game.

Roger reasoned that if he just stuck close to Clyde, someone else might come along who'd know when and where things were going to happen. When the game finished, they looked around and there were all their Omaha friends in their cars, talking. Clyde said, "Well, looks like we're all here, so we might just as well have the dance here and now." Roger said, "As a white man, I was frantically looking for facts that didn't at the time exist. They didn't exist until about three minutes after the last out of the ninth inning." And with that story, Roger told us what I consider to be a great lesson, which was: "Some questions we ask do not yet have answers." Roger helped us realize that there are differing visions of the world, and he encouraged us to think in terms of centers of power rather than edges of power.

There are so many presenters whom I remember with great appreciation and fondness for what they taught. I think of Elliott Oring speaking on culture and humor, and remember his individual generosity to students and colleagues. There was Bonnie Glass-Coffin, who shared her own personal experiences working with a woman shaman in South America. Because of her field research experiences, Bonnie had succeeded in finding a balance between her own bright and engaging mind and her intricate and amazing lived experiences that seemed to defy logic. The examples Bonnie shared with us offered a unique view of the nature of folk culture juxtaposed with academic analysis, revealing the layers of living that resulted in both intellectual strength and experiential knowledge.

Meg Brady has been a frequent guest faculty member at the Fife Conference; her lively presenting style is filled with humor and insight. Conference participants loved her comments both as a lecturer and later when she would sit in the audience responding with her own ideas or asking questions. In Meg I found an example of fearlessness in one's pursuit of knowledge and life, and I learned meaningful lessons about human warmth and interpersonal generosity.

Through Wolfgang Mieder I discovered, in one simple lecture, the power of proverbs, completely alive and well in today's society. From Carol Edison, I learned about working hard and being supportive and loyal. I especially appreciated Carol's many presentations on Hmong culture, on Utah cemeteries and gravestones, on celebrations in rural parts of the state. Carol, along with Craig Miller and Annie Hatch, were and are terrific partners in furthering folklore studies throughout the state, and they brought to the Fife Conference a vast and talented array of folk performers who enriched us each year with music, song, and dance. From Jan Brunvand, I discovered that someone could actually make some extra money and garner a bit of fame as a folklorist. But also his wonderful little book, *A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah*, was one of my first "reads" in the field and had a lot to do with my becoming a folklorist.

The first year that Eva Castellanoz was a guest faculty member was perhaps the most powerful Fife Conference I've attended. The topic was "Folklore and Traditional Belief," and in her natural and holistic way, Eva taught all of us something about how human experiences, relationships, spirituality, and the natural world are organic and connected. After her first presentation, everyone in the room was crying—all of us sat there feeling somehow blessed by her words and her presence.

Each year, we also learned from the students who attended the conference and offered their own insights and comments, which helped to create the sense that each conference did indeed, as Bert Wilson said, have a life of its own. Some of these students later became presenters at the conference, including Lloyd Walker, Kathy Johnson, and Roseanna Walker.

Working side by side with Randy Williams, I learned that in life things are often the opposite of how they may appear, and so it helps to step back and invert your vision for a moment in order to see clearly when you again look right side up. In some ways, the Fife Conference is like this, because for one week, in spite of the hard work and a year's worth of details and planning, the conference offered us all a chance to stand outside our regular day-to-day lives and our regular ways of learning things. For a time, we could immerse ourselves in education at its best and experience it the way we wish it could always be. The Fife Conference puts students together with some of the brightest lecturers in the field to share an immersion in the traditional and meaningful stuff of our lives.

From Barre, I learned about the power of embracing people, of opening arms and homes to everyone. Maybe it is because he is an only child who was reared by a father with high expectations and a mother who was gracious and funny and adored him, but Barre learned how to make people sense his love for and interest in them. I learned something about not being afraid of people who are different from me. And I learned that for some, folklore is not a field or a discipline but a way of seeing the world. This vision, once it is made known to us, continues with us through our lives.

When I teach an introduction to folklore course, I tell my students on the very first day that studying folklore will change their lives. This is not a class for sissies or the weak of mind or heart. Our folklore reveals something about us humans at our worst and at our best, at peak moments and at times of daily grind. It is, as Bert Wilson would say, the art of being human.

Cultural Tourism in Utah

Julie Hartley

Recent national and international studies conducted by the Utah Division of Travel Development note that local culture is one of the state's prime tourist draws. For example, just as many tourists visit historic Mormon Temple Square in Salt Lake City as visit all of the state's national parks combined. Cultural events comprised 18% of the activities in which tourists engaged in 2002. This figure reflects national trends: a 1997 study by the Travel Industry of America found that nearly ninety-three million Americans planned their trips to include cultural, arts, history, or heritage tourism. It also found that tourists drawn by local cultural programming spend an average of $174 more per visit than other tourists.

Over the last fifty years, Utah's economy has been shifting away from agriculture, extractive industries, and manufacturing and toward the service sector. In 1997, service work provided 61% of all nonagricultural jobs in the state, with tourism providing nearly one out of every nine jobs in 2002. Especially for rural communities experiencing a major decline in traditional industries such as mining and logging, tourism has become a major source of income. Tourism has also been good for Utah's public coffers, generating $475 per Utah household in state and local tax revenues, a total of $322 million in 2002. Around the world, there has been a remarkable increase in attempts to improve the economic situations of rural areas through tourism based on local resources, both human and physical. Part of this process involves the commodification of culture, the valorization of place, and the marketing of local products. Between 1996 and 2003, cultural and heritage tourism in the United States increased 10%.

Utah's state government and its local communities and organizations are trying to benefit from the trend toward cultural tourism by actively marketing local customs, sites of historic interest, and heritage products like quilts, fruit, saddles, beadwork, and woodcarving. The Utah Division of Travel Development notes that "*Authenticity and substance are paramount*. . . . Consumers are bored with superlatives. *They want 'real.'* Unless destinations can dramatize their unique and differentiable qualities, consumers will buy based on price. . . . Among the travel implications for this shift is a greater emphasis on personal spirituality, including history, culture and heritage." Labeling tourism a "spiritual" journey is not as strange as it may first appear. Anthropologists have long noted that traveling can be like a rite of passage for tourists in that they enter a liminal state outside their normal space and their normal routines. In addition, cultural tourists often seek out "authentic" local celebrations in a "quest for original communitas" (in Rachid Amirou's phrase), a search for community, identity, place, and social belonging. Tourism can sometimes serve a deeper purpose for local communities, too, as a means of creating or reinforcing a specific local identity. The identity markers they choose to emphasize may range from foods, crafts, architecture, dramas, or historic sites to entire landscape systems.

Local cultural celebrations can be a particularly effective way for communities to distinguish themselves from their neighbors as a means of defining themselves and of enticing tourists. Celebrations are especially good at drawing "resident tourists," people who do not stay in hotels but travel up to 150 miles for cultural events. Today, Utah's ethnic communities celebrate many traditional events important to contemporary life, but they are also drawing larger, more diverse audiences than in the past. Small celebrations that were once confined to specific communities have become large events that embrace outsiders. For example, Salt Lake City's Greek Festival draws tens of thousands of visitors every September. Volunteers from the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church now spend five months each year preparing food for the festival. This celebration and other community displays are touted by tourism organizations at both the state and local level.

Price has an annual Greek festival, too. Payson, Salt Lake City, and West Valley City have Scottish festivals. St. Patrick's Day celebrations are held around the state (my favorite is Springdale's St. Patrick's Day Festival and Green Jell-O Sculpture Contest, combining Irish-American pride with *the* icon of Utah foodways). Other ethnic festivals include Ephraim's Scandinavian Heritage Festival, Spanish Fork's Himalayan Performing Arts Festival, Elsinore's Danish Heritage Days, Wales's Welsh Days, Price's Slovenian Picnic, Midway's Swiss Days, Oktoberfest at Snowbird, Sauerkraut Days in Providence, and West Valley City's Polynesian Festival. Salt Lake City ethnic groups annually host a Celtic Festival, Basque Supper, Friendly Island Tongan Festival, Tongan Old Boys Celebration, and the Tongan Po Hiva Christmas Concert. Native Americans and others gather at powwows at Utah State University, Heber Valley, Neola, White Mesa, Fort Duchesne, and other Utah locales. Cedar City's Paiute Restoration Gathering and Pow-Wow began in the 1970s after the Paiute were restored to tribal status.

Since the U.S. Bicentennial, Utah has experienced an increase in multiethnic festivals. The Utah Arts Council's Folk Arts Program, established in 1976, was one of the first state programs designed specifically to serve traditional arts and artists. Since 1986, the program has hosted the Living Traditions Festival in Salt Lake City (modeled after the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C. and a southern Arizona festival called "Tucson Meet Yourself") to celebrate ethnic diversity. In 2003, six hundred artists represented forty local communities; the festival featured Vietnamese, African American,

Wood carver Allen Cox of Orderville explains his work to visitors at the Southern Utah Folklife Festival in Zion National Park, 1987.

Bolivian, Japanese, Guinean, Tahitian, Bosnian, Russian, and Native American performers, craftsworkers, and vendors.

Another multiethnic event is the Asian Pacific Festival, which has been held in the Salt Lake area every year since 1977. In 2003, the festival grew large enough to move to a large exposition center. Not only does the festival bring together people with origins all over Asia and the Pacific—from Tonga to Tibet, China to Cambodia—it also draws people from outside those immigrant communities. The festival has become an important source of fundraising opportunities for local nonprofit groups and even offers an occasion for political activism, encouraging voter-registration initiatives and the organization of groups like the

Pacific Islander Republican Assembly. West Fest in West Valley City is another popular multiethnic celebration.

Occupational festivals like American Fork Steel Days and Park City Miner's Day are other ways for communities to distinguish themselves. But the largest set of occupational festivals in Utah revolves around agriculture; many rural communities in the state celebrate the harvest of their signature product. Fruit is feted during Peach Days in Ferron and Brigham City; apples in Torrey, Glendale, and River Heights; strawberries in Pleasant Grove; raspberries in Garden City; trout and berries in Paradise City; and melons in Green River. Among the most colorful fruit fests is the Sanpitch Rhubarb Festival in Mt. Pleasant. Vendors hawk rhubarb in more forms than one could imagine, from pizza, barbeque sauce, salsa, and scones to the more predictable ice cream, shakes, cobbler, and pies. Central to the festival celebration is the performance of the Rhubarb Rock.

Vegetables, grains, and herbs also get their due. Enterprise hosts an annual Corn Festival, Garland has Wheat and Beet Days, Payson boasts its Onion Days, and Midvale has Harvest Days. Many rural communities also invite visitors to tour corn mazes in October. Pumpkins attract October visitors, too; especially popular are Jensen's Great Pumpkin Festival and North Logan's Pumpkin Walk, which takes on a different theme for its pumpkin tableaux each year.

Livestock make great centerpieces for community festivals and cultural tourism. Richmond's Black and White Days celebrate Holstein dairying. Soldier Hollow's Classic Sheepdog Championship is a multiethnic event involving dogs, their trainers, Scottish bagpipers, Navajo rug-makers, and Mexican food vendors. Fountain Green holds an annual Lamb Days Festival. One of the newer livestock celebrations is Spanish Fork's Llama Festival, sponsored by the local Krishna Temple. The festival began in 1994 to showcase the social uses of llamas, from spinning and weaving demonstrations to llama racing and handling competitions, all against a festival backdrop of food and music.

King among occupational/agricultural festivals is the rodeo. Utah has a plethora of them, often matched up with powwows, county fairs, or cowboy poetry gatherings. Morgala, Draper, Clinton, Heber, Vernal, Nephi, Pleasant Grove, Sanpete, Manila, Oakley, and Bluff all have summer rodeos. Several others—Salt Lake City and Ogden among them—are timed to coincide with the July 24th state holiday that commemorates the arrival of the first Mormon pioneers in 1847. Pioneer Day celebrations generally include parades, picnics, and fireworks as well. Salt Lake's Days of '47 Parade is the largest; in fact, it claims to be one of the largest and oldest parades in the United States. The parade culminates in Liberty Park, where, since 1995, it has been greeted by the "Native American Celebration in the Park" and an intertribal powwow.

Other festivals have tried to create a "conscious model of past lifeways," in Stanley Brandes's phrase, by highlighting a community's history and its Mormon, cowboy, agricultural, or other roots. The Canyon Country Western Arts Festival celebrates the American cowboy in Cedar City; Tremonton has an annual Western Heritage Festival, too. The Festival of the American West in Wellsville and living history museums like the Jensen Farm in Cache County, Wheeler Farm in Salt Lake County, and Old Deseret Village at This Is the Place Heritage Park in Salt Lake City follow this trend as well. Among the more unusual of the heritage celebrations is Panguitch's Quilt Walk commemoration. When Panguitch's original pioneer settlers ran desperately short of supplies their first bitter winter in the area, some of the men decided they had to go over the mountain to Parowan to seek help. They found it impossible to cross the deep mountain snows until they realized they could spread their quilts on the snow and walk without sinking. In 1997, when Panguitch decided to start reenacting the event annually, it was wisely decided to do so in the summer—when odds of attracting tourists are better.

The creation of the Quilt Walk stems from a cultural tourism-based economic initiative led by the State of Utah's Department of Community and Economic Development: its 1990 proposal to designate the U.S. Highway 89 corridor the National Mormon Pioneer Heritage Area. National Heritage Area designation is meant to recognize areas where "natural, cultural, historic, and recreational resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally distinctive landscape arising from the patterns of human activity shaped by geography." In conjunction with local governments and private businesses, the National Park Service manages and interprets those places fitting the "thematic story" of an area. The twenty-three sites around the United States that have already received the designation (none of them yet in Utah) have seen a significant impact on their cultural tourism infrastructure and have had impressive 8.7-to-1 rates of leveraging matching funds from government and the private sector.

Highway 89 now represents a classic model of early Mormon settlement. Under the direction of Brigham Young, Mormon pioneers established towns every five to twenty miles along the highway. The route was later bypassed by interstate freeways and industrial development, and so it retains a fairly small population (about 60,000 people) and much of its rural character. The proposed Heritage Highway 89 Area would cover 300 miles from Utah County to the Arizona border. Heritage Area planners have identified five zones along the corridor: Little Denmark in Sanpete County; the Sevier Valley; "The Headwaters" from southern Sevier County to Orderville; "Under the Rim," the rock-rimmed stretch of riverways on the Colorado Plateau from Mt. Carmel to Pipe Springs, Arizona; and the Boulder Loop. The Heritage Area is already being marketed as a crafts corridor through catalogs, internet sites, and the locally organized Utah Heritage Products Alliance. Local produce and festivals are also keys to marketing the region. Grants from several public agencies are helping to subsidize the development of area tours run by two private tour companies.

Utah has also designated several State Heritage Areas (many of them contenders for National Heritage status, too): the Four Corners Heritage Area, the Great Basin Heritage Area, the San Rafael Western Frontier Heritage Area, and the Mountain Spirit Heritage Area. A sixth region, the Bear River Heritage Area, spans the Utah-Idaho border. It is a land of striking scenery and history; it was the home of the Northwest Band of the Shoshone, it was crucial to the historic fur trade, it was colonized by Mormons in the 1850s and ’60s, and today it is proud of its strong agricultural economy and ethnic diversity. The Bear River Heritage Council, in conjunction with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Bear River Association of Governments, AmeriCorps, and folklorists at Utah State University, has created a cultural tourism plan to “focus on and promote the soul of the area.” USU’s Living Traditions fieldwork has documented historic barns, irrigation practices, Cambodian holidays, textile traditions, and agricultural festivals, among other practices. This fieldwork led to the “Guide to the Bear River Heritage Area,” a booklet identifying “heritage businesses” in the region along with calendars of cultural events and mini-essays on local traditions. It also led to a barn preservation initiative and a taped driving tour of Cache Valley. Similarly, the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council has prepared a driving tour of Sanpete County narrated by local residents and a booklet with essays on cultural themes, photographs of local art, and maps. Other recorded tours are in development for U. S. Highway 40 between Heber City and Vernal and for State Highway 12 between Panguitch and Torrey.

This is not to suggest that tourism always has positive effects on host communities. It tends to pay less than other occupations. Locals may find themselves subject to an invasive and sometimes demeaning tourist gaze. It can lead to commercial and residential overdevelopment of once-isolated rural areas. Often, local culture may be modified and commodified to sell it to outsiders. But the financial support for vibrant community traditions, an appreciation of local folk practices, increased interethnic cooperation, and recognition of the benefits of diversity are some of the positive side effects of cultural tourism—for hosts and guests alike.

Folklore in Utah's State and National Parks

Karen Krieger

As the only Utah State agency managing historic and prehistoric sites, the Utah Division of Parks and Recreation has long striven to create for visitors authentic, meaningful experiences with Utah's cultural resources. Accomplishing this goal requires good management—research, planning, protection, and interpretation—and the agency's staff depend on folklore resources to inform all of these critical elements.

Edge of the Cedars State Park and Museum, Fremont Indian State Park and Museum, and Anasazi State Park and Museum are all prehistoric Native American habitation sites managed by the division. All three actively engage contemporary Native American tribal representatives in researching, planning, protecting, and interpreting the sites. Tribal elders participate in long-range planning sessions to help craft the future of the parks, and they consult with curators on how to store, care for, and show respect for artifacts from the sites. They also review exhibit plans and contribute stories and other information which, with the archeological evidence, become a part of permanent and temporary exhibits. In addition, tribal representatives demonstrate visual and performance arts at the parks and contribute to site-stabilization projects. These programs and projects bridge the past and the present, creating for the visitor a fuller understanding of how ancient cultures lived and what the past means to Native American people today.

At the Division's historic sites and museums—Camp Floyd, Iron Mission, Territorial Statehouse, Garr Ranch, and Huber Grove—oral histories, traditional skills, folk arts, and archival resources combine with historical archeology and research to provide appropriate management and create interpretive projects. At the Garr Ranch on Antelope Island in Great Salt Lake, former residents volunteer as site docents and provide firsthand knowledge of what life was like there, in addition to assisting with exhibit information and designs for the restoration of buildings. Rawhide braiders, blacksmiths, saddle makers, horsehair hitchers, and contemporary cowboys give special summer programs to enrich the visitor's experience and understanding of ranching from the 1850s to the present.

The Utah Division of Parks and Recreation worked with the Ute Indian Tribe to create a large tipi for the 2002 Winter Olympics cross-country skiing facility at Soldier Hollow, Wasatch County.

Demonstrations of weaving rag rugs and operating a historic printing press are among the special summer programs offered at Iron Mission in Cedar City, demonstrations that enhance exhibits relating to regional history and transportation. Traditional building skills are highlighted at Territorial Statehouse in Fillmore through exhibits and programming, the Huber Grove Homestead at Wasatch Mountain State Park is host to the folk arts of Swiss Mormon immigrants, and Civil War reenactments and storytelling at Camp Floyd capture the drama of Johnson's Army and its march into Utah in the 1850s.

As with the archeological sites, the management of the historic sites benefits greatly from information gathered from contemporary craftsmen; from local residents whose family stories, foodways, and folk arts reflect the history of these sites; and from the artifacts of folk culture themselves. Craftsmen and community members serve on planning teams, develop and present public programs and exhibits, assist curators in properly caring for and interpreting artifacts, and help preserve historic structures.

The Utah Division of Parks and Recreation also manages a natural history museum, the Utah Field House of Natural History State Park Museum in Vernal, northeastern Utah. While the majority of the museum's exhibits and public programs focus on the fossil history of the earth, a portion of the exhibits explores the ways the community of Vernal has embraced an identity linked to dinosaurs and fossil-hunting. Community values, family fossil-hunting stories, and artistic expressions are linked to the geologic resources of the region, illustrating why the Uinta Basin is known as "Dinosaurland."

Utah's national parks and monuments, which are administered through the federal Department of the Interior, also have cultural resources and programs related to folklore and folklife. In the past, Zion National Park in southwestern Utah and Capitol Reef National Park in the south-central part of the state have hosted folklife festivals, as has the community of Moab between Arches and Canyonlands national parks. Visitor centers at the parks hold exhibits featuring Native American and pioneer Euro-American artifacts, and campfire talks, roadside displays, and interpreter-led hikes often feature local history and folklore. Canyonlands National Park maintains an interpretive site at Cowboy Cave with plans for another at Dugout Ranch in partnership with the Nature Conservancy. Capitol Reef National Park maintains a number of historic buildings from the town of Fruita, including some of its historic fruit orchards with a pick-your-own system for harvest. Golden Spike National Monument commemorates the joining of the rails of the Transcontinental Railroad at Promontory Summit on May 10, 1869, and features a pair of restored locomotives and a reenactment of the driving of the Golden Spike. All of the national parks, but particularly Bryce Canyon, Capitol Reef, and Zion, have devoted major resources to the preservation of historic structures from the early days of the parks.

Many other state and national parks and monuments provide interpretive material to visitors in the form of campfire talks, wayside exhibits, and exhibits at visitor centers. Many of these feature folk artists and oral traditions, illustrate traditional skills, and highlight local celebrations to provide visitors with relevant and authentic information and experiences. Awareness of folk culture affects both interpretive and management efforts as well. Most of the parks also use their resources in their presentations for schoolchildren and in programs for civic and educational groups.

The first employee to manage the state parks' cultural materials, Karen Krieger, became the Heritage Resource coordinator in 1993. The coordinator has also served on the Folk Arts Panel of the Utah Arts Council, the state's Native American Remains Review Committee (State NAGPRA board), and the State Native American Coordinating Board. The office assists parks in funding as well: for folk arts performances, for conducting folk arts and oral history fieldwork, for participation by community members on planning teams, and for consultations, honoraria for speakers, exhibitions, wayside exhibits, and publications. Including folklore perspectives and tradition-bearers in all elements of management helps the parks meet their twin goals of appropriate protection of the resources and meaningful experiences for visitors.

APPENDICES

A. Academic Programs

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY ACADEMIC PROGRAM

Jill Terry Rudy

Folklore work at Brigham Young University and Brigham Young University–Hawaii has consisted of small beginnings and individual efforts leading to a kind of ripple effect, to expansion and a larger reach. Folklore courses began in the BYU English Department the way they entered many other English departments, as undergraduate classes in English, Scottish, and American ballads and folksongs. Sometime in the mid-twentieth century, Thomas Cheney (see chapter 7) began teaching a ballad course and an occasional graduate seminar in Mormon folklore, although he remained committed to teaching English Romanticism. In the early 1960s, anthropologist John Sorenson began accepting collections of Mormon folklore as part of his cultural anthropology course.

Folklore studies at BYU, however, depend mostly on the institutionalizing foresight of William A. Wilson (see chapter 10). The discipline already had a presence on campus when Wilson returned in 1967 after completing his doctoral course work at Indiana University. He had been hired as an instructor in the BYU English Department in 1960 and was on leave from the department during his residence in Indiana. When he returned, he taught the ballads and folksong course and soon introduced "Introduction to Folklore" and "American Folklore." In the late 1960s, Wilson maneuvered the introductory course into the catalog with the help of senior allies in the department. Wilson's ideas for organizing the course came from his teaching folklore at the Fort Wayne regional campus of Indiana University and from a visiting professorship he had held at the University of California, Los Angeles. Unlike the genre- and text-based ballad course Cheney had taught, the "Introduction to Folklore" course focused on a variety of folklore genres and guided students through their own collecting projects. When "American Folklore" was approved a year or so after the introductory course won approval, the ballad course was dropped from the catalog.

Because Cheney viewed himself primarily as a Romanticist, he did not mind Wilson's alterations to the folklore offerings of the department.

Always an advocate of folklore studies, Wilson built bridges for the field during the 1970s through his teaching, publishing, interdisciplinary outreach, and public-sector work. While others at the university did folklore research and occasionally taught classes, Wilson set the course and direction of folklore offerings at BYU. Between 1978 and 1984, he taught at Utah State University, and during this period, Richard Poulsen taught the folklore courses at Brigham Young. Wilson returned to BYU in 1985 to chair the English department, and as part of his agreement, he received library space and other support for the archive of student folklore projects.

In the mid-1980s, the university also hired Tom and Pamela Blakely in the Anthropology Department. Pamela was a folklore doctoral candidate at Indiana University, so she taught the introductory and American folklore courses that had been reduced in number because of Wilson's administrative duties. When Wilson was on sabbatical at the conclusion of his tenure as department chair, George Schoemaker was hired to teach the folklore courses. During the '80s and '90s, Wilson and other colleagues interested in cultural elements of literary study served on many master's degree committees. Although folklore has never been a formal emphasis in the department, an increasing number of students at both the undergraduate and master's levels have been able to take core courses, readings courses, and an occasional graduate seminar with a folklore focus.

Because of Wilson's commitment to assuring continuity and institutional support for folklore, within a year after his retirement in 1996, three folklorists with doctoral degrees from Indiana, Bowling Green, and the University of Texas at Austin were teaching in the English department. Jill Terry Rudy and Eric Eliason were hired to teach folklore and to alternate in directing the folklore archives, and Jacqueline S. Thursby was hired to teach English education and folklore courses. Thursby developed a course on myth, legend, and folktale aimed at secondary teaching majors but open to all students, a "Studies in Folklore" course was added to the undergraduate curriculum, and the folklorists offered senior seminars on such issues as "Women and Folklore" or "Foodways and Literature" while continuing to teach graduate seminars. At about the same time, Philip McArthur, with a doctorate in folklore from Indiana, was hired at Brigham Young University–Hawaii. McArthur helped found an interdisciplinary, theory-based international cultural studies major informed by folklore studies, with emphases in anthropology, communications, and humanities. In the late 1990s, the anthropology department at BYU in Provo also hired Julie Hartley, who had studied folklore at Utah State and anthropology at Columbia.

The folklore archives have been established as part of the L. Tom Perry Special Collections at BYU, and the library and College of Humanities sponsored a successful conference and exhibit on folklore archiving in 2003. Although the course offerings in folklore are limited compared to some programs, the possibilities for folklore study at BYU and BYU–Hawaii have never been wider and continue to attract thoughtful, dedicated students.

Dixie State College Academic Program

Ed Reber

Dixie State College, a two-year college in the southwestern corner of Utah in the city of St. George, is now working toward four-year status. Pansy Hardy introduced folklore to the college in her courses in the mid-1960s; since then, the college has offered an introductory folklore course periodically. Since 1976, it has been taught either by Ed Reber or Joe Peterson when they were not otherwise occupied with administrative duties. For a number of years in the 1980s, the college provided cooperation and support for the now-defunct Southern Utah Folklife Festival in Zion National Park as well as for concerts in a nearby amphitheater. Reber and Peterson hope to expand the program as the college and its library develops.

Salt Lake Community College Academic Program

Liz Montague

Folklore studies at Salt Lake Community College struggled into existence at a time of rapid institutional change. While shedding its identity as "Utah Technical College," the school was also establishing a new role for itself as Utah's flagship community college, adjusting to leaps in enrollment, and shifting its mission focus toward preparing students for further education.

In developing a new associate's degree in humanities, the college redefined its concept of general education and developed new criteria for humanities, which in turn opened up the possibility of teaching folklore within the new curriculum. In the early 1990s, the first introductory course was taught by Liz Montague on a pilot basis with additional sections offered soon after by Mary Jane Davis. By 2003, two sections per semester were being offered, one an online course taught by Eliza Stone. This course allowed the display of student projects on the course website along with a forum where students could post items of internet lore. Also in 2003, faculty members Michael Christensen and Dru Hazleton developed an English 1010 class titled "Field Writing: Exploring Folklore and Rhetoric," and also taught three fieldwork/folklore workshops on "Collecting Family Stories" through the college's Community Writing Center.

Supplemental to the "Introduction to Folklore" class has been a field research project called the Dugout Ranch Cultural Inventory Project, based at a historic ranch in southeastern Utah. This multiyear project linked conservation, ethnology, and folklore studies; students researched the history, anthropology, and folklore of the ranch and its surrounding area.

With the most culturally and ethnically diverse student population in the state, Salt Lake Community College has developed a multitude of interdisciplinary courses that focus on issues of ethnicity; the growing interest of the student body and the need for greater understanding of folklore in the family and the community suggest continued growth in folklore studies at the college.

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH ACADEMIC PROGRAM

Margaret K. Brady

The University of Utah has a long and distinguished history of offering a broad range of folklore courses to both graduate and undergraduate students. In the 1930s, Utahn Hector Lee (see chapter 3) completed his M.A. at Berkeley and, while still writing his Ph.D. dissertation (University of New Mexico), returned to Utah to institute a course in American folklore. With his students, he made field trips to southern Utah, collecting a wide variety of traditional folklore genres. Another Utahn, Wayland Hand (see chapter 4), taught at UCLA during the academic year but came back to Utah during the summers to do fieldwork on regional folk medicine and narrative and to offer folklore courses at the University of Utah. During this period, students of Lee and Hand also produced several M.A. theses dealing with Utah traditions. From the very beginning, teaching and research were valued as mutually important undertakings for folklorists at the university.

In 1944, with backing from the Rockefeller Foundation, Lee established the Utah Humanities Research Foundation to provide more encouragement and support for research. With his enthusiasm drawing colleagues from around the university, especially the English Department, Lee extended the influence of folklore into the classrooms and research projects of scholars such as Helen Papanikolas, Hal Folland, Don D. Walker, and William Mulder, among others. Under the auspices of the English Department, Lee also established a regional journal, the *Utah Humanities Review*—later the *Western Humanities Review*—which published articles by faculty members and students, devoting much attention to western folklore in its first three years of publication.

Folklore in these years enjoyed a kind of privileged position within the English Department, and the relationship between folklore scholarship and the department continued into the 1950s through the support of numerous English department chairs and faculty members, Louis Zucker and Jack Adamson foremost among them. But folklore was also more widely valued within the university, especially during the heyday of the folksong revival, thanks to the work of the dean of the Extension Division, Harold Bentley, who supported folksong performances, week-long summer workshops, and conferences (see chapter 23).

From Lee's first course in American folklore through Hand's summer courses to the summer workshops, folklore study at the University of Utah always included a diversity of genres, and students were exposed to both familiar regional traditions and a broader range of cultural expressions. The popularity of folklore classes at the University of Utah and the growing number of undergraduate students in the 1960s allowed the English Department to hire Barre Toelken as an instructor in 1964. When he moved to the University of Oregon two years later, Jan Harold Brunvand replaced him. Brunvand's interest in undergraduate teaching led to the publication of his introductory textbook, *The Study of American Folklore*, the first folklore textbook expressly designed for college classes. Brunvand (see chapter 12) also expanded and solidified the curricular offerings in folklore from an introductory course to genre studies in the ballad and folk narrative to graduate seminars in a variety of topics. In addition, he built on the earlier work of Lee and Hand to establish an archive of student collection projects in the Marriott Library. His handbook on field collecting in Utah (1971) guided numerous students through their first experiences in the field and the subsequent transcription and archiving processes. When Brunvand's scholarly interests turned toward the urban legend in the 1980s, he encouraged his students to become actively engaged in collecting one of the most pervasive of contemporary folklore genres.

In 1978, Margaret K. Brady joined Brunvand at the university. With a joint appointment in the English Department and the ethnic studies program, Brady added courses in American Indian folklore and literature, conversational genres, folklore theory and method, and women's folklore, as well as offering her own versions of courses already in place. Her graduate course in folk narrative often provides a fertile interaction between fiction writers in the creative writing program and American studies students from around the university. After the year 2000, Brady initiated several new courses, among them a course on ethnographic film and folklore method for both undergraduate and graduate students, and, as part of her University Professorship in 2003–2004, an undergraduate course on the life story that involves students in interviewing senior citizens and producing books and CDs for their families and for libraries and senior centers within their communities. This project continues to enrich the folklore archive of student research at the Marriott Library.

The most recent addition to the folklore faculty at the university is Kimberly J. Lau, who was hired in 1997 to teach folklore and cultural studies with a joint appointment in English and gender studies. In addition to bringing approaches derived from the fields of cultural studies and performance studies to the existing introductory courses, Lau also added undergraduate and graduate courses in ethnographic theory, experimental writing, and identity politics, which helped to extend interdisciplinary work across campus, especially for graduate students in communications and in education. She also worked with the gender studies program and the honors program to develop courses on gender and narrative and on narrative and social issues.

Undergraduate English majors at the University of Utah can declare a "folklore emphasis," which includes a sequence of folklore courses. Graduate students in folklore generally receive M.A.'s or Ph.D.'s in English (American studies), taking classes and independent-study courses from folklorists and other interested faculty members around the university. Thomas Carter, whose Ph.D. is in folklore from Indiana University, is a faculty member in the School of Architecture; he has regularly taught courses and offered field schools on vernacular architecture that have drawn many students interested in folklore. Several members of the History Department (Ronald Coleman, the late Dean May, Robert Goldberg, Colleen McDannell) and the English Department (Stephen Tatum, Karen Brennan, and Robin Hemley, among others) have also taught courses of interest to folklore students.

Utah State University Academic Program

Jan Roush

The folklore program at Utah State University got its start through a combination of circumstances that, woven together, reveal the many threads or impulses that have given rise to what today is one of the most viable and vibrant folklore programs in the region. Just how this program evolved into its present shape provides an interesting trip down a memory lane dotted with well-known folklorists whose efforts span well over half a century of significant contributions to the discipline.

No description of the folklore program at Utah State would be complete without focusing first on the influence of Austin and Alta Fife (see chapter 5), for the program's roots are inextricably entwined with the Fifes' development as folklorists. The major impetus for developing a folklore program at USU in the first place arose directly out of the collection of folk materials that the Fifes donated to the university, materials that covered their fieldwork from the late 1930s well into the 1970s. Even after Austin's death in 1986, Alta continued to catalog, index, and organize the collection until she passed away in 1996. It is this large mass of material that forms the core of the Fife Folklore Archives in the Merrill Library at Utah State University.

The Fife Archives ended up at Utah State because in 1960 Austin returned to his alma mater as a professor of French and then head of the Department of Languages and Philosophy, a position he held until 1970. At that point he retired from the chairmanship to divide his time between teaching folklore in the English Department and French in Languages and Philosophy. In spite of his national reputation as a folklorist, Austin did not formally teach folklore on a regular basis until he began the program at Utah State in September 1971. Reflecting on the reasons in a 1972 interview with William A. Wilson, Austin commented:

> When I came here [to Utah State], I decided that to teach in folklore and be head of the Department of Languages and Philosophy at the same time was a

> little bit too much. I just couldn't cope with that. The department there was about twenty people, and that's a pretty big administrative chore. And I decided that I had to either be department head in Languages and Philosophy or else a folklorist, but not both.

Some of that decision might well have been based on his admission that teaching French literature had been his greatest personal satisfaction.

Beginning in the early 1970s, Austin oversaw the development of three courses in folklore: an introductory lower-division course and two upper-division courses: "Ballads and Folksongs" and "Collecting and Archiving." In commenting on his introductory course, Austin admitted that at first he taught it much above the students' level but soon got down to very fundamental concepts starting with exposure to data rather than theory and the philosophy of science, which was much better for the students. A look at his first syllabus, which begins with a discussion of science, magic, and religion and places folklore along the continuum of life, attests to the inherent difficulty of this early course. Nevertheless, all courses were well received and continued with full enrollments until Austin retired in 1976.

As these early folklore courses were being taught, other innovations were taking place at Utah State University that helped provide fertile ground for a folklore program. The appointment of Glen L. Taggart as president of the university in 1968 precipitated some major changes, most importantly the integration of the Extension Division into the academic departments in order to emphasize research and international development and to decentralize the budget, making deans and department heads responsible for the management of resources. The Fife Folklore Conference was in part a result of that initiative. Specifically, Taggart focused on expanding the Conference and Institute Division to bring to campus people who would best use the talents and resources of the university.

The newly formed College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences (HASS) took that mandate to heart in looking for truly creative educational programs. Led by Glenn Wilde, who had just been appointed Assistant to the Dean for University Extension, the university began sponsorship of the Western Writers Conference, the brainchild of a number of faculty and department heads, including Austin. The idea was to bring to campus writers and historians who would talk about aspects of the humanities with connections to the American West. With financial support from the Extension Division, an invitation was sent to Wallace Stegner asking him to be keynote speaker for the conference, now entitled "The West: Its Literature and History." Stegner accepted the invitation and headed up an all-star conference cast that included writers Frederick Manfred, Edward Abbey, Gary Snyder, and Jack Schaefer and historians Howard Lamar, Bob Althearn, Father John Francis Bannon, Juanita Brooks, and LeRoy Hafen, among others. Over 300 participants attended that first conference in 1973, and its success helped provide the impetus to continue developing Western American studies at Utah State, including the hiring of key faculty in both English and history and eventually the publishing of such significant journals as *Western American Literature, Western Historical Quarterly*, and *Western Folklore.*

When plans for the next conference got under way, Austin Fife suggested Barre Toelken (see chapter 11), who was on the faculty at the University of Oregon, as a potential speaker, thus introducing folklore into the mix. The keynote speaker for that year was N. Scott Momaday, a good foil for Toelken. Wilde remembers that the defining moment of that conference was the bridging of arts, humanities, and social sciences in Toelken's presentation, which opened the eyes of many historians concerning the role folklore could play in their work.

The Western Writers Conference continued with the same format until the late seventies, with Toelken returning as one of the faculty in 1975. At that time, a dinner was held during the conference to honor Austin and Alta Fife and mark the opening of the Fife Folklore Collection in the library. Also present at that event were William A. Wilson, Wayland Hand, and Hector Lee, who had taught folklore classes at USU during the previous summer session. Then in 1977, Wilde proposed the idea of holding an annual folklore conference to commemorate the Fifes and their folklore collection as well as to advance the role of folklore at Utah State. With input from Toelken, Wilson, Jan Harold Brunvand, the Fifes, Lee, Hand, Hal Cannon, and others, the proposal was quickly approved, and the Fife Conference on Western American Folklore, as it was initially named, was born (see chapter 24).

The university had in the meantime begun to think in earnest about building a folklore program and in 1978, on Austin Fife's recommendation, hired William A. "Bert" Wilson to work with the Fife Collection while teaching and building a folklore program. With the help of Barbara Lloyd, Wilde and Wilson put on the second Fife Conference, after which Wilson, with Lloyd's assistance, continued to direct the conference until he left Utah State in 1984.

The hiring of Wilson in 1978 to direct the folklore program reflected a renewed commitment that paralleled a national and international resurgence of interest in the past and its traditions. Several members of the English and history departments pushed to revitalize the folklore courses, and, as a result, William Lye, then dean of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, began efforts to emphasize the study of folk culture. Both Lye and Max Peterson, associate director of the library, realized the value of the Fife Collection as a central focus for such a program. Peterson, who had observed firsthand the Fifes' work with researchers using the collection, realized that it needed special treatment. On a trip east, Peterson visited the folklore archive at the State University of New York at Cooperstown, where archivists who knew the Fifes' work encouraged implementing an active archive with program funding. In personal correspondence, Peterson recounted the thought process he went through following that visit:

> Following that examination I was more convinced than ever that the Fife Collection was very, very good and that the donors were truly pioneers in

> folklore studies. They were people who had exerted as much influence as any during the middle years of this century to move the folklore discipline into the mainstream of academic life. Several questions of handling and promotion came to mind following that visit. Should we close the collection as a special collection or should we attempt to provide it as the base for a living, growing folklife archive with University interest and support? We had designated the collection and the accompanying space as the Fife Western Folklore Archive and Research Center. Should or could we do more? Can a library really handle a folklore archive or should it be treated as an adjunct section to an academic department? What benefits might result from a formal arrangement with a teaching and research program associated with the collection?

In May 1977, a group of interested faculty and staff were invited by President Taggart to examine a proposal for the creation of a Center for the Study of Folk Cultures. Out of this meeting came an agreement that the university would hire an established folklorist whose main interest was in the Intermountain West; this folklorist would serve as director of a center that would have the Fife Collection at its core and be housed in the library.

During this same period of time, Peterson applied for funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities to process and preserve the Fife materials. Instead of granting that proposal, however, the NEH proposed awarding a planning grant "to articulate and expand upon the Center concept while maintaining the processing and preservation aspects." Specifically, the grant allowed for an examination of established centers around the country and for bringing in three consultants to advise on how to establish the center. In July, 1978, with Wilson now in place as the USU folklorist and director of the proposed center, Peterson and Wilson embarked on a tour of renowned folklore centers to collect ideas for creating their own. They visited Cooperstown, New York; the American Folklife Center and the Archive of Folk Song, both at the Library of Congress; the Center for Southern Folklore in Memphis; the Institute of Texan Cultures in San Antonio; and the Folklore Archive at the University of Texas at Austin. In addition, they brought to campus Bruce Buckley, dean of the Cooperstown graduate program; Hector Lee, a former Utahn then working as a dean at Sonoma State College in California; and Howard Marshall from the American Folklife Center. Lee summarized the thinking on the center's feasibility in a letter to Peterson:

> I think the idea of developing a center for the collection, preservation, interpretation, and educational utilization of data from both the material and nonmaterial culture of the region is long overdue, and I hope it can be brought to fruition as rapidly as possible. With the excellent start that has already been made through the Fife Collection, the Wilson Collection, the established courses in the curriculum, and the successful and popular conferences and seminars on the subject, it is clear that Utah State University is the institution that should

> establish such a program. No other university in the West has come as far in this direction, nor is there anywhere in the West an institution with as good a foundation upon which to build the kind of center envisioned here. In terms of money that can be made available, the scholarly personnel you now have, and the demonstrated interest in the program by administrators, research scholars, teachers, and the public, it is clear that the plan is entirely feasible.

Clearly the time was ripe for establishing a folklore program at Utah State University, one with the Center-Archive at the core and a four-pronged program that included collecting, teaching, outreach, and publication/production. In addition to the Fife Collection, Wilson had brought with him copies of over 20,000 student and individual projects completed during his tenure at Brigham Young University; he also contributed a number of review books received as editor of *Western Folklore,* to which the library added basic works in folklore. One of the first tasks that Wilson took on was to devise an archive system that would make all of these materials available to patrons; recognizing that it needed to be open-ended and infinitely expandable, he designed a genre-based hierarchical system, which Barbara Lloyd then implemented for the archive.

At the time, the Fife Archive was in a large, airy room on the fourth floor of Merrill Library, away from normal traffic flow and used mostly by the Fifes themselves. A part of their materials included collections from Austin's students, but these were not systematized at all, merely filed according to the semester he had taught the course. Wilson noted that "material culture, customary lore, verbal lore—they were just all there in filing cabinets." Originally, Wilson intended to have the Fife student collections moved to the first-floor location where the center-archive was to be located, but eventually he was able to obtain space for the entire Fife Collection adjacent to Special Collections on the west side of the library. With holdings indexed and listed in the card catalog, the Fife Folklore Archives—its new name—became a central part of the folklore program.

During this time the number of folklore course offerings more than doubled; cross-listed in history and English, they were taught by members of both departments, primarily Patricia Gardner in English, Clyde Milner in history, and Wilson, who had a joint appointment in both departments. In addition to the lower-division "Introduction to Folklore" class and the upper-division ballads class, courses in American, southern, and western folklore were added, followed by a narrative class and one on Utah folklore. Even though Wilson was busy developing the program and Gardner had been appointed assistant department head of English, they, along with Milner, managed to keep the courses covered, even when they added a class on the graduate level. These courses were always well attended, with enrollments in the introductory class particularly high, especially since the Elementary Education Department had made it one of their required courses.

At this time the folklore program did not offer a separate degree but rather an emphasis as part of the American studies program; eventually it was able to offer a certificate and finally a minor in folklore studies. About the same time, Dean Lye of the College of HASS asked Wilson to create a folklore program separate from the English and history departments, but Wilson refused. Though this request took place before the budgetary crisis of the eighties, Wilson realized that in an economic crunch, it would be programs that would be eliminated, not departments, and he did not want to risk the vulnerability of an independent folklore program.

Wilson's decision may have helped to preserve the folklore program, and his many other accomplishments also helped ensure its visibility and its viability. His service on the board of the Utah Arts Council gave the program good visibility, and his work with Hal Cannon helped to bring the Skaggs Collection of Cowboy Poetry to the archive. The success of the Fife Conferences brought further visibility within the state and, among folklorists, throughout the nation.

By the time Wilson left Utah State in 1984 to return to BYU, the folklore program was well established. Students could earn a certificate in folklore studies within the American studies program and could also get a master's degree with an emphasis in folklore. At the same time, the Fife Archives remained firmly in place in the library; indeed, when Hector Lee submitted his report as the Center was being established, he had specifically cautioned, "If the University is committed to a folklore program, it must be inseparably connected with an institutionalized unit of the University—the Library. Folklorists, scholars, and historians will come and go and they will influence the program, but if it is fixed to the Library, it will continue no matter [what] and there will always be those who seek it out as a resource."

A new era was ushered in with the hiring of Barre Toelken to replace Wilson as the program's scholar/folklorist. Toelken brought with him to USU his position, as Barbara Lloyd said, as "an outstanding scholar with an established international reputation as well as being a gifted teacher and public speaker on contemporary issues concerning folklore." Toelken (see chapter 11) had served as president of the American Folklore Society as well as chairman of the Folk Arts panel of the National Endowment for the Arts and had published widely. Indeed, Lloyd noted in 1985, "[t]he appointment of Toelken [to USU] and Wilson [to BYU] underscores Utah's remarkable commitment to folklore studies."

Under Toelken's direction, the folklore program continued to grow, with additional faculty and expanded course offerings. The same year Toelken came, another folklorist, Jay Anderson, was hired as part of the folklore faculty to head up the Jensen Living Historical Farm and to develop a graduate-level specialization in museum work. Steve Siporin, who had been the Idaho State Folk Arts Coordinator, joined the faculty in 1986 to further expand course offerings in the area of public-sector folklore, and in 1998, Jeannie Thomas was hired, adding expertise in both gender studies and material culture. After Toelken retired in 2003, the university hired Lisa Gabbert, whose interests include tourism, festivals, and regional folklore. Other members of the English Department, Jan Roush and Star Coulbrooke, taught folklore courses in addition to literature and American studies (Roush) and creative writing (Coulbrooke). With the addition of such talented faculty, the folklore program at USU was able to maintain its reputation as one of the most viable programs in the West, with thriving undergraduate as well as graduate programs.

Although there have been many who have carried forth the vision and efforts begun so many years ago by Austin and Alta Fife, ultimately the impetus for Utah State's program rests with them. In 1972, Wayland Hand said in "Austin E. Fife: An Appreciation" that "Fife's impact has already been great on at least two generations of workers in the field of folklore, and his work is of such lasting value and solidarity as to inspire future generations of young people who will busy themselves with the work that he and others have so auspiciously begun in a much neglected part of the country" (p. 6). Dozens of scholars have taught at Utah State and at the Fife Conference since then, and the Fife legacy is still going strong, thanks to their commitment to fieldwork, research, analysis, and archiving.

UTAH VALLEY STATE COLLEGE ACADEMIC PROGRAM

Ronda Walker

Folklore course offerings are relatively recent at Utah Valley State College, located in Orem, about forty miles south of Salt Lake City. Formerly a community college, UVSC has increased rapidly in student and faculty numbers in recent years, prompting a wide expansion in academic programs and offerings. In January 2002, Ronda Walker was hired as an English department adjunct faculty member to teach a single course, "Introduction to Folklore." Twenty students enrolled. At the end of the semester, the enthusiasm of the students encouraged the administration to continue Walker's position and to offer the course each semester. The interest of the students further resulted in an upper-division "Topics in Folklore" course that began in Fall 2003, with the first topic foodways. Despite the demonstrated popularity of folklore studies, the English department has had no plans to hire a full-time folklorist, given the rapid growth in the student body and continued declines in funding for state colleges and universities.

WEBER STATE UNIVERSITY ACADEMIC PROGRAM

Kathryn L. MacKay

Weber State University in Ogden has not offered folklore courses on a regular basis over the years. History professor Kathryn MacKay has, however, taught "Introduction to Folklore" on occasion through the honors program.

WESTMINSTER COLLEGE ACADEMIC PROGRAM

David Stanley

Westminster College has offered occasional classes in folklore since 1992 through the English program. David Stanley, professor of English, has taught "Folklore and Literature" several times, in addition to "Introduction to Folklore." The college also offers an intensive one-month May Term in which Stanley has taught "Storytelling and Narrative," "American Folk Music," and "Introduction to Folklore." The college library has an extensive collection of books, thanks largely to donations from Jan Harold Brunvand and Stanley, and the music program frequently features summer concerts by local folk and folk-revival performers.

B. College and University Folklore Archives

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY FOLKLORE ARCHIVES

Kristi A. Young

Named for its founder, the William A. Wilson Folklore Archives at Brigham Young University began as a stack of cardboard boxes in Professor Wilson's office. Comprised of materials submitted by students of Wilson, anthropologist John Sorenson, and folklorist Thomas E. Cheney, the materials at first lacked the organization and accessibility needed to make them useful for students and researchers.

From 1978 to 1984, Wilson (see chapter 10) taught at Utah State University, where he helped develop the Austin and Alta Fife Folklore Archives. There he established a template for organizing folklore archival materials which was adopted by BYU upon Wilson's return in 1984. When he arrived, Wilson was provided with a small office space and minimal student labor to open an archive. Eager folklore students embraced the opportunity to work in the archives and increase their knowledge of folklore under Wilson's direction.

In 1995, the first permanent archivist, Kristi A. Young, was hired. When Wilson retired in 1996, the archive became part of the L. Tom Perry Special Collections in the Harold B. Lee Library, and in 2000 it was renamed the William A. Wilson Folklore Archives. The archives have special strengths in family folklore, the religious life of Latter-day Saints, university folklore, and regional life in the Intermountain West. Home to one of the largest collections of Mormon folklore in the world, the archive also houses significant collections of legends, customs, speech, beliefs, songs, material culture, tales, jokes, games, riddles, and personal narratives. The archives also house the papers of folklorists Louise Pound, Thomas E. Cheney, and William A. Wilson, as well as a variety of printed material dealing with folklore scholarship.

Finding aids as well as a list of student projects completed prior to 2000 are available online at http://sc.lib.byu.edu. Projects completed after 2000 are available through the library's card catalog under the Special Collections FA1 call number. Projects may also be searched via subject headings.

The Wilson Folklore Archives sponsors a variety of outreach activities. Presentations from the Family Folklore Workshop are available online. A digital presentation of the exhibit *Folklore: Illuminating Then and Now* is also accessible through the website. In July 2004, the Wilson Archives and the American Folklife Center cosponsored a field school, "The Fruits of Their Labors: The Culture and Traditions of Orchards in Utah Valley"; the collections of the field school are housed in the archives with select materials available on line.

Dixie State College Folklore Collections

Ed Reber

Dixie State College does not have an established archive; student projects are housed in the files of professors Ed Reber and Joe Peterson.

Salt Lake Community College Folklore Archives

Liz Montague

Until 2004, student folklore collections at SLCC were stored in the offices of faculty members. In 2003, the college began planning the SLCC Museum of the Peoples and Cultures of Utah and agreed to house a folklore archive to store and make available these student collections, a plan which became reality in 2003–2004.

University of Utah Folklore Archives

Liz Rogers

The Folklore Archives, housed in Special Collections at the University of Utah's Marriott Library, is an exceptionally diverse gathering of materials from all over the Intermountain West. The collections include everything from urban legends to oral histories. The archive was begun and nurtured for many years by Ann Reichman, who retired in 2003. Because of her efforts, the University of Utah enjoys a reputation for housing a large, sophisticated, and accessible collection of folklore material.

Ms 448, the Folklore Archive, is a collection of student folklore projects which spans nearly fifty years from 1947 to 1996. These projects were prepared by University of Utah students studying in various courses and workshops taught by Louis Zucker, Wayland Hand, Hector Lee, Barre Toelken, Jan Harold Brunvand, Margaret K. Brady, and David Stanley. The collection has been arranged in a format similar to that of the folklore collection at Utah State University; it consists of two sections: Focused Projects and Genre Items. In general, Focused Projects are those which look at a subject in some detail, often include an interview, and present the subject in context. Many projects include illustrations, photographs, recordings, maps, and other supportive materials. Genre Items are single topics such as a game or joke and may include variations. There is an enormous depth and variety to the Folklore Archive. The collection ranges in topic from "Ghosts in the Avenues" to the "Superstitions of Baseball Players," from "Epitaphs and Tombstones" to "Evil Spirits in Mormon Folklore."

In addition to the archive, Special Collections holds the papers of several prominent folklorists. Primary among these are the papers of Jan Harold Brunvand, Accn 1024 (see chapter 12). The collection ranges from Brunvand's correspondence to his prodigious writing and publishing efforts. It contains the notes and drafts for his textbook *The Study of American Folklore* and for three of his books on urban legends.

The E. Richard Hart Papers (ca. 1970–1995) consist of original manuscripts, correspondence, oral interview transcripts, and extensive research materials, including photocopied secondary sources used to document Zuni history from the time of early European contact. Hart, a historical researcher, writer, editor, and director/organizer of conferences and institutions focusing on the environment and culture of the West, also prepared and presented historical background for court cases that, over a period of years, secured rights and properties for the Zunis. Hart also worked with the Western Shoshone Nation, and some of that material is also found in the collection.

The Institute of the American West Records (Ms 582), also donated by Hart, consist of notes, correspondence, planning schedules, presentation proposals, and background materials for conferences and other activities of the institute, originally based in Sun Valley, Idaho. Primary source materials include original manuscripts, conference transcripts, and correspondence. Numerous newspaper clippings and printed information are also included. The annual conferences were successful from their inception with topics such as the myths of the American West, the West in film, the writer and the West, and the cowboy hero. Much of the collection concerns the planning, execution, and follow-up of the events and the use made of the materials generated by the conferences, e.g., broadcasts and publications. The Institute of the North American West Records (Accn 1293) contain the papers of the nonprofit organization that produced the conferences on the history, economics, and cultures of the North American West from Canada to Mexico. It also contains folk arts materials specific to New Mexico, as well as generalized folk arts, such as Native art, Zuni crafts, and other materials.

Mormoniana, or the collection of Mormon culture, is another area of interest in Special Collections. The Folklore Archive contains a large number of anecdotal documents including the J. Golden Kimball Papers (Ms 662), which contain a large amount of correspondence devoted to his mission and later life (see chapter 15). The Hiram Clawson Papers (Ms 40) contain not only correspondence from Clawson's days with the Nauvoo Legion but continue on to his days on the Salt Lake stage. The Rutger Clawson Papers (Ms 481) contain memoirs which encompass, among other things, Clawson's trips to the state penitentiary where he was sentenced for practicing plural marriage.

Finally, there are two other collections of interest to folklorists in Utah. The First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City Papers (Ms 508) contain an article written by David Utter, a Unitarian minister who wrote the first known article on Utah folklore. The Lester Hubbard Folklore Collection (Ms 158) contains Dr. Hubbard's extensive gatherings of early Utah stories, songs, tales, legends, and customs (see chapter 6).

Utah State University Folklore Archives

Randy Williams

The Fife Folklore Archives at Utah State University is named for Austin E. and Alta S. Fife, pioneering folklorists in the Intermountain West (see chapter 5) who helped to shape the modern field of folklore. In 1966, the Fifes donated to Utah State University's Merrill Library their collections of recordings (cowboy and Mormon song and narrative), photographs (hay derricks, gravestones, mailbox supports, ranch gates), commercial recordings, books, and materials gathered from other libraries and regional collections; the archive was formally established in the library in 1972. The Fifes' donations include acetate discs, reel-to-reel field recordings, color slides, black-and-white photographs, sixty-seven bound volumes of field notes and transcriptions, and an extensive book collection. Under the leadership of folklore program directors William A. Wilson, Barre Toelken, and Jeannie Thomas and curators Barbara Lloyd and Randy Williams, the archives have continued to accumulate important materials from around the country.

The Fife Archives is one of the largest and most important folklore collections in the United States, certainly in the Intermountain West. Its specialties include the folklore of the West, particularly Utah and Idaho; folk groups, including ranching, Native American, Latino, and Mormon cultures; genres, especially belief, folksong, foodways, proverbs, and legends; and themes, including family, ethnic, and religious folklore. The collection's genre-based indexing system, based on the Finnish archiving system, was developed by Wilson and Lloyd in the early 1980s. Since then, student collecting projects and newly acquired collections have expanded the size of the archives tremendously. In 2002, the student collections were moved from three-ring binders to archival folders and boxes to provide greater physical stability and easier accessibility. The next year, the collection registers were encoded in HTML and placed on the Archives' homepage (http://digital.lib.usu.edu) to allow offsite searching. The Fifes' slide collection, now digitized, is listed on the database http://library.usu.edu/Digital/index.html.

Important acquisitions in addition to the Fife Collection and the student fieldwork projects include several collections of folklore-related books and

One of the largest folklore archives in Utah is the Fife Archives at Utah State University, named for its founders, Austin and Alta Fife. Here, Austin Fife examines a slide from the archives' extensive collection, about 1982.

commercial recordings; the Skaggs Cowboy Poetry Library, one of the largest publicly owned collections of published cowboy poetry; the John I. White Collection of cowboy and western folksong; the G. Malcolm Laws Ballad Collection, from the famous ballad researcher; the Don Yoder Collection, materials from the personal library of the well-known scholar of Pennsylvania folklore and material culture; the Wayland D. Hand Memorial Collection, named in honor of the internationally known folklorist who grew up in Salt Lake City; and strong collections in the areas of foodways, Native American lore, quilting, proverbs, and other genres. The archive is also home to the manuscript collection and society records of the American Folklore Society and the Folklore Society of Utah and the newly organized Veterans History Project for northern Utah and southeastern Idaho.

Utah Valley State College Folklore Archive

Ronda Walker

The first priority for Utah Valley State College is for the college library to acquire a collection of books related to folklore. Budget constraints make such acquisition slow and difficult, although more space has been allotted for the library. A Special Collections section for archival material has been developed, and the archiving of student folklore projects began in Fall 2003.

WESTMINSTER COLLEGE FOLKLORE ARCHIVE

David Stanley

Westminster's archive contains more than one hundred student projects and 1200 student-collected items, in addition to sound and video recordings and books housed in the Giovale Library. The archive is especially strong in collections pertaining to the folklore of the college and to neighboring Allen Park or "Hobbitville." The archive was established in the library in 2004.

C. Utah Folk Arts Collection and Chase Home Museum and Archive

Carol A. Edison

The Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council has an extensive collection of folk art, much of it on display in the Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts in Salt Lake City's Liberty Park. The Chase Home also houses an extensive archive of recordings and photographs and a library of folklore books and other materials.

State Folk Arts Collection

On March 9, 1899, led by representative Alice Merrill Horne, the three-year-old Utah State Legislature passed Bill 86 creating the first state arts agency in the country. Not only did this bill establish the Utah Art Institute with the stated purpose "to advance the arts in all their phases," but it also mandated support for visual artists through an annual competition and exhibition from which paintings were to be purchased for a Fine Art Collection. Over the years, the Utah Art Institute became the Utah State Institute of Fine Arts, and the competitions and purchases continued, expanding the Alice Art Collection, as it was called in honor of its founder.

With the celebration of the country's Bicentennial in 1976, federal arts funding became available that allowed the Utah State Institute of Fine Arts to grow into a multifaceted agency, the Utah Arts Council. Among the first discipline-based programs to develop was the Folk Arts Program, the third state-based folk arts program established in the country. A 1937 legislative mandate, State Senate Bill 52, "to take all necessary and useful means to stimulate a more abundant production of an indigenous [i.e., folk] art, literature and music in this state" provided the legal rationale. One of the first major projects undertaken by Hal Cannon, the first Folk Arts Coordinator, was an exhibit of historic and contemporary works of art exploring the use of the beehive symbol by both fine and folk artists. The Grand Beehive Exhibition provided an opportunity to add objects to the Alice Art Collection, and for the first time, art was purchased that reflected the aesthetics of community-based artists as well as of those with academic training. A new branch of the collection was established, the State Folk

Arts Collection, and among the first pieces of folk art accessioned were a saddle, a tied quilt, a Shoshone beaded buckskin bag, a Navajo sand painting, a Tongan tapa cloth, and a neon sign of a beehive.

Since that time, a few pieces of folk art have been purchased each year and the Folk Arts Collection has grown to about 300 pieces. Many of the folk art objects were acquired during the process of documenting the traditional arts and artists of specific cultural communities. As a result, multiple examples of Tongan quilts, baskets and needlework by Laotian refugees from Southeast Asia, Native American basketry and beadwork, and Navajo story baskets were purchased during community-based fieldwork. Many were curated into exhibits for display at the Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts or for exhibits through the Arts Council's Traveling Exhibition Program. Many individual objects, not associated with a particular project or exhibit, were also added to the collection as artists from a variety of traditional communities were identified and their work documented. Additional art forms include whittling and woodcarving; handmade rugs; needlework; furniture; leather, rawhide, and hitched horsehair cowboy gear; metalwork and stonework; Asian paper arts; Hispanic sculptural traditions ranging from piñatas and retablos to Day of the Dead sculptures; and traditional pottery from Eastern Europe. Aside from the contemporary nature of the collection, it is unique in that all of the objects were purchased from living artists whose lives and work were documented by the Folk Arts Program staff through tape-recorded interviews and photography. About half of the collection is on display at the Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts, 10% is on loan or traveling, and 40% is being conserved or is in storage.

State Folklife Archives

The first items accessioned into the Folk Arts Program archives were actually generated before the program became a reality. Prior to creation of the Folk Arts Coordinator position, Hal Cannon, working with fellow folklorist Thomas Carter, produced a two-album project called *The New Beehive Songster*. The first LP album was a reissue of field recordings from the archives at the University of Utah made mostly during the 1940s by Utah folklorist Lester Hubbard. The second album featured recordings made by Cannon and Carter from folk performers around the state, including some recordings of the same folk artists, or their descendants, featured on the first album. In July 1976, the month that Cannon began work with the Arts Council, he accompanied one of those artists, ballad singer Kenneth Ward Atwood, to the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D. C. A few photographs of Atwood in Washington, D.C. and Cannon's and Carter's field recordings for the *New Beehive Songster, Volume II*, were the first items in what would become an archive with thousands of recordings and photographs documenting Utah folk culture.

The Utah State Folklife Archives contained in 2004 more than 1,400 sound recordings and over 12,000 photographic images, with new materials constantly being added. Included are documentary materials from one-time projects or events like the Grand Heritage Days Folklife Festival held in Moab in 1981, the 1995 survey of Hispanic culture and traditions called *Hecho en Utah* (*Made in Utah*), and the *Social Dance in the Mormon West* project completed in 2000. The archive also contains documentation of ongoing projects like the Folk Arts Apprenticeship Project (a program providing grants for one-on-one teaching between master and apprentice artists from the same cultural community) and of "Living Traditions: A Celebration of Salt Lake's Folk & Ethnic Arts" (an annual festival coproduced with the Salt Lake City Arts Council). There are also collections organized by genre documenting Utah folk art and traditions such as performance, craft, material culture, occupational folklore, and celebrations.

As technology changes, the number of informational formats grows. The audio archive contains everything from reel-to-reel recordings and LP records to cassettes, DAT (digital audio tape) recordings, and CDs, while the photo archive includes color slides, black-and-white negatives, prints, and CDs with digital photo images. Labeling, accessioning, and storing each item so that it is both physically safe and easy to retrieve has been a challenge. In the early 1990s, the Folk Arts staff undertook a major initiative to address these issues by organizing the collection into categories and establishing an archival database for retrieval. Ten years later, they began the process of converting the audio materials into digital format, creating CDs for easy access, storing the original recordings for safekeeping, and saving the recordings on computer hard drives, ready for the next technological breakthrough. Photographic materials are also being digitized as needed, working towards the goal of ultimately making all ethnographic materials accessible electronically.

In addition to the fieldwork-generated recordings and photographs, the Utah State Folklife Archives also contain a specialized library of approximately 1,000 books and 700 journals dealing with the folk arts, traditions, and cultures of Utah and the American West. Field notes, transcriptions of recordings, artist files, and topical files are constantly being generated, organized, and updated.

All materials—audio, photographic, and printed—are housed at the Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts where they are used on a daily basis by the Folk Arts staff. They provide the information and resources needed to provide a cultural context for artists in performance and to produce booklets, recordings, lectures, and other educational resources. The archives are also an important resource for folklorists, historians, and others interested in researching Utah topics. Efforts at processing newly generated materials and making all archived materials easily accessible have continued as the archives have grown.

Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts

In the mid-1980s, the Visual Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council became tenants of the Isaac Chase Home, a nineteenth-century farmhouse situated in the middle of Salt Lake City's Liberty Park. The home, built in 1853 for miller

WILLOW STORIES
CONTEMPORARY NAVAJO BASKETS
FROM THE
SIMPSON FAMILY COLLECTION
APRIL 17 TO OCTOBER 16, 1994

The Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts maintains public galleries that display a variety of traditional arts. The Native American gallery shows basketry, pottery, rugs, beadwork, and other arts.

Isaac Chase and his family, had served over the years as a residence for park superintendents and caretakers and as a relic hall for a chapter of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers. With funding from the National Endowment for the Arts and labor provided by Salt Lake City, the then-empty building was renovated and turned into an art gallery, opening with a show featuring contemporary crafts and followed by a number of juried and invitational exhibits of Utah fine art. After mounting a folk arts exhibit during the 1985 season, the Folk Arts Program moved into the space in the fall of 1986 and the Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts was established.

The Chase Home proved an ideal location for exhibiting traditional art. A domestic space with many windows, little wall space, and rooms sized for people, it has the proper configuration and scale for showing three-dimensional objects made for use in home and community settings. Using a vernacular central-hall floor plan, it was constructed of hand-made adobe bricks fashioned from local clay. Like the art displayed inside, the home was made from locally available materials by artisans working with traditional skills in aesthetic parameters handed down through generations.

From 1987 through 1995, exhibits at the Chase Home focused on specific artistic traditions and cultural communities or on projects and programs administered by the Folk Arts staff. Topics included folk art made from recycled materials, folk art perpetuated within families, traditional Native American art made by resident tribal groups, Hispanic folk arts, Navajo basketry, and cowboy crafts, as well as art made by participants in folk arts apprenticeships and by recipients of Utah Governor's Awards. In 1996, this series of topical exhibits culminated in an exhibit of folk art for Utah's Centennial Celebration with selected art objects from earlier exhibits supplemented with folk art purchased from individuals representing groups not previously featured. The result was an exhibit that portrayed the breadth of Utah's folk artistry in four galleries—Native American, rural lifestyle, occupational, and ethnic—the basic configuration that has been used to convey the variety of traditional art being produced by cultural communities around the state.

The Chase Home concert series, Mondays in the Park, was established in August 1987. These free evening concerts are devoted to performances by community-based artists and typically feature such performers as ethnic dance troupes, musical ensembles, family bands, and cowboy poets, all from communities within the state of Utah. Concerts are held in front of the Chase Home with the building's copious porte-cochere providing cover for the stage while the audience is seated on the lawn. In 2001 the series doubled in size to eight Monday evening concerts during July and August. Each season an audience of over 3,000 is able to experience and learn about the traditions of their Utah neighbors through performances that involve over 200 paid folk and ethnic artists. The informal, accessible park setting attracts a loyal audience of families, seniors, and local community members who can spend a pleasant summer evening enjoying informative introductions and artistic performances that demonstrate the richness and diversity of Utah's traditional arts.

In the year 2000, the Chase Home underwent a badly needed renovation funded by the Utah Arts Council via an appropriation from the Utah State Legislature and by the building's owner, the Salt Lake City Corporation, with a contribution from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This $850,000 project included retrofitting for earthquakes; repair and stabilization of the adobe walls; a new roof; repair or replacement of all exterior wood; new heating and cooling systems, plumbing, and electrical work; new landscaping; and a refurbishing of the interior. In addition to renovating the building, this partnership resulted in the signing of a no-cost renewable lease, ensuring that the State Folk Arts Collection would have a home until at least 2020.

The Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts is the only state museum of its kind in the country devoted entirely to the display of a state-owned collection of contemporary folk art curated and interpreted from a folkloric point of view. Because of its location in the middle of Utah's largest urban park, its free exhibits

Mondays in the Park

Mexican-American ballet folklorico group Citlali performs at a Mondays in the Park concert in front of the Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts, 2003. The adobe structure, built in 1853, was renovated in 2000.

and concerts are available to many community members who are not necessarily museum- or concert-goers, yet who happen upon the Chase Home Museum and discover their own artistic traditions on display. In the nineteenth century, the Chase Home was considered an out-of-town attraction—a place where Mormon leader Brigham Young and his friends came to enjoy an organ recital during afternoon tea or to spend the evening dancing to fiddle music. Since 1987, more than 200,000 visitors have rediscovered this pioneer tradition as the Chase Home Museum has become “the place” where traditional art and artists from Utah’s ethnic, native, occupational, and rural communities share their crafts, music, and dance with their own communities, their Utah neighbors, and tourists from around the world.

D. Calendar of Festivals and Community Celebrations

Compiled by Julie Hartley

Note: Most of these festivals, celebrations, and events are held on an annual basis, but new events are constantly being added and occasionally one is abandoned because of lack of interest or a dwindling population of participants. Some festivals, including certain New Year celebrations, Christian observances of Easter, Jewish observances, and Muslim events vary from year to year in their scheduling. This calendar should therefore not be considered comprehensive or complete.

January

- Robert Burns Supper, Utah Scottish Association, Salt Lake City
- Winter Storytelling Festival, Abajo Storytellers of San Juan County, Blanding
- Vietnamese New Year, Salt Lake City

February

- Basque Dinner and Dance, Salt Lake City
- Chinese New Year Celebration, Salt Lake City
- BYU Asian New Year Festival, Provo
- Eid-ul-adha (Muslim Day of Sacrifice), Salt Lake City

March

- Thai New Year, Layton
- St. Patrick's Day Parade and Celebrations, Salt Lake City
- St. Patrick's Day Celebration, Parade, and Green Jell-O Sculpture Contest, Springdale
- Rhubarb Festival, Mt. Pleasant
- Tartan Ball, Utah Scottish Association, Salt Lake City

- Persian No Ruz Celebration, Salt Lake City
- Swedish Coming of Spring Festival, Salt Lake City
- “Echoing Traditional Ways” Powwow at Utah State University, Logan
- Canyon Country Western Arts Festival (celebrating the American cowboy), Cedar City
- Cambodian Festival, Centerville
- Purim Carnival, Jewish Community Center, Salt Lake City
- Pioneer Homecoming, Mt. Pleasant

April

- Southern Utah University Native American Week Contest Powwow, Cedar City
- Bear Dance, Uintah-Ouray Reservation

May

- Maypole Dancing, Mendon (Cache Valley)
- Lower McElmo Rodeo, Aneth
- Cinco de Mayo, Centro Civico Mexicano, Salt Lake City
- Black and White Days (Holstein dairy show and parade), Richmond
- Scandinavian Heritage Festival, Ephraim
- Living Traditions Festival, Salt Lake City
- Norwegian Constitution Day, Salt Lake City
- Heritage Days, Spring City

June

- Tongan Independence Day, Salt Lake City
- Paiute Restoration Gathering and Powwow, Cedar City
- Quilt Walk Festival, Panguitch
- Scottish Festival, Kirken o’ the Tartan, and Highland Games, West Valley City
- Utah Arts Festival’s World Refugee Day, Salt Lake City
- Norwegian Midsummer Night’s Evening, West Bountiful
- Mormon Miracle Pageant, Manti
- Himalayan Performing Arts Festival, Spanish Fork
- Horseshoe Mountain Quilt Guild Quilt Show, Manti
- Juneteenth Celebrations, Ogden and Salt Lake City
- Salmon Fry, Garland
- Danish Heritage Days, Elsinore
- Welsh Days, Wales
- Western Heritage Festival, Tremonton
- Strawberry Days and Rodeo, Pleasant Grove

- Heber Valley Intertribal Pow Wow, Heber City
- Morgala Days Rodeo, Morgala
- Asian Pacific Festival, Sandy
- Westfest, West Valley City

JULY

- Northern Ute Powwow and Rodeo, Neola
- Apple Days, Torrey
- Heritage Days Celebration and Rodeo, Clinton
- Dinosaur Roundup Rodeo, Vernal
- Ute Stampede, Nephi
- Scottish Festival, Payson
- Steel Days Festival and Celebration, American Fork
- Springville World Folkfest, Springville
- Greek Festival Days, Assumption Greek Orthodox Church, Price
- Fairview Lace Days, Fairview
- Lamb Days Festival, Fountain Green
- Utah-Hispanic American Festival's Salsabration and Cultural Exhibit, Salt Lake City
- Cow Country Rodeo, Manila
- Lavender Festival, Mona
- Llama Festival, Krishna Temple, Spanish Fork
- Obon Festival, Japanese Buddhist Temples, Ogden and Salt Lake City
- Handcart Days, Bountiful
- Handcart Pageant, Nephi
- Pioneer Day, statewide, and Days of '47 Parade, Salt Lake City
- July 24th Native American Celebration in the Park and Intertribal Contest Powwow
- Santaquin Days Festival and Celebration, Santaquin
- Wheat and Beet Days, Garland
- Mondays in the Park Concert Series, Chase Home Museum, Liberty Park, Salt Lake City (through August)
- Sun Dance, Uintah-Ouray Reservation

AUGUST

- Castle Valley Pageant, Castle Dale
- Festival of the American West, Wellsville
- Folk and Bluegrass Festival and Dutch Oven Gathering, West Valley City
- Swiss National Day, Salt Lake City
- Bear Lake Raspberry Days, Garden City
- Corn Festival, Enterprise
- Sanpete County Fair Cowboy Poetry and Music Festival, Manti

- Slovenian Picnic, Price
- Summerfest International Arts and Folk Festival, Bountiful
- Utah Polynesian Festival, Salt Lake City
- Oak City Days, Oak City
- International Peace Gardens Festival, Salt Lake City
- Western Legends Roundup, Kanab
- Trout and Berry Days, Paradise City
- West Valley City Contest Pow Wow, West Valley City
- Celtic Festival, Salt Lake City
- Timpanogas Storytelling Festival, Orem
- Friendly Island Tongan Festival, Salt Lake City
- Swiss Days, Midway
- Soldier Hollow Classic Sheepdog Championship, Midway
- Onion Days, Payson
- Midvale Harvest Days, Midvale
- Apple Days, River Heights

September

- Oktoberfest, Snowbird
- Sauerkraut Days, Providence
- Onion Days, Payson
- Park City Miners' Day, Park City
- Peach Days, Brigham City
- Peach Days, Ferron
- Old Capitol Arts Festival, Fillmore
- Greek Festival, Salt Lake City
- Rosh Hashanah, Salt Lake City and Park City
- Melon Days, Green River
- Utah State Fair and Folk Masters, Utah State Fairpark, Salt Lake City
- Native American Fair and Rodeo, Bluff
- Fiesta Mexicana/Mexican Independence Day Celebration, Salt Lake City
- Western Heritage Festival, Tremonton
- White Mesa Ute Council Bear Dance, White Mesa
- Festival of India, Spanish Fork
- Apple Festival, Glendale
- Greek Festival, Ogden

October

- Corn Mazes, throughout the state
- North Logan Pumpkin Walk, North Logan City Park
- Great Pumpkin Festival, Jensen
- Tongan Old Boys Celebration, Provo

◎ Diwali (Hindu Festival of Lights), Salt Lake City

NOVEMBER

◎ Cowboy Poetry Gathering and Buckaroo Fair, Heber
◎ Northern Ute Thanksgiving Powwow, Fort Duchesne

DECEMBER

◎ Swedish Lucia Julfest Celebration, Salt Lake City
◎ Tongan Po Hiva Christmas Concert, State Capitol Rotunda, Salt Lake City

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF UTAH FOLKLORE

David Stanley, Stephanie Sherman-Petersen, Sarah M. Rudd, Matthew Irwin, Nicholas Newberry, and Cory Cartwright

This bibliography includes every published work about Utah folklore that we could find. We have deliberately omitted work on precontact Native Americans, including the Basketmaker, Ancient Puebloan, and Fremont peoples, as well as archeological studies, descriptions and analyses of rock art, and the like. These topics are primarily the domain of archeologists and anthropologists and are thoroughly covered in other bibliographies.

The bibliography had its origins in the early 1990s when Stephanie Sherman-Petersen, then a student at Westminster College, worked laboriously through annual editions of the Modern Language Association bibliography, noting articles and books about the folklore of the Great Basin and northern Rockies. After she graduated in 1994, Sarah McGinnis Rudd took over, bringing the listings up to date and using Papyrus software to create a database searchable with Boolean operators. Subsequently, Matthew Irwin added more entries. In 2003–04, student research assistants Nicholas Newberry (who managed the database and a website and extracted from the original bibliography all the entries pertinent to Utah) and Cory Cartwright (who did most of the legwork in libraries and archives and indexed the bibliography) completed the entries and brought the bibliography up to date.

In this bibliography, keywords for each item are provided. In turn, the keyword index at the end of the bibliography is arranged by folklore genre, subject, ethnic group, county location, and period. We hope that this system will prove useful to researchers interested in particular topics, locations, or time periods. Also, some of the authors listed here have published under more than one name; for example, some have sometimes used, sometimes not used, a middle name or initial. Those names or initials are in parentheses. All publications without a named author are listed alphabetically under "Anon." The bibliography uses a few common abbreviations: "comp." means "compiler" or "compiled by"; "ed." means "editor" or "edited by" (plural editors are listed as "eds."); "rpt." means "reprinted"; and "Diss." means a Ph.D. dissertation (in contrast to an M.A. or M.S. thesis). In the text, "p." and "pp." mean "page" and "pages."

1. Aberle, David, and Omer C. Stewart. *Navajo and Ute Peyotism—A Chronological and Distributional Study.* University of Colorado Series in Anthropology No. 6. Boulder: University of Colorado, 1957. [Medicine, Rituals, Navajos, Utes]
2. Adams, William James, Jr., and Ray T. Matheney. “Archaeological and Cryptological Analyses of the Manti Inscriptions.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 133–40. [Architecture, Religious Structures, Mormons, Sanpete County]
3. Adamson, J. H. “Tales of the Supernatural.” In Cheney, *Lore* 251–59. [Narratives, Legends, Three Nephite Stories, Magic, Supernatural, Mormons]
4. Alder, Douglas D. “The Ghost of Mercur.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (1961): 32–42. [Legends, Tooele County]
5. Alexander, Thomas G. *Utah, the Right Place: The Official Centennial History.* Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1996. [Histories]
6. Allen, James B. “The Evolution of County Boundaries in Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 261–78. [Settlement Patterns]
7. Allen, James B., and John Harris. “‘What Are You Doing Looking Up Here?’: Graffiti Mormon Style.” *Sunstone* 6.2 (Mar.–Apr. 1981): 27–40. [Graffiti, Painting, Art, Mormons, Utah County]
8. Alley, John R., Jr. “Prelude to Dispossession: The Fur Trade’s Significance for the Northern Utes and Southern Paiutes.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (1982): 104–23. [Foodways, Hunting, Native Americans, Paiutes, Utes, Nineteenth Century].
9. Alter, J. Cecil. “Addenda [miscellaneous facts concerning early Utah medical history].” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 10 (1942): 37–54. [Medicine, Nineteenth Century]
10. ———. “Bibliographer’s Choice of Books on Utah and the Mormons.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 (1956): 215–31. [Archives, Collectanea, Bibliographies, Mormons]
11. ———. “Father Escalante and the Utah Indians.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1 (1928): 75–86, 106–13; 2 (1929): 18–25, 46–54. [Latinos, Histories, Paiutes, Spaniards, Utes, Eighteenth Century]
12. ———. “Some Useful Early Utah Indian References.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1 (1928): 26–32, 52–56. [Native Americans, Paiutes, Shoshones, Utes]
13. Andersen, Berniece A. “Uses of Native Plants in Early Mormon Country.” Abstract. In Fife, Fife, and Glassie 132–37. [Medicine, Mormons, Nature, Nineteenth Century]
14. Anderson, Arlow William. “The Norwegian-Danish Methodist Mission in Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (1957): 153–61. [Danes, Methodists, Norwegians, Religion]
15. Anderson, Carma DeJong. “A Historical Overview of Mormons and Their Clothing, 1840–1850.” Diss., Brigham Young University, 1992. [Clothing, Mormons, 1840s]
16. Anderson, Janet A. *Bounty: A Harvest of Food Lore and Country Memories from Utah’s Past.* Boulder, CO: Pruett, 1990. [Foodways]
17. Anderson, Jay, and Nancy Warner. “Utah 1896: The Jensen Historical Farm.” *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 20.2 (Fall 1986): 6–7. [Farm/Ranchsteads, Museums and Living Farms, 1890s]
18. Anderson, Nels. *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. [Mormons, Histories, Washington County, 1900s]
19. Anderson, Paul L. “William Harrison Folsom: Pioneer Architect.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 240–59. [Architecture, Life Histories]
20. Andrew, Laurel B. *The Early Temples of the Mormons: The Architecture of the*

Millennial Kingdom in the American West. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978. [Mormons, Religious Structures]

21. Anon. “Early Arts and Crafts of the West.” *Heart Throbs of the West* 2 (1940): 463–91. [Material Culture, Art, Crafts, Nineteenth Century]
22. Anon. “Folk-Guitar Class.” *Journal of American Folklore* 66 (1953): 160. [Music]
23. Anon. “Foreign Language Groups.” *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 299. [Dialect and Language, Swedes]
24. Anon. “Games and Amusements of the Ute Children.” *Journal of American Folklore* 4 (1891): 238–40. [Games, Children, Utes]
25. Anon. “Graves along the Trail.” *Our Pioneer Heritage* 16 (1973): 421–76. [Gravestones, Funerals, Material Culture, Nineteenth Century]
26. Anon. “Historic Costumes and the Slough House Pioneer Cemetery.” *An Enduring Legacy* 1 (1978): 302–72. [Clothing, Cemeteries, Stone Carving, Gravestones]
27. Anon. *The Mormon Pioneers.* LP. Legacy Series, Columbia, 1965. [Mormons, Songs, Music, Histories]
28. Anon. “Museum Artifacts.” *An Enduring Legacy* 3 (1980): 329–76. [Material Culture, Museums and Living Farms]
29. Anon. “Official State Song of Utah: ‘Utah We Love Thee.’” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 3 (1930): 122–23. [Songs, Music, Symbols]
30. Anon. “Old Cemeteries.” *An Enduring Legacy* 2 (1979): 133–84. [Gravestones, Cemeteries, Material Culture]
31. Anon. “Old Homes and Buildings.” *An Enduring Legacy* 2 (1979): 217–64. [Architecture]
32. Anon. “Old Samplers.” *An Enduring Legacy* 2 (1979): 89–128. [Textiles]
33. Anon. *Pia Toya: A Goshute Indian Legend, Retold and Illustrated by the Children and Teachers of Ibapah Elementary.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, c. 2000. [Legends, Goshutes]
34. Anon. “Pioneer Furniture.” *Heart Throbs of the West* 12 (1951): 357–412. [Furniture, Nineteenth Century]
35. Anon. “Pioneer Gunsmiths and Guns.” *An Enduring Legacy* 3 (1980): 377–424. [Tools, Nineteenth Century]
36. Anon. “Pioneer Homes and Houses.” *Heart Throbs of the West* 3 (1941): 38–40. [Architecture, Nineteenth Century]
37. Anon. “Pioneer Houses and Enclosures.” *Our Pioneer Heritage* 1 (1958): 117–88. [Architecture, Material Culture, Nineteenth Century]
38. Anon. “Pioneer Mills and Milling.” *An Enduring Legacy* 7 (1984): 85–136. [Industry, Farming, Nineteenth Century]
39. Anon. “Pioneer Undertakers, Sextons and Cemeteries.” *Heart Throbs of the West* 6 (1945): 313–52. [Funerals, Cemeteries, Religion, Customs, Rituals, Nineteenth Century]
40. Anon. “Pioneer Vocations.” *An Enduring Legacy* 8 (1985): 213–64. [Occupational Practices, Nineteenth Century]
41. Anon. “A Rose by Any Other Name.” *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 104. [Naming Practices]
42. Anon. “Sego Lily, Utah State Flower.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 3 (1930): 121. [Nature, Plants, Symbols]
43. Anon. “Shops and Factories.” *Heart Throbs of the West* 3 (1941): 201–40. [Industry, Nineteenth Century]
44. Anon. “Silk Industry in Utah.” *Heart Throbs of the West* 11 (1950): 53–92. [Textiles, Washington County, Farming, Nineteenth Century]
45. Anon. “Tabernacle on Temple Square.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (1967): 279. [Architecture, Religious Structures, Mormons]

46. Anon. “Tabernacle Organ.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (1967): 288. [Mormons, Music]
47. Anon. *A Tapestry of Judaism.* KUED Study Guide. Salt Lake City: KUED Television, University of Utah, 1984. [Beliefs, Customs, Religion, Jews]
48. Anon. “Trunks, Chests, and Boxes.” *Our Pioneer Heritage* 19 (1976): 437–88. [Furniture, Home Decoration, Material Culture]
49. Anon. “Utah Humanities Research Foundation.” *Journal of American Folklore* 58 (1945): 353. [History of Folklore Studies, Archives]
50. Anon. “*Utah Humanities Review.*” *Journal of American Folklore* 60 (1947): 88. [History of Folklore Studies]
51. Anon. *Utah’s Black Legacy: A History of the Black Experience in Utah.* KUED Study Guide. Salt Lake City: KUED Television, University of Utah, 1987. [African Americans, Histories]
52. Anon. “Utah’s Polynesians, Zest from the Islands.” *Deseret New*s 4 Dec. 1983: special insert. [Pacific Islanders]
53. Anon. “Utah, the Mormons, and the West: A Bibliography; A Check List of Theses at the Brigham Young University.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 279–84. [Archives, Collectanea, Mormons]
54. Arrington, Chris Rigby. “The Finest of Fabrics: Mormon Women and the Silk Industry in Early Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (1978): 376–96. [Textiles, Industry, Mormons, Women, Material Culture, Washington County, Nineteenth Century]
55. ———. “Pioneer Midwives.” In *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah.* Ed. Claudia Larper Bushman. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997. 43–65. [Medicine, Women, Childbirth, Midwifery, Nineteenth Century]
56. Arrington, Leonard J. “The Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society in Pioneer Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 (1956): 165–70. [Occupational Practices, Industry, Nineteenth Century]
57. ———. *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. Rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993. [Settlement Patterns, Histories, Mormons]
58. ———. *The Price of Prejudice: The Japanese-American Relocation Center in Utah during World War II.* Logan: Faculty Association, Utah State University, 1962. 2nd ed. Delta, UT: Topaz Museum, 1997. [Japanese, Histories, Ethnicity]
59. Arrington, Leonard, and Jon Haupt. “Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature.” *Western Humanities Review* 22 (1968): 243–60. [Mormons, Nineteenth Century, Literature, Stereotypes]
60. Ashton, Rosabel. “A Strange Gift.” In Cheney, *Lore* 127–30. [Magic, Mormons]
61. Atkin, Dennis H. “A History of Iosepa, the Utah Polynesian Colony.” M.S. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959. [Histories, Pacific Islanders, Hawai’ians]
62. Attebery, Jennifer Eastman. “Being Swedish-American in the Intermountain West: The Experiences of Immigrants to Idaho and Utah.” *Swedish American Historical Quarterly* 49 (1998): 234–44. [Immigration, Swedes]
63. Attebery, Louie W., ed. *Idaho Folklife: Homesteads to Headstones.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985. [History of Folklore Studies]
64. Auerbach, Herbert S. “Old Trails, Old Forts, Old Trappers and Traders.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 9 (1941): 13–63. [Trapping, Histories, Nineteenth Century]
65. Ayers, James E. “Historic Logging Camps in the Uinta Mountains, Utah.” *Forgotten Places and Things: Archaeological Perspectives on American History.* Albuquerque: Center for Anthropological Studies, 1983. [Architecture, Logging, Occupational Practices]

66. Baer, Hans A. *Recreating Utopia in the Desert: A Sectarian Challenge to Modern Mormonism.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988. [Mormons]
67. Bailey, Wilfrid C. "Folklore Aspects in Mormon Culture." *Western Folklore* 10 (1951): 217–25. [Mormons]
68. Bailey, William A. *Bill Bailey Came Home.* Ed. Austin Fife and Alta Fife. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1973. [Life Histories]
69. Baker, Margaret P. "Some Functions of Mormon In-Group Language in Creating and Maintaining Ethnic Boundaries." Diss., Arizona State University, 1986. [Dialect and Language, Ethnographies, Mormons]
70. Balle, Wayne L. "'I Owe My Soul': An Architectural and Social History of Kenilworth, Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (1988): 250–77. [Architecture, Mining, Histories, Carbon County]
71. Bapis, Elaine M. "In the Hands of Women: Home Altar Tradition in Utah's Greek Orthodox Homes." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 65 (1997): 312–34. [Material Culture, Home Decoration, Furniture, Greeks, Women].
72. Barker, Marilyn Conover. *The Legacy of Mormon Furniture.* Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995. [Furniture, Mormons]
73. Bate, Kerry William. "John Steele: Medicine Man, Magician, Mormon Patriarch." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (1994): 71–90. [Magic, Medicine, Mormons]
74. Beehive Band. *The Beehive Band: Hymns, Songs, and Fiddle Tunes of the Utah Pioneers.* CD. Honeybee Recordings (Salt Lake City), 1997. [Songs, Music, Mormons]
75. Belk, Russell W. "Carnival, Control and Corporate Culture in Contemporary Halloween Celebrations." In *Halloween and Other Festivals of Death and Life.* Ed. Jack Santino. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994. 105–32. [Holiday Celebrations, Salt Lake County, 1990s]
76. Benally, Clyde. "The Navajos." In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 13–27. [Navajos]
77. Benally, Clyde, with Andrew D. Wiget, John R. Alley, and Garry Blake. *Dineji Nakee' Naahane: A Utah Navajo History.* Monticello, UT: San Juan School District, 1982. [Navajos, Histories, Narratives, Myths, Legends]
78. Benavides, E. Ferol. "The Saints among the Saints: A Study of Curanderismo in Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (1973): 373–92. [Medicine, Mormons, Latinos]
79. Bishop, Marion. "Speaking Sisters: Relief Society Cookbooks and Mormon Culture." In *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories.* Ed. Anne L. Bower. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997. 89–104. [Foodways, Mormons]
80. Bitton, Davis. "The Ritualization of Mormon History." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 67–85. [Mormons, Rituals, Histories]
81. Bitton, Davis, and Gordon Irving. "The Continental Inheritance." In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 221–50. [Germans, French, Belgians, Swiss, Dutch]
82. Bitton, Davis, and Maureen Ursenbach. "Riding Herd: A Conversation with Juanita Brooks." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 9.1 (Spring 1974): 11–33. [Fieldwork, Life Histories, Literature, Mormons]
83. Blake, Virginia. "Susan Lyman Butt—San Juan Musician." *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 56–63. [Music, Songs, San Juan County]
84. Blanchard, Kendall. "The Navajo and the Idea of Ultimate Reality and Meaning." *Ultimate Reality and Meaning* 2.2 (1979): 84–108. [Beliefs, Navajos, Religion]
85. Blood, Henry H. "Early Settlement of Kaysville, Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1929): 14–18. [Davis County, Settlement Patterns]
86. Bonar, Linda. "Historic Houses in Beaver: An Introduction to Materials, Styles, and Craftsmen." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (1983): 212–28. [Material

Culture, Architecture, Beaver County]

87. ———. "The Influence of the Scots Stonemasons in Beaver, Utah." *Utah Preservation/Restoration* 3 (1981): 54–62. [Material Culture, Architecture, Scots, Beaver County]

88. ———. "Thomas Frazer: Vernacular Architect in Pioneer Beaver, Utah." M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1980. [Architecture, Scots, Beaver County]

89. Bosen, Barbara. "Danish Stories from Ephraim, Utah." *Southwestern Folklore* 2.3 (1972): 24–34. [Danes, Narratives, Sanpete County]

90. Bowen, Marshall E. "Part-Time Pioneers." *Pioneer America Society Transactions* 20 (1997): 1–12. [Settlement Patterns]

91. ———. "Promoters and Pioneers: A Perspective on the Settlement Process in the Utah-Nevada Borderlands." *Pioneer America Society Transactions* 15 (1992): 23–31. [1910s, 1920s, Settlement Patterns]

92. Box, Edward Bent, Sr. *Traditional Ute Songs.* LP 1974, CD 1998. Canyon Records. [Songs, Utes, Native Americans]

93. Bradley, Martha Sonntag. "Folk Art." *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* Vol. 2. New York: Macmillan, 1992. 517–18. [Material Culture, Art, Mormons]

94. Brady, Margaret K., ed. *Ethnic Folklore in Utah*, special issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52.1 (Winter 1984). [Ethnographies, History of Folklore Studies, Ethnicity]

95. ———. "Ethnic Folklore in Utah: New Perspectives." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (1984): 3–8. [Ethnographies, History of Folklore Studies, Ethnicity]

96. ———. "In Her Own Words: Women's Frontier Friendships in Letters, Diaries, and Reminiscences." In Stewart, Siporin, Sullivan, and Jones 162–78. [Mormons, Polygamy, Women, Medicine]

97. ———. *Mormon Healer and Folk Poet: Mary Susannah Fowler's Life of "Unselfish Usefulness."* Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000. [Medicine, Poetry, Mormons, Women]

98. ———. "Narrative Competence: A Navajo Example of Peer Group Evaluation." *Journal of American Folklore* 93 (1980): 158–81. [Beliefs, Narratives, Children, Supernatural, Witchcraft, Navajos]

99. ———. *"Some Kind of Power": Navajo Children's Skinwalker Narratives.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984. [Narratives, Witchcraft, Supernatural, Children, Navajos]

100. ———. "Transformations of Power: Mormon Women's Visionary Narratives." *Journal of American Folklore* 100 (1987): 461–68. [Personal Experience Narratives, Mormons, Women]

101. Briggs, Walter. *Without Noise of Arms: The Domínguez-Escalante Search for a Route from Santa Fe to Monterey.* Flagstaff: Northland, 1976. [Spaniards, Histories, Utes, Paiutes, Eighteenth Century]

102. Brooks, Juanita. "Close-Up of Polygamy." *Harper's* 168 (Dec. 1933–May 1934): 299–307. [Polygamy, Washington County, 1910s, 1920s]

103. ———. "Early Buildings." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (1961): 241–54. [Architecture, Washington County]

104. ———. "Frontier Birth Beliefs." *Western Folklore* 29 (1970): 53–55. [Medicine, Beliefs, Childbirth]

105. ———. "Mariah Huntsman Leavitt: Midwife of the Desert Frontier." In Fife, Fife, and Glassie 119–31. [Medicine, Mormons, Childbirth, Midwifery, Kane County, Washington County]

106. ———. "Memories of a Mormon Girlhood." *Journal of American Folklore* 77 (1964): 195–219. [Life Histories, Mormons, Personal Experience

Narratives, Women]

107. ———. *The Mountain Meadows Massacre.* Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1950. Rpt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, c. 1962. [Histories, Washington County, Mormons, Paiutes]
108. ———. "Our Annual Visitors." In Cheney, *Lore* 5–14. [Narratives, Paiutes]
109. ———. "Pranks and Pranksters." In Cheney, *Lore* 57–59. [Pranks, Mormons, Weddings]
110. ———. *Quicksand and Cactus: A Memoir of the Southern Utah Frontier.* Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1982. Rpt. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1992. [Washington County, Histories, Life Histories, Polygamy]
111. ———, ed. *Utah's Dixie.* Special issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29.3 (Summer 1961). [Histories, Washington County]
112. ———. "The Water's In!" *Harper's* 182 (Dec. 1940–May 1941): 608–13. Rpt. in *Folklore of Mountain and Plain: Studies in Honor of Austin E. Fife for Helping to Pioneer the Study of Folklore and Antiquities in the Intermountain West.* Ed. Wayland D. Hand. No place of publication: Privately published, 1972. 1–8. [Water, Farming]
113. Brown, Vanessa, and Barre Toelken. "American Indian Powwow." In *Folklife Annual 1987.* Ed. Alan Jabbour and James Hardin. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1987. [Native Americans, Festivals, Dance, Powwow]
114. Brunvand, Jan (Harold). "Architecture in Zion: Early Mormon Houses." *American West* 13.2 (Mar./Apr. 1976): 28–35. [Architecture, Mormons]
115. ———. "As the Saints Go Marching By: Modern Jokelore Concerning Mormons." *Journal of American Folklore* 83 (1970): 53–60. [Jokes, Narratives, Tales, Humor, Mormons, Salt Lake County, Stereotypes]
116. ———. "Folklore in the News (and, Incidentally, on the Net)." *Western Folklore* 60 (2001): 47–66. [History of Folklore Studies, Dialect and Language, Jokes, Legends]
117. ———. "Folklore of the Great Basin." *Northwest Folklore* 3.1 (Summer 1981): 17–32. [Narratives, Mormons]
118. ———. *A Guide for Collectors of Folklore in Utah.* Salt Lake City: Utah Heritage Foundation, 1971. [Fieldwork, History of Folklore Studies, Theory]
119. ———. "Modern Legends of Mormondom, or Supernaturalism Is Alive and Well in Salt Lake City." In *American Folk Legend: A Symposium.* Ed. Wayland D. Hand. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. 185–202. [Narratives, Legends, Magic, Supernatural, Mormons]
120. ———. "Regional Folk Speech and Sayings." In *Handbook of American Folklore.* Ed. Richard M. Dorson. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983. 201–7. [Dialect and Language, Fieldwork, Mormons]
121. ———. "A Survey of Mormon Housing Traditions in Utah." *Revue Roumaine D'Histoire de L'Art.* Serie Beaux-Arts 11 (1974): 113–35. [Architecture, Mormons]
122. ———. "Urban Legends in Utah." *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 16.1 (Summer 1982): 2–3. [Legends, Narratives, Urban Legends]
123. ———. "Western Folk Humor in *Roughing It.*" In Fife and Taylor 53–65. [Jokes, Narratives, Literature, Tall Tales]
124. Brunvand, Jan Harold, and John C. Abramson. "Aspen Tree Doodlings in the Wasatch Mountains: A Preliminary Survey of Traditional Tree Carvings." In Fife, Fife, and Glassie 89–102. [Art, Graffiti, Basques]
125. Brunvand, Judith. "Frederic Albert Hale, Architect." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (1986): 5–30. [Architecture, Life Histories]
126. Buchanan, Frederick S. "Imperial Zion: The British Occupation of Utah." In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 61–113. [British, English, Scots, Irish, Welsh]

127. ———. “Scots among the Mormons.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (1968): 328–52. [Scots, Mormons]
128. Bunker, Gary L., and Davis Bitton. “The Death of Brigham Young: Occasion for Satire.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (1986): 358–70. [Jokes, Stereotypes, Mormons]
129. Bunte, Pamela A. “Southern Paiute Syntax and Semantics.” Diss., Indiana University, 1979. [Dialect and Language, Paiutes]
130. Bunte, Pamela A., and Robert J. Franklin. *From the Sands to the Mountain: Change and Persistence in a Southern Paiute Community.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967. [Ethnographies, Histories, Paiutes]
131. Burt, Olive W. *American Murder Ballads: And Their Stories.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. Rpt. New York: Citadel Press, 1964. [Songs, Ballads]
132. ———. “Ditties of Death in Deseret.” In Cheney, *Lore* 153–73. [Songs, Ballads, Mormons]
133. ———. “Founder of a Tradition: A Story of Utah’s Furniture Development.” *Utah Magazine* 8.7 (Jul. 1946): 26–27, 44–46. [Furniture, Material Culture]
134. ———. “Murder Ballads of Mormondom.” *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 141–56. [Songs, Ballads, Mormons, Kane County, Salt Lake County, Washington County]
135. ———. “Wine-Making in Utah’s Dixie.” In Cheney, *Lore* 145–52. [Foodways, Washington County]
136. Bushman, Claudia Larper. “Mystics and Healers.” In *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah.* Ed. Bushman. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997. 1–23. [Medicine, Women, Mormons]
137. Butler, Lucille J. *Ephraim’s Humor.* M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1950. [Humor, Narratives, Sanpete County]
138. Bye, Robert S., Jr. “Ethnobotany of the Southern Paiute Indians in the 1870s, with a Note on the Early Ethnobotanical Contributions of Dr. Edward Palmer.” *Great Basin Cultural Ecology: A Symposium.* Ed. Don D. Fowler. Desert Research Institute Publications in the Social Sciences No. 8. Reno: Desert Research Institute, 1972. 87–104. [Plants, Medicine, Paiutes]
139. Canning, Ray R. “Mormon Return-from-the-Dead Stories: Fact or Folklore?” *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 42.1 (1965): 29–37. [Legends, Beliefs, Mormons, Supernatural]
140. Cannon, Anthon S. (comp.). *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah.* Ed. Wayland D. Hand and Jeannine B. Talley. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984. [Beliefs, Material Culture, Medicine, Weather Lore, Witchcraft, Mormons]
141. Cannon, Brian Q. “The Sego Lily, Utah’s State Flower.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63 (1995): 70–84. [Nature, Plants, Symbols]
142. Cannon, Georgius Y. “Early Domestic Architecture in and near Salt Lake City.” *American Architect and the Architectural Review* 125 (1924): 473–76. [Architecture, Mormons, Salt Lake County]
143. Cannon, Hal, ed. *The Grand Beehive.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1980. [Material Culture, Symbols, Mormons, Nature]
144. ———, ed. *Utah Folk Art: A Catalog of Material Culture.* Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980. [Architecture, Material Culture, Mormons, Native Americans, Women]
145. Cannon, Hal, Jan Harold Brunvand, and Tom Carter, eds. *The New Beehive Songster, Vol. II: New Recordings of Utah Folk Music Collected by Hal Cannon and Others.* LP. Okehdokee (Salt Lake City), 1976. [1970s, Mormons, Music, Songs]
146. Cannon, Hal, Carol Edison, Debbie Randall, and Roger Roper. “Grouse Creek,

Utah." *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 19.2 (Fall 1985): 4–5. [Ranching, Architecture, Festivals, Foodways, Box Elder County]

147. Cannon, M. Hamlin. "Angels and Spirits in Mormon Doctrine." *California Folklore Quarterly* 4 (1945): 343–50. [Supernatural, Beliefs, Mormons]
148. Cannon, Theodore L. "Temple Square: The Crossroads of the West." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (1959): 247–58. [Architecture, Religious Structures, Mormons, Salt Lake County]
149. Carter, Thomas (Robert). "The Architecture of Immigration: Documenting Italian-American Vernacular Buildings in Utah and Nevada." In Taylor and Williams 95–111. [Architecture, Italians, Carbon County]
150. ———. "'The Best of Its Kind and Grade': Rebuilding the Sanpete Valley, 1890–1910." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (1986): 88–112. [1890s, 1900s, Architecture, Sanpete County]
151. ———. "Building Zion: Folk Architecture in the Mormon Settlements of Utah's Sanpete Valley, 1849–1890." Diss. Indiana University, 1984. [Architecture, Mormons, 1850s, 1860s, 1870s, 1880s, Sanpete County]
152. ———. "Cultural Veneer: Decorative Plastering in Utah's Sanpete Valley." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (1981): 68–77. [Architecture, Material Culture, Sanpete County]
153. ———. "Folk Design in Utah Architecture, 1849–1890." In Cannon, *Utah Folk Art* 36–59. Rpt. in *Images of an American Land: Vernacular Architecture in the Western United States.* Ed. Carter. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997. 41–60. [Architecture, Sanpete County, 1850s, 1860s, 1870s, 1880s]
154. ———. "A Hierarchy of Architectural Values." In *The Other Forty-Niners: A Topical History of Sanpete County*. Ed. Albert C. T. Antrei. Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1982. 457–88. [Architecture, Sanpete County]
155. ———. "'It Was in the Way, So We Took It Out': Remodeling As Social Commentary." *Material Culture* 19 (1987): 113–25. [Architecture]
156. ———. "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in Utah." *Winterthur Portfolio* 35 (2000): 223–51. [Architecture, Polygamy, Mormons]
157. ———, ed. *Material Culture,* special issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56.4 (Fall 1988). [Material Culture]
158. ———. "North European Horizontal Log Construction in the Sanpete-Sevier Valleys." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (1984): 50–71. [Architecture, Danes, Norwegians, Sanpete County, Sevier County]
159. ———. "Reconstructing Christian Munk's Connected Farmstead in Manti." *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 15.1 (Winter 1982): 2–3. [Architecture, Farm/Ranchsteads, Sanpete County]
160. ———. "Spindles and Spoon Racks: Local Style in Nineteenth-Century Mormon Furniture." In *The Old Traditional Way of Life: Essays in Honor of Warren E. Roberts.* Ed. Robert E. Walls and George H. Schoemaker. Bloomington: Trickster Press, Indiana University Folklore Institute, 1989. 40–57. [Furniture, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]
161. ———. "Studies in Material Culture." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (1988): 307–9. [History of Folklore Studies, Material Culture]
162. ———. "Traditional Design in an Industrial Age: Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Victorian Utah." *Journal of American Folklore* 104 (1991): 419–42. [Architecture, Material Culture, Nineteenth Century]
163. Carter, Thomas R., and Keith Bennett. "Houses with Two Fronts: The Evolution of Domestic Architectural Design in a Mormon Community." *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 47–58. [Architecture, Polygamy, Settlement Patterns, Mormons]
164. Carter, Thomas, and Carl Fleischhauer, eds. *The Grouse Creek Cultural Survey:*

Integrating Folklife and Historic Preservation Field Research. Publications of the American Folklife Center No. 13. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1988. [Architecture, Foodways, Box Elder County, Fieldwork, Material Culture, Ranching, Mormons]

165. Carter, Thomas, and Peter Goss. *Utah's Historic Architecture, 1847–1940: A Guide.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988. [Architecture, Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century]
166. Carter, Thomas Robert, and Elizabeth Manion. "A Computerized System for Artifact Site Mapping: The Distribution of the Scandinavian Pair House in the Rocky Mountain West." *Revue Roumaine D'Histoire de L'art.* Serie Beaux-Arts 25 (1988): 11–20. [Architecture, Fieldwork, Scandinavians]
167. Carter, Thomas, and Julie Osborne, eds. *A Way of Seeing: Discovering the Art of Building in Spring City, Utah.* University of Utah Graduate School of Architecture Publication No. 2. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Graduate School of Architecture, 1994. [Architecture, Sanpete County]
168. Carter, Tom, Jan Harold Brunvand, and H. Reynolds Cannon. *The New Beehive Songster, Vol. I: Early Recordings of Pioneer Folk Music Collected by Austin and Alta Fife, Lester A. Hubbard, and Others.* LP. Okehdokee (Salt Lake City), 1975. [Mormons, Music, Songs, 1940s, 1950s]
169. Cattermole-Tally, Frances. "Logan, 1968: A Reminiscence." *Western Folklore* 61 (2002): 319–27. [History of Folklore Studies, Cache County, Material Culture]
170. Cederlof, Philip A. "The Peerless Coal Mines." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (1985): 336–56. [Mining, Carbon County]
171. Chadwick, Effie Marion. "Extent to Which Early Mormon Beliefs and Practices Reflected the Environment of That People." M.S. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1940. [Mormons, Beliefs, Customs, Religion]
172. Chamberlin, Ralph V. "Ethnobotany of the Gosiute Indians." *Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science Proceedings* 53 (1911): 337–44. [Goshutes, Nature, Plants, Medicine]
173. ———. "Place and Personal Names of the Gosiute Indians of Utah." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 52 (1912): 2. [Naming Practices, Goshutes]
174. ———. "Some Plant Names of the Ute Indians." *American Anthropologist* 11 (1909): 27–40. [Plants, Medicine, Naming Practices, Utes]
175. Cheney, Thomas (Edward). "The Folklore Society of Utah." *Journal of American Folklore* 82 (1969): 32–33. [History of Folklore Studies]
176. ———. *The Golden Legacy: A Folk History of J. Golden Kimball.* Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1973. 2nd ed. Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974. [Legends, Life Histories, Tricksters, Mormons]
177. ———. ed. *Lore of Faith and Folly*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971. [Native Americans, Histories, Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century, Families, Mormons, Polygamy, Ballads, Narratives, Life Histories, Personal Experience Narratives, Beliefs, Supernatural, Medicine]
178. ———. "Mormon Folk Song and the Fife Collection." *Brigham Young University Studies* 3.1 (Autumn 1960): 57–63. [Collectanea, Archives, Mormons, Songs]
179. ———, ed. *Mormon Songs from the Rocky Mountains: A Compilation of Mormon Folksong.* Publications of the American Folklore Society, Memoir Series Vol. 53. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968. Rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1981. [Songs, Ballads, Mormons]
180. ———. "Mormons and Miracles." *Publications of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 39 (1961): 30–39. [Beliefs, Supernatural, Mormons]

181. ———. “Samuel Brannan—A Double Exposure.” In Cheney, *Lore* 191–218. [Life Histories, Mormons]

182. ———. “Scandinavian Immigrant Stories.” *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 99–104. [Immigration, Personal Experience Narratives, Scandinavians]

183. ———. “Utah Courtship Customs.” *Western Folklore* 19 (1960): 106. [Customs, Marriage]

184. ———. *Voices from the Bottom of the Bowl: A Folk History of Teton Valley, Idaho, 1823–1952.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991. [Histories, Personal Experience Narratives, Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century]

185. Christensen, James Boyd. “Function and Fun in Utah-Danish Nicknames.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (1971): 23–29. [Danes, Naming Practices]

186. Christensen, Scott R. *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822–1884.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999. [Shoshones, Mormons, 1840s, 1850s, 1860s, 1870s, 1880s, Native Americans]

187. Christy, Howard A. “‘What Virtue There Is in Stone’: And Other Pungent Talk on the Early Utah Frontier.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (1991): 300–19. [Narratives, Dialect and Language, Nineteenth Century]

188. Clark, Jack W. “Pioneer Sports in Cache Valley, Utah.” Diss., Utah State University, 1958. [Games]

189. Clark, James R. “The Kingdom of God, the Council of Fifty and the State of Deseret.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (1958): 130–48. [Histories, Mormons]

190. Clark, LaVerne Harrell. “The Mythical Horse of the Navajo and Apache Indians.” In Fife and Taylor 33–51. [Animals, Native Americans, Navajos, Myths]

191. Coates, Lawrence. “The Mormons and the Ghost Dance.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18.4 (Winter 1985): 89–111. [Beliefs, Dance, Native Americans, Utes, Goshutes, Mormons]

192. Coleman, Ronald G. “African-American Community.” In Kelen and Stone 65–127. [African Americans]

193. ———. “Blacks in Utah History: An Unknown Legacy.” In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 115–40. [African Americans, Histories]

194. Collins, Mary Alice. “Midway, a Town Still Sleeping.” In Cheney, *Lore* 49–55. [Narratives, Settlement Patterns, Mormons, Wasatch County]

195. Conetah, Fred. “My Native Land.” In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 11–13. [Histories, Utes]

196. Conetah, Fred, Norma Denver, Daisy Jenks, Kathryn MacKay, and Floyd O’Neil. *Stories of Our Ancestors: A Collection of Northern Ute Indian Tales.* Fort Duchesne: Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe, 1974. [Utes, Histories, Narratives, Legends, Myths]

197. Conley, Don C. “The Pioneer Chinese of Utah.” In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 251–77. [Histories, Chinese]

198. Cooke, Anne M. “An Analysis of Great Basin Mythology.” Diss., Yale University, 1939. [Native Americans, Myths]

199. ———. “The Material Culture of the Northern Ute.” M.A. Thesis, Yale University, 1937. [Material Culture, Utes]

200. Cooley, Everett L. “Archives Past and Future.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (1961): 57–61. [Archives]

201. ———. “Clarion, Utah, Jewish Colony in Zion.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (1968): 113–31. Rpt. in Layton 101–19. [Jews, Farming, Sanpete County]

202. ———. “Utah’s Capitols.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (1959): 259–74. [Architecture]

203. Costa, Janeen Arnold. “A Struggle for Survival and Identity: Families in the Aftermath of the Castle Gate Mine Disaster.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (1988): 279–92. [Customs, Mining, Funerals, Carbon County, 1920s, African

Americans, Greeks, Italians]

204. Covington, Kae. *Gathered in Time: Utah Quilts and Their Makers, Settlement to 1950.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997. [Quilts]
205. Cracroft, Richard H. "The Heraldry of the Range: Utah Cattle Brands." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32 (1964): 217–31. [Ranching, Occupational Practices]
206. Cronin, Gloria L. "Who Shapes Oral Narrative: A Functionalist and Psychosocial Examination of the Lore of Two Mormon Female Tale-Tellers." *Mormon Letters Annual* (1984): 12–21. [Dialect and Language, Mormons, Narratives, Women]
207. Cross, Mary Bywater. *Quilts and Women of the Mormon Migration.* Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1996. [Quilts, Material Culture, Women, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]
208. Crum, Beverly, Earl Crum, and Jon P. Dayley. *Newe Hupia: Shoshone Poetry Songs.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001. [Songs, Poetry, Shoshones, Native Americans]
209. Crum, Steven J. "The Skull Valley Band of the Goshute Tribe—Deeply Attached to Their Native Homeland." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (1987): 250–67. Rpt. in Layton, 19–33. [Histories, Goshutes, Native Americans, Tooele County]
210. Cuch, Forrest S., ed. *A History of Utah's American Indians.* Salt Lake City: Utah Division of Indian Affairs and Utah State Division of History, 2000. [Goshutes, Navajos, Paiutes, Shoshones, Utes, Histories, Native Americans]
211. Culin, Stewart. *Games of the North American Indians.* 24th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1902–1903. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1907. Rpt. New York: Dover, 1975; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992. [Games, Native Americans, Utes]
212. Cunningham, Keith. *American Indians' Kitchen-Table Stories: Contemporary Conversations with Cherokee, Sioux, Hopi, Osage, Navajo, Zuni, and Members of Other Nations.* Little Rock: August House, 1992. [Narratives, Native Americans, Navajos]
213. ———. "The Angel and the Lions: Traditional Stone Carving as Biographical-Cultural Expression." *Northwest Folklore* 8.2 (Spring 1990): 29–37. [Gravestones, Life Histories, Stone Carving, Symbols]
214. ———. "Navajo, Mormon, Zuni Graves: Navajo, Mormon, Zuni Ways." In *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture.* Ed. Richard E. Meyer. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989. 197–215. [Gravestones, Funerals, Navajos, Mormons, Native Americans]
215. ———. *The Oral Tradition of the American West.* Little Rock: August House, 1990. [Narratives, Poetry, Songs]
216. Daughters of Utah Pioneers. Periodic publications on history and folklore, usually one pamphlet per month, bound together in annual volumes. Ed. Kate B. Carter et al. Series include *Heart Throbs of the West* (12 vols., 1939–51), *Treasures of Pioneer History* (6 vols., 1952–57), *Our Pioneer Heritage* (20 vols., 1958–77), *An Enduring Legacy* (12 vols., 1978–89), and *Chronicles of Courage* (8 vols., 1990–97). Articles are generally anonymous. [Mormons, Nineteenth Century, Histories]
217. Davidson, Levette J. "Mormon Songs." *Journal of American Folklore* 58 (1945): 273–300. [Mormons, Songs, Ballads, Poetry]
218. ———, ed. *Poems of the Old West: A Rocky Mountain Anthology.* Denver: University of Denver Press, 1951. [Poetry, Ranching, Logging, Mining]
219. ———. "Songs of the Rocky Mountain Frontier." *California Folklore Quarterly* 22 (1943): 89–112. [Songs]
220. ———. "Westernisms." A*merican Speech* 17 (1942): 71–73. [Dialect and Language]

221. Davidson, Levette J., and Forrester Blake, eds. *Rocky Mountain Tales.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947. [Narratives, Tales]
222. Davidson, Thomas. "Elf-Shot Cattle." *Antiquity* 30 (1956): 149–55. [Beliefs, Ranching, Architecture]
223. Davies, J. Kenneth. *Deseret's Sons of Toil: A History of the Worker Movements of Territorial Utah, 1852–1896.* Salt Lake City: Olympus, 1977. [Histories, Mormons, Occupational Practices, 1850s, 1860s, 1870s, 1880s, 1890s]
224. Day, Kimberly. "Frederick Kesler, Utah Craftsman." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (1988): 54–74. [Architecture, Life Histories, Material Culture, Crafts]
225. d'Azevedo, Warren L., ed. *Handbook of North American Indians: Great Basin.* Vol. 11. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1986. [Material Culture, Music, Narratives, Customs, Religion, Native Americans, Goshutes, Paiutes, Shoshones, Utes]
226. Defa, Dennis R. "The Goshute Indians of Utah." In Cuch 73–122. [Goshutes, Customs, Histories, Religion]
227. Delaney, Robert W. "The Southern Utes a Century Ago." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (1971): 114–27. [Histories, Utes]
228. Dellenbaugh, Frederick S. *A Canyon Voyage: The Narrative of the Second Powell Expedition down the Green-Colorado River from Wyoming, and the Explorations on Land, in the Years 1871 and 1872*, New York: Putnam, 1908. Rpt. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962. [Paiutes, Nature, 1870s]
229. Densmore, Frances. *Northern Ute Music.* Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1922. Rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1972. [Music, Songs, Utes]
230. Deseret String Band. *Deseret String Band, 1980–1984.* LP. Shanachie Records, 1984. [Songs, Ballads, Music]
231. ———. *The Round-Up.* CD. Okehdokee (Salt Lake City), 1999. [Songs, Ballads, Music]
232. ———. *Utah Songs of Statehood: The Deseret String Band Centennial Concert.* VHS, Cassette, CD. KUED Television (Salt Lake City), 1990. [Songs, Ballads, Music]
233. ———. *Utah Trail.* LP. Okehdokee (Salt Lake City), 1972. [Songs, Ballads, Music]
234. ———. *Western Tape.* Cassette. Okehdokee (Salt Lake City), 1980. [Songs, Music, Ballads]
235. DeSmet, P. J. "Reminiscences of Indian Habits and Character." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 5 (1932): 25–27. [Customs, Paiutes, Utes]
236. DeVoto, Bernard. "Jonathan Dyer, Frontiersman." *Harper's* 167 (June–Nov. 1933): 491–501. Rpt. as "The Life of Jonathan Dyer," in *Forays and Rebuttals.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1936. 3–24. [Life Histories]
237. Diamante, Walker. "My Father in Utah." *Lagographia: A Journal of the International Greek Folklore Society* 13.4 (Aug.-Dec. 1996): 30–32. [Beliefs, Magic, Greeks]
238. Dibble, Charles E. "The Mormon Mission to the Shoshoni Indians." *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 53–73. [Mormons, Histories, Religion, Shoshones]
239. Dobie, J. Frank. "Greatest of All Grizzlies." *California Folklore Quarterly* 3 (1944): 12–15. [Narratives, Nature, Animals, Legends]
240. Dorson, Richard M. "Utah Mormons." In *American Folklore.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. 112–21. [Mormons, Narratives, Beliefs]
241. ———. "Utah Mormons." In *Buying the Wind: Regional Folklore in the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964. 497–535. [Beliefs, Legends, Mormons, Songs, Three Nephite Stories]

242. Duncan, Clifford. “The Northern Utes of Utah.” In Cuch 167–224. [Utes, Customs, Religion, Histories]
243. Dwyer, Robert Joseph. *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict (1862–1890).* Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971. [Histories, Mormons, 1860s, 1870s, 1880s]
244. Edison, Carol (A.). *Cowboy Poetry from Utah: An Anthology.* Salt Lake City: Utah Folklife Center, 1985. [Poetry, Ranching, Cowboys]
245. ———. “Custom-Made Gravestones in Early Salt Lake City: The Work of Four English Stonecarvers.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (1988): 310–30. [Gravestones, Stone Carving, Nineteenth Century, Salt Lake County, English]
246. ———. “Folk and Ethnic Arts in Utah.” In *Utah: State of the Arts.* Ogden, UT: Meridian Press, 1993. 129–50. [Dance, Material Culture, Music, Twentieth Century]
247. ———. “The Gravestones of Parowan.” *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 17.1 (Winter 1983): 2–3. [Gravestones, Stone Carving, Iron County, Nineteenth Century]
248. ———. “Grouse Creek, Utah.” *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 19.2 (Fall 1985): 4–5. [Architecture, Box Elder County, Foodways, Mormons, Ranching]
249. ———. “Hispanic Folk and Ethnic Arts in Utah.” In Edison, Hatch, and Miller 29–53. [Dance, Latinos, Histories, Material Culture, Music, Songs, Religion]
250. ———. “Material Culture: An Introduction and Guide to Mormon Vernacular.” In *Mormon Americana: A Guide to Sources and Collections in the United States.* Ed. David J. Whittaker. Provo: Brigham Young University Studies, 1995. 306–35. [History of Folklore Studies, Material Culture, Mormons]
251. ———. “Mormon Gravestones: A Folk Expression of Identity and Belief.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22.4 (Winter 1989): 88–94. [Gravestones, Stone Carving, Mormons]
252. ———. “Native American Artists of San Juan County: A Portfolio.” *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 29–33. [Material Culture, Navajos, Utes, San Juan County]
253. ———. “Nineteenth-Century Utah Gravestones and Their Carvers.” *Utah Preservation: Building on the Past* 4 (2000): 72–77. [Gravestones, Mormons, Stone Carving, Nineteenth Century]
254. ———. “Roast Beef and Pit-Barbequed Lamb: The Role of Food at Two Utah Homecoming Celebrations.” In *We Gather Together: Food and Festival in American Life.* Ed. Theodore C. Humphrey and Lin T. Humphrey. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988. 137–52. [Festivals, Foodways, Mormons, Ranching, Sanpete County]
255. ———. “Southeast Asians in Utah.” In *Utah History Encyclopedia.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994. 519–21. [Immigration, Cambodians, Filipinos, Hmong, Laotians, Thais, Vietnamese, Festivals, Religion]
256. ———. “Southern Utah Folklife Festival.” *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 14.1 (Summer 1981): 1–2. [Festivals, Parks, Washington County]
257. ———. “South Sea Islanders in Utah.” In *Utah History Encyclopedia.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994. 516–18. [Immigration, Pacific Islanders, Hawai’ians, Samoans, Tongans, Festivals, Religion]
258. ———. *Utah’s Sanpete Valley: The Heart of the Mormon West—A Tour Featuring Local History and Culture.* Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 2000. [Histories, Material Culture, Sanpete County]
259. ———. “Willow Stories: An Introduction.” In Edison, *Willow Stories* 8–15. [Baskets, Navajos, Twentieth Century, San Juan County]

260. ———, ed. *Willow Stories: Utah Navajo Baskets.* Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 1996. [Baskets, Navajos, San Juan County]

261. Edison, Carol A., Anne F. Hatch, and Craig R. Miller, eds. *Hecho en Utah/Made in Utah: A Cultural History of Utah's Spanish-Speaking Communities/Una historia cultural de las comunidades hispanas de Utah.* Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 1992. [Latinos, Music, Songs, Material Culture, Histories]

262. Eliason, Eric A. "Angels among the Mormons." In *The Big Book of Angels: Angelic Encounters, Expert Answers, Listening to and Working with Your Guardian Angel.* "By the Editors of Beliefnet." New York: Rodale, 2002. 96–104. [Religion, Beliefs, Supernatural, Mormons]

263. ———. *Celebrating Zion: Pioneers in Mormon Popular Historical Expression.* Provo: Brigham Young University Studies, 2003. [Histories, Nineteenth Century, Mormons]

264. ———. "The Cultural Dynamics of Historical Self-Fashioning: Mormon Pioneer Nostalgia, American Culture, and the International Church." *Journal of Mormon History* 28 (2002): 139–73. [Histories, Mormons]

265. ———. "Curious Gentiles and Representational Authority in the City of the Saints." *Religion and American Culture* 11 (2001): 155–90. [Salt Lake County, Mormons]

266. ———. "Introduction." In Eliason, *Mormons and Mormonism.* 1–21. [Mormons, Religion, Histories, Beliefs]

267. ———, ed. *Jester for the Kingdom: J. Golden Kimball in Mormon Folklore.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004. [Narratives, Humor, Tricksters, Legends, Mormons]

268. ———. "Joe Hill." In *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia.* New York: Garland, 1996. 369. [Songs, Life Histories, Mining]

269. ———. "Mark Twain, Polygamy, and the Origin of an American Motif." *Mark Twain Journal* 38 (2000): 1–6. [Literature, Polygamy, Mormons]

270. ———. "The Mormon Culture Region." In *The Encyclopedia of American Folklife.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, forthcoming. [Settlement Patterns, Mormons]

271. ———. "Mormon Fundamentalists." In *The Encyclopedia of American Folklife.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, forthcoming. [Mormons, Religion]

272. ———, ed. *Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001. [Mormons, Histories, Religion, Beliefs]

273. ———. "Nameways in Latter-day Saint History, Custom, and Folklore." In *Names in Mormon Belief and Practice.* Ed. William G. Eggington, Dallin D. Oaks, and Paul Baltes. New York: Edwin Mellen, forthcoming. [Naming Practices, Mormons, Customs, Histories]

274. ———. "Pioneers and Recapitulation in Mormon Popular Historical Expression." In *Usable Pasts: Traditions and Group Expressions in North America.* Ed. Tad Tuleja. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997. 175–211. [Mormons, Nineteenth Century]

275. ———. "Toward the Folkloristic Study of Latter-day Saint Conversion Narratives." *BYU Studies* 38.1 (1999): 137–50. [Personal Experience Narratives, Religion, Mormons]

276. Embry, Jessie L. "Little Berlin, Swiss Saints of the Logan Tenth Ward." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (1988): 222–35. [Germans, Immigration, Narratives, Histories, Mormons, Swiss, Cache County]

277. Empey, Jessie K. "George Miles' Reminiscences of Silver Reef." In Cheney, *Lore* 79–82. [Mining, Personal Experience Narratives, Washington County]

278. Epstein, Shifra. "A Note on Contemporary Accounts of the Three Nephites." *Indiana Folklore* 6 (1973): 241–44. [Three Nephite Stories, Twentieth

Century]
279. Ericksen, E. Gordon. “A Sociological Study of Funeral Customs and Legal Burial Requirements in Utah.” M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1939. [Funerals, Customs]
280. Ericksen, Ephraim Edward. *The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922. Rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1975. [Mormons]
281. Euler, Robert C. *Southern Paiute Ethnohistory*. Department of Anthropology Papers No. 78. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1966. [Paiutes, Ethnographies, Histories, Native Americans]
282. Evers, Larry, and Barre Toelken. *Native American Oral Traditions: Collaboration and Interpretation*. Special edition of *Oral Tradition* 13.1 (March 1998). Rpt. with new foreword Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001. [Native Americans, Legends, Myths, Narratives]
283. Fabian, Josephine. “Dead Horse Point in Rainbow Land.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (1958): 239–45. [Legends, Nature, Parks]
284. Fairbanks, Jonathan L. “Adobe Housing in Nineteenth-Century Utah.” In *Frontier America: The Far West*. Ed. Fairbanks. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Department of American Decorative Arts and Sculpture, 1975. 197–212. [Architecture, Nineteenth Century]
285. Fairbanks, Jonathan L., and Elizabeth Bidwell Bates, eds. *American Furniture: 1620 to the Present*. New York: Richard Marek, 1981. [Furniture, Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century]
286. Farnsworth, Dean B. “Barber on the Boards.” In Cheney, *Lore* 93–105. [Mormons, Narratives]
287. Ferron, Richard M. “Legendary Mining Men in Eastern Utah.” *Utah Humanities Review* 2 (1948): 381–82. [Legends, Mining]
288. Fife, Austin (E.). “Another Mormon Car.” *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 298–99. [Songs]
289. ———. “A Ballad of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.” *Western Folklore* 12 (1953): 229–41. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 239–52. [Ballads, Songs, Mormons, Washington County]
290. ———. “The Bear Lake Monster.” *Utah Humanities Review* 2 (1948): 99–106. [Cache County, Legends, Beliefs, Supernatural]
291. ———. “Birthmarks and Psychic Imprinting of Babies in Utah Folk Medicine.” In *American Folk Medicine: A Symposium*. Ed. Wayland D. Hand. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976. 273–84. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 121–30. [Medicine, Childbirth, Mormons]
292. ———. “Christian Swarm Charms from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Centuries.” *Journal of American Folklore* 77 (1964): 154–59. [Nature, Religion]
293. ———. “Detachable Members.” *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 186. [Tales, Narratives]
294. ———. *Exploring Western Americana*. Ed. Alta Fife. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988. [Architecture, Ballads, Songs, Ranching, Gravestones, Stone Carving, Material Culture, Medicine, Mormons, Tales, Three Nephite Stories]
295. ———. “Folk Belief and Mormon Cultural Autonomy.” *Journal of American Folklore* 61 (1948): 19–30. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 29–42. [Beliefs, Customs, Mormons]
296. ———. “Folk Elements in the Formation of the Mormon Personality.” *Brigham Young University Studies* 1.2 (1959–60): 1–17. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 15–28. [Mormons]
297. ———. “Folklife and Folk Arts in the United States Exhibit: Merrill Art Gallery

and Special Collections Library, Utah State University, July-August, 1968." In Fife, Fife, and Glassie 9–22. [Architecture, Material Culture, Farm/Ranchsteads, Cowboys, Ranching, Farming, Gravestones, Furniture, Plants, Medicine, Rituals, Museums and Living Farms]

298. ———. "Folklore and Local History." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (1963): 315–23. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 45–54. [Histories, Mormons]
299. ———. "Folklore of Material Culture on the Rocky Mountain Frontier." *Arizona Quarterly* 13 (1951): 101–10. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 133–40. [Material Culture]
300. ———. "Folkways of the Mormons from the Journals of John D. Lee." *Western Folklore* 21 (1962): 229–45. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 103–20. [Customs, Life Histories, Mormons]
301. ———. "Hay Derricks." *Western Folklore* 10 (1951): 320–22. [Material Culture, Farming, Ranching, Occupational Practices]
302. ———. "Jack Fences of the Intermountain West." In *Folklore International: Essays in Traditional Literature, Belief and Custom in Honor of Wayland Debs Hand.* Ed. D. K. Wilgus. Hatboro, PA: Folklore Associates, 1967. 51–54. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 159–166. [Material Culture, Farming, Ranching, Occupational Practices]
303. ———. "The Legend of the Three Nephites Among the Mormons." *Journal of American Folklore* 53 (1940): 1–49. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 55–101. [Legends, Mormons, Three Nephite Stories, Supernatural]
304. ———. "A Mormon from the Cradle to the Grave." Prologue to Fife and Fife, *Saints* 1–16. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 3–14. [Life Histories, Mormons]
305. ———. "Pioneer Mormon Remedies." *Western Folklore* 16 (1957): 153–62. [Medicine, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]
306. ———. "Popular Legends of the Mormons." *California Folklore Quarterly* 1 (1942): 105–25. [Legends, Three Nephite Stories, Mormons]
307. ———. "The Seagulls and the Crickets." *Western Folklore* 37 (1978): 61. [Legends, Nature, Animals, Salt Lake County]
308. ———. "Similes from Moab, Utah." *Western Folklore* 25 (1966): 126–27, 195–96. [Dialect and Language, Grand County]
309. ———, ed. *Songs of the Mormons.* LP. Archive of American Folk Song, Library of Congress, 1952. Rpt. as *Songs of the Mormons and Songs of the West.* CD. Rounder, 2003. [Mormons, Songs, Ballads]
310. ———. "Stone Houses of Northern Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 40 (1972): 6–23. Rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 167–94. [Architecture, Box Elder County, Cache County]
311. ———. "Utah Carroll, Hero of the Cattle Stampede." *Utah Science* 25.3 (1964): 74–75, 87. [Ballads, Songs, Life Histories, Ranching, Cowboys]
312. ———. "A Utah Parallel of Logan's Speech." *Journal of American Folklore* 66 (1953): 134. [Dialect and Language, Mormons, Native Americans, Utes]
313. ———. "Utah State University Folklore Collection." *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 167–68. [Archives, Cache County, Collectanea]
314. ———. "Western Gravestones." In Fife, *Exploring* 195–213. [Gravestones, Stone Carving]
315. Fife, Austin (E.), and Alta (S.) Fife. "The Cycle of Life among the Folk." In Cheney, *Lore* 223–41. [Mormons, Life Histories]
316. ———. "Folk Songs of Mormon Inspiration." *Western Folklore* 6 (1947): 42–52. [Mormons, Songs, Ballads]
317. ———. "Gravestone Imagery." In Cannon, *Utah Folk Art* 137–45. [Gravestones, Stone Carving, Symbols]
318. ———. *Saints of Sage and Saddle: Folklore Among the Mormons.* Bloomington:

Indiana University Press, 1956. Rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1980. [Legends, Beliefs, Customs, Narratives, Music, Songs, Mormons]

319. ———. *Songs of the Mormon Pioneers.* Songbook. Salt Lake City: Columbia Research Group, c. 1962. See Sorrels, *Songs.* [Songs, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]
320. ———. "Two Variants of the 'Charlie Chaplin' Rhyme." *Journal of American Folklore* 59 (1946): 532. [Poetry, Rhymes, Children]
321. ———. "Unsung Craftsmen." In Cheney, *Lore* 261–74. [Material Culture, Crafts, Mormons]
322. Fife, Austin, Alta Fife, and Henry Glassie, eds. *Forms Upon the Frontier: Folklife and Folk Arts in the United States.* Utah State University Monograph Series 16.2. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1969. [Architecture, Material Culture, Medicine, Customs]
323. Fife, Austin E., and James M. Fife. "Hay Derricks of the Great Basin and Upper Snake River Valley." *Western Folklore* 7 (1948): 224–39. Rpt. in Louie W. Attebery 2–11; rpt. in Fife, *Exploring* 141–57. [Farming, Ranching, Material Culture]
324. Fife, Austin E., and J. Golden Taylor, eds. *The Western Folklore Conference: Selected Papers.* Utah State University Monograph Series 11.3. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1964. [Folklore Programs, Theory]
325. Fike, Richard, and H. Blaine Phillips, II. *A Nineteenth Century Ute Burial from Northeast Utah.* Salt Lake City: Utah State Office, Bureau of Land Management, 1984. [Funerals, Nineteenth Century, Utes]
326. Fischer, Christiane, ed. *Let Them Speak for Themselves: Women in the American West, 1849–1900.* Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1977. [Women, Life Histories, Nineteenth Century]
327. Fischer, Gayle Veronica. "The Obedient and Disobedient Daughters of the Church: Strangite Mormon Dress as a Mode of Control." In *Religion, Dress and the Body*. Ed. Linda Arthur. Oxford, England: Berg, 1999. 73–95. [Women, Clothing, Mormons]
328. Fleming, L. A. "The Settlements on the Muddy, 1865 to 1871: 'A God Forsaken Place.'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (1967): 147–72. [1860s, 1870s, Settlement Patterns, Mormons, Iron County]
329. Fowler, Catherine S. "The Hunchback Dance of the Northern Paiute and Other Clown Performances of the Great Basin." In *Anthropology of the Desert West: Essays in Honor of Jesse D. Jennings.* Ed. Carol J. Condie and Don D. Fowler. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986. 217–28. [Native Americans, Dance, Tricksters, Paiutes]
330. Fowler, Don D., ed. *"Photographed All the Best Scenery": Jack Hillers's Diary of the Powell Expeditions, 1871–1875.* University of Utah Publications in the American West No. 9. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1972. [Paiutes, Histories, 1870s]
331. Fowler, Don D., and Catherine S. Fowler. "John Wesley Powell, Anthropologist." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (1969): 152–72. [Paiutes, Utes, Native Americans]
332. ———. "Museum Collections and Ethnographic Reconstruction: Examples from the Great Basin." In *The Research Potential of Anthropological Museum Collections.* Ed. Anne-Marie E. Cantwell, James B. Griffin, and Nan A. Rothschild. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1981. 177–99. [Ethnographies, Museums and Living Farms]
333. Fox, Sandi. *Quilts in Utah: A Reflection of the Western Experience.* Catalog for exhibit at Salt Lake Art Center. Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Art Center, 1981. [Textiles, Quilts, Women]
334. Francaviglia, Richard V. "The City of Zion in the Mountain West." *The Improvement Era* 72 (1969): 10–17. [Settlement Patterns, Mormons]

335. ———. "Mormon Central-Hall Houses in the American West." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61 (1971): 65–71. [Architecture, Mormons, Settlement Patterns]
336. ———. *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West.* New York: AMS Press, 1978. [Mormons, Settlement Patterns, Architecture]
337. ———. "The Passing Mormon Village." *Landscape* 22.2 (Spring 1978): 40–47. [Mormons, Settlement Patterns]
338. ———. "Western Hay Derricks: Cultural Geography and Folklore as Revealed by Vanishing Agricultural Technology." *Journal of Popular Culture* 11 (1978): 916–27. [Farming, Ranching, Occupational Practices]
339. Fraser, Marianne. "Warm Winters and White Rabbits: Folklore of the Welsh and English Coal Miners." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (1983): 246–58. [Carbon County, English, Mining, Tales, Beliefs, Welsh]
340. Fulkerson, Mary Lee, and Kathleen Curtis. *Weavers of Tradition and Beauty: Basketmakers of the Great Basin.* Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1995. [Baskets, Material Culture, Native Americans]
341. Fuller, Craig. "Finns and the Winter Quarters Mine Disaster." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70 (2002): 123–39. [Beliefs, Finns, Legends, Mining, Carbon County]
342. Gallacher, Stuart A. "Mormon: An Example of Folk Etymology." *Western Folklore* 8 (1949): 22–24. [Dialect and Language, Mormons]
343. Garrard, LaMar E. "A Study of the Problem of a Personal Devil and Its Relationship to Latter-day Saint Beliefs." M.S. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955. [Beliefs, Mormons, Religion]
344. Gatschet, Albert S. "Report of an Indian Visit to Jack Wilson, the Paiute Messiah." *Journal of American Folklore* 6 (1893): 108–11. [Life Histories, Native Americans, Religion, Beliefs, Paiutes]
345. Gaul, R. Wharton. "The Poisonous Beaver of Sick River." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 30 (1962): 263–71. [Nature, Legends, Animals, Box Elder County]
346. Gayton, A. H. "Folklore and Anthropology." *Utah Humanities Review* 2 (1948): 26–31. [History of Folklore Studies, Theory]
347. Geary, Edward A. "Castle Valley: The World We Have Lost." In *Emery County: Reflections on Its Past and Future.* Ed. Allan Kent Powell. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1979. 97–115. [Settlement Patterns, Farm/Ranchsteads, Architecture, Farming, Occupational Practices, Emery County]
348. ———. *Goodbye to Poplarhaven: Recollections of a Utah Boyhood.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985. [Narratives, Beliefs, Religion, Customs, Mormons, Emery County]
349. Georgakas, Dan, and Steve Frangos, eds. Special issue on the works of Helen Z. Papanikolas. *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 29.2 (2003). [Greeks, Literature, Immigration, Ethnicity]
350. Gibbs, Josiah F. "Gunnison Massacre, 1853, Millard County, Utah: Indian Mareer's Version of the Tragedy, 1894." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1 (1928): 67–75. [Millard County, Native Americans, Paiutes, Personal Experience Narratives, 1850s, 1890s]
351. ———. "Moshoquop, the Avenger." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1929): 3–8. [Native Americans, Paiutes, Histories, 1850s]
352. Gilkey, Carolyn Flatley. "Mormon Testimony Meeting: Some Aspects of a Narrating Event." *Southwest Folklore* 3.4 (Fall 1979): 45–59. [Mormons, Personal Experience Narratives, Religion, Customs]
353. Glassie, Henry H. "Introduction." In Fife, Fife, and Glassie 1–7. [Theory,

Collectanea, Material Culture]

354. Goeldner, Paul. “The Architecture of Equal Comforts: Polygamists in Utah.” *Historic Preservation* 24.1 (Jan.-Mar. 1972): 14–17. [Architecture, Polygamy, Nineteenth Century]
355. ———. *Utah Catalog: Historic American Buildings Survey*. Salt Lake City: Utah Heritage Foundation, 1969. [Architecture]
356. González, William H. “El Alabado de Nuevo Mexico.” *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 29 (1982): 85–91. [Latinos, Religion, Songs]
357. González, William H., and Genaro M. Padilla. “Monticello, the Hispanic Cultural Gateway to Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (1984): 9–28. [Latinos, Ranching, Farming, San Juan County]
358. Goodman, Jack. “Jewish Community.” In Kelen and Stone 129–93. [Jews]
359. ———. “Jews in Zion.” In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 187–220. [Jews]
360. Goodson, Stephen Smith. “Plural Wives.” In *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah*. Ed. Claudia Larper Bushman. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997. 89–111. [Women, Mormons, Polygamy]
361. Gordon, Sarah Barringer. *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. [Mormons, Polygamy, Histories]
362. Goss, Peter L. “The Architectural History of Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 208–39. [Architecture, Histories]
363. ———. “Further Investigations: Architecture at the Turn of the Century.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (1986): 2–4. [1890s, 1900s, Architecture]
364. ———. “Utah’s Architectural Heritage: An Overview.” *Utah Architect* 52 (1973): 14–17. [Architecture]
365. ———, ed. *Vernacular Architecture*. Special edition of *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54.1 (Winter 1986). [Architecture]
366. ———. “William Allen, Architect-Builder, and His Contribution to the Built Environment of Davis County.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (1986): 52–73. [Architecture, Davis County, Life Histories]
367. Gottlieb, Robert, and Peter Wiley. *America’s Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power*. New York: Putnam, 1984. See Wiley and Gottlieb. [Histories, Mormons]
368. Graham, Andrea. “Let’s Eat: Foodways of the American West.” Published on-line by Utah Humanities Council in cooperation with the Key Ingredients exhibit: www.utahhumanities.org/programs/keyessay.php. [Foodways]
369. Graham, Joe Stanley. “The Dream Mine: A Study in Mormon Folklore.” M. A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1970. [Mormons, Mining, Legends]
370. Grant, Helen R. “Graves along the Pioneer Trail.” *An Enduring Legacy* 12 (1989): 305–52. [Gravestones, Funerals, Nineteenth Century]
371. Greenway, John, ed. *Folklore of the Great West: Selections from Eighty-Three Years of the Journal of American Folklore*. Palo Alto: American West, 1969. [Collectanea, History of Folklore Studies]
372. Greevy, Susan Brown, and Andrew Hunter Whiteford. “Translating Tradition: Basketry Arts of the San Juan Paiutes.” *American Indian Art Magazine* 11 (1985): 30–37. [Baskets, Paiutes, San Juan County]
373. Gregory, Edna Hope. “Iosepa, Kanaka Ranch.” *Utah Humanities Review* 2 (1948): 3–9. [Hawai’ians, Pacific Islanders, Tooele County]
374. Griffith, James S. “Pioneer Days in St. Johns, Arizona: A Celebration of Values.” *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 18.1 (Spring 1984): 3–4. [Festivals, Mormons, Ranching]
375. Griffith, Teddy. “A Heritage of Stone in Willard.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 286–300. [Box Elder County, Architecture]
376. Gutke, Deniane, comp. “Elementary Indians: The Traditions Live.” By Kevin

Guymon's Sixth-Grade Class in Bluff, Utah. *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 49–55. [Medicine, Ceremonies, Rituals, Games, Dance, Myths, Histories, Life Histories, Navajos, San Juan County]

377. Hafen, Arthur Knight. *Dixie Folklore and Pioneer Memories.* St. George, Utah: Privately published, 1961; 3rd ed. 1964. [Life Histories, Washington County, Nineteenth Century]
378. Hafen, LeRoy R. "Handcarts to Utah, 1856–1860." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 (1956): 309–17. [Material Culture, 1850s, Tools]
379. Hales, David A. "The Gypsies Are Coming! The Gypsies Are Coming!" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (1985): 367–79. [Foodways, Gypsies, Millard County, Rom]
380. ———. "'There Goes Matilda': Millard County Midwife and Nurse." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (1987): 278–93. [Medicine, Childbirth, Midwifery, Millard County, Women]
381. Hamilton, C. Mark. *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. [Architecture, Settlement Patterns, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]
382. ———. "The Salt Lake Temple: A Symbolic Statement of Mormon Doctrine." In *The Mormon People: Their Character and Traditions.* Ed. Thomas G. Alexander. Charles C. Redd Monographs in Western History No. 10. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980. 103–27. [Architecture, Beliefs, Mormons, Religious Structures, Symbols, Salt Lake County]
383. Hamilton, Jean, and Jana Hawley. "Sacred Dress, Public Worlds: Amish and Mormon Experiences and Commitment." In *Religion, Dress, and the Body.* Ed. Linda Arthur. New York: Oxford, 1999. 31–52. [Clothing, Mormons, Women]
384. Hammond, George P. "The Search for the Fabulous [Mythical Indian Cities]." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 (1956): 1–19. [Native Americans, Legends]
385. Hammond, Joyce. "Polynesian Quilts: Old Traditions Caught in New Fabrics." In *Utah's Polynesians: Zest from the Islands.* Supplement to *Deseret News* (4 Dec. 1983). 6–7. [Material Culture, Quilts, Textiles, Pacific Islanders]
386. Hand, W(ayland) D(ebs). "American Occupational and Industrial Folklore: The Miner." In *Kontakte und Grenzen: Probleme den Volks-, Kultur- und Socialforschung: Festschrift für Gerhard Heilfurth zum 60 Geburtstag.* Ed. Hans F. Foltin, Ina-Maria Greverus, and Joachim Schwebe. Göttingen: Schwartz, 1969. 453–60. [Mining, Occupational Practices]
387. ———. "Austin E. Fife: An Appreciation." Introduction to *Folklore of Mountain and Plain: Studies in Honor of Austin E. Fife for Helping to Pioneer the Study of Folklore and Antiquities in the Intermountain West.* Ed. Hand. No place of publication: Privately published, 1972. 1–6. [History of Folklore Studies]
388. ———. "The Common Cold in Utah Folk Medicine." In Cheney, *Lore* 243–50. Rpt. in Hand, *Magical Medicine* 321–29. [Medicine, Mormons]
389. ———. "Folklore from Utah's Silver Mining Camps." *Journal of American Folklore* 54 (1941): 132–61. [Beliefs, Mining, Juab County, San Juan County, Summit County, Washington County]
390. ———. "Folk Medical Magic and Symbolism in the West." In Fife, Fife, and Glassie 103–18. Rpt. in Hand, *Magical Medicine* 305–19. [Magic, Medicine, Symbols]
391. ———. "Foreword" to *Idaho Folklife: Homesteads to Headstones.* Ed. Louie W. Attebery. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985. vii–ix. [History of Folklore Studies]
392. ———. *Magical Medicine: The Folkloric Component of Medicine in the Folk Belief, Custom and Ritual of the Peoples of Europe and America.* Berkeley: University of

California Press, 1980. [Medicine, Beliefs, Customs, Rituals]

393. ———. "Magic and the Supernatural in Utah Folklore." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 16.4 (Winter 1983): 51–64. [Magic, Supernatural, Mormons]

394. ———. "The Three Nephites." *American Notes and Querie*s 2 (1942): 56–57. [Legends, Mormons, Three Nephite Stories]

395. ———. "The Three Nephites in Popular Tradition." *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 2 (1938): 81–85. [Legends, Mormons, Three Nephite Stories]

396. ———. "White Liver." *Journal of American Folklore* 59 (1946): 323. [Beliefs, Medicine, Salt Lake County, Dutch, Marriage, Magic]

397. Hand, Wayland D., and Jeannine E. Talley. "Introduction" to *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from Utah.* Comp. Anthon S. Cannon, ed. Hand and Talley. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984. [Beliefs, Material Culture, Medicine, Weather Lore, Witchcraft]

398. Hansen, Ann G. "'Sing, Tom! Sing!'" In Cheney, *Lore* 23–25. [Legends, Mormons, Narratives, Native Americans]

399. ———. "Spinning Wheel Hairdo." In Cheney, *Lore* 19–21. [Narratives, Native Americans]

400. Hardy, Pansy Leavitt. "The Influence of Southern Nevada and Southern Utah Folklore upon the Writings of Dr. Juanita Brooks and Dr. LeRoy R. Hafen." M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965. [Fieldwork, Folklore Programs, History of Folklore Studies, Literature, Washington County]

401. Hargis, Barbara Lee. "A Folk History of the Manti Temple: A Study of the Folklore and Traditions Connected with the Settlement of Manti, Utah, and the Building of the Temple." M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968. [Architecture, Mormons, Legends, Settlement Patterns, Religious Structures, Symbols, Histories]

402. Harris, John B., and William A. Wilson. "And They Spake With a New Tongue (On Missionary Slang)." *Conference on the Language of the Mormons.* Ed. Harold S. Madsen and John L. Sorensen. Provo: Brigham Young University Language Research Center, 1974. 46–48. [Dialect and Language, Mormons, Missionaries]

403. Harris, Linda W. "The Legend of Jessie Evans Smith." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 351–64. [Legends, Jokes, Mormons]

404. Hartley, William G. "Childhood in Gunnison, Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (1983): 108–32. [Games, Songs, Mormons, Sanpete County]

405. ———. "Mormons, Crickets and Gulls: A New Look at an Old Story." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (1970): 224–39. [Legends, Mormons, Nature, Animals, 1840s]

406. Haseltine, Maury. "A Progress Report on the Pictorial Documentation of Early Utah Gravestones." Abstract. In Fife, Fife, and Glassie 79–88. [Gravestones, Stone Carving, Nineteenth Century]

407. Hatch, Anne F. "The Beehive Buffet." *Western Folklore* 50 (1991): 421–29. [Furniture, Mormons, Wood Carving, Cache County]

408. Hayden, Dolores. *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790–1975.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1976. [Settlement Patterns, Architecture, Histories, Nineteenth Century, Kane County]

409. Hayes, Alden. "Peyote Cult on the Gosiute Reservation at Deep Creek, Utah." *North American Anthropologist* 4 (1940): 34–36. [Goshutes, Medicine, Plants]

410. Heaton, John W. "Shoshone Adaptation to Mormon Settlers in Cache Valley, 1855–70." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 63 (1995): 158–71. Rpt. in Layton 34–49. [Shoshones, Native Americans, Mormons, Hunting, Cache County, 1850s, 1860s]

411. Heeren, John, Donald B. Lindsey, and Marylee Mason. "The Mormon Concept of Mother in Heaven: A Sociological Account of Its Origins and Development." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 23 (1984): 396–411. [Mormons, Religion, Beliefs, Women]

412. Heinerman, Joseph. "The Old Folks Day: A Unique Utah Tradition." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (1985): 157–69. [Holiday Celebrations, Mormons]

413. Heizer, R. F. "Notes on the Utah Utes by Edward Palmer, 1866–1877." University of Utah Anthropological Papers No. 17. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1954. [Material Culture, Customs, Utes, 1860s, 1870s]

414. Hendricks, King, et al. "Utah State University Folklore Collection." *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 107–20. [Archives, Folklore Programs, Cache County]

415. Henrichsen, Kirk. "Pioneer Pottery of Utah and E. C. Henrichsen's Provo Pottery Company." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (1988): 360–95. [Material Culture, Pottery, Industry, Utah County]

416. Hicks, Michael. "Ministering Minstrels: Blackface Entertainment in Pioneer Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (1990): 49–63. [African Americans, Drama, Songs, Nineteenth Century]

417. Hill, Douglas. "The Destruction of the Coalville Tabernacle." *Newsletter of the Folklore Society of Utah* 8.1 (April 1971): 1–3. [Architecture, Histories, Religious Structures, Mormons]

418. Hill, Marvin S. "Money–Digging Folklore and the Beginnings of Mormonism: An Interpretive Suggestion." *BYU Studies* 24 (1984): 473–88. [Legends, Mormons]

419. Hoebel, E. Adamson. "The Wonderful Herb: An Indian Cult Vision Experience." *Western Humanities Review* 3 (1949): 126–30. [Native Americans, Medicine, Plants, Rituals]

420. Horn, Jonathon C. "Euroamerican Goods in the Material Culture of the Ute Prior to 1882." In *Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium.* Ed. Paul R. Nickens. Denver: Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, 1988. 54–61. [Material Culture, Utes, 1820s, 1830s, 1840s, 1850s, 1860s, 1870s]

421. Hubbard, Lester (A). *Ballads and Songs from Utah.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1961. [Ballads, Mormons, Music, Songs]

422. ———. "Danish Numbskull Stories." *Western Folklore* 19 (1960): 56–58. [Narratives, Danes, Humor, Sanpete County]

423. ———. "Militant Songs of the Mormons." *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 121–30. [Mormons, Songs]

424. ———. "Songs and Ballads of the Utah Pioneers." *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 74–96. [Ballads, Songs, Nineteenth Century]

425. ———. "A Utah Version of 'The Three Dreams.'" *Western Folklore* 15 (1956): 128–30. [Ballads, Songs]

426. ———. "Variants of Utah Folksongs." *Utah Humanities Review* 2 (1948): 241–58. [Music, Songs]

427. Hubbard, Lester A., and LeRoy J. Robertson. "Traditional Ballads from Utah." *Journal of American Folklore* 64 (1951): 37–53. [Ballads, Box Elder County, Millard County, Mormons, Songs, Salt Lake County]

428. Hufford, David J. *The Terror That Comes in the Night: An Experience-Centered Study of Supernatural Assault Traditions.* Publications of the American Folklore Society Vol. 7. Philadephia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982. [Legends, Supernatural, Witchcraft, Mormons]

429. Hunter, Milton R. *Utah Indian Stories.* Springville, UT: Art City Publishing, 1946. 4th ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1960. [Navajos, Legends, Paiutes, Shoshones, Utes, Narratives, Myths]

430. Iber, Jorge. *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion, 1912–1999.* College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2000. [Ethnicity, Mormons, Latinos, Religion,

Twentieth Century]

431. Ives, Ronald L. “The ‘Dugway Lament.’” *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 172. [Songs, Ranching, Cowboys, Tooele County]
432. ———. “Dugway Tales.” *Western Folklore* 6 (1947): 53–58. [Tales, Narratives, Tooele County]
433. Jackson, Richard H. *Images of the West: Elements of the Mormon Landscape.* Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976. [Settlement Patterns, Architecture, Landscape]
434. ———. “The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan.” *BYU Studies* 17 (1977): 223–40. [Architecture, Mormons, Settlement Patterns]
435. ———. “Religion and Landscape in the Mormon Cultural Region.” In *Dimensions of Human Geography: Essays on Some Familiar and Neglected Themes.* Ed. Karl W. Butzer. Department of Geography Research Papers No. 186. Chicago: University of Chicago Dept. of Geography, 1978. 100–27. [Mormons, Settlement Patterns, Religion, Landscape]
436. ———. “The Use of Adobe in the Mormon Culture Region.” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 1 (1980): 82–95. [Architecture, Occupational Practices, Mormons]
437. Jackson, Richard H., and Roger Henrie. “Perception of Sacred Space.” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 3 (1983): 94–107. [Mormons, Religion, Architecture]
438. Jackson, Richard H., and Robert L. Layton. “The Mormon Village: Analysis of a Settlement Type.” *Professional Geographer* 28 (1976): 136–41. [Settlement Patterns, Mormons, Landscape]
439. Jake, Lucille. “The Southern Paiute Woman in a Changing Society.” In *Women’s Oral History: The Frontiers Reader.* Ed. Susan H. Armitage, Patricia Hart, and Karen Weathermon. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 258–71. [Native Americans, Paiutes, Life Histories, Women]
440. Jett, Stephen C. “The Navajo in the American Southwest.” In *To Build in a New Land: Ethnic Landscapes in North America.* Ed. Allen G. Noble. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. 331–44. [Settlement Patterns, Architecture, Landscape, Navajos]
441. Jett, Stephen C., and Virginia E. Spencer. *Navajo Architecture: Forms, History, Distributions.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981. [Architecture, Navajos]
442. Johnson, LaVell. “The Watermaster’s Stick.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (1974): 189–96. [Legends, Nature, Farming, Occupational Practices, Water]
443. Johnson, Rue C. “Theatre in Zion: The Brigham City Dramatic Association.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (1965): 187–97. [Box Elder County, Dance, Drama]
444. Jolley, Clifton Holt. “The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith: An Archetypal Study.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 329–50. [Legends, Life Histories, Mormons]
445. Jones, John A. *The Sun Dance of the Northern Ute.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 157. Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1955. [Utes, Dance, Religion, Rituals]
446. Jones, Kumen. “First Settlement of San Juan County, Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1929): 8–11. [Settlement Patterns, San Juan County]
447. Jones, Tara Perkins. “Geographical Landmarks in San Juan County: The Stories behind the Names.” *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 69–71. [Naming Practices, San Juan County]
448. Jorgensen, Joseph G. “The Ethnohistory and Acculturation of the Northern Ute.” Diss., Indiana University, 1964. [Dance, Ethnographies, Histories, Utes]

449. ———. "Functions of Ute Folklore." M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1960. [Utes, Narratives]
450. ———. *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972. [Dance, Religion, Rituals, Native Americans, Utes]
451. Kane, Elizabeth Wood. *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona.* Philadelphia: no publisher, 1874. Rpt. in Utah, the Mormons, and the West Series No. 4. Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1974. [Architecture, Mormons]
452. Karampetsos, Efthymios D. "Helen Papanikolas: When Manoli Turned His Coat Inside Out and Called Himself Manolio." *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 28.2 (2002): 57–85. [Naming Practices, Literature, Life Histories, Immigration, Greeks]
453. ———. "Mining the Past: Helen Papanikolas and the Greeks of Utah." *Odyssey* 9.3 (Mar. 2002): 52–55, 78–79. [Mining, Literature, Greeks, Life Histories]
454. Kaufman, William I., ed. *The Mormon Pioneer Songbook.* Bryn Mawr, PA: T. Presser, 1980. [Ballads, Mormons, Songs]
455. Kelen, Leslie G., and Sandra T. Fuller, eds. *The Other Utahns: A Photographic Portfolio.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988. [Ethnicity, Immigration, Life Histories]
456. Kelen, Leslie G., and Joyce A. Kelen. *Streaked with Light and Shadow: Portraits of Former Soviet Jews in Utah.* Salt Lake City: Oral History Institute, 2000. [Life Histories, Russians, Jews]
457. Kelen, Leslie G., and Eileen Hallet Stone, eds. *Missing Stories: An Oral History of Ethnic and Minority Groups in Utah.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996. [Ethnicity, Life Histories]
458. Keller, Fred. "'Blue Mountain.'" Reminiscence by composer of song. *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 64–68. [Music, Songs, Cowboys, Mormons, San Juan County]
459. Kelly, Charles. "Chief Hoskaninni." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 21 (1953): 219–26. [Navajos, Histories, Life Histories]
460. ———. *The Outlaw Trail: A History of Butch Cassidy and His Wild Bunch.* Salt Lake City: Privately published, 1938. Revised ed., New York: Devin-Adair, 1959. [Histories, Legends]
461. Kelly, Charles, and Hoffman Birney. *Holy Murder: The Story of Porter Rockwell.* New York: Minton, Balch, 1934. [Histories, Mormons, Narratives, Legends]
462. Kelly, Isabel T. *Southern Paiute Ethnography.* University of Utah Anthropological Papers No. 69. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1964. [Ethnographies, Paiutes]
463. ———. "Southern Paiute Shamanism." University of California Anthropological Records No. 2. Berkeley: University of California, 1939. 151–67. [Paiutes, Medicine, Magic]
464. Kesler, Bette Smith. "The Styles of Outer Wraps and Headgear Worn by Women of the Pioneer Period of Utah, 1847–1875." M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1947. [1840s, 1850s, 1860s, 1870s, Clothing]
465. Kesler, Bonnie Catherine Adams. "Utah Pioneer Homes: Interior Decoration and Pioneer Objects." M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1950. [Furniture, Home Decoration, Nineteenth Century]
466. Kimball, Stanley B. "The Captivity Narrative on Mormon Trails, 1846–65." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18.4 (Winter 1985): 81–88. [Legends, Mormons, Narratives, 1840s, 1850s, 1860s]
467. King, Bob. "An Introduction to Foodways." *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 18.2 (Fall 1984): 5. [Fieldwork, Foodways]
468. King, Thomas H. "Roadside Rock Art." *Journal of American Folklore* 93 (1980):

60. [Material Culture, Art, Graffiti]

469. King, Volney. "Millard County, 1851–1875 (An Original Journal)." *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 18–37, 147–65, 261–78, 378–400. [Personal Experience Narratives, Histories, Millard County, 1850s, 1860s, 1870s]

470. Knack, Martha C. *Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775–1995.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001. [Histories, Paiutes, Eighteenth Century, Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century]

471. Knipmeyer, James H. "The Denis Julien Inscriptions." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (1996): 52–69. [Graffiti, 1830s]

472. ———. "This Is the Country Where Coyotes Bark at Strangers." *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 3–7. [Graffiti, San Juan County, Histories]

473. Knowlton, David. "America, América y Utah." In Edison, Hatch, and Miller 3–5. [Latinos]

474. Kreitzer, Matthew E., ed. *Washakie Letters of Willie Ottogary, Northwestern Shoshoni Journalist and Leader, 1906–1929.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000. [Shoshones, 1900s, 1910s, 1920s]

475. Kroeber, A. L. "Notes on the Ute Language." *American Anthropologist* 10 (1908): 74–87. [Dialect and Language, Utes]

476. ———. "Ute Tales." *Journal of American Folklore* 14 (1901): 252–85. [Legends, Myths, Narratives, Utes]

477. Lane, Lea Nielson. "Joe, the Fish Lake Guide." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (1984): 158–64. [Fishing, Narratives, Tall Tales, Sevier County]

478. Larson, Andrew Karl. "Ithamar Sprague and His Big Shoes." In Cheney, *Lore* 31–35. [Mormons, Narratives, Three Nephite Stories]

479. ———. "Pioneer Agriculture." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (1961): 268–80. [Farming, Nineteenth Century]

480. ———. *The Red Hills of November: A Pioneer Biography of Utah's Cotton Town.* Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957. [Washington County, Histories]

481. ———. "Reminiscences of a Mormon Village in Transition." In Cheney, *Lore* 37–48. [Mormons, Narratives, Settlement Patterns]

482. ———. "Some Folk Tales from Utah's Dixie." *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 89–97. [Narratives, Tales, Washington County]

483. Larson, Gustive O. "Orrin Porter Rockwell—The Modern Samson." In Cheney, *Lore* 179–90. [Life Histories, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]

484. Lawless, Elaine. "'I Know If I Don't Bear My Testimony, I'll Lose It': Why Mormon Women Bother to Speak At All." *Kentucky Folklore Record* 30 (1984): 79–96. [Mormons, Women, Religion, Customs, Beliefs]

485. Layton, Stanford J., ed. *Being Different: Stories of Utah's Minorities.* Favorite readings from the *Utah Historical Quarterly.* Salt Lake City: Signature, 2001. [Immigration, Ethnicity, Customs]

486. Lee, David R., and Hector H. Lee. "Thatched Cowsheds of the Mormon Country." *Western Folklore* 40 (1981): 171–87. [Mormons, Architecture, Ranching, Farming]

487. Lee, Hector. *A Bibliography of the Archives of the Utah Humanities Research Foundation, 1944–1947.* University of Utah Bulletin Vol. 38, No. 9. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1947. [Collectanea, Archives, Bibliographies]

488. ———. *Folklore of the Mormon Country: J. Golden Kimball Stories Together with the Brother Petersen Yarns.* LP. Folk-Legacy, 1964. [Legends, Danes, Narratives, Mormons, Sanpete County]

489. ———. "Introduction" to Fife, *Exploring.* xv–xviii. [History of Folklore Studies]

490. ———. "Leadbelly's 'Frankie and Albert.'" *Journal of American Folklore* 64

(1951): 314–17. [Ballads, Salt Lake County, African Americans, 1950s]

491. ———. "Nicknames of the Ephraimites." *Western Humanities Review* 3 (1949): 13–22. [Naming Practices, Sanpete County]

492. ———. "Some Notes on Lead Belly." *Journal of American Folklore* 76 (1963): 135–40. [Songs, Ballads, African Americans, Salt Lake County, 1940s]

493. ———. "The Three Nephites: A Disappearing Legend." *American Notes and Queries* 2 (1942): 35–38. [Legends, Mormons, Three Nephite Stories]

494. ———. *The Three Nephites: The Substance and Significance of the Legend in Folklore.* University of New Mexico Publications in Language and Literature No. 2. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1949. Rpt. as *The Three Nephites.* New York: Arno, 1977. [Legends, Mormons, Three Nephite Stories]

495. ———, et al. ("The Editors"). "Regionalism, the Humanities, and the *Utah Humanities Review.*" *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 5–7. [History of Folklore Studies]

496. Lee, Lawrence B. "Homesteading in Zion." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (1960): 29–38. [Mormons, Settlement Patterns, Farming]

497. Leigh, Rufus Wood. "Lake Bonneville, Its Name and History." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (1958): 151–59. [Legends, Naming Practices]

498. ———. "Naming of the Green, Sevier, and Virgin Rivers." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (1961): 136–47. [Naming Practices]

499. Leone, Mark P. "Archaeology as the Science of Technology: Mormon Town Plans and Fences." In *Research and Theory in Current Archaeology.* Ed. Charles L. Redman. New York: John Wiley, 1973. 125–50. [Architecture, Material Culture, Mormons, Settlement Patterns]

500. ———. "Why the Coalville Tabernacle Had to Be Razed." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 8.2 (Summer 1973): 30–39. [Mormons, Religious Structures]

501. Liebler, H. B. "Christian Concepts and Navaho Words." *Utah Humanities Review* 2 (1948): 169–74. [Navajos, Dialect and Language]

502. Liestman, Daniel. "Utah's Chinatowns: The Development and Decline of Extinct Ethnic Enclaves." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (1996): 70–95. [Immigration, Chinese, Settlement Patterns]

503. Lowie, Robert H. "Dances and Societies of Plains Shoshone." *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 11 (1915): 823–31. [Shoshones, Dance]

504. ———. "Shoshonean Tales." *Journal of American Folklore* 37 (1924): 1–242. [Narratives, Tales, Myths, Legends, Paiutes, Shoshones, Utes]

505. ———. "Sun Dance of the Shoshoni, Ute, and Hidatsa." *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 16 (1919): 387–431. [Dance, Rituals, Religion, Shoshones, Utes]

506. Luckert, Karl W., comp. *Navajo Mountain and Rainbow Bridge Religion.* Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona Press, 1977. [Religion, Nature, Navajos, San Juan County]

507. Lundahl, Craig R. "Near-Death Experiences of Mormons." In *A Collection of Near-Death Research Readings.* Comp. Lundahl. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1983. 165–79. [Beliefs, Mormons, Personal Experience Narratives, Supernatural]

508. Lyman, Albert R. "First White Men in San Juan County, Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1929): 11–13. [San Juan County, Settlement Patterns]

509. ———. "Pahute Biscuits." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 3 (1930): 118–20. [Foodways, Paiutes]

510. Lyman, Edward Leo. *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986. [Histories, Mormons, Polygamy]

511. MacKay, Kathryn L. "Maureen Whipple." *American Women Writers.* Vol. 4. New York: Ungar, 1982. 377–78. [Literature, Life Histories]

512. MacKay, Kathryn L., and Larry Cesspooch. “Ute Community.” In Kelen and Stone 11–63. [Native Americans, Utes]
513. MacKay, Kathryn L., and Fred Conetah. *A History of the Northern Ute People.* Fort Duchesne: Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe, 1982. [Histories, Utes]
514. Madsen, Brigham D. *The Northern Shoshone.* Caldwell, ID: Caxton, 1980. [Histories, Shoshones]
515. Madsen, Truman G. “Distinctions in the Mormon Approach to Death and Dying.” In *Deity & Death: Selected Symposium Papers.* Ed. Spencer J. Palmer. Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1978. 61–76. [Beliefs, Customs, Mormons]
516. Main, Kari M. “Pursuing ‘The Things of This World’: Mormon Resistance and Assimilation as Seen in the Furniture of the Brigham City Cooperative, 1874–88.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 36.4 (Winter 2001): 191–213. [Furniture, Industry, 1870s, 1880s, Mormons, Box Elder County]
517. Malouf, Carling. *The Gosiute Indians.* Archaeology and Ethnology Papers No. 3. Salt Lake City: Museum of Anthropology, 1940. Rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1950. [Ethnographies, Goshutes]
518. ———. “The Gosiute Indians.” *Shoshone Indians.* American Indian Ethnohistory: California and Basin-Plateau Indians. New York: Garland, 1974. 25–172. [Ethnographies, Goshutes]
519. Malouf, Carling, and Elmer R. Smith. “Some Gosiute Mythological Characters and Concepts.” *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 369–77. [Myths, Goshutes]
520. Manners, Robert. *Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi: An Ethnohistorical Report.* New York: Garland, 1974. [Ethnographies, Histories, Paiutes]
521. Markham, Fred. *Early Utah Architecture, 1847–1890.* Unpublished manuscript. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1963. [Architecture, 1840s, 1850s, 1860s, 1870s, 1880s]
522. Martineau, LaVan. *The Southern Paiutes: Legends, Lore, Language, and Lineage.* Las Vegas: K. C. Publications, c. 1992. [Legends, Dialect and Language, Myths, Material Culture, Paiutes]
523. Maryboy, Nancy, and David Begay. “The Navajos.” In Cuch 265–314. [Navajos, Customs, Religion, Histories]
524. Mason, J. Alden. “Myths of the Uintah Utes.” *Journal of American Folklore* 23 (1910): 299–363. [Myths, Narratives, Utes]
525. Mason, Otis T. “North American Bows, Arrows, and Quivers.” *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1894.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1894. 631–79. [Native Americans, Material Culture]
526. Matthews, Washington. *The Mountain Chant: A Navajo Ceremony.* 5th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1883–84. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1887. Rpt. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1997. [Religion, Ceremonies, Songs, Rituals, Navajos]
527. ———. *Navajo Legends.* New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1897. [Legends, Myths, Narratives, Navajos]
528. Mauss, Armand L. “Mormonism and the Negro: Faith, Folklore and Civil Rights.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 2.4 (Winter 1967): 19–39. [African Americans, Beliefs, Mormons]
529. May, Dean L. “The Making of Saints: The Mormon Town as a Setting for a Study of Cultural Change.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (1977): 75–92. [Settlement Patterns, Mormons]
530. Mayer, Edward H. “Chicano-Hispano Community.” In Kelen and Stone 435–505. [Latinos, Mexicans]
531. ———. “The Evolution of Culture and Tradition in Utah’s Mexican American Community.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (1981): 133–44. Rpt. in Layton 182–94. [Customs, Latinos, Mexicans]

532. ———. “Utah’s Mexican Community.” In Edison, Hatch, and Miller 11–18. [Latinos, Mexicans]

533. Mayer, Vincente (V.). “After Escalante: The Spanish-Speaking People of Utah.” In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 437–68. [Latinos, Mexicans]

534. ———. *Utah: A Hispanic History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1975). [Latinos, Histories]

535. Mays, Joy. “Home Remedies.” *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 187. [Medicine, Nineteenth Century]

536. McCormick, John. *The Gathering Place: An Illustrated History of Salt Lake City.* Salt Lake City: Signature, 2000. [Histories, Salt Lake County]

537. McGreevy, Susan Brown. *Indian Basketry Artists of the Southwest: Deep Roots, New Growth.* Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2001. [Material Culture, Baskets, Navajos, Native Americans]

538. ———. “The Storytellers: Contemporary Navajo Basket Makers.” In Edison, *Willow Stories* 22–29. [Baskets, Navajos, 1990s]

539. McGreevy, Susan Brown, and Andrew Hunter Whiteford. *Translating Tradition: Basketry Arts of the San Juan Paiutes.* Catalog of exhibition at the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 6 Oct. 1985–28 Feb. 1986. Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum, c. 1985. [Baskets, Paiutes]

540. McKillop, Barbara N. “An Ethnography of Foodways among Latin American Residents along the Wasatch Front.” M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1987. [Foodways, Ethnographies, Latinos, Salt Lake County, Utah County]

541. McNeil, Lynda D. “Ute Indian Bear Dance: Related Myths and Bear Glyphs.” *American Indian Rock Art* 25 (1999): 133–39. [Dance, Myths, Material Culture, Art, Painting, Animals, Utes]

542. McPhee, William M. *The Trail of the Leprechaun: Early History of a Utah Mining Camp.* Hicksville, New York: Exposition, 1977. [Legends, Mining, Histories, Summit County]

543. ———. “Vignettes of Park City.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (1960): 136–53. [Mining, Narratives, Summit County]

544. McPherson, Robert S. “A Brief History of the Utah Navajos.” In Edison, *Willow Stories* 16–21. [Navajos, Histories]

545. ———. “Conclusion: The Contemporary Status of Utah Indians.” In Cuch 315–39. [Native Americans, Customs, Religion]

546. ———. *Navajo Land, Navajo Culture: The Utah Experience in the Twentieth Century.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991. [Histories, San Juan County, Nature, Twentieth Century, Navajos]

547. ———. *Sacred Land, Sacred View: Navajo Perceptions of the Four Corners Region.* Charles Redd Center Monograph Series No. 19. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1992. [Nature, Religion, Navajos, Landscape, San Juan County]

548. ———. “Setting the Stage: Native America Revisited.” In Cuch 3–24. [Native Americans, Histories, Hunting, Fishing, Farming, Religion, Customs]

549. McPherson, Robert S., and Mary Lou Muir. “Divine Duty: Hannah Sorensen and Midwifery in Southeastern Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 65 (1997): 335–54. [Medicine, Childbirth, Midwifery, 1880s, 1890s, 1900s, 1910s, 1920s, 1930s, San Juan County]

550. McPherson, Robert S., and Mary Jane Yazzie. “The White Mesa Utes.” In Cuch 225–59. [Utes, Customs, Histories, Religion]

551. Meighan, Clement W. “More on Folk Traditions.” *Journal of American Folklore* 73 (1960): 59–60. See also Pendergast and Meighan; Raglan. [Narratives, Histories, Legends, Paiutes]

552. Meinig, Donald W. "American Wests: Preface to a Geographical Interpretation." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 62 (1972): 159–84. [Settlement Patterns, Mormons]
553. ———. "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847–1964." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (1965): 191–220. [Mormons, Settlement Patterns, Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century]
554. Merrill, Jerald H. "Fifty Years with a Future: Salt Lake's Guadalupe Mission and Parish." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 40 (1972): 242–64. [Latinos, Religion, Catholics, Salt Lake County]
555. Meyers, Mary Ann. "Gates Ajar: Death in Mormon Thought and Practice." In *Death in America.* Ed. David E. Stannard. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975. 112–33. [Beliefs, Customs, Legends, Mormons, Funerals]
556. Miller, Craig R. "African-American Religious Music in Utah." *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 25.3 (Fall 1991): 4–6. [African Americans, Music, Songs, Religion]
557. ———. "Dance Halls of Deseret." *Plateau Journal: Land and Peoples of the Colorado Plateau* (Museum of Northern Arizona and Grand Canyon Association) 5.1 (Spring/Summer 2001): 57–62. [Architecture, Dance]
558. ———, ed. *Hecho en Utah: Music of Utah's Spanish-Speaking Community.* 3 cassettes. Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 1992. [Music, Latinos]
559. ———, ed. *An Old-Time Utah Dance Party: Field Recordings of Social Dance Music of the Mormon West.* Cassette and CD. Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 1996. [Music, Songs, Dance]
560. ———, ed. *Religious Music of Utah's Black Community.* 5 cassettes. Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 1988. [Music, Songs, Religion, African Americans]
561. ———. *Social Dance in the Mormon West.* Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 2000. [Dance]
562. ———, ed. *Utah Traditions: Traditional Music and Cultural Identity.* 13 cassettes. Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 1987. [Music, Songs, Families, Ethnicity, Immigration, Mormons, Histories]
563. Miller, Craig R., Laraine Miner, and Larry V. Shumway. *An Old-Time Utah Dance Party: Sheet Music and Dance Steps.* Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 2000. [Music, Dance]
564. Miller, Donald D. *Ghost Towns of the Southwest: Arizona, Utah, New Mexico.* Boulder: Pruett, 1980. [Settlement Patterns, Mining]
565. Miller, Wick R. "Anthropological Linguistics in the Great Basin." In *The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin.* Ed. Warren L. d'Azevedo, Wilbur H. Davis, Don D. Fowler, and Wayne Suttles. Desert Research Institute Social Sciences and Humanities Publications No. 1. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1964. 75–112. [Dialect and Language, Native Americans]
566. ———. *Newe Natekwinappeh: Shoshoni Stories and Dictionary.* University of Utah Anthropological Papers No. 94. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1972. [Tales, Legends, Myths, Narratives, Dialect and Language, Shoshones]
567. ———. "Numic Languages." In *Handbook of North American Indians: Great Basin.* Vol. 11. Ed. Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1986. [Dialect and Language, Goshutes, Shoshones, Paiutes, Utes]
568. Milliner, LaVon P. "A Collection of Stories of Wasatch County (Utah) Pioneers." M.S. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1957. [Narratives, Histories, Wasatch County]
569. Milspaw, Yvonne J. "An Analysis of Folklore Theories as Applied to Great Basin Indian Oral Narratives." Diss., Indiana University, 1977. [Narratives, Myths,

Legends, Native Americans, Theory]

570. Mitchell, Albert O. “Pioneers and Players of Parowan.” *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 38–52. [Drama, Histories, Iron County]
571. Mitchell, Robert C. “Desert Tortoise: The Mormon Tabernacle on Temple Square.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 35 (1967): 279–91. [Architecture, Mormons, Religious Structures, Salt Lake County]
572. Montague, Liz. “Dugout Ranch: A New Way of Winning the West.” *Utah Preservation* 4 (2000): 52–55. [Ranching, San Juan County, Cowboys, Architecture, Nature]
573. Morgan, Dale L. “The Changing Face of Salt Lake City.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 27 (1959): 209–46. [Architecture, Salt Lake County]
574. Morningstar, Connie. *Early Utah Furniture.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976. [Material Culture, Furniture, Home Decoration, Nineteenth Century]
575. Morrell, Joseph R. “Medicine of the Pioneer Period in Utah.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 127–44. [Medicine, Nineteenth Century]
576. Morse, Melvin. “A Near-Death Experience in a Seven-Year-Old (Mormon) Child.” *American Journal of Diseases of Children* 137 (1983): 959–61. [Beliefs, Customs, Mormons, Personal Experience Narratives, Supernatural]
577. Mortensen, A. R. “Utah State Historical Society: The Archives.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (1957): 216–18. [Archives]
578. Mulder, William. *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957. [Mormons, Scandinavians, Immigration]
579. ———. “Prisoners for Conscience’ Sake.” In Cheney, *Lore* 135–44. [Mormons, Polygamy]
580. ———. “Scandinavian Saga.” In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 141–85. [Scandinavians, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians]
581. ———. “Through Immigrant Eyes: Utah History at the Grass Roots.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (1954): 41–55. [Histories, Immigration, Ethnicity, Personal Experience Narratives]
582. ———. “Utah’s Ugly Ducklings: A Profile of the Scandinavian Immigrant.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 23 (1955): 233–59. [Histories, Immigration, Scandinavians]
583. Murphy, Miriam B. “Helen Zeese Papanikolas: A Unique Voice in America.” In *Worth Their Salt: Notable but Often Unnoticed Women of Utah.* Ed. Colleen Whitley. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002. 243–56. [Literature, Women, Greeks]
584. Nabokov, Peter, and Robert Easton. *Native American Architecture.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. [Architecture, Native Americans]
585. Negri, Richard F. *Tales of Canyonlands Cowboys.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997. [Ranching, Narratives, Tales, Cowboys]
586. Nelson, Ann Elizabeth. “‘Dwellers in the Cedar Bark’: The Indian Art of Utah.” In Cannon, *Utah Folk Art* 1–21. [Material Culture, Art, Native Americans]
587. Nelson, Lowery. *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952. [Architecture, Garfield County, Mormons, Sanpete County, Settlement Patterns, Wasatch County]
588. Newton, Sarah E. “‘The Jell-O Syndrome’: Investigating Popular Culture/Foodways.” *Western Folklore* 51 (1992): 249–67. [Foodways]
589. Nichols, Jeffrey. *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847–1918.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002. [Women, Polygamy, Mormons, Salt Lake County, Nineteenth Century, 1900s, 1910s]

590. Noall, Claire. “Cache Valley Horses.” Abstract. In Fife, Fife, and Glassie 177–80. [Nature, Animals, Cache County]

591. ———. “Medicine among the Early Mormons.” *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 157–64. [Medicine, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]

592. ———. “Mormon Midwives.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 10 (1942): 84–144. [Medicine, Midwifery, Childbirth, Mormons]

593. ———. “Serbian-Austrian Christmas at Highland Boy.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (1965): 316–25. Rpt. in Layton 214–22. [Austrians, Salt Lake County, Holiday Celebrations, Serbs, Mining]

594. ———. “Superstitions, Customs, and Prescriptions of Mormon Midwives.” *California Folklore Quarterly* 3 (1944): 102–14. [Beliefs, Customs, Medicine, Childbirth, Midwifery, Mormons]

595. ———. “Woman-heart Is Many Voiced.” In Cheney, *Lore* 113–25. [Mormons, Women, Life Histories]

596. Noble, Allen. “Building Mormon Houses: A Preliminary Typology.” *Pioneer America* 15 (July 1983): 55–66. [Architecture, Mormons]

597. Notarianni, Philip F., ed. *Carbon County: Eastern Utah’s Industrialized Island.* Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1981. [Histories, Mining, Ethnicity, Settlement Patterns, Immigration, Industry, Carbon County]

598. ———. *Faith, Hope, and Prosperity: The Tintic Mining District.* Eureka, UT: Tintic Historical Society, 1982. [Architecture, Mining, Settlement Patterns, Juab County]

599. ———. “Helper—The Making of a Gentile Town in Zion.” In Notarianni, *Carbon County* 153–70. [Ethnicity, Immigration, Carbon County]

600. ———. “Italian Community.” In Kelen and Stone 247–307. [Italians]

601. ———. “Italianita in Utah: The Immigrant Experience.” In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 303–31. [Italians, Immigration]

602. ———. “Italian Sausage Making Is a Family Affair.” *Beehive History* 4 (1978): 10–13. [Foodways, Italians]

603. ———. “Places of Origin: Calabresi in Carbon County, Utah.” In Taylor and Williams 69–79. [Material Culture, Mining, Italians, Carbon County]

604. ———. “Utah’s Ellis Island: The Difficult ‘Americanization’ of Carbon County.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (1979): 178–92. Rpt. in Layton 167–81. [Carbon County, Immigration, Ethnicity, Mining]

605. Notarianni, Philip F., and Richard Raspa. “The Italian Community of Helper, Utah: Its Historic and Folkloric Past and Present.” In *The Family and Community Life of Italian Americans.* Ed. Richard N. Juliani. Staten Island, NY: Italian American Historical Association, 1983. 23–33. [Carbon County, Histories, Italians]

606. Olsen, Jalynn. *Building by the Railyard: The Historic Commercial and Industrial Architecture of Ogden, Utah.* University of Utah Graduate School of Architecture Publication No. 7. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Graduate School of Architecture, 1998. [Architecture, Weber County]

607. Oman, Richard. “Beehive Symbol.” In *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine, and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* Vol. 1. New York: Macmillan, 1992. 99. [Symbols]

608. ———. “Exterior Symbolism of the Salt Lake Temple: Reflecting the Faith That Called the Place into Being.” *BYU Studies* 36.4 (1996–97): 6–68. [Symbols, Religious Structures, Nineteenth Century]

609. ———. “The Homemade Kingdom: Mormon Regional Furniture.” In *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah’s Mormon Pioneers.* Ed. Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1999. 156–74. [Furniture, Material Culture, Home Decoration, Nineteenth

Century]

610. ———. "Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life: A Cross-Cultural Perspective in Contemporary Latter-day Saint Art." *BYU Studies* 32.4 (1992): 5–34. [Art, Mormons, Symbols]

611. ———. "Mormon Pine Furniture" and "Mormon Quilts" in "Sources for Visual Arts." In *Mormon Americana: A Guide to Sources and Collections in the United States.* Ed. David J. Whittaker. Brigham Young University Studies Monographs. Provo: Brigham Young University, 1995. 607–66. [Furniture, Textiles, Quilts, Mormons]

612. ———. "Quilting Sisters." *BYU Studies* 33.1 (1993): 145–50. [Textiles, Women, Quilts, Mormons]

613. Oman, Richard, and Robert Davis. *Images of Faith: Art of the Latter-day Saints.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995. [Art, Mormons, Ethnicity]

614. Oman, Susan, and Richard Oman. "Mormon Iconography." In Cannon, *Utah Folk Art* 108–25. [Material Culture, Mormons, Symbols]

615. O'Neil, Floyd A. "The Utes, Southern Paiutes, and Gosiutes." In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 27–59. [Utes, Paiutes, Goshutes]

616. Opler, Marvin K. "The Origin of Comanche and Ute." *American Anthropologist* 45 (1943): 155–58. [Utes, Histories]

617. Ortiz, Alfonso, ed. *Handbook of North American Indians: The Southwest.* Vols. 9 and 10. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1979 and 1983. [Native Americans, Myths, Customs, Religion, Foodways, Farming, Ranching, Occupational Practices, Navajos]

618. Oshley, Navajo. *The Journey of Navajo Oshley: An Autobiography and Life History.* Ed. Robert S. McPherson. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000. [Life Histories, Narratives, Navajos]

619. Ottogary, Willie. *The Washakie Letters of Willie Ottogary, Northwestern Shoshone Journalist and Leader, 1906–1929.* Ed. Matthew E. Kreitzer. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000. [Ethnographies, Shoshones]

620. ———. *Willie Ottogary's Letters to "The Journal," Logan, Utah.* Davis, CA: Danewel, 1967. [Ethnographies, Shoshones]

621. Palmer, William R. "Indian Names in Utah Geography." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1 (1928): 5–26. [Native Americans, Paiutes, Naming Practices, Shoshones, Utes]

622. ———. "Other Spanish Mines." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 9 (1936): 1–32. [Legends, Spaniards, Mining]

623. ———. "The Pahute Fire Legend." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 6 (1933): 62–64. [Legends, Paiutes]

624. ———. "Pahute Indian Government and Laws." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1929): 35–42. [Customs, Paiutes]

625. ———. *Pahute Indian Legends.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1946. [Legends, Myths, Paiutes]

626. ———. "Pahute Indian Medicine." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 10 (1942): 1–13. [Medicine, Paiutes]

627. ———. *Why the North Star Stands Still and Other (Paiute) Indian Legends.* Springdale, UT: Zion Natural History Association, 1946. [Myths, Legends, Paiutes]

628. Panek, Tracey E. "Life at Iosepa, Utah's Polynesian Colony." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60 (1992): 64–77. Rpt. in Layton 87–100. [Foodways, Hawai'ians, Music, Samoans, Pacific Islanders]

629. Papanikolas, Helen Z(eese). *An Amulet of Greek Earth: Generations of Immigrant Folk Culture.* Athens, OH: Swallow Press/Ohio University Press, 2002. [Immigration, Customs, Ethnicity, Greeks]

630. ———. *Emily-George.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987. Rpt. as *A Greek Odyssey in the American West.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press/Bison Books, 1997. [Greeks, Life Histories]

631. ———. "Ethnicity in Mormondom: A Comparison of Immigrant and Mormon Cultures." In *"Soul-Butter and Hog Wash" and Other Essays on the American West.* Ed. Thomas G. Alexander. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1979. 91–135. [Ethnographies, Greeks, Mormons, Ethnicity]

632. ———. "The Exiled Greeks." In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 409–35. [Greeks]

633. ———. "Father Constantine and Mrs. Tsangoglou" (short story). *MondoGreco* 6/7 (2001/2002): 7–17. [Greeks]

634. ———. "The Fortress and the Prison." *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 134–46. [Greeks, Immigration, Personal Experience Narratives]

635. ———. "Greek Community." In Kelen and Stone 367–433. [Greeks]

636. ———. "Greek Folklore of Carbon County." In Cheney, *Lore* 61–77. [Carbon County, Greeks, Mining, Narratives, Beliefs, Customs, Holiday Celebrations, Rites of Passage]

637. ———. "The Greek Immigrant in Utah." In *Ethnic Oral History at the American West Center, University of Utah.* Ed. John D. Sylvester et al. Salt Lake City: University of Utah, American West Center, c. 1973. 44–50. [Greeks, Immigration, Life Histories]

638. ———. "Greek Immigrant Women of the Intermountain West." *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 16 (1989): 17–35. [Immigration, Greeks, Women]

639. ———. "The Greeks of Carbon County." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (1954): 143–64. [Carbon County, Greeks, Mining]

640. ———. "Growing Up Greek in Helper, Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (1980): 244–60. Rpt. in *Forkroads: A Journal of Ethnic American Literature* 1.2 (1995): 5–11. [Carbon County, Greeks, Ethnicity, Mining, Tales, Carbon County]

641. ———. "Immigrants, Minorities, and the Great War." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (1990): 351–70. [Immigration, Ethnicity, Histories]

642. ———. "Introduction" to Kelen and Stone 1–10. [Immigration, Ethnicity]

643. ———. "Introduction" to Kelen and Fuller xv–xxii. [Immigration, Ethnicity]

644. ———. "Life and Labor among the Immigrants of Bingham Canyon." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (1965): 289–315. Rpt. in Layton 137–66. [Immigration, Narratives, Mining, Salt Lake County]

645. ———. "Magerou, the Greek Midwife." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (1970): 50–60. Rpt. in *Worth Their Salt: Notable but Often Unnoted Women of Utah.* Ed. Colleen Whitley. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996. 159–69. [Childbirth, Greeks, Medicine, Midwifery]

646. ———. "The New Immigrants." In *Utah's History.* Ed. Richard D. Poll. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978. 447–62. [Immigration, Ethnicity]

647. ———, ed. and introduction. *The Peoples of Utah.* Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976. [African Americans, Armenians, Austrians, Canadians, Chinese, Croats, Danes, Dutch, English, Ethnographies, French, Germans, Goshutes, Greeks, Irish, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Latinos, Lebanese, Native Americans, Navajos, Norwegians, Paiutes, Scandinavians, Scots, Serbs, Shoshones, Slavs, Slovenes, Swedes, Swiss, Syrians, Turks, Utes, Welsh, Yugoslavs]

648. ———. "A Sketch of Greek Immigrant Life in the American West." In *Greeks in English-Speaking Countries: Culture, Identity, Politics.* Ed. Christos P. Ioannides. New Rochelle, NY: Melissa Media Associates, 1997. 23–34. [Immigration, Greeks, Customs]

649. ———. "The Time of the Little Black Bird." *Greek-American Review* 52 (2001):

17–20. [Immigration, Customs, Greeks]

650. ———. *The Time of the Little Black Bird* (novel). Athens: University of Ohio Press, 1999. [Immigration, Greeks]

651. ———. "Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (1970): 97–206. Rpt. as monograph, Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1970. [Greeks, Immigration]

652. ———. "Utah's Coal Lands: A Vital Example of How America Became a Great Nation." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 104–24. [Italians, Welsh, Finns, Greeks, Slavs, Mexicans, Japanese, Basques, Armenians, Syrians, African Americans, Lebanese, Material Culture, Immigration, Mining, Carbon County]

653. ———. "Utah's Ethnic Legacy." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 19.1 (Spring 1986): 41–48. Rpt. in *A World We Thought We Knew: Readings in Utah History.* Ed. John S. McCormick and John R. Sillito. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988. 241–48. [Ethnicity, Immigration]

654. ———. "Women in the Mining Communities of Carbon County." In Notarianni, *Carbon County* 81–102. [Women, Immigration, Greeks, Mining, Carbon County]

655. ———. "Wrestling with Death: Greek Immigrant Funeral Customs in Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (1984): 29–49. [Funerals, Greeks, Customs, Rites of Passage]

656. Papanikolas, Helen Z., and Alice Kasai. "Japanese Life in Utah." In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 333–62. [Japanese]

657. Parker, Sonia Alarcon. "Latin American Immigrants in Utah." In Edison, Hatch, and Miller 19–28. [Latinos, Histories, Immigration]

658. Parry, Mae. "The Northwestern Shoshone." In Cuch 25–72. [Shoshones, Histories, Customs, Religion]

659. Paulsen, Deirdre (M.). "How, Kemosabe: Rowland Rider's Symbol for All Seasons." *BYU Studies* 42.3–4 (2003): 98–105. See also Rider. [Cowboys, Ranching, Native Americans, Dialect and Language]

660. ———. "Stories and Storytelling Techniques of Rowland W. Rider, Cowboy on the Arizona Strip in the Early 1900's." M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975. See also Rider. [Ranching, Cowboys, Twentieth Century, Narratives]

661. Pavlik, Steve. "Of Saints and Lamanites: An Analysis of Navajo Mormonism." *Wicazo SA Review* 8.1 (Spring 1992): 21–30. [Mormons, Navajos]

662. Paxman, Shirley B. *Homespun: Domestic Arts and Crafts of Mormon Pioneers.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976. [Textiles, Quilts, Material Culture, Home Decoration, Clothing, Women, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]

663. ———. "Pioneer Family Life and Home Production." In *One Hundred and Fifty Years: Sesquicentennial Lectures on Mormon Arts, Letters and Science.* Provo: Harold B. Lee Library Forum Committee and Friends of the Library, 1980. 35–51. [Nineteenth Century, Material Culture, Home Decoration, Foodways]

664. Pearmain, Irene Stoof. "The Memory Box." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (1984): 389–92. Rpt. in Layton 223–27. [Germans, Holiday Celebrations, Festivals, Customs, Salt Lake County]

665. Pendergast, David M., and Clement W. Meighan. "Folk Traditions as Historical Fact: A Paiute Example." *Journal of American Folklore* 72 (1959): 128–33. See also Raglan; Meighan. [Narratives, Histories, Legends, Paiutes]

666. Pendleton, Mark A. "Naming Silver Reef." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 5 (1932): 29–31. [Naming Practices, Washington County]

667. Peterson, Charles S. "Cowboys and Cattle Trails: A Centennial View of Emery County." In *Emery County: Reflections on Its Past and Future.* Ed. Allan Kent

Powell. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1979. 79–96. [Ranching, Histories, Emery County]

668. ———. "Grazing in Utah: A Historical Perspective." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (1989): 300–319. [Cowboys, Ranching]

669. ———. "A Mormon Town: One Man's West." *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 3–12. [Mormons, Settlement Patterns]

670. ———. *Utah: A Bicentennial History.* Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1977. [Histories]

671. ———. "Winter Feed, Summer Shelter, Tabernacles, and Genealogy: Reflections on Straw-Thatched Cowsheds." *Western Folklore* 41 (1982): 145–47. [Ethnographies, Mormons, Architecture, Religious Structures, Ranching]

672. Peterson, Susan. "The Great and Dreadful Day: Mormon Folklore of the Apocalypse." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 365–78. [Mormons, Religion, Beliefs]

673. Phillips, Bruce "U. Utah." *The Telling Takes Me Home.* Rounder Records, 1997 (reissue of *All Used Up* and *El Capitan*, both originally published by Philo Records). [Ballads, Songs, Mormons]

674. Pitman, Leon Sidney. "A Survey of Nineteenth-Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region." Diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1973. [Architecture, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]

675. Poll, Rich D. "Utah and the Mormons: A Symbiotic Relationship." In *Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion.* Ed. Eric A. Eliason. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001. 164–79. [Mormons]

676. Polson, D. Michol. "The Swedes in Grantsville, Utah, 1860–1900." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (1988): 208–21. [1860s, 1870s, 1880s, 1890s, Swedes, Tooele County]

677. Polve, Adella. "Utah Folksay." *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 300–301. [Dialect and Language]

678. Poulsen, Richard C. "Bosom Serpentry among the Puritans and Mormons." *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 16 (1979): 176–89. [Beliefs, Customs, Mormons, Songs, Legends, Religion]

679. ———. "Fate and the Persecutors of Joseph Smith: Transmutations of an American Myth." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 11.4 (Winter 1978): 63–70. [Life Histories, Mormons, Legends]

680. ———. "Folk Material Culture of the Sanpete-Sevier Area: Today's Reflections of a Region's Past." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (1979): 130–47. Rpt. as "Folk Material Culture of the Sanpete-Sevier Area: The Problem of Vernacular Regression." In Poulsen, *Pure Experience* 70–94. [Architecture, Material Culture, Gravestones, Sanpete County, Sevier County]

681. ———. "The Handclasp Motif in Mormon Folk Burial." In Poulsen, *Pure Experience* 45–55. [Symbols, Funerals, Gravestones, Stone Carving]

682. ———. "Hawks and Coyotes on Western Fences: The Symbolism of Slaughter." In Poulsen, *Pure Experience* 56–69. [Ranching, Occupational Practices, Animals, Nature]

683. ———. *The Landscape of the Mind: Cultural Transformations of the American West.* New York: Peter Lang, 1992. [Mormons, Legends]

684. ———. "The Language of Symbol." In Poulsen, *Pure Experience* 1–10. [Theory, Architecture, Symbols]

685. ———. "Making Molasses in the Desert: Sacralized Agricultural Work in a Desacralized Society." In Poulsen, *Pure Experience* 27–44. [Farming, Occupational Practices, Washington County]

686. ———. *The Mountain Man Vernacular: Its Historical Roots, Its Linguistic Nature,*

and Its Literary Uses. American University Studies Series IV. English Language and Literature Vol. 22. New York: Peter Lang, c. 1985. [Dialect and Language, Trapping, Histories, 1820s]

687. ———. "Mules as Venison: Or the Fecundity of Utah's Oral Tradition." *Western Folklore* 33 (1974): 326–31. [Foodways, Legends, Animals]

688. ———. "Polynesians in the Desert: A Look at the Graves of Iosepa." *AFF* (Arizona Friends of Folklore) *Word* 3.1 (Apr. 1973): 2–15. [Gravestones, Pacific Islanders, Hawai'ians, Samoans, Stone Carving]

689. ———. *The Pure Experience of Order: Essays on the Symbolic in the Folk Material Culture of Western America.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982. [Architecture, Foodways, Gravestones, Symbols, Material Culture]

690. ———. "Some Botanical Cures in Mormon Folk Medicine: An Analysis." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 379–88. [Medicine, Mormons, Plants]

691. ———. "Stone Buildings of Beaver City." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 278–85. [Architecture, Beaver County]

692. ———. "'This Is the Place': Myth and Mormondom." *Western Folklore* 36 (1977): 246–52. [Legends, Mormons]

693. ———. "Utah Butterflies." *Journal of American Folklore* 87 (1974): 164. [Nature, Beliefs]

694. Powell, Allan Kent. "The German-Speaking Immigrant Experience in Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 52 (1984): 304–46. [Germans, Austrians, Swiss, Immigration, Narratives, Life Histories]

695. ———. "Land of Three Heritages: Mormons, Immigrants, and Miners." In Notarianni, *Carbon County* 1–21. [Immigration, Mining, Mormons, Ethnicity, Carbon County]

696. ———. "Tragedy at Scofield." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (1973): 182–94. [Finns, Beliefs, Legends, Mining, Supernatural, Carbon County]

697. Powell, J(ohn) W(esley). *Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic Peoples of Western North America, 1868–1880.* Ed. Don D. Fowler and Catherine S. Fowler. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology No. 14. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971. [Ethnographies, Paiutes, Shoshones, Utes, 1860s, 1870s, Native Americans]

698. ———. *Canyons of the Colorado.* New York: Flood and Vincent, 1895. Rpt. as *The Exploration of the Colorado River and Its Canyons.* New York: Dover, 1961. [Paiutes, Histories, 1860s, 1870s]

699. ———. *Material Culture of the Numa: The John Wesley Powell Collection, 1867–1880.* Ed. Don D. Fowler and John F. Matley. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology No. 26. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979. [Material Culture, Paiutes, Shoshones, Utes, Native Americans, 1860s, 1870s]

700. ———. "Sketch of the Mythology of the North American Indians." *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1879–1880.* Washington, DC: Bureau of Ethnology, 1881. 114–21. [Myths, Native Americans, 1870s]

701. Powell, John Wesley, and George W. Ingalls. *Ute, Pai-Ute, Go-si Ute, and Shoshone Indians. Letter from the Acting Secretary of the Interior, in Relation to the Condition and Wants of the Ute Indians of Utah; the Pai-Utes of Utah, Northern Arizona, Southern Nevada, and Southeastern California; the Go-si Utes of Utah and Nevada; the Northwestern Shoshones of Idaho and Utah; and the Western Shoshones of Nevada.* Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1874. [Utes, Paiutes, Goshutes, Shoshones, Hunting, Fishing, Farming]

702. Price, Sara Sue. "A Comparison of Goshute Material Culture and the Archeology of Western Utah." M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1952. [Goshutes, Material Culture]

703. Price-Beggerly, Patricia. “Don’t Fence Me In.” In *Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us.* Ed. Richard A. Gould and Michael B. Schiffer. New York: Academic, 1981. 127–35. [Material Culture, Mormons, Farming, Nineteenth Century, Settlement Patterns]
704. Pulsipher, Ernest. “A Few Personal Glimpses of Juanita Brooks.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (1987): 268–77. [History of Folklore Studies, Life Histories, Literature]
705. Raglan, Lord. “Folk Traditions as Historical Fact.” Response to Pendergast and Meighan. *Journal of American Folklore* 73 (1960): 58–59. See also Meighan. [Narratives, Histories, Legends, Paiutes]
706. Raitz, Karl B. “Theology on the Landscape: A Comparison of Mormons and Amish-Mennonite Land Use.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (1973): 23–34. [Settlement Patterns, Mormons, Religion, Landscape]
707. Randall, Deborah Lyn. “Park City, Utah: An Architectural History of Mining Town Housing.” M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1985. [Architecture, Mining, Summit County]
708. Raspa, Richard. “Exotic Foods among Italian-Americans in Mormon Utah: Food as Nostalgic Enactment of Identity.” In *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States.* Ed. Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984. 185–94. [Foodways, Italians, Mormons]
709. Reagan, Albert B. “The Bear Dance of the Ouray Utes.” *Wisconsin Archaeologist* 9 (1930): 148–50. [Dance, Rituals, Ceremonies, Utes]
710. ———. “The Gosiute (Goshute) or Shoshone-Goship Indians of the Deep Creek Region in Western Utah.” *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters* 11 (1934): 43–54. [Goshutes, Ethnographies, Tooele County]
711. Reagan, Albert B., and Wallace Stark. “Chipeta, Queen of the Utes and Her Equally Illustrious Husband, Noted Chief Ouray.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 6 (1933): 103–10. [Life Histories, Utes]
712. Reed, Alan D. “Ute Cultural Chronology.” In *Archaeology of the Eastern Ute: A Symposium.* Ed. Paul R. Nickens. Denver: Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, 1988. 79–101. [Ethnographies, Histories, Utes]
713. Reed, Verner Z. “The Ute Bear Dance.” *American Anthropologist* 9 (1896): 237–44. [Dance, Customs, Rituals, Utes]
714. Rees, Leslie E. “A Collection and Analysis of Folk Songs from Wales, Sanpete County, Utah.” M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966. [Mormons, Welsh, Songs, Sanpete County]
715. Reiner, Donald D., comp. *Ute Mountain Pottery Designs.* Towaoc, CO: Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, 1977. [Material Culture, Pottery, Utes]
716. Reps, John William. *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979. [Architecture, Mormons, Settlement Patterns, Nineteenth Century]
717. ———. *Town Planning in Frontier America.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969. Revised edition, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1980. [Architecture, Mormons, Settlement Patterns, Nineteenth Century]
718. Rhodes, Willard, ed. *Music of the American Indian, from the Archive of Folk Culture.* LPs. Washington, DC: Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, Library of Congress, 1954. [Native Americans, Music]
719. Rice, Cindy. “Spring City: A Look at a Nineteenth-Century Mormon Village.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 260–77. [Architecture, Settlement Patterns, Danes, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]
720. Rice, Cynthia. “A Geographic Appraisal of the Acculturation Process of Scandinavians in the Sanpete Valley, Utah, 1850–1900.” M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1973. [1850s, 1860s, 1870s, 1880s, 1890s, Customs, Sanpete County,

Scandinavians, Immigration]

721. Richards, Nancy. “Mormon Craftsmen in Utah.” In Cannon, *Utah Folk Art* 60–89. [Material Culture, Crafts, Mormons]
722. Riches, Suzanne Volmar. “Threads through a Patchwork Quilt: The Wedding Shower as a Communication Ritual and Rite of Passage for the Mormon Woman.” Diss., University of Utah, 1987. [Material Culture, Mormons, Weddings, Women, Rituals, Rites of Passage]
723. Ricks, Joel E. “The Settlement of Cache Valley.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 24 (1956): 319–37. [Cache County, Settlement Patterns]
724. Rider, Rowland W. *The Roll Away Saloon: Cowboy Tales of the Arizona Strip.* As told to Deirdre Murray Paulsen. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1985. [Cowboys, Legends, Ranching, Personal Experience Narratives, Tall Tales, Kane County, San Juan County]
725. ———. *Sixshooters and Sagebrush: Cowboy Stories of the Southwest.* As told to Deirdre Murray Paulsen. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1979. [Ranching, Cowboys, Personal Experience Narratives, Legends]
726. Rivera, Orlando A. “Spanish Colonial New Mexicans in Utah.” In Edison, Hatch, and Miller 6–10. [Latinos, Histories]
727. Roberts, Allen D. “Religious Architecture of the LDS Church: Influences and Changes since 1847.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 301–27. [Architecture, Mormons, Religious Structures, Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century]
728. ———. “Where Are the All-Seeing Eyes? The Origins, Use and Decline of Early Mormon Symbolism.” *Sunstone* 4.4 (Jul.–Aug. 1979): 22–37. [Symbols, Religious Structures, Mormons]
729. Robertson, Frank C. “The Gray Ghost of the Desert.” In Cheney, *Lore* 87–91. [Legends, Mormons, Narratives]
730. ———. “How to Grow a Legend.” In Cheney, *Lore* 107–9. [Legends, Mormons, Three Nephite Stories]
731. Rose, Blanche E. “Early Utah Medical Practice.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 10 (1942): 14–33. [Medicine, Nineteenth Century]
732. Roth, Barry Michael. “A Geographic Study of Stone Houses in Selected Utah Communities.” M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973. [Architecture]
733. Rudd, Sarah M. “Harmonizing *Corrido* and Union Song at the Ludlow Massacre.” *Western Folklore* 61 (2002): 21–42. [Songs, Ballads, Mining, Carbon County]
734. Rudy, Jill Terry. “‘Of Course, in Guatemala, Bananas Are Better’: Exotic and Familiar Eating Experiences of Mormon Missionaries.” In *Culinary Tourism.* Ed. Lucy Long. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004. 131–56. [Mormons, Foodways, Missionaries]
735. ———. “‘Rather Out of the Center of Things’: Contributions of Alta Fife to American Folklore Scholarship.” *Western Folklore* 61 (2002): 43–62. [History of Folklore Studies]
736. Rudy, Jill Terry, Eric A. Eliason, and Kristi A. Bell. “Valuing, Preserving, and Transmitting Family Traditions.” In *Strengthening Our Families: An In-Depth Look at the Proclamation on the Family.* Ed. David Dollahite and Alan Hawkins. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 2000. 313–27. [Families, Mormons, Customs]
737. Salmon, Rusty, and Robert S. McPherson. “Cowboys, Indians and Conflict: The Pinhook Draw Fight, 1881.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 69 (2001): 4–28. [Cowboys, Native Americans, Utes, 1880s]
738. Sapir, Edward. “The Mourning Ceremony of the Southern Paiutes.” *American Anthropologist* 14 (1912): 168–69. [Paiutes, Ethnographies, Funerals, Ceremonies]
739. ———. *Navaho Texts* [1942]. Rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1975. [Narratives,

Myths, Tales, Navajos]

740. ———. “Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.” *Journal of American Folklore* 23 (1910): 455–72. [Dialect and Language, Ethnographies, Narratives, Native Americans, Songs, Myths, Paiutes]

741. ———. *Southern Paiute and Ute Linguistics and Ethnography.* The Collected Works of Edward Sapir, X. Ed. William Bright. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1992. [Paiutes, Utes, Ethnographies, Dialect and Language]

742. ———. *Southern Paiute, A Shoshonean Language, and Texts of the Kaibab Paiutes and Uintah Utes. Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 65.1–3 (1930–31). Rpt. as *The Southern Paiute Language.* New York: AMS Press, 1984. [Dialect and Language, Narratives, Paiutes, Utes]

743. Schlissel, Lillian, Vicki L. Ruiz, and Janice Monk, eds. *Western Women: Their Land, Their Lives.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988. [Histories, Women]

744. Schmidt, Martin. “‘Meat’s Meat’: An Account of the Flesh-Eating Habits of Western Americans.” *Western Folklore* 11 (1952): 185–203. [Foodways, Tales, Hunting, Legends]

745. Schoemaker, George (H). “Acculturation and Transformation of Salt Lake Temple Symbols in Mormon Tombstone Art.” *Markers* 9 (1992): 196–215. [Gravestones, Stone Carving, Symbols, Mormons, Religious Structures, Salt Lake County]

746. ———. “Made in Heaven: Marriage Confirmation Narratives Among Mormons.” *Northwest Folklore* 7.2 (Spring 1989): 38–53. [Mormons, Personal Experience Narratives, Marriage]

747. ———. “The Shift from Artist to Consumer: Changes in Mormon Tombstone Art in Utah.” In *The Old Traditional Way of Life: Essays in Honor of Warren E. Roberts.* Ed. Robert E. Walls and Schoemaker. Bloomington: Trickster Press, Indiana University Folklore Institute, 1989. 130–45. [Gravestones, , Stone Carving, Mormons, Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century]

748. ———. “Symbolic Consideration in Nineteenth Century Tombstone Art in Utah.” *Material Culture* 20.2–3 (Summer-Fall 1988): 19–26. [Gravestones, Stone Carving, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]

749. Scorup, Stena. *J. A. Scorup, Utah Cattleman.* No place of publication: Privately printed, 1944. [Ranching, Life Histories, San Juan County]

750. Sessions, Gene A., and Stephen W. Stathis. “The Mormon Invasion of Russian America: Dynamics of a Potent Myth.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (1977): 22–35. [Mormons, Religion, Russians, Legends]

751. Sherlock, Patti. *Alone on the Mountain: Sheepherding in the American West.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979. [Ranching, Animals]

752. Shumway, Helen N. “Remembering Simple Objects: The Crocheted Rug.” *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 12–14. [Material Culture, Textiles, San Juan County]

753. Shumway, Larry V. “Dancing the Buckles Off Their Shoes in Pioneer Utah.” *BYU Studies* 37.3 (1997–98): 6–50. [Dance, Nineteenth Century]

754. Singer, Shelley. “Frontier Crafts in San Juan County.” *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 9–12. [Material Culture, Tools, Toys, Quilts, Crafts, San Juan County]

755. Siporin, Steve. “Folklife and Survival: Italian-Americans of Carbon County, Utah.” In Taylor and Williams 81–93. [Foodways, Occupational Practices, Narratives, Italians, Carbon County]

756. ———. “Halloween Pranks: ‘Just a Little Inconvenience.’” In *Halloween and Other Festivals of Death and Life.* Ed. Jack Santino. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994. 45–61. [Pranks, Holiday Celebrations]

757. ———. "'Our Way of Life Was Very Clear.'" *Northwest Folklore* 8.2 (Spring 1990): 3–18. [Immigration, Narratives, Foodways, Songs, Music, Italians, Carbon County]

758. Smith, Anne M. "Cultural Differences and Similarities between Uintah and White River Utes." In *Confederated Ute Indian Lands: Ute Indians II.* Ed. Gerald T. Hart. New York: Garland, 1974. [Utes]

759. ———. *Ethnography of the Northern Utes.* Papers in Anthropology No. 17. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1974. [Ethnographies, Dance, Medicine, Ceremonies, Utes]

760. ———. *Shoshone Tales.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993. [Narratives, Shoshones, Tales, Myths, Legends]

761. ———. *Ute Tales.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992. [Narratives, Tales, Myths, Legends, Utes]

762. Smith, Elmer R. "The Japanese in Utah (Parts I and II)." *Utah Humanities Review* 2 (1948): 129–44, 208–30. [Japanese, Histories]

763. Smith, Melvin T. "In Memoriam: Juanita Brooks, 1898–1989." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (1990): 201–3. [History of Folklore Studies, Life Histories, Literature]

764. Smith, Merilynne Rich. "A Mirror Brought by Truth: A Study and Comparison of the Folklore of the Wandering Jew and the Folklore of the Three Nephites." M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968. [Jews, Legends, Mormons, Religion, Three Nephite Stories]

765. Sonne, Conway B. "Royal Blood of the Utes." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (1954): 271–76. [Ethnographies, Utes]

766. Sorrels, Rosalie. *Folk Songs of Idaho and Utah.* LP. Folkways, 1961. Rpt. as CD, Smithsonian Folkways, 2003. [Ballads, Songs, Mormons]

767. ———. *The Lonesome Roving Wolves: Songs and Ballads of the West.* LP. Green Linnet, 1980. [Ballads, Songs]

768. ———. *Rosalie's Songbag.* LP. Prestige, c. 1962. [Ballads, Songs]

769. ———. *Songs of the Mormon Pioneers.* LP. Festival Records, c. 1962. Salt Lake City: Columbia Research Group. See Fife and Fife, *Songs of the Mormon Pioneers.* [Ballads, Songs, Mormons]

770. Spencer, Joseph Earle. "The Development of Agricultural Villages in Southern Utah." *Agricultural History* 14 (1940): 181–89. [Architecture, Mormons, Settlement Patterns]

771. ———. "House Types of Southern Utah." *Geographical Review* 35 (1945): 444–57. [Architecture, Mormons]

772. Staker, Mark L. "By Their Works Ye Shall Know Them: The World View Expressed in Mormon Folk Art." *BYU Studies* 35.3 (1995–96): 74–94. [Art, Mormons]

773. Stanley, David (H.) "Butch Cassidy." In *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia.* Ed. Jan Harold Brunvand. New York: Garland, 1996. 130. [Legends, Cowboys, 1890s, 1900s, Piute County]

774. ———. "Folklore." In *Utah History Encyclopedia.* Ed. Allan Kent Powell. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994. 192–95. [Native Americans, Immigration, Ethnicity, Mormons]

775. ———. "Folklore in Utah's National Parks." *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 18.2 (Fall 1984): 2–3. [Legends, Narratives, Nature, Naming Practices, Parks]

776. ———. "Folklore Studies in Utah, 1957–76." *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 23.3 (Fall 1989): 2–4. [1950s, 1960s, 1970s, History of Folklore Studies]

777. ———. "Folklore Studies in Utah, 1976–89." *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 24.1 (Winter 1990): 2–4. [1970s, 1980s, History of Folklore Studies]

778. ———. "Folklore, Tourism and the National Parks." *Blue Mountain Shadows*

(San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 75–79. [Parks, Tall Tales, Narratives, Legends, Material Culture, Music, Naming Practices, Grand County, San Juan County, Garfield County]

779. ———. *Listening In: Utah Storytelling.* Cassette and booklet. Salt Lake City: Utah Arts Council, 1991. [Immigration, Narratives, Legends, Myths, Mormons, Narratives, Tall Tales]

780. ———. "A Look Back at 1985—and at Utah's First Folklorists." *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 19.2 (Fall 1985): 2, 6. [1980s, History of Folklore Studies]

781. Steckmesser, Kent L. "The Three Butch Cassidys: History, Hollywood, Folklore." In *American Renaissance and American West.* Proceedings of the Second University of Wyoming American Studies Conference Held June 16–19, 1981 at Laramie, Wyoming. Ed. Christopher S. Durer, Herbert R. Dietrich, Henry J. Laskowsky, and James W. Welke. Laramie: Department of English, School of American Studies, and Department of Journalism and Telecommunication, University of Wyoming, 1982. 149–55. [Legends, Life Histories, Cowboys, Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century]

782. Stegner, Wallace. *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1954. Rpt. New York: Penguin, 1992. [Life Histories, Histories, Native Americans, 1860s, 1870s]

783. ———. *Mormon Country.* American Folkways Series. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1942. Rpt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981. [Mormons, Legends, Settlement Patterns, Farming, Landscape, Religion]

784. ———. *A Sense of Place.* Cassette. Audio Press, 1989. [Settlement Patterns, Landscape, Nature]

785. Steward, Julian H. "Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups." Bureau of American Anthropology Bulletin No. 120. Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938. [Native Americans, Goshutes, Navajos, Paiutes, Shoshones, Utes]

786. ———. "Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni." Culture Element Distributions 23. *University of California Anthropological Records* 8.3: 263–392. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943. [Shoshones, Goshutes, Ethnographies]

787. ———. "Notes on Hillers' Photographs." Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections vol. 98, no. 18. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1939. [Ethnographies, Paiutes]

788. ———. "Some Western Shoshone Myths." *Anthropological Papers, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 136.* Washington, DC: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1943. 249–99. [Myths, Shoshones]

789. ———. "Two Paiute Autobiographies." *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 33.5 (1934): 423–38. [Life Histories, Paiutes]

790. Stewart, George, and John A. Widtsoe. "Contribution of Forest Land Resources to the Settlement and Development of the Mormon Occupied West." *Journal of Forestry* 41 (1943): 633–40. [Nature, Plants, Settlement Patterns, Mormons]

791. Stewart, Omer C. "Ute-Southern Paiute." Culture Element Distributions 18. *University of California Anthropological Records* 6.4. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942. 231–360. [Material Culture, Utes, Paiutes]

792. ———. "Navajo Basketry as Made by Ute and Paiute." *American Anthropologist* 40 (1938): 758–59. [Baskets, Material Culture, Navajos, Paiutes, Utes]

793. ———. *Ute Peyotism—A Study of a Cultural Complex.* University of Colorado Studies. Series in Anthropology No. 1. Boulder: University of Colorado, 1948. [Medicine, Plants, Rituals, Ceremonies, Utes]

794. Stewart, Polly, Steve Siporin, C. W. Sullivan, III, and Suzi Jones, eds. *Worldviews*

and the American West: The Life of the Place Itself. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000. [History of Folklore Studies, Theory]

795. Stipanovich, Joseph. "Falcons in Flight: The Yugoslavs." In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 363–83. [Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Slavs, Yugoslavs]

796. ———. "South Slav Settlements in Utah, 1890–1935." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1975): 155–71. [1890s, 1900s, 1910s, 1920s, 1930s, Settlement Patterns, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Slavs]

797. ———. *The South Slavs in Utah: A Social History.* San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. [Histories, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Slavs]

798. Stock, Jody R. *Overlays of History: The Architecture of Fort Douglas, Utah, 1862–1995.* University of Utah Graduate School of Architecture Publication No. 4. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Graduate School of Architecture, 1996. [Architecture, Salt Lake County, 1860s]

799. Sturges, Philip C. "Utah Mining Folklore." *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 137–39. [Mining, Tales]

800. Sylvester, John D. et al. *Ethnic Oral History at the American West Center, University of Utah.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah, American West Center, c. 1973. [Slavs, Latinos, Jews, Italians, Native Americans, Greeks, Japanese, African Americans, Immigration, Ethnicity, Histories]

801. Taber, Susan Buhler. *Mormon Lives: A Year in the Elkton Ward.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993. [Mormons, Religion, Customs]

802. Taniguchi, Nancy J. "Japanese Community." In Kelen and Stone 309–66. [Japanese, Immigration]

803. Tate, LaVerne. "Billy Mike and His Courting Flute." *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 42–43. [Music, Utes, Marriage, Rites of Passage, Material Culture]

804. Taylor, Archer, and Wayland D. Hand. "Twenty-Five Years of Folklore Study in the West." *Western Folklore* 25 (1966): 229–45. [History of Folklore Studies, 1940s, 1950s, 1960s]

805. Taylor, David A., and John Alexander Williams, eds. *Old Ties, New Attachments: Italian-American Folklife in the West.* Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1992. [Italians, Material Culture, Settlement Patterns, Foodways, Architecture]

806. Taylor, J. Golden. "Folklore in Utah and the West." In Fife and Taylor 1–7. [History of Folklore Studies]

807. Taylor, Sandra C. "Japanese Americans and Keetley Farms: Utah's Relocation Colony." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (1986): 328–44. Rpt. in Layton 120–36. [Japanese, Farming, Wasatch County]

808. ———. *Jewel of the Desert: Japanese American Internment at Topaz.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. [Histories, Japanese, Millard County]

809. Terry, Elvis B. "A Collection of Ballad and Folk-like Songs of Enterprise, Utah." M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1950. [Ballads, Songs, Washington County]

810. Thatcher, Elaine. *Elaine Thatcher.* LP. Emigration Records (Salt Lake City), 1978. [Songs, Ballads]

811. ———. "Material Culture." In *Encyclopedia of Mormonism: The History, Scripture, Doctrine and Procedure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.* Vol. 2. New York: Macmillan, 1992. 864. [Material Culture, Mormons]

812. ———. *Nature and Tradition: The Ethics of Land Use in Western Communities.* Salt Lake City: Utah Humanities Council, 1993. [Logging, Nature, Landscape, Ranching]

813. ———. "Nineteenth-Century Furniture in Cache Valley, Utah: Form and Function." M.A. Thesis, Utah State University, 1983. [Cache County,

FURNITURE, MATERIAL CULTURE, MORMONS, NINETEENTH CENTURY]

814. ———. "'Some Chairs for My Family': Furniture in Nineteenth-Century Cache Valley." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (1988): 331–51. [CACHE COUNTY, FURNITURE, NINETEENTH CENTURY]

815. Thomas, Jeannie (B.) "Hecate in Habit: Gender, Religion, and Legend." *Northwest Folklore* 9.2 (Spring 1991): 14–27. [CACHE COUNTY, CATHOLICS, LEGENDS, MORMONS, RELIGION]

816. ———. *Naked Barbies, Warrior Joes, and Other Forms of Visible Gender.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003. [WOMEN, GRAVESTONES, LEGENDS, GARDENS, CEMETERIES]

817. ———. "Pickup Trucks, Horses, Women, and Foreplay: The Fluidity of Folklore." *Western Folklore* 54 (1995): 213–52. [THEORY, WOMEN, RANCHING, COWBOYS]

818. Thompson, Bonnie. *Flickering Memories: Folklore in the Bear Lake Valley*. Vol. II. Salt Lake City: Printers, Inc., 1977. [BELIEFS, LEGENDS, MEDICINE, NARRATIVES, NAMING PRACTICES, POETRY, SONGS]

819. ———. *Folklore in the Bear Lake Valley*. Salt Lake City: Granite Publishing Company, 1972. [CUSTOMS, FISHING, LEGENDS, MORMONS, NARRATIVES, NATIVE AMERICANS, POETRY]

820. Thursby, Jacqueline S. *American Funerals, Mourning, and Foods: Festivals of Transition.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, forthcoming. [FUNERALS, RITES OF PASSAGE, FOODWAYS, MORMONS, NAVAJOS]

821. ———. "Culinary Tourism among Basques and Basque Americans: Maintenance and Inventions." In *Culinary Tourism.* Ed. Lucy Long. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004. 186–205. [FOODWAYS, BASQUES]

822. ———. "Folklore, Ethics, and Conflicted Narratives: Three Basque Sisters." In *Enter to Learn: Writing and Research at BYU.* Ed. Gary L. Hatch and Danette Paul. Provo: Brigham Young University, 1999. [BASQUES, WOMEN, NARRATIVES]

823. ———. "Mormon Temple Reproductions on Cemetery Markers." *Markers XX: Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies.* Ed. Richard E. Meyer. Greenfield, MA: Association for Gravestone Studies, 2003. 312–33. [GRAVESTONES, STONE CARVING, SYMBOLS, RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES, MORMONS]

824. ———. *Mother's Table, Father's Chair: Cultural Narratives of Basque American Women.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999. [BASQUES, NARRATIVES, WOMEN]

825. Tilby, Wilma B. N. "Jakob Brand's Register of Dutchtown, Utah's Lost German Mining Colony." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 62 (1994): 53–70. [SETTLEMENT PATTERNS, GERMANS, MINING]

826. Toelken, (J.) Barre. *The Anguish of Snails: Native American Folklore in the West.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003. [NATIVE AMERICANS, NAVAJOS, ETHNOGRAPHIES, MATERIAL CULTURE, BASKETS, WEAVING, DANCE, POWWOW, NARRATIVES, MYTHS, SONGS, MUSIC, JOKES, SAN JUAN COUNTY, TOOLS, TOYS, RITUALS, NAMING PRACTICES, LANDSCAPE, NATURE]

827. ———. "The Ballad of the Mountain Meadows Massacre." *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 169–72. [BALLADS, MORMONS, WASHINGTON COUNTY]

828. ———. "A Circular World: The Vision of Navajo Crafts." *Parabola* 1.1 (Winter 1976): 30–37. [MATERIAL CULTURE, CRAFTS, NAVAJOS]

829. ———. "The Demands of Harmony: An Appreciation of Navajo Relations." *Parabola* 2.4 (Dec. 1977): 74–81. [BELIEFS, CUSTOMS, NAVAJOS]

830. ———. *The Dynamics of Folklore.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979. Revised ed., Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996. [SONGS, FOODWAYS, MATERIAL CULTURE, NARRATIVES, NAVAJOS, JAPANESE]

831. ———. "Ethnic Selection and Intensification in the Native American Powwow."

In *Creative Ethnicity*. Ed. Stephen Stern and John Allan Cicala. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1991. 137–56. [Festivals, Native Americans, Dance, Powwow, Clothing]

832. ———. “Folklore in the American West.” In *A Literary History of the American West*. Ed. Thomas Lyon. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1987. 29–67. [Fieldwork, History of Folklore Studies]
833. ———. “The Folklore of Water in the Mormon West.” *Northwest Folklore* 7.2 (Spring 1989): 3–26. [Mormons, Nature, Water]
834. ———. “From Entertainment to Realization in Navajo Fieldwork.” In *The World Observed: Reflections on the Folklore Process*. Ed. Bruce Jackson and Edward D. Ives. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996. 1–17. [Fieldwork, Navajos, Narratives]
835. ———. *A Garland of American Folksong*. LP. Prestige Records, ca. 1960. [Songs, Music, Mormons, Cowboys, Native Americans, Histories]
836. ———. “Life and Death in the Navajo Coyote Tales.” In *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature*. Ed. Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. 388–401. [Animals, Legends, Myths, Navajos, Tales, Tricksters]
837. ———. “Ma’ii Jołdlooshi la Eeya: The Several Lives of a Navajo Coyote.” *The World and I* 5 (1990): 651–60. [Narratives, Navajos, Animals, Myths]
838. ———. “Ma’i Jołdloshi: Legendary Styles and Navajo Myth.” In *American Folk Legend: A Symposium*. Ed. Wayland D. Hand. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. 203–11. [Legends, Narratives, Myths, Tricksters, Navajos]
839. ———. “The Moccasin Telegraph and Other Improbabilities: A Personal Essay.” In *Out of the Ordinary: Folklore and the Supernatural*. Ed. Barbara Walker. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995. 46–58. [Native Americans, Beliefs, Magic, Ceremonies]
840. ———. “Nephites, Manitos, Obon and Yenaaldlooshi: The Dynamic Tapestry of Utah Folklore.” *Weber Studies* 13.4 (Winter 1996): 81–89. [Mormons, Native Americans, Dance, Latinos, Navajos, Japanese, Ethnicity]
841. ———. “Pow-wow Folklorism.” In *Folklorismus Today*. Ed. Vilmos Voigt and Peter Niedermuller. Budapest: National Academy of Sciences, 1983. 108–21. [Festivals, Fieldwork, Powwow, Native Americans]
842. ———. “The ‘Pretty Languages’ of Yellowman: Genre, Mode, and Texture in Navaho Coyote Narratives.” *Genre* 2 (1969): 211–35. Rpt. in *Folklore Genres*. Ed. Dan Ben-Amos. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976. 145–70. [Dialect and Language, Narratives, Myths, Tricksters, Navajos]
843. ———. “Seeing with a Native Eye: ‘How Many Sheep Will It Hold?’” In *Seeing with a Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion*. Ed. Walter Capps. New York: Harper and Row, 1976. 9–24. [Beliefs, Navajos]
844. ———. “Traditional Navajo Arts in Southeastern Utah.” *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 34–40. [Material Culture, Weaving, Clothing, Navajos]
845. ———. “Traditional Water Narratives in Utah.” *Western Folklore* 50 (1991): 191–200. [Mormons, Narratives, Nature, Water]
846. ———. “The Yellowman Tapes, 1966–1997.” *Journal of American Folklore* 111 (1998): 381–91. [Myths, Dialect and Language, Native Americans, Navajos, Narratives, Fieldwork, History of Folklore Studies, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s]
847. Toelken, Barre, and Tacheeni Scott. “Poetic Retranslation and the ‘Pretty Languages’ of Yellowman.” In *Traditional Literatures of the American Indian: Texts and Interpretation*. Ed. Karl Kroeber. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981. 65–116. [Dialect and Language, Myths, Narratives, Navajos]

848. Tom, Gary, and Ronald Holt. "The Paiute Tribe of Utah." In Cuch 123–66. [Paiutes, Religion, Histories, Customs]

849. Trejo, Judy. "Coyote Tales: A Paiute Commentary." *Journal of American Folklore* 87 (1974): 66–71. Rpt. in *Readings in American Folklore.* Ed. Jan Harold Brunvand. New York: Norton, 1979. 192–98. [Paiutes, Tales, Tricksters, Myths]

850. ———. "Medicinal and Edible Plants of the Paiute Indians." *Northwest Folklore* 4.1 (Spring-Summer 1985): 3–12. [Foodways, Medicine, Paiutes]

851. Tripp, George. "Tooele—What Is the Name's Origin?" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (1989): 273–76. [Naming Practices, Legends, Tooele County]

852. Truitt, Esther Ruth. "Enclosing a World." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56 (1988): 352–59. [Gardens]

853. Tull, Patricia L., and Helena B. Stites. "Museums and Collections in Utah Open to the Public." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 21 (1953): 43–56. [Collectanea, Archives, Museums and Living Farms]

854. Tyler, S. Lyman. "Before Escalante: An Early History of the Yuta Indians and the Area North of New Mexico." Diss., University of Utah, 1951. [Utes, Histories]

855. ———. "The Myth of the Lake of Copala and Land of Teguayo." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 20 (1952): 313–29. [Myths, Legends, Spaniards, Utah County]

856. ———. "The Spaniard and the Ute." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (1954): 243–61. [Spaniards, Utes]

857. Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe. *Ute Ways.* Salt Lake City: Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe, 1977. [Ethnographies, Customs, Utes]

858. ———. *The Way It Was Told.* Salt Lake City: Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe, 1977. [Narratives, Legends, Myths, Histories, Utes]

859. Ulibarri, Richard O. "Utah's Ethnic Minorities: A Survey." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 40 (1972): 210–32. Rpt. in Layton 1–18. [Ethnicity]

860. Ursenbach, Maureen, and Richard L. Jensen. "The Oft-Crossed Border: Canadians in Utah." In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 279–301. [Canadians]

861. Utah Writers' Project. *Origins of Utah Place Names.* Salt Lake City: Utah State Department of Public Education, 1940. [Naming Practices]

862. Ute Mountain Ute Tribe. *Ute Mountain Ute Stories, Games, and Noise Makers.* Salt Lake City: Ute Mountain Ute Tribe, 1984. [Narratives, Legends, Myths, Games, Toys, Utes]

863. Utter, Rev. David. "Mormon Superstitions." *The Folk-Lorist* (Chicago) 1 (1892–1893): 76. [Beliefs, Mormons, Three Nephite Stories]

864. Vander, Judith. "The Song Repertoire of Four Shoshone Women: A Reflection of Cultural Movements and Sex Roles." *Ethnomusicology* 26 (1982): 73–83. [Native Americans, Songs, Women, Shoshones]

865. Van Hoak, Stephen P. "Waccara's Utes: Native American Equestrian Adaptations in the Eastern Great Basin, 1776–1876." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 67 (1999): 309–30. [Foodways, Hunting, Myths, Native Americans, Animals, Eighteenth Century, Nineteenth Century]

866. Wahlquist, Wayne L. "Review of Mormon Settlement Literature." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (1977): 4–21. [Settlement Patterns, Mormons]

867. Walker, Barbara, comp. *Index to the Austin and Alta Fife Fieldwork Recordings of Cowboy and Western Songs.* Logan: Utah State University Fife Folklore Center, 1993. [Songs, Music, Cowboys, Ranching, Archives, Cache County]

868. Walker, Ronald W. "Joseph Smith: The Palmyra Seer." *BYU Studies* 24 (1984): 461–72. [Legends, Life Histories, Mormons]

869. Walkup, Fairfax Proudfit. "The Sunbonnet Woman: Fashions in Utah Pioneer Costume." *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 201–22. [Clothing, Histories, Nineteenth Century]

870. ———. "Utah Pioneer Dress, 1847–1875." M.S. Thesis, University of Utah, 1947.

[1840s, 1850s, 1860s, 1870s, Clothing]

871. Warner, Ted J., ed. *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776.* Trans. Fray Angelico Chavez. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976. [Spaniards, Histories, Utes, Paiutes, Eighteenth Century]

872. ———. "The Significance of the Domínguez-Vélez de Escalante Expedition." In *Essays on the American West, 1973–1974.* Ed. Thomas G. Alexander. Charles Redd Monographs in Western History No. 5. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975. 63–80. [Spaniards, Histories, Native Americans, Eighteenth Century]

873. Washburn, Lorraine T. "Culture in Dixie." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (1961): 255–68. [Customs, Washington County]

874. Wasson, George B., and Barre Toelken. "Coyote and the Strawberries: Cultural Drama and Intercultural Collaboration." In *Native American Oral Traditions: Collaboration and Interpretation.* Ed. Larry Evers and Barre Toelken. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2001. 176–99. [Native Americans, Navajos, Narratives, Myths, Tricksters]

875. Waters, Leon L. "Some Notes on Early Jews in Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1948): 10–25. [Jews, Nineteenth Century]

876. Watt, Ronald G. "Calligraphy in Brigham Young's Office." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (1977): 265–69. [Material Culture, Mormons, Nineteenth Century]

877. Wengreen, A. Dean. "The Origin and History of the Fast Day in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1896." M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955. [1830s, 1840s, 1850s, 1860s, 1870s, 1880s, 1890s, Histories, Mormons, Religion, Customs, Nineteenth Century]

878. West, Ray Benedict. "Utah History and Tradition as a Source of Material for Literary Treatment." M.A. Thesis, University of Utah, 1934. [Fieldwork, Literature, Histories]

879. Wheat, Margaret M. *Survival Arts of the Primitive Paiutes.* Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1967. [Architecture, Customs, Foodways, Hunting, Fishing, Paiutes]

880. Whipple, Maureen. *The Giant Joshua.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941. [Washington County, Histories, Literature, Material Culture, Foodways, Mormons]

881. Whitley, Colleen, ed. *Brigham Young's Homes.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002. [Architecture, Mormons]

882. ———, ed. *Worth Their Salt: Notable but Often Unnoted Women in Utah.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 1996. [Women, Histories, Literature]

883. ———, ed. *Worth Their Salt, Too: More Notable but Often Unnoted Women of Utah.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 2000. [Women, Histories, Literature]

884. Widgery, Claudia J. *Utah Field Recordings in the Archive of Folk Culture.* Washington, DC: Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress, 1982. [Songs, Music, Fieldwork, Archives, Native Americans]

885. Wilcox, Janet Keeler. "Nasja the Crafty Owl: San Juan's Likeable Trickster." *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 20–24. [Narratives, Myths, Tricksters, Navajos, San Juan County]

886. Wiley, Peter, and Robert Gottlieb. *Empires in the Sun: The Rise of the New American West.* New York: Putnam, 1982. See also Gottlieb and Wiley. [Histories, Mormons]

887. Wilkes, William L., Jr. "Borrowed Music in Mormon Hymnals." Diss., University

of Southern California. 1957. [Mormons, Songs, Music, Religion]

888. Williams, Parley L. “Personal Recollections of Wash-A-Kie, Chief of the Shoshones.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1 (1928): 101–6. [Personal Experience Narratives, Shoshones]

889. Williams, Randy. “Extending the Archives: Partnering and Outreach at the Fife Folklore Archives.” *Folklore Forum* 35.1/2 (2004): 17–30. [Archives, Education, Families, Fieldwork, Cache County]

890. ———. “Folklife and Folk Art Education Resource Guide.” Utah State University Folklore Program. Available on-line at http://library.usu.edu/Folklo/edresource/index.html. [Art, Education, Material Culture, Archives]

891. Willie, Tinna. “Navajo Cradleboard.” *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 45–47. [Children, Material Culture, Navajos, Crafts, San Juan County]

892. Willis, Elizabeth. “Voice in the Wilderness: The Diaries of Patty Sessions.” *Journal of American Folklore* 101 (1988): 37–47. [Personal Experience Narratives, Medicine, Midwifery, Polygamy]

893. Wilson, Elijah N. *Among the Shoshones.* Salt Lake City: Skelton, 1910. Rpt. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969. [Ethnographies, Shoshones]

894. Wilson, Marguerite (Ivins). “O-U-T Spells Out—Some Counting-Out Rhymes of Utah Children.” *Utah Humanities Review* 2 (1948): 310–18. [Children, Poetry, Rhymes]

895. ———. “Yours Till—: A Study of Children’s Autograph Rhymes in Utah.” *Utah Humanities Review* 1 (1947): 245–60. [Poetry, Rhymes, Children]

896. Wilson, William A. “And They Spake with a New Tongue (On Missionary Slang).” In *Conference on the Language of the Mormons.* Ed. Harold S. Madsen and John L. Sorenson. Provo: Brigham Young University Language Research Center, 1974. 46–48. [Dialect and Language, Mormons, Missionaries]

897. ———. “A Bibliography of Studies in Mormon Folklore.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 317–29. [Bibliography, Mormons]

898. ———. “Building Bridges: Folklore in the Academy.” *Journal of Folklore Research* 33 (1996): 7–20. [Narratives, Folklore Programs, History of Folklore Studies]

899. ———. “The Concept of the West and Other Hindrances to the Study of Mormon Folklore.” In Stewart, Siporin, Sullivan, and Jones 179–90. [History of Folklore Studies, Mormons, Theory]

900. ———. “Dealing with Organizational Stress: Lessons from the Folklore of Mormon Missionaries.” In *Inside Organizations: Understanding the Human Dimension.* Ed. Michael Owen Jones, Michael Dane Moore, and Richard Christopher Snyder. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988. 271–79. [Holiday Celebrations, Rituals, Dialect and Language, Jokes, Legends, Missionaries, Mormons]

901. ———. “The Deeper Necessity: Folklore and the Humanities.” *Journal of American Folklore* 101 (1988): 156–67. [History of Folklore Studies, Theory]

902. ———. “Eighteen Years Later: A Retrospect on ‘On Being Human.’” *Sunstone* 22.3–4 (June 1999): 57–60. [Mormons, Missionaries, History of Folklore Studies]

903. ———. “Folklore, a Mirror for What? Reflections of a Mormon Folklorist.” *Western Folklore* 54 (1995): 13–21. [Fieldwork, Theory, Mormons]

904. ———. “Folklore and History: Fact amid the Legends.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 41 (1973): 40–58. Rpt. in *Readings in American Folklore.* Ed. Jan Harold Brunvand. New York: Norton, 1979. 449–66. [Histories, History of Folklore Studies, Legends, Theory]

905. ———. “Folklore in *The Giant Joshua.*” In *Proceedings of the Symposium of the Association for Mormon Letters, 1978–1979.* Ed. Stephen P. Sondrup. Provo: Association for Mormon Letters, 1979. 57–63. [Literature, Mormons, Washington County]

906. ———. “Folklore of Utah’s Little Scandinavia.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (1979): 148–66. Rpt. in Layton 195–213. [Narratives, Scandinavians, Danes, Sanpete County]

907. ———. “The Folk Speak: Pioneer Lives in Pioneer Oral Narratives.” In *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah’s Mormon Pioneers.* Ed. Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1999. 485–503. [Life Histories, Mormons, Native Americans, Nineteenth Century]

908. ———. “Freeways, Parking Lots and Ice Cream Stands: The Three Nephites in Contemporary Mormon Culture.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 21.3 (Autumn 1988): 13–26. [Legends, Mormons, Three Nephite Stories]

909. ———. “The Lore of Polygamy: Twentieth-Century Perceptions of Nineteenth-Century Plural Marriage.” *Weber Studies* 13 (1996): 152–61. [Mormons, Beliefs, Polygamy, Legends, Nineteenth Century, Twentieth Century]

910. ———. “Mormon Folklore.” In *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia.* Ed. Jan Harold Brunvand. New York: Garland, 1996. 493–96. [Mormons]

911. ———. “Mormon Folklore.” In *Handbook of American Folklore.* Ed. Richard M Dorson. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983. 155–61. [Mormons]

912. ———, ed. *Mormon Folklore.* Special issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44.4 (Fall 1976). [Mormons]

913. ———. “Mormon Folklore: Cut from the Marrow of Everyday Experience.” *BYU Studies* 33 (1993): 521–40. Rpt. in *Tending the Garden: Essays on Mormon Literature.* Ed. Lavina Fielding Anderson and Eugene England. Salt Lake City: Signature, 1996. 179–96. [Mormons]

914. ———. “Mormon Folklore: Grammar for a Discourse Community.” In *Annual for the Association for Mormon Letters.* Ed. Lavina Fielding Anderson. Salt Lake City: Association for Mormon Letters, 1998. 57–68. [Dialect and Language, Mormons]

915. ———. “Mormon Legends of the Three Nephites Collected at Indiana University.” *Indiana Folklore* 2 (1969): 3–35. [Mormons, Three Nephite Stories]

916. ———. “Mormon Narratives: The Lore of Faith.” *Western Folklore* 54 (1995): 303–26. [History of Folklore Studies, Mormons, Narratives]

917. ———. *On Being Human: The Folklore of Mormon Missionaries.* Logan: Utah State University Press, 1981. Rpt. in *Sunstone* 22.3–4 (June 1999): 44–57. [Beliefs, Legends, Missionaries, Mormons]

918. ———. “The Paradox of Mormon Folklore.” In *Essays in the American West, 1974–1975.* Ed. Thomas G. Alexander. Charles Redd Monographs in Western History No. 6. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976. 127–47. Rpt. in Louie W. Attebery 58–67. [Fieldwork, History of Folklore Studies, Mormons, Theory]

919. ———. *Saints and Sinners.* Audiocassette. Brigham Young University Centennial Library Forum, 17 Nov. 1976. Provo: BYU Learning Resource Center, 1976. [Mormons, Narratives]

920. ———. “The Seriousness of Mormon Humor.” *Sunstone* 10.1 (Jan. 1985): 6–13. [Jokes, Mormons, Riddles, Humor]

921. ———. “The Study of Mormon Folklore.” Introduction to *Mormon Folklore*, a special issue ed. by Wilson. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (1976): 317–28. [Fieldwork, History of Folklore Studies, Mormons]

922. ———. “The Study of Mormon Folklore: An Uncertain Mirror for Truth.”

Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 22.4 (Winter 1989): 95–110. [MORMONS]

923. ———. “Trickster Tales and the Location of Cultural Boundaries: A Mormon Example.” *Journal of Folklore Research* 20 (1983): 55–66. [LEGENDS, MORMONS, TALES, TRICKSTERS]

924. ———. “USU’s Fife Folklore Archive.” *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 17.2 (Autumn 1983): 2–3. [ARCHIVES]

925. ———. “‘The Vanishing Hitchhiker’ among the Mormons.” *Indiana Folklore* 8 (1975): 79–97. [MORMONS, URBAN LEGENDS]

926. ———. “‘We Did Everything Together’: Farming Customs of the Mountainwest.” *Northwest Folklore* 4.1 (Spring-Summer 1985): 23–30. [FARMING, CUSTOMS, OCCUPATIONAL PRACTICES]

927. Wilson, William A., and Jessie Embry. “Folk Ideas of Mormon Pioneers.” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 31.3 (Autumn 1998): 81–99. [MORMONS, NINETEENTH CENTURY]

928. Wilson, William A., and John B. Harris. *Green Beans and Golden Gators.* Audiocassette. Brigham Young University Library Literary Forum, 18 March 1976. Provo: BYU Learning Resource Center, 1976. [MORMONS, NARRATIVES, MISSIONARIES]

929. Wilson, William, and Richard C. Poulsen. “The Curse of Cain and Other Stories: Blacks in Mormon Folklore.” *Sunstone* 5.6 (Nov.–Dec. 1980): 9–13. [AFRICAN AMERICANS, LEGENDS, MORMONS, NARRATIVES, BELIEFS]

930. Winter, Robert. “Architecture on the Frontier: The Mormon Experiment.” *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (1974): 50–60. [ARCHITECTURE, MORMONS]

931. Witherspoon, Y. T. *Conversations with Connor Chapoose: A Leader of the Ute Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, Recorded in 1960.* Eugene: Department of Anthropology and the Oregon State Museum of Anthropology, University of Oregon, 1993. [LIFE HISTORIES, NARRATIVES, BELIEFS, MEDICINE, NATIVE AMERICANS, UTES]

932. Woodbury, Angus M. “A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks.” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (1944): 111–209. [HISTORIES, PARKS]

933. Wright, Coulsen and Geneva. “Indian-White Relations in the Uintah Basin.” *Utah Humanities Review* 2 (1948): 319–46. [UTES, HISTORIES, NINETEENTH CENTURY, TWENTIETH CENTURY]

934. Wright, Ila A. “Hair Watch Chains and Flowers.” *Western Folklore* 18 (1959): 114–16. [CLOTHING, MORMONS]

935. Wroth, William, ed. *Ute Indian Arts and Culture from Prehistory to the New Millennium.* Colorado Springs: Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 2000. [UTES, ART, MATERIAL CULTURE]

936. Wyman, Walker D., and John D. Hart. *The Legend of Charlie Glass, Negro Cowboy on the Colorado-Utah Range.* River Falls, WI: River Falls State University Press, 1971. [AFRICAN AMERICANS, LEGENDS, COWBOYS, RANCHING]

937. Yang, Anand A. “Chinese Community.” In Kelen and Stone 195–246. [CHINESE, HISTORIES]

938. Yashko, Ruth E. “An Historical Study of Pioneer Dancing in Utah.” M.S. Thesis, University of Utah, 1947. [DANCE, NINETEENTH CENTURY]

939. Yazzie, Mary Jane. “Life and Traditions of the Utes of Avikan.” *Blue Mountain Shadows* (San Juan County Historical Commission) 7 (1990): 25–28. [HISTORIES, MATERIAL CULTURE, DANCE, FESTIVALS, CUSTOMS, CEREMONIES, UTES, SAN JUAN COUNTY]

940. Yoder, Don. “Sectarian Costume Research in the United States.” In Fife, Fife, and Glassie 52–54. [CLOTHING, MORMONS]

941. Young, Frank M., and Coralie Beyers. “Old Ephraim.” In Fife and Taylor 67–78. [ANIMALS, LEGENDS, NATURE, CACHE COUNTY]

942. Young, John V. *State Parks of Utah: A Guide and History.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989. [Parks, Legends, Naming Practices, Fishing, Hunting, Animals, Nature, Landscape]

943. Young, Karl E. "Red Magic." In Cheney, *Lore* 15–17. [Magic, Narratives, Native Americans]

944. ———. "Sun Dance at White Rocks, 1919." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 40 (1972): 233–41. [1910s, Native Americans, Dance, Rituals, Uintah County, Utes]

945. ———. "Why Mormons Were Said To Wear Horns." In Cheney, *Lore* 111–12. [Beliefs, Legends, Mormons]

946. Young, Levi Edgar. "Spirit of the Pioneers: Early Day Homes in Utah." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (1946): 8–11. [Architecture, Nineteenth Century]

947. Zeidner, Robert F. "From Babylon to Babylon: Immigration from the Middle East." In Papanikolas, *Peoples* 385–408. [Egyptians, Iranians, Persians, Palestinians, Iraqis, Jordanians, Turks, Libyans, Armenians, Lebanese]

Index to Bibliography

Genres

Architecture, 2, 19, 31, 36, 37, 45, 65, 70, 86, 87, 88, 103, 114, 121, 125, 142, 144, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 202, 222, 224, 148, 284, 294, 297, 310, 322, 335, 336, 347, 354, 355, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 375, 381, 382, 401, 408, 417, 433, 434, 436, 437, 440, 441, 451, 486, 499, 521, 557, 571, 572, 573, 584, 587, 596, 598, 606, 671, 674, 680, 684, 689, 691, 707, 716, 717, 719, 727, 732, 770, 771, 798, 805, 879, 881, 930, 946
Archives, 10, 49, 53, 178, 200, 313, 414, 487, 577, 853, 867, 884, 889, 890, 924
Art, 7, 21, 93, 124, 468, 541, 586, 610, 613, 772, 890, 935
Ballads, 131, 132, 134, 177, 179, 217, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 289, 294, 309, 311, 316, 421, 424, 425, 427, 454, 490, 492, 673, 733, 766, 767, 768, 769, 809, 810, 827
Baskets, 259, 260, 340, 372, 537, 538, 539, 792, 826
Beliefs, 47, 84, 98, 104, 139, 140, 147, 171, 177, 180, 191, 227, 237, 240, 241, 262, 266, 272, 290, 295, 318, 339, 341, 343, 344, 348, 382, 389, 392, 396, 397, 411, 484, 507, 515, 528, 555, 576, 594, 636, 672, 678, 693, 696, 818, 829, 839, 843, 863, 909, 917, 929, 931, 945
Bibliographies, 10, 487
Ceremonies, 376, 526, 709, 738, 759, 793, 839, 939
Clothing, 15, 26, 327, 383, 464, 662, 831, 844, 869, 870, 934, 940
Collectanea, 10, 53, 178, 313, 353, 371, 487, 853
Crafts, 21, 224, 321, 721, 754, 828, 891
Customs, 39, 47, 171, 183, 203, 225, 226, 235, 242, 273, 279, 295, 300, 318, 322, 348, 352, 392, 413, 484, 485, 515, 523, 531, 545, 548, 550, 555, 576, 594, 617, 624, 629, 636, 648, 649, 655, 658, 664, 678, 713, 720, 736, 801, 819, 829, 848, 857, 873, 877, 879, 926, 939
Dance, 113, 191, 246, 249, 329, 376, 443, 445, 448, 450, 503, 505, 541, 557, 559, 561, 563, 709, 713, 753, 759, 826, 831, 840, 938, 939, 944
Dialect and Language, 23, 69, 116, 120, 129, 187, 206, 220, 308, 312, 342, 402, 475, 501, 522, 565, 566, 567, 659, 677, 686, 740, 741, 742, 842, 846, 847, 896, 900, 914
Drama, 416, 443, 570
Ethnographies, 69, 94, 95, 130, 281, 332, 448, 462, 517, 518, 520, 540, 619, 620, 631, 647, 671, 697, 710, 712, 738, 740, 741, 765, 786, 787, 826, 857, 893
Farm/Ranchsteads, 17, 159, 297, 347
Festivals, 113, 146, 254, 255, 256, 257, 374, 664, 831, 841, 939
Fieldwork, 82, 118, 120, 164, 166, 400, 467, 832, 834, 841, 846, 878, 884, 889, 903, 918, 921
Folklore Programs, 324, 400, 414, 898
Foodways, 8, 16, 79, 135, 146, 164, 248, 254, 368, 379, 467, 509, 540, 588, 602, 617, 628, 663, 687, 689, 708, 734, 744, 755, 757, 805, 820, 821, 830, 850, 865, 879, 880
Furniture, 34, 48, 71, 72, 133, 160, 285, 297, 407, 465, 516, 574, 609, 611, 813, 814

Games, 24, 188, 211, 376, 404, 862
Graffiti, 7, 124, 468, 471, 472
Histories, 5, 11, 18, 19, 27, 51, 57, 58, 61, 64, 70, 77, 80, 101, 107, 110, 111, 130, 177, 184, 189, 193, 195, 196, 197, 209, 210, 216, 223, 226, 227, 238, 242, 243, 249, 258, 261, 263, 264, 266, 272, 273, 276, 281, 298, 330, 351, 361, 362, 367, 376, 401, 408, 417, 448, 459, 460, 461, 469, 470, 472, 480, 510, 513, 514, 520, 523, 534, 536, 542, 544, 546, 548, 550, 551, 562, 568, 570, 581, 582, 597, 605, 616, 641, 657, 658, 665, 667, 670, 686, 698, 705, 712, 726, 743, 762, 782, 797, 800, 808, 835, 848, 854, 858, 868, 869, 871, 872, 877, 878, 880, 882, 883, 886, 904, 932, 933, 937, 939
History of Folklore Studies, 49, 50, 63, 94, 95, 116, 118, 161, 169, 175, 250, 346, 371, 387, 391, 400, 489, 495, 704, 735, 763, 776, 777, 780, 794, 804, 806, 832, 846, 898, 899, 901, 902, 904, 916, 918, 921
Holiday Celebrations, 75, 412, 593, 664, 756, 900
Home Decoration, 48, 71, 465, 574, 609, 662, 663
Jokes, 115, 116, 123, 128, 403, 826, 900, 920
Legends, 3, 4, 33, 77, 116, 119, 122, 139, 176, 196, 239, 241, 267, 282, 283, 287, 290, 303, 306, 307, 318, 341, 345, 369, 384, 394, 395, 398, 401, 403, 405, 418, 428, 429, 442, 444, 460, 461, 466, 476, 488, 493, 494, 497, 504, 522, 527, 542, 551, 555, 566, 569, 622, 623, 625, 627, 665, 678, 679, 683, 687, 692, 696, 705, 724, 725, 729, 730, 744, 750, 760, 761, 764, 773, 775, 778, 779, 781, 783, 815, 816, 818, 819, 836, 838, 851, 855, 858, 862, 868, 900, 904, 908, 909, 917, 923, 929, 936, 941, 942, 945
Life Histories, 19, 68, 82, 106, 110, 125, 176, 177, 181, 213, 224, 236, 268, 300, 304, 311, 315, 326, 344, 366, 376, 377, 439, 444, 452, 453, 455, 456, 457, 459, 483, 511, 595, 618, 630, 637, 679, 694, 704, 711, 749, 763, 781, 782, 789, 868, 907, 931
Magic, 3, 60, 73, 119, 237, 390, 393, 396, 463, 839, 943
Material Culture, 21, 25, 28, 30, 37, 48, 54, 71, 86, 87, 93, 133, 140, 143, 144, 152, 157, 161, 162, 164, 169, 199, 207, 224, 225, 246, 249, 250, 252, 258, 261, 294, 297, 299, 301, 302, 321, 322, 323, 340, 353, 378, 385, 397, 413, 415, 420, 468, 499, 522, 525, 537, 541, 574, 586, 603, 609, 614, 653, 662, 663, 680, 689, 699, 702, 703, 715, 721, 722, 752, 754, 778, 791, 792, 803, 805, 811, 813, 826, 828, 830, 844, 876, 880, 890, 891, 935, 939
Medicine, 1, 9, 13, 55, 78, 96, 97, 104, 105, 136, 172, 174, 177, 291, 294, 297, 376, 388, 390, 392, 396, 397, 409, 419, 463, 535, 549, 575, 591, 592, 594, 626, 645, 690, 731, 737, 759, 793, 818, 850, 892, 931
Music, 22, 27, 29, 46, 74, 83, 145, 168, 225, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 246, 249, 261, 318, 421, 426, 459, 556, 558, 559, 560, 562, 563, 628, 718, 757, 778, 803, 826, 835, 867, 884, 887
Myths, 77, 190, 196, 198, 282, 376, 429, 476, 504, 519, 522, 524, 527, 541, 566, 569, 617, 625, 627, 700, 739, 740, 760, 761, 779, 788, 826, 836, 837, 838, 842, 846, 847, 849, 855, 858, 862, 874, 885
Naming Practices, 41, 173, 174, 185, 273, 447, 452, 491, 497, 498, 621, 666, 775, 778, 818, 826, 851, 861, 942
Narratives, 3, 77, 89, 98, 99, 108, 115, 117, 119, 122, 123, 137, 177, 182, 187, 194, 196, 206, 212, 215, 221, 225, 239, 240, 267, 276, 282, 286, 293, 318, 348, 398, 399, 422, 429, 432, 449, 461, 466, 469, 476, 477, 478, 481, 482, 488, 504, 524, 527, 543, 551, 566, 568, 569, 585, 618, 636, 644, 660, 665, 694, 705, 729, 739, 740, 742, 755, 757, 760, 761, 775, 778, 779, 818, 819, 822, 824, 826, 830, 834, 837, 838, 842, 845, 846, 847, 858, 862, 874, 885, 888, 898, 906, 916, 919, 928, 929, 931, 943
Occupational Practices, 40, 56, 65, 205, 223, 301, 302, 338, 347, 386, 436, 442, 617, 682, 685, 755, 926
Painting, 7, 541
Personal Experience Narratives, 100, 106, 177, 184, 275, 277, 350, 352, 507, 576, 581, 634, 724, 725, 746, 892

Plants, 42, 138, 141, 172, 174, 297, 409, 419, 690, 790, 793
Poetry, 97, 208, 215, 217, 218, 244, 320, 818, 819, 894, 895
Pottery, 415, 715
Pranks, 109, 756
Quilts, 204, 207, 333, 385, 611, 612, 662, 754
Religious Structures, 2, 20, 45, 148, 382, 401, 417, 500, 571, 608, 671, 727, 728, 745, 823
Rhymes, 320, 894, 895
Rituals, 1, 39, 80, 376, 392, 419, 445, 450, 505, 722, 944
Settlement Patterns, 6, 57, 85, 90, 91, 163, 194, 270, 328, 334, 335, 336, 337, 347, 381, 401, 408, 433, 434, 435, 438, 440, 446, 481, 496, 499, 502, 508, 529, 552, 553, 564, 587, 597, 598, 669, 703, 706, 716, 717, 719, 723, 770, 783, 784, 790, 796, 805, 825, 866
Songs, 27, 29, 74, 83, 92, 131, 132, 134, 145, 168, 178, 179, 208, 215, 217, 219, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 241, 261, 268, 288, 289, 294, 309, 311, 316, 318, 319, 356, 404, 416, 421, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 431, 454, 458, 492, 526, 556, 559, 560, 562, 673, 678, 714, 733, 740, 757, 766, 707, 768, 769, 809, 810, 818, 826, 830, 835, 864, 867, 884, 887
Stereotypes, 59, 115, 128
Tales, 115, 221, 293, 294, 339, 432, 482, 504, 566, 585, 640, 739, 744, 760, 761, 778, 799, 836, 849, 923
Tall Tales, 123, 477, 724, 778, 779
Textiles, 32, 44, 54, 333, 385, 611, 612, 662, 752
Theory, 118, 324, 346, 353, 569, 684, 794, 817, 899, 901, 903, 904, 918
Three Nephite Stories, 3, 241, 278, 294, 303, 306, 394, 395, 478, 493, 494, 730, 764, 863, 908, 915
Tools, 35, 378, 754, 826
Toys, 754, 826, 862
Urban Legends, 122, 925
Witchcraft, 99, 397, 428

Subjects

Animals, 190, 239, 307, 345, 405, 541, 590, 682, 687, 751, 836, 837, 865, 941, 942
Catholics, 554, 815
Cemeteries, 26, 30, 39, 816
Childbirth, 55, 104, 105, 291, 380, 549, 592, 594, 645
Children, 24, 98, 99, 320, 891, 894, 895
Cowboys, 244, 297, 311, 431, 458, 572, 585, 659, 660, 668, 724, 725, 737, 773, 781, 817, 835, 867, 936
Education, 889, 890
Ethnicity, 58, 94, 95, 349, 430, 455, 457, 485, 562, 581, 597, 599, 604, 613, 629, 631, 640, 641, 642, 643, 646, 653, 695, 774, 800, 840, 859
Families, 177, 562, 736, 889
Farming, 38, 44, 112, 201, 297, 301, 302, 323, 338, 347, 357, 442, 479, 486, 496, 548, 617, 685, 701, 703, 783, 807, 926
Fishing, 477, 548, 701, 819, 879, 942
Funerals, 25, 39, 203, 214, 279, 325, 370, 555, 655, 681, 738, 820
Gardens, 816, 852
Gravestones, 25, 26, 30, 213, 214, 245, 247, 251, 253, 294, 297, 314, 317, 370, 406, 680, 681, 688, 689, 745, 747, 748, 816, 823
Humor, 60, 137, 267, 422, 920
Hunting, 8, 410, 548, 701, 744, 865, 879, 942
Immigration, 62, 182, 255, 257, 276, 349, 452, 455, 485, 502, 562, 578, 581, 582, 597, 599,

601, 604, 629, 634, 637, 638, 641, 642, 643, 644, 646, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 657, 694, 695, 720, 757, 774, 779, 800, 802
Industry, 38, 43, 54, 56, 415, 516, 597
Landscape, 433, 435, 438, 440, 547, 706, 783, 784, 812, 826, 942
Literature, 59, 82, 123, 269, 349, 400, 452, 453, 511, 583, 704, 763, 878, 880, 882, 883, 905
Logging, 65, 218, 812
Marriage, 183, 396, 746, 803
Methodists, 14
Midwifery, 55, 105, 380, 549, 592, 594, 645, 892
Mining, 70, 170, 203, 218, 268, 277, 287, 339, 341, 369, 386, 389, 453, 542, 543, 564, 593, 597, 598, 603, 604, 622, 636, 639, 640, 644, 652, 654, 695, 696, 707, 733, 799, 825
Missionaries, 402, 734, 896, 900, 902, 917, 928
Mormons, 2, 3, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 20, 27, 45, 46, 53, 54, 57, 59, 60, 66, 67, 69, 72, 73, 74, 78, 79, 80, 82, 93, 96, 97, 100, 105, 106, 107, 109, 114, 115, 117, 119, 120, 121, 127, 128, 132, 134, 136, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 151, 156, 160, 163, 164, 168, 171, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 186, 189, 191, 194, 206, 207, 214, 216, 217, 223, 238, 240, 241, 243, 248, 250, 251, 253, 254, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 280, 286, 289, 291, 294, 295, 296, 298, 300, 303, 304, 305, 306, 309, 312, 315, 316, 318, 319, 321, 327, 328, 334, 335, 336, 337, 342, 343, 348, 352, 360, 361, 367, 369, 374, 381, 382, 383, 388, 393, 394, 395, 398, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 407, 410, 411, 412, 417, 418, 421, 423, 427, 428, 430, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 444, 451, 454, 458, 461, 466, 478, 481, 483, 484, 486, 488, 493, 494, 496, 499, 500, 507, 510, 515, 516, 528, 529, 552, 552, 553, 555, 562, 571, 576, 578, 579, 587, 589, 591, 592, 594, 595, 596, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 631, 661, 662, 669, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 678, 679, 683, 690, 692, 695, 703, 706, 708, 714, 716, 717, 719, 721, 722, 727, 728, 729, 730, 734, 736, 745, 746, 747, 748, 750, 764, 766, 769, 770, 771, 772, 774, 779, 783, 790, 801, 811, 813, 815, 819, 820, 823, 827, 833, 835, 840, 845, 863, 866, 868, 876, 877, 880, 881, 886, 887, 896, 897, 899, 900, 902, 903, 905, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 925, 927, 928, 929, 930, 934, 940, 945
Museums and Living Farms, 17, 28, 297, 332, 853
Nature, 13, 42, 141, 143, 172, 228, 239, 283, 292, 307, 345, 405, 442, 506, 546, 547, 572, 590, 682, 693, 775, 784, 790, 812, 826, 833, 845, 941, 942
Parks, 256, 283, 775, 778, 932, 942
Plants, 42, 138, 141, 172, 174, 297, 409, 419, 690, 790, 793
Polygamy, 96, 102, 110, 156, 163, 177, 269, 354, 360, 361, 510, 579, 589, 892, 909
Powwow, 113, 826, 831, 841
Ranching, 146, 164, 205, 218, 222, 244, 248, 254, 294, 297, 301, 302, 311, 323, 338, 357, 374, 431, 487, 572, 585, 617, 659, 660, 667, 668, 671, 682, 724, 725, 749, 751, 812, 817, 867, 936
Religion, 14, 39, 47, 84, 171, 225, 226, 238, 242, 249, 255, 257, 262, 266, 271, 272, 275, 292, 343, 344, 348, 352, 356, 411, 430, 435, 437, 445, 450, 484, 505, 506, 523, 526, 545, 547, 548, 550, 554, 556, 560, 617, 658, 672, 678, 706, 750, 764, 783, 801, 815, 848, 877, 887
Riddles, 920
Rites of Passage, 636, 655, 722, 803, 821
Stone Carving, 26, 213, 245, 247, 251, 253, 294, 314, 317, 406, 681, 688, 745, 747, 748, 823
Supernatural, 3, 98, 99, 119, 139, 147, 177, 180, 262, 290, 303, 393, 428, 507, 576, 696
Symbols, 29, 42, 141, 143, 213, 317, 382, 390, 401, 607, 608, 610, 614, 681, 684, 689, 728, 745, 823
Trapping, 64, 686
Tricksters, 176, 267, 329, 836, 838, 842, 849, 874, 885, 923

Water, 112, 442, 833, 845
Weather Lore, 140, 398
Weaving, 826, 844
Weddings, 109, 722
Witchcraft, 98, 99, 140, 397, 428
Women, 54, 55, 71, 96, 97, 100, 106, 136, 144, 206, 207, 326, 327, 333, 360, 380, 383, 411, 439, 484, 583, 589, 595, 612, 638, 654, 662, 722, 743, 816, 877, 822, 824, 864, 882, 883
Wood Carving, 407

Ethnic Groups

African Americans, 51, 192, 193, 203, 416, 490, 492, 528, 556, 560, 647, 652, 800
Armenians, 647, 652, 947
Austrians, 593, 647, 694
Basques, 124, 652, 821, 822, 824
Belgians, 81
British, 126
Cambodians, 255
Canadians, 647, 860
Chinese, 197, 502, 647, 937
Croats, 647, 795, 796, 797,
Danes (see also Scandinavians), 14, 89, 158, 185, 422, 488, 580, 647, 719, 906
Dutch, 81, 396, 647
Egyptians, 947
English, 126, 245, 339, 647, 781
Filipinos, 255
Finns (see also Scandinavians), 341, 652, 696
French, 81, 647
Germans, 81, 276, 647, 664, 694, 825
Goshutes, 33, 172, 173, 191, 209, 225, 226, 409, 517, 518, 519, 567, 615, 647, 701, 702, 710, 785, 786
Greeks, 71, 203, 237, 349, 452, 453, 583, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 645, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 654, 655, 800
Gypsies, 379
Hawai'ians, 61, 257, 373, 628, 688
Hmong, 255
Iranians, 947
Iraqis, 947
Irish, 126, 647
Italians, 149, 203, 600, 601, 602, 603, 605, 647, 652, 708, 755, 757, 800, 805
Japanese, 58, 647, 652, 656, 762, 800, 802, 807, 808, 830, 840
Jews, 47, 201, 358, 359, 456, 647, 764, 800, 875
Jordanians, 947
Laotians, 255
Latinos, 11, 78, 249, 261, 356, 357, 430, 473, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 540, 554, 558, 647, 657, 726, 800, 840
Lebanese, 647, 652, 947
Libyans, 947
Mexicans, 530, 531, 532, 533, 652, 726
Native Americans, 8, 12, 92, 113, 144, 177, 186, 190, 198, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 225, 281, 282, 312, 329, 331, 340, 344, 350, 351, 384, 398, 399, 410, 419, 439, 450,

512, 525, 537, 545, 548, 565, 569, 584, 586, 617, 621, 647, 659, 697, 699, 700, 718, 737, 740, 774, 782, 785, 800, 819, 826, 831, 835, 839, 840, 841, 846, 864, 865, 872, 874, 884, 907, 931, 943, 944
Navajos, 1, 76, 77, 84, 98, 190, 210, 212, 214, 260, 376, 429, 459, 544, 546, 547, 617, 618, 647, 661, 739, 785, 792, 820, 826, 828, 829, 830, 834, 836, 837, 838, 840, 842, 843, 844, 846, 847, 874, 891
Norwegians (see also Scandinavians), 14, 158, 580, 647
Pacific Islanders, 52, 61, 257, 373, 385, 628, 688, 930
Paiutes, 8, 11, 12, 101, 107, 108, 129, 130, 138, 210, 225, 228, 235, 281, 329, 330, 331, 344, 350, 351, 372, 429, 439, 462, 463, 470, 509, 520, 522, 539, 551, 567, 615, 621, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 647, 665, 697, 698, 699, 701, 705, 738, 740, 741, 742, 785, 787, 789, 791, 792, 848, 849, 850, 871, 879
Palestinians, 947
Persians, 947
Polynesians (see also Pacific Islanders), 52, 385, 688
Rom, 379
Russians, 456, 750
Samoans, 257, 628, 688
Scandinavians, 166, 182, 578, 580, 582, 647, 720, 906
Scots, 87, 88, 126, 127, 647
Serbs, 593, 647, 795, 796, 797
Shoshones, 12, 186, 208, 210, 225, 238, 410, 429, 474, 503, 504, 505, 514, 566, 567, 619, 620, 621, 658, 697, 699, 701, 760, 785, 786, 788, 888, 893
Slavs, 647, 652, 795, 796, 797, 800
Slovenes, 647, 795, 796, 797
Spaniards, 11, 101, 622, 855, 856, 871, 872
Swedes (see also Scandinavians), 23, 62, 580, 647, 676
Swiss, 81, 276, 647, 694
Syrians, 647, 652
Thais, 255
Tongans, 257
Turks, 647, 947
Utes, 1, 8, 11, 12, 24, 92, 101, 191, 195, 196, 199, 210, 211, 227, 229, 235, 242, 252, 312, 325, 331, 420, 429, 445, 448, 449, 450, 475, 476, 504, 505, 512, 513, 524, 541, 550, 567, 615, 616, 621, 647, 701, 709, 711, 712, 715, 741, 742, 758, 759, 761, 765, 785, 791, 792, 793, 803, 854, 856, 857, 858, 862, 871, 931, 933, 935
Vietnamese, 255
Welsh, 126, 339, 647, 652, 715
Yugoslavs, 647, 795

Counties

Beaver, 86, 87, 88, 691
Box Elder, 146, 164, 248, 310, 345, 375, 427, 443, 516
Cache, 169, 276, 290, 310, 313, 407, 410, 414, 590, 723, 813, 814, 815, 867, 889, 941
Carbon, 70, 149, 170, 203, 339, 341, 597, 599, 603, 604, 605, 636, 639, 640, 652, 654, 695, 696, 733, 755, 757
Davis, 85, 366
Emery, 347, 348, 667
Garfield, 587, 778
Grand, 308, 778
Iron, 247, 328, 570

Juab, 389, 598
Kane, 105, 134, 408, 724
Millard, 350, 379, 380, 427, 469, 808
Piute, 773
Salt Lake, 75, 115, 134, 142, 148, 245, 265, 307, 382, 396, 490, 492, 536, 540, 554, 589, 593, 644, 664, 745, 798
San Juan, 83, 252, 259, 260, 357, 372, 376, 389, 446, 447, 458, 472, 506, 508, 546, 547, 549, 572, 724, 749, 752, 754, 778, 826, 885, 891, 939
Sanpete, 2, 89, 137, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 158, 159, 167, 201, 254, 258, 404, 422, 488, 491, 587, 680, 714, 720, 906
Sevier, 158, 477, 680
Summit, 389, 542, 543, 707
Tooele, 4, 209, 373, 431, 432, 676, 710, 851
Uintah, 944
Utah, 7, 415, 540, 855
Wasatch, 194, 568, 587, 807
Washington, 18, 44, 54, 102, 103, 105, 107, 110, 111, 134, 135, 256, 277, 289, 377, 389, 400, 480, 482, 666, 685, 809, 827, 873, 880, 905
Weber, 606

Dates

Eighteenth Century, 11, 101, 470, 865, 871, 872
Nineteenth Century, 8, 9, 13, 21, 25, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 54, 55, 56, 59, 64, 160, 162, 165, 177, 184, 187, 207, 245, 247, 253, 265, 274, 284, 285, 305, 319, 325, 326, 354, 370, 377, 381, 406, 408, 416, 424, 465, 470, 479, 483, 535, 553, 574, 575, 589, 591, 608, 609, 662, 663, 674, 703, 716, 717, 719, 727, 731, 747, 748, 753, 781, 813, 814, 865, 869, 875, 876, 877, 907, 909, 927, 933, 938, 946
Twentieth Century, 165, 177, 184, 246, 259, 278, 285, 430, 470, 546, 553, 660, 727, 781, 909, 933
1820s, 420, 686
1830s, 420, 471, 877
1840s, 15, 186, 405, 420, 464, 466, 521, 870, 877
1850s, 151, 153, 186, 223, 350, 351, 378, 410, 420, 464, 466, 469, 521, 720, 870, 877
1860s, 151, 153, 186, 223, 143, 328, 410, 413, 420, 464, 466, 469, 521, 676, 697, 698, 699, 720, 782, 798, 870, 877
1870s, 151, 153, 186, 223, 228, 243, 328, 330, 413, 420, 464, 469, 516, 521, 676, 697, 698, 699, 700, 720, 782, 870, 877
1880s, 151, 153, 186, 223, 243, 516, 521, 549, 676, 720, 737, 877
1890s, 17, 150, 153, 223, 350, 363, 549, 676, 720, 773, 796, 877
1900s (1900-1909), 18, 150, 363, 474, 549, 589, 773, 796
1910s (1910-1919), 91, 102, 474, 549, 589, 796, 944
1920s, 91, 102, 203, 474, 549, 796
1930s, 549, 796
1940s, 168, 492, 804
1950s, 168, 490, 776, 804
1960s, 776, 804, 846
1970s, 145, 776, 777, 846
1980s, 777, 780, 846
1990s, 75, 538, 846

Contributors

Yiorgos Anagnostou teaches ethnicity, Greek culture, and folklore at The Ohio State University. He is assistant editor of the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies.* He has published translations and articles on Greek America, the Greek diaspora, identity, and tradition.

Margaret K. (Meg) Brady teaches folklore and American Indian studies at the University of Utah where she has been recognized as the university distinguished teacher and as a presidential teaching scholar. Her research interests include women's folkore, American Indian folklore and literature, and folk narrative, particularly the life story. Her *"Some Kind of Power": Navajo Children's Skinwalker Narratives* received the American Folklore Society's Benjamin Botkin Prize; her *Mormon Healer and Folk Poet* won the society's Elli Kongas-Miranda Prize.

Hal Cannon is the founding director of the Western Folklife Center, Elko, Nevada, which produces the National Cowboy Poetry Gathering and other events. Since 2000, he has been based in Salt Lake City, where he creates radio programs and video productions on a variety of folklore-related topics. He is the editor of dozens of books, essays, recordings, and video products. Well-known as a musician and singer, Hal has played in the Deseret String Band, the Bunkhouse Orchestra, and the Secondhand Band.

Thomas Carter teaches architectural history and history at the University of Utah. He has published widely on vernacular architecture and the nineteenth-century cultural landscape of Utah and the American West. He has also directed an annual summer field school, in which students have done intensive research on historic buildings throughout the West. A skilled musician who plays a variety of instruments, he has been a member of the Deseret String Band, the Bunkhouse Orchestra, and the Secondhand Band.

Cory Cartwright graduated from Westminster College in 2004 with a B.A. in English; he wrote his senior thesis on Thomas Pynchon's novel *Mason & Dixon.* His experience in folklore classes led him to do research and give presentations on the folklore of young adults. Cory did much of the research for this book, especially for the bibliography and indexes.

A native Utahn, Michael Christensen is the staff folklorist at the Utah Cultural Celebration Center in West Valley City. He has presented and documented festivals, celebrations, and demonstrations at the Center, organized and installed gallery exhibits, and produced other cultural events featuring the Salt Lake Valley's folk, ethnic, and traditional artists. He has taught folklore, writing, and humanities courses at both Salt Lake Community College and Utah State University, where he received his M.S. in American studies/folklore. Michael met his wife during a fieldwork project, collecting the lore of a women's rugby team.

Carol A. Edison has worked for the Utah Arts Council since 1978 conducting fieldwork and producing public programs featuring Utah's American Indian, rural, occupational, and ethnic communities. She has lectured and written about cowboy poetry, Navajo basketry, Utah food traditions, Hispanic arts, Mormon material culture, Southeast Asian refugees, Polynesian immigrants, the folk culture of Sanpete Valley, gravestones, and Utah folk arts. Since 1986 she has been director of the Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts, a facility located in Salt Lake's Liberty Park that houses Utah's folklife archives and its state-owned collection of contemporary folk art.

Eric A. Eliason teaches folklore and Mormon literature in the English department of Brigham Young University. He is an ethnographer who has published on pioneers in Mormon popular historical expression, western American folk heroes, conversion narratives, and the popular image and civil rights of Mormons. He has edited volumes of essays, *Mormons and Mormonism* and *Celebrating Zion*, and written a book about J. Golden Kimball narratives.

Edward A. Geary teaches English at Brigham Young University. He is the author of several books and articles on Utah regional topics, including *Goodbye to Poplarhaven: Recollections of a Utah Boyhood* (1986), and *The Proper Edge of the Sky: The High Plateau Country of Utah* (1991). He is a native of Emery County and has written extensively on the history and folklore of the plateau region of the state.

Julie Hartley teaches cultural anthropology at Brigham Young University in Provo. She has a master's degree in American studies/folklore from Utah State University and a Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University. She has worked as an ethnologist at the Folk Arts Division of the Michigan State University Museum. She is currently engaged in research on folklore and nationalism in Switzerland.

Anne F. Hatch joined the Nevada Arts Council-Las Vegas field office as folklife program associate in March 2004. Prior to her move to Las Vegas, she served as program officer at the Utah Humanities Council (2000–2004) and as folk art specialist at the Utah Arts Council (1992–2000). She has an M.A. in American studies/folklore from Utah State University, specializing in material culture and family history, and a B.A. in anthropology from Oberlin College.

Matthew Irwin teaches history at Texas A&M University, where he is finishing his doctoral work in American cultural and social history. He has written on Vietnam War folklore, folklore and the martial arts, medieval anti-Semitic folklore, and geriatric humor. He is currently working on a book about the shifting folk expressions in the military from World War II to the first and second Iraq wars. He holds a B.A. in history from Westminster College, an M.A. in American studies/folklore from Utah State University, and a Third-Degree Black Belt in American freestyle karate. He is unsure which was the most grueling to earn.

Karen Krieger is the heritage resource coordinator for the Utah Division of Parks and Recreation. She has an M.A. in American studies/folklore from Utah State University and a B.A. in outdoor recreation from the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. She has worked for a variety of museums and cultural organizations including the Nebraska Game and Parks Commission, the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Wyoming, the Visual Arts Center of Alaska, and the Fife Folklore Archives.

Hector Lee (1908–1992) taught at the University of Utah in the late 1940s, when he founded the Utah Humanities Research Foundation and the folklore archive now housed in Special Collections of the Marriott Library. He published the first book-length study of Three Nephite legends in 1949. Lee later served as a dean at Chico State and Sonoma State colleges in California, where he did research on folktales and legends. Well-known in his lifetime as a humorist and raconteur, he made the first recording of J. Golden Kimball stories and the Brother Petersen (Scandinavian immigrant) yarns.

Barbara Lloyd is associate director of the Center for Folklore Studies at Ohio State University and also acts as database manager for the American Folklore Society. From 1978 to 1996, she helped build Utah State University's folklore program and archives, working with directors Bert Wilson and Barre Toelken. During that time, she also helped direct and coordinate the annual Fife Folklore Conference. She has taught folklore courses, helped to edit the journal *Western Folklore*, and compiled and edited an anthology, *Out of the Ordinary: Folklore and the Supernatural.* She holds a master's degree in American studies/folklore from USU.

Kathryn L. MacKay holds a Ph.D. in American Indian history from the University of Utah and now teaches history, honors, and women's studies at Weber State University in Ogden. She has also directed faculty development programs and currently directs the university's Office of Academic Service Learning. She has published articles and curriculum materials on American Indian history, Utah history, and women's history.

Craig R. Miller is a graduate of Florida State University who moved west in 1980 and completed a Master of Fine Arts degree at the University of Utah. He has worked at the Utah Arts Council in the Folk Arts Program since 1983 and now works closely with arts groups and ethnic communities to produce festivals, concerts, publications, and radio programs that help make diverse cultures accessible to the general public. As a folklorist, he specializes in studies of cultural diversity in the American West.

Liz Montague teaches humanities and folklore at Salt Lake Community College, where she has won teaching awards for her abilities. For the last decade, she has also been codirecting the Dugout Ranch Cultural Inventory Project, which involves students in researching and documenting a historic ranch in southeastern Utah.

Nicholas Newberry is a Westminster College student majoring in philosophy; he has interests in folk music and its relationships to popular music. His senior thesis concerns religion, violence, and just-war theory. He served as website designer and manager for the production of this book.

Philip F. Notarianni is director of the Utah State Historical Society, the state agency for history. He holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Utah and has published widely on immigration history, particularly that of eastern Utah and the Salt Lake Valley. A first-generation Italian American, he has researched and published on Italian immigration, culture, and folkways, with additional research conducted in Italy on the origins of Utah's Italian Americans.

Ed Reber teaches English and folklore at Dixie State College in St. George. He has researched the folklore of the southwestern part of the state, "Utah's Dixie," and has made many presentations on folklore and local history in the area. He has been actively involved in developing humanities programs at the college through workshops and administrative work.

Now retired from the Manuscripts Division in Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Ann Reichman was for many years in charge of the Folklore Archives at the University of Utah, which includes student collections and the papers and recordings of J. Golden Kimball, Lester Hubbard, and Jan Harold Brunvand. A lifetime member of the Folklore Society of Utah and a member of the Utah Historical Society, she spends her time in travel, writing, gardening, and hiking.

Elizabeth Rogers works in the Special Collections Division of the J. Willard

Marriott Library, University of Utah, where she supervises the Folklore Archive, which includes the papers and recordings of Lester Hubbard and Jan Harold Brunvand.

Jan Roush is director of the American studies program at Utah State University, where she teaches courses in folklore, western American literature, and Native American literature. She publishes in all three areas with current research focusing on the Native American writer Sherman Alexie.

Sarah M. Rudd first studied folklore on the cobblestone streets of Mexico, where she grew up. She earned a B.A. in English at Westminster College and an M.A. in American studies/folklore from Utah State University. She has published an article on *corridos* connected with the Ludlow Massacre; her principal research focus has been the folklore of ethnic groups in the West, specifically the Spanish-speaking.

Jill Terry Rudy, former director of the William A. Wilson Folklore Archives, teaches folklore and advanced writing courses at Brigham Young University. She has published articles on the history of folklore and English studies, foodways, Mormon folklore, and family folklore.

George H. Schoemaker works as a folklorist in the Folk Arts Program of the Utah Arts Council. He has taught university courses on both folklore and literature and has published articles in books and journals on material culture, narrative, performance, and belief. He served as lead editor for the folklore text *The Emergence of Folklore in Everyday Life* (Trickster Press, 1990). He is also the founder of the contemporary Celtic music group, Stonecircle, which performs frequently throughout the Intermountain West.

Stephanie Sherman-Petersen earned her B.A. in English at Westminster College, where she took every folklore course that was offered. In 2003, she earned an M.A. in teaching and now teaches middle school in Hillsboro, Oregon. Her students love to collect urban legends.

David Stanley teaches folklore and literature at Westminster College in Salt Lake City. He has published books, articles, and recordings on gospel music, storytelling, ethnic music, and the folklore and humor of folklorists. He coedited a collection of essays, *Cowboy Poets & Cowboy Poetry*, and produced a recording, *Cowboy Poetry Classics*, for Smithsonian Folkways. He previously worked as a folklorist for the Utah Arts Council, where he helped to produce festivals, concerts, and exhibits and edited the *Utah Folklife Newsletter*.

Elaine Thatcher is associate director of the Mountain West Center for Regional Studies at Utah State University. She has worked closely with many ethnic, occupational, and geographic communities of the West. She has worked at all levels of government as well as with a variety of nonprofits, including museums and humanities councils. Past projects include *The Spirit of Place* radio series (Western States Arts Federation), *Trappings of the American West* (Coconino Center for the Arts, Flagstaff, Arizona), and *Cowboy Poets & Cowboy Poetry* (University of Illinois Press, 2000). In 1978, she recorded a self-titled album of folksongs and performed extensively in Utah and Colorado; she also designs embroidery rooted in Mormon and western culture and has won honors for her work.

JACQUELINE S. THURSBY teaches folklore, mythology, women's culture, and both English and multicultural pedagogy at Brigham Young University in Provo. She has published books and articles on Basque Americans, cemetery studies, folkloristics, and secondary English pedagogy. Her books include *Mother's Table, Father's Chair*, a text about Basque American women, and *American Funerals, Mourning, and Foods: Festivals of Tradition.*

BARRE TOELKEN is emeritus professor of folklore and medieval literature at Utah State University. He is the author of dozens of articles and books on folklore, including *The Dynamics of Folklore, Morning Dew and Roses,* and *The Anguish of Snails.* He has held a number of posts within the discipline, including president of the American Folklore Society and chairman of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress. An accomplished singer and guitarist who enlivens his classes with music, he recorded *A Garland of American Folksong* containing primarily songs he had collected in the field.

RONDA WALKER is an instructor at Utah Valley State College in Orem, where she has pioneered the teaching of folklore and the beginnings of a folklore archive. She has published on quilting, Mormon rites of passage, Mormon urban legends, and foodways.

RANDY WILLIAMS is curator of the Fife Folklore Archives at Utah State University and is involved in USU's Digital Library Program. She currently serves on the Board of the Folklore Society of Utah and as the American Folklore Society Archival Liaison. Williams codirected the Fife Folklore Conference for five years and also created and directed USU's Kinship Conference. She has taught university courses in folklore and is active in the Arts in Education Program, developing curricula for folklife education, including the "Folklore and Folk Art Resource Guide."

WILLIAM A. (BERT) WILSON is university professor emeritus of folklore and literature at Brigham Young University, where he served as chair of the English Department, director of the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, and director of the Folklore Archives. At BYU he was named the Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Faculty Lecturer, the university's highest honor. From 1978 to

1984, he chaired the folklore program at Utah State University. In addition to articles and a book on Finnish folklore and *The Kalevala*, he has published dozens of articles on Mormon folklore, including incisive analyses of the folklore of missionaries, of Mormon jokes, and of Three Nephite Legends. He has also researched cowboy life in Nevada and Finnish saunas in Carbon County. He has served as a member and chair of the Folklore Panel of the National Endowment of the Arts. In 1998, he received Utah's Governor's Award in the Arts.

Kristi A. Young is the archivist at the William A. Wilson Folklore Archives at Brigham Young University in Provo. She has documented and published on Mormon folklore, particularly the courtship and wedding customs of young Mormon adults. Young cochaired the planning committee for the American Folklore Society annual meeting in Salt Lake City and also coordinated the American Folklife Center's annual summer field school, which in 2004 was held in Utah for the first time.

Photo Credits

Carl Fleischhauer, courtesy American Folklife Center, Library of Congress: pp. 36, 39, 110
Carol A. Edison, courtesy Utah Arts Council: pp. 80, 91, 108, 119, 160, 175, 193, 207 (bottom), 223, 228, 242, 271, 273
Courtesy *Deseret Morning News* Library Archives: pp. 51, 66, 190; Jack Monson, p. 70
Courtesy Elaine Eff: p. 237
Courtesy Fife Folklore Archives, Special Collections & Archives, Utah State University Libraries: pp. 21, 31, 33, 44, 77, 83, 94, 112, 232, 235; courtesy Alta Fife, pp. 45, 266
Courtesy First Unitarian Church, Salt Lake City: p. 8
Courtesy George H. Schoemaker: p. 58
Courtesy Giovale Library, College Archives, Westminster College: p. 3
Courtesy Jan Harold Brunvand: pp. 99, 101
Courtesy *Salt Lake Tribune*: p. 151
Courtesy Special Collections Department, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah: pp. 53, 62, 226
Courtesy Thomas Carter: p. 180
Craig R. Miller, courtesy Utah Arts Council: p. 129
David Stanley, courtesy Utah Arts Council: pp. 138, 158, 169, 185
Jack Brady, courtesy Western Regional Architecture Program, University of Utah: drawings on p. 182
Jens Lund, courtesy Utah Arts Council: p. 131
Karen Krieger, courtesy Utah Division of Parks and Recreation: p. 247
Neal Palumbo, courtesy Utah Arts Council: p. 207 (top)
Pat O'Donoghue, courtesy Margaret K. Brady: p. 113
Rolf Kay, courtesy Utah Arts Council: p. 195
Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society: pp. 24, 25, 28, 68, 70, 162, 222; courtesy Utah Writers, p. 147; courtesy Tony Torres, p. 151; courtesy Lagoon Corporation, p. 154; courtesy Milka Smilanich, p. 219

Index

Page numbers in boldface type refer to chapters or sections of chapters that focus on the topic indexed. Numbers in italics refer to photographs and captions.

Abramson, John C., 172
academic programs, 3, 4, 16, 89, 188, 202, **249–61**
acculturation, 164
Adamson, Jack, 100, 252
African Americans, 168
agriculture, 243
Alexander, Thomas G., 18
Allen Park, 267
Alley, John R., Jr., 132
Allred, David, 150, 152
Alter, Cecil J., 23, 158
altars, home, 168
American Folklife Center (Library of Congress), 37, 95
American Folklore Society, 4, 37, 40, 47, 55–56, 82, 95, 97, 144, 172, 190–91, 229
Ancelet, Barry, 236
Anderson, Jay, 15
Anderson, Nels, 24, 26
Anderson, Niels, *182*
Andes, *160*
Andrew, Laurel Blank, 183
apprenticeships, 13, 129, 138, 199
Arches National Park, 248
architecture, 12, 14, 101, 109, 166, 171–74, **178–84**, 190, 199, 200, 271–72
archives and collections, 12, 14, 16, 35, 36, 38, 46, 47, 52, 84, 85, 116, 200, 201, 254, 256, 259, **262–67**, **269–70**
Arrington, Chris Rigby, 173
Arrington, Leonard J., 180
Asian Association of Utah, 220
Asian Pacific Festival, 242
Atkins, Dennis H., 162
Attebery, Louie W., 40
autobiography, 128, 139, 140
awards, 195, 212

Baca, Elias, 159
Baldwin, Cinda, 211
ballads, 18, 40, 49, 50, 54, 55, 58, 60–66, 87, 90, 100, 163, 266
Barker, Marilyn, 177
basketry, 108, 135, 137, 141
Basques, 113, 163, 241
Bear Dance, 130, *131,* 132, 136
beehive (state symbol), 13, 105, 174, 191, 192, 268
Beehive Band, 10
beliefs, 17, 37, 40, 70, 71, 239
Benavides, E. Ferol, 156, 158, 166
Bennett, Keith, 183
Bentley, Harold W., 39, 60, 224–27, *226*, 252
bibliographies, 36, **279–336**
Bingham Canyon, 163, *219*
Birney, Hoffman, 27
Black, Mary Holiday, 124, 141, *195*, 199, *back cover*
Blakely, Pamela and Tom, 250
Bonamont, Mollie, 137
Bonar, Linda, 183
Book of Mormon, The, 7, 143, 145, 191
Booth, Bertha, 1–3, *3*
Bountiful, Utah, 142
Box, Edward Bent, Sr., 131
Bradley, Martha, 176
Brady, Margaret K., 12, 15, 104, 108–9, 111, 112, 113, *114*, 137, 150, 152, 167, 213, 233, 238, 253, 263
Briggs, Walter, 6
Brigham City, Utah, 137, 243
Brigham Young University (BYU), 9, 11, 15, 16, 55, 57, 79, 80, 83–85, 249–51, 259, 262–63
Brodie, Fawn, 15, 23
Bronner, Simon, 22
Brooks, Juanita, 15, 23–24, *24*, 26, 29, 163
Brown, Vanessa, *91*
Brunvand, Jan Harold, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 53, *53*, *77*, 82, 84, **97–102,** *99*, *101*, 148, 161, 163, 172, 179, 227, 231–34, *232*, 253, 256, 261, 263
Buckley, Bruce, *232*
Bulgaria, 65
Bullethead, Grant, 132

Burt, Olive Wooley, 15, **60–66**, *62*, *66*, 152

Cache County, 26, *180*
Cannon, Anthon S., 37, 168
Cannon, Georgius Y., 181
Cannon, Hal, 12, 13, *53*, 82, 83, 105–7, 164, 173, 186, 186–91, *190*, 202, 212, 231, 233, *235*, 236, *237*, 256, 259
Canyon Country Western Arts Festival, 243
Canyonlands National Park, 248
capitalism, 114
Capitol Reef National Park, 27, 248
Carbon County, 69, 71–74, 166–68
Carlson, Ron, 28
Carter, Kate B., 22, 32, *147*, 173
Carter, Thomas, 12, 13, 14, 53, 109, *110*, 173, 174–76, 183, 184, 186, 198, 211, *228*, 231
Carver, Wayne, 28
Cassidy, Butch, 27
Castellanoz, Eva, 239
Catholic Church, 217
Cedar City, Utah, 187, 241, 243
celebrations. *See* festivals
cemeteries, 104, *175*
censorship, 57
ceremonies, 130–32, 135, 136, 139
Cesspooch, Larry, 132
Chamberlin, Ralph V., 136
Chapoose, Connor, 128
Chase, Isaac, 13
Chase Home Museum of Utah Folk Arts, 13, *158*, *185*, **268–73**, *271*, *273*
Cheney, Thomas, 9, 12, 18, 22, 51, **54–59**, *58*, 100, 143, 155, 162, 224, 226–27, 249, 262
Chicago Folk-Lore Society, 7
Chicano. *See* Latino
Child, Francis James, 50, 54, 55, 146
children's literature, 26, 65, 123
Children's Museum of Utah, 212
Christiansen, Michael, 13, 16
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 7, 18, 34, 35, 143, 146, 147, *151*, 217, 273
Clemens, Samuel. *See* Twain, Mark
colleges and universities, 4, 11, 15, 16, 31, 35, 79, 83, 85, 98, 123, 124, **249–61**
"communitas", 241
compadrazgo, 158
conferences, 10, 11, 14, 83, 84, 93, 192–94, **230–39**, 255–56
corridos, *158*, 159
Coulbrooke, Star, 16, 235
Covington, Kae, 177
cowboys and cowboy lore, 12, 13, 14, 16, 45, 81, 82, 83, 106–8, 110, 153–55, 196, 243, 244, 246, 248, 259, 264, 266
Cowboy Poetry Gathering, 13, 82, 195
Cox, Allen, *242*
Coyote, 140
crafts. *See* folk arts
Croft, Gene, 53
Cross, Mary Bywater, 177
Crum, Beverly, 122, 123
Cry, the, 135
Culin, Stewart, 128
Cunningham, Keith, 127, 175
curanderismo, 156–58
customs and ritual, 39, 70, 159

da Silva, Thomaz, *119*
dance, 105, 131–32, 135, 197, 200, 201
Danish Heritage Festival, 241
Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 22, 32, 146, *147*, 173, 186
Davidson, Levette, 54, 144, 145
Davies, Kenneth J., 18
Davis, Mary Jayne, 16, 251
Days of '47 Parade, 136, 243
Dellenbaugh, Frederick S., 6, 7, 135
Densmore, Frances, 130, 132
Denver and Rio Grande Western Depot, *228*
Depression Era, **22–28**
Deseret News, 63, 65
Deseret String Band, 10, 186
deviance, 17
DeVoto, Bernard, 23, 26, 27
Diné. See Navajo
dinosaurs, 247
"Dixie" (Southwest Utah), 23–25
Dixie State College, 11, 251, 263
Domínguez, Father, 6
Dorson, Richard M., 10, 56, 69, 79, 80, 98, 103, 145, 155
Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan, 9
Draper, Ruth, 188
Duke, Doris, 127, 135, 139
Dundes, Alan, 233
Dutchie, Pattie, 129
Dwyer, Robert Joseph, 18

economy, 240
Edison, Carol A., 13, 15, 83, 104, 107, *108*, 115, 157, 174, 175, 176, 189, 195, 196, 211, 238
education and folklore, 115, 116, 189, 198, 201
Eliason, Eric, 16, 18, 103, 104, 114, 150, 152, 250
Elisa y los Fronterisos, *158*
Elliott, Ramblin' Jack, 58
El Salvador, *223*
Enduring Legacy, An, 22, 173
environment, 109, 110
Ephraim, Utah, *182*, 211, 241
Erickson, E. Gordon, 8
Escalante, Father, 6, 123

Espinosa, Aurelio, Sr., 9, 42
ethics, 121–22, 140
ethnic folklore, 12, 13, **67–75**, 113–15, **161–70**, 209, 211
ethnic organizations, **216–23**
ethnography, 120, 121, 124, 126, 133–39, 150, 152
ethos, 150–52
Euler, Robert C., 133, 134
evil eye, 71–72
exhibits, folk art, 129, 135, 140, 172–74, 189–92, 199, 268, 271, 272
Extension Division, University of Utah, *226*

Fairbanks, Mary Jane, *99*
fairs, 243
Farisi, Saied, 211
farms, living history, 15
Far West, Missouri, 1, 2
federal government. *See* United States
Feintuch, Burt, 233
fellowships, humanities, 211–12
Ferron, Utah, 243
festivals, 13, 16, 106, 169–70, 189, 192, 197–98, 209, *223*, 241–44, 251, 270, **274–78**
fiction, 15, 24–28, 67
fieldwork, 3, 14, 35, 42–43, 46, 88, 91, 114, 120–41, 192, 196, 201, 244–45, 251, 263
Fife, Austin and Alta, *front cover,* 1, 2, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 18, 21, 22–28, *31*, **41–48**, *44*, *45*, 103, *113*, 144, 146, 147, 148, 154–55, 161, 171, 174, 175, 183, 227, 230–39, *232*, 254, 258, 265, *266*
Fife, Carolyn, 2
Fife, James, 47
Fife, Marian, *45*
Fife Folklore Archives, 1, 14, 46, 47, 254, 265, 266
Fife Folklore Conference, 14, 38, 83, 93–95, 97, 192–93, *193*, 201, **230–39**, *232, 235*, 256
film, 109–10, 114
Finland, 79–81
First Unitarian Church, Salt Lake City, 5, 7
Fleischhauer, Carl, 174, 184
flutes, 129
folk (as concept), 144–45
folk arts, 13, 105, 114, 116, 163, 176, 190, *193,* 247, *266*, 268, 269
Folk Arts Program. *See* Utah Arts Council
folk group, 161
folklore:
    and humanities, 204–5
    courses, 12, 14, 32, **249–61** (*see also* academic programs; colleges and universities)
    history of, 19, 144
    minority, 4
    negative uses of, 17
    societies, **224–29**
    theory, 90–91, 93
Folklore in the American West conference, 10
Folklore Society of Utah (FSU), 9–12, 39, 40, 47, 53, 58, 60, 81, 82, 60, 100, 172, 198, 206, **224–29**, *226*, *228*
Folklorists:
    "First Generation," **22–75**
    role of, 17, 91–92
    "Second Generation," 17, *77*, **78–102**
    "Third Generation," 14, **103–17**
folk music. *See* music; folksongs
folk music revival, 9–10, 57, 224–25
folk poetry, 14, 104
folksongs, 9, 18, 19, **49–66**, 87, 89, 143–46, 159, 163, 186, 269
folk tales. *See* narratives
Folland, Hal, 32, 100, 252
foodways, 113, 157, 166, 168, 172, 174, 260
Fort Douglas, *175*, 183
Fowler, Catherine S., 134
Fowler, Mary Susanna, 15, 104
Francaviglia, Richard, 173, 180, 181
Fraser, Marianne, 167
Fraternidad El Salvador, *223*
Friendly Island Tongan Festival, 241
Fulbright fellowships, 79, 98, 101
funerals, 68, 104, 135–36
furniture, 105, 171–74, 176–77, 190

Gabbert, Lisa, 16, 106
Gardner, David P., *53*
Gardner, Patricia, 14, 231, 258
Garr Ranch, 246
gender issues, 14–15, 17, 41, 91, 110–11, 253
gender studies, 16
Gentiles, 3, 4, 18, 27
Georges, Robert, 69
German-American Society, 211
Germany, 90, 166–67
ghosts, 90
Giant Joshua, The, 24, 25, 146
Glaser, Meg, 202
Glass-Coffin, Bonnie, 238
Glassie, Henry, 11, 47, 172, 188, 233
globalization, 16, 114
Goeldner, Paul, 181, 184
Goldstein, Kenneth S., 10
González, William H., 159
Goodyear, Miles, 179
Gordon, Sarah Barringer, 18
Goshute Indian Tribe, 7, 108, 120, 122, 123, **136–37**, 138, 179, 211
gospel music, 207
Goss, Peter L., 12, 181
government, federal. *See* United States
government, state. *See* Utah
Graham, Andrea, 201

Grand Beehive Exhibit, 191–92
Grant, Heber J., 57
grants programs, 200, **204–15**
grave markers, 104, 105, 168, 171, 174–77, *175*
Great Depression, 22
Greek Americans, *169*
Greeks and Greek folklore, **67–75,** *162*
Greek Orthodox Church, 217–18
"Greek Town," 71, *162*
Green, Archie, 233
Green River, Utah, 243
Greenway, John, 10, 62
Grey, Zane, 9
Griffith, James, 233, *235*
Grouse Creek Cultural Survey, 109, *110*, 116, 174–75, 184, 196
Guggenheim Foundation, 38, 45, 100
Guinavah Campground, *235*

Hafen, LeRoy, 23
Halau Hula o Keola Hawai'ian Dancers, *237*
Hales, David, 3
Hamblin, Jacob, 132
Hamilton, Mark, 174
Hamilton, Missouri, 1, 2
Hand, Wayland, 9, 12, 23, 21–28, 21, **34–40**, *36*, 60, 103, 145, 224, *232*, 233, 252, 256, 263
Hardy, Pansy, 11–12, 251
Hartly, Julie, 250
Hatton, Utah, 29, 30
Hatch Anne F., 1, 13, 105, 157, 176, 195, 201
Haun's Mill, 2
Hawes, Bess Lomax, 187, 188, 192, 233
hay derricks, 47
Hayes, Alden, 120, 137
Hazelton, Dru, 16
Heart Throbs of the West, 22, 173
Heber City, Utah, 213, 243
Heed, Lottie, 51
Helper, Utah, 71
Henrichsen, Kirk, 174
Herder, Johann Gottfried, 79
Heritage Areas, 244–45
Hibernian Society, 211
Hillers, John K., 7
Hispanics. *See* Latinos
Historical Society. *See* Utah State Historical Society
histories, 18, 26, 27, 28, 138–40, 150, 158, 160, 167. *See also* oral history
holidays, 163
Hotel Utah, *190*
Hoyt, Mary, 49
Hubbard, Barbara, *51, 53*
Hubbard, Lester, 13, 18, 29, **49–53**, *51*, *53*, 100, 144, 146, 163
Hubbard, Sally, 50–51, *51*
Hufford, David, 232–34, 237
hula, 236, *237*
humanities, 32, 81, **204–15**
humor, 24, 56
hunting, 114, 122, 132, 140
Hurst, Winston, 139

Iber, Jorge, 160
Idaho, 40, 41, 54, 58, 78
immigrants and immigration, 4, 26, **67–75**, 113, 162–70, 184, 216, 218, 220–21
indexing, 37, 47
India Cultural Center, 211
Indian Awareness Center, 212
Indian Claims Commission, 134
Indiana University, 11, 35, 37, 79–81, 98
Industrial Workers of the World, 10
Intermountain Folk Music Council, 10, 226
internet, 115, 201
internment camps, 165
Iran hostage crisis, 39
Ireland, 112, *114*
Italy, 112

Jabbour, Alan, 186, 187, 233
Japan, 90
Jarman, Casey, 13
Jensen Living Historical Farm, 15, 231, 244
Jepson, James, 52
Jewish Community Center, 218
Jewish folklore, 112
Johnson, Zeke, 42
jokes, 17, 113, 148
Jones, Louis C., 22, 31
Jones, Suzi, 232
Jordan, Teresa, 233
Jorgensen, Joseph, 127, 131
Journal of American Folklore, 7, 37, 52, 95, 97, 146
journals, 7, 12, 22, 29, 32, 37, 84, 95, 97, 140
Juma, Rajab, *185*
Juneteenth Heritage Festival, 211

Kalevala, The, 14, 79
Kanab, Utah, 64
Kane, Elizabeth Wood, 181
Kanosh, Utah, 125
Katsanevas, Emmanuel, *162*
Katsanevas, Jim, *169*
Kelen, Leslie G, 164–65
Kelly, Charles, 23, 27, 139
Ketchum, Aldean, *129*, 129
Kimball, J. Golden, 27, 29, 56, 57, 104, 150, 152, **153–55**, *154*, 168, 186, 212, 235, 264
Kimball, Stan, 155
King, Bob, 16, 205
Kirtland, Ohio, 1

Knack, Martha C., 134
Knight, Uncle Jesse, 27
Knowlton, David, 157
Kol Ami Temple, 218
Komas, Richard, 120, 125
KRCL radio, 197, *207*
Krieger, Karen, 248
Kroeber, Alfred L., 126, 128
Ku Klux Klan, 71, 73

Lamb Days Festival, 242
landscape, 178, 180, 183
Larson, Andrew Karl, 25
Latinos, 115, **156–60**, 166
Lau, Kimberly, 16, 116, 253
Lauritzen, Jonreed, 25
Laws, G. Malcolm, Jr., 54
Layton, Stanford, 12
LDS Church. *See* Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
Leavitt, Michael, *195*
Lee, Dorothy Demetrakopoulos, 69
Lee, Hector, 9, *21*, **29–33**, *31*, *33*, 100, 145, 155, 168, 186, *232*, 233, 252, 256
Lee, John D., 27
legal issues, 134–35, 138, 141
legends,7–9, 91, 157
  urban, 11, 17, 18, **97–102**
Leone, Mark, 183
Liberty Park, Salt Lake City, 13, 136, *160*, 197, 200, 243, 268
Library of Congress, 42. *See also* American Folklife Center
liminality, 237
Lindahl, Carl, 233
linguistics, 120, 124–25, 133,
literature, 50, 55, 59, 89–90
Little Wagon, 121
Living Traditions Festival, 13, *119*, *169*, 197–98, *207*, *223*, 242
Lloyd, Barbara, 16, 83, 116, 201, 256, 258, 259, 265
Logan, Utah, 10, 14, 41, 138, 172, 187, 227, 235, 243
Logan Canyon, 149
Lone Bear, Sam, 132
Lopez, Rafael, 27, 157
Lowie, Robert, 128, 131, 132, 133
Lucero Ward, *151*
Luckert, Karl, 140
Lyman, Edward Leo, 18

MacKay, Kathryn L., 16, 124, 260
Magerou, Georgia Latherou, 72–74, 163
Manners, Robert, 133, 134
Marion, Effie, 8
Marshall, Don, 28
Marshall, Howard, *232*
Marudas, George, *169*
Mason, J. Alden, 126
Massachusetts, 86–87
material culture, 11, 12, 47, 128–30, 133, 135, 137, 140–41, 163, **171–77**, 198, 265–66
Matthews, Washington, 123, 139
Mayer, Edward A., 157–59, 166
Mayer, Vincente V., 157
McCormick, John, 18
McCurdy, Ed, 58
McCurdy, Molly, 137
McPherson, Robert, 124, 140
medicine, folk, 72–73, 88
Mendon, Utah, *180*
Mexicans. *See* Latinos
Michigan, 97–98
Midway, Utah, 202, 204
midwifery, 67, 72, 73, 163
Mieder, Wolfgang, 233, 238
Mike, Billy, *129*, 129
military folklore, 45
Millard County, 29, 30
Miller, Craig R., 13, 105, *108*, *119*, 157, 168, 195, 197, 200, *207*
Miller, George Morey, 9, 55
Miller, Wick, 122, 124, 127, 137
Milner, Clyde, 258
Milspaw, Yvonne, 123
miners and mining, 18, 35, 40, 72, 88, 167
Miners Day, 242
misogyny, 17
missionaries, 17, 81, 87
Mitchell, Robert C., 183
Moab, Utah, 43, *44*
Mondays in the Park Concert Series, *158*, *185*, 199, 272, *273*
Montague, Liz, 16, 107, 251
Montell, Lynwood, 233
Morgan, Dale, 23
Mormon Church. *See* Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
Mormon Country, 9, 18, 27, 29, 42, 145, 146, 154, 157
Mormon culture region, 181
Mormon folklore, 2, 9, 12, 14, 16, 18, 39, 43–44, 48, 55–58, **78–85**, **103–6**, **142–55**, 161–62, 173–74, 262, 264–65
Mormon lounge, *176*
Mormon Trail, 1
Mormons: 3, 7
  folklore about, 1, 18
  history of, 2
Morningstar, Connie, 173
Mortenson, Russell, 23
Mountain Meadows Massacre, 18, 24, 36
Mt. Pleasant, Utah, *176*, 243
Mulder, William, 29, 32, 40, 60, 66, 161, 162, 252

Mullen, Patrick, 234
multiculturalism, 16
Münchhausens, 98–99
museums, 13, 105, 123, 129, 130, 199, 244, 270–73
music, 13, 125, 130–31, 133, 135, 157, 166, 168
myths, 120, 137

narratives, 87, 120, 122–23, 125–27, 132–35, 136–40, 168, 186. *See also* storytelling
National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), 12, 14, 82–83, 95, 141, 186–89, 191–94, 196, 197, 199, 200–202, 231, 259, 271
National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), 38, 204, 205, 214, 257
nationalism, 79
Native Americans, 6, 7, 14, 15, 30, **86–96**, 105, 108–9, 112, **120–41**, 173, 178–79, 190, 208–9, 210–11, 213, 221, 237–38, 241, 247, 269, *271*
nature, 109–10
Nauvoo, Illinois, 26
Navajo Indian Tribe, 15, 17, 88, 90–93, 108–9, 121, 123, 124, 127, 132, 133, 134, 135, **139–41**, 164, 165, 167, 175, 177, 179, 195, 199, 210, 211, 243, 269, 272
Navajo Mountain Chant, 123
needlework, 114
Neff, S. B., 30, 31, 32
Nelson, Ann Elizabeth, 173, 190
Nelson, Lowery, 180
Neustadt, Kathy, 236
Nichols, Jeffrey, 18
Noall, Claire, 163
Northern Ute Tribe. *See* Ute Indian Tribe
Northwest Folklore (journal), 95
Norway, 98
Notarianni, Phillip, 164, 174, 183, 184

Obilich and Dushan Serbian Lodge, *219*
O'Donoghue, Mac, *114*
Oktoberfest, 241
Olympics, 2002 Winter, 202, 213, *247*
Oman, Richard, 105, 174, 176, 198
Omar, Tarek, *185*
Open Heart coffee house, *162*
oral history, 121, 127–28, 135, 139–40, 159, 164–65, 169
Orderville, Utah, 27, 49, 242, 244
Oregon, 89
Oring, Eliot, 233, 237
Osborne, Douglas, 120
Oshley, Navajo, 139
otherness, outsiders, "out-group," 17, 71
Ottogary, Willie, 138
Our Pioneer Heritage, 22, 173

Padilla, Genaro M., 159
Paiute Indian Tribe, 6, 7, 18, 29, 108, 120, 123, **132–36**, 140, 179, 189, 210, 211, 241
Paiute Restoration Gathering and Powwow, 241
Palmer, William R., 123
Palmyra, New York, 1
Papanikolas, Helen Zeese, 13, 15, 18, 28, **67–75**, *68*, *70*, 161–63, 165, 172, 173, 212, 218, 252
parks, national and state, 27, 31, 109, 189, 202, **246–48**
Parry, Mae, 121, *138*, 138–39
Paulsen, Deidre A., 16, 107–8, 114, 116
Paxman, Shirley, 173, 174
Pearce, T. M., 31
Peel, Dale, *176*
Peoples of Utah, The, 69, 164, 173, 218
"performer-hero," 153
Peterson, Charles, 12, 18
Peterson, Joe, 251
Peterson, Levi, 28
peyote, 132, 137
Phillips, Bruce "U. Utah," 10, 224
Pioneer Day (24th of July), 24, 64, 243
pioneers, 17, 30
plastering, 166
polygamy, 18, 26, 27, 56, 58, 184
popular culture, 4, 16, 97
pottery, 168, 174
Poulsen, Richard, 12, 162, 163, 165, 173, 174, 150
Pound, Louise, 262
Powell, Allan Kent, 167
Powell, John Wesley, 6, 7, 120, 124–26, 128, 132, 137
powwows, 136, 209–11, 243
Price, Utah, 113, 187, 241
proverbs, 102
Provo, Utah, 28, 79, 187, 250
public-sector folklore, 3, 12–13, 14, 15, 16, 82–83, 95, **186–203**
Pueblo Nuestro, *160*

quilts, 106, 174, 176–77, 221

race and racism, 17, 26, 89
radio programs, 168–69, 197–98, 201, *207*
Rainbow Bridge, 140
ranching, 184, 196
Rancho Chico, 225–26
Randall, Deborah Lyn, 183
Randlett, Utah, *131*
Raspa, Richard, 174
Reagan, Albert B., 131, 136
Reber, Ed, 16, 251
Reed, Albert Z., 131

region and regional folklore, 9, 10, 32, 40, 143, 145, 148, 181
religion, 216–18
Rhodes, Carolyn, 231
Rhodes, Willard, 130
Richards, Nancy, 174, 190
Ricks College, 54
Rider, Rowland, 107–8
rituals. *See* customs
Rivera, Juan Maria Antonio, 6
Rivera, Orlando A., 157
Road Scholars program, Utah Humanities Council, 211, 212
Roberts, Allen, 173, 183
Robertson, Leroy J., 146
Rockefeller Foundation, 29, 31, 43
Rockwell, Orrin Porter, 27
rodeos: 243
  gay, 214–15
Romania, 101
Round Dance, 135
Roush, Jan, 15, 107, 115, 235
Rudy, Jill Terry, 1, 16, 104, 115
Ruess, Everett, 27
Russia, 114

Saba, 113
Salsa Brava, 231
Salt Lake City, 1, 7, 13, 18, 24, 27, 28, 64, 104, 136, *151,* 158, *160, 175,* 180, 181, 183, 186, 190, *197,* 218, 222, *223,* 226, *228,* 231, *237*, 240, 241
Salt Lake City Arts Council, 169, 170
Salt Lake Community College (SLCC), 251–52, 263
Salt Lake Tabernacle, 183
Salt Lake Temple, 104, 174, 183, 186, 240
Salt Lake Tribune, 65
Sanpete County, 14, 26, 104, *182*, 243, 244
Sapir, Edward, 120, 126, 133, 135
Scandinavians, 164, 165, 166, 168, 183, 241
Schoemaker, George H., 13, 104, 149, 175, 195, 200
Scofield, Utah, 184
Scots, 163, 183
Sekaquaptewa, Emory, 233
Serbs, 163
settlement patterns, 179–80
shamans, 238
Sharp, Cecil J., 54
Shoshone Indian Tribe, 108, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 132, 133, 136, **137–39**, 179, 210, 245, 264, 269
Simon, Chris, 109
Siporin, Steve, 4, 15, 71, *113*, 174, 235, 236, *237*
Smith, Anne Milne (Cooke), 120, 122, 126–27, 128, 131, 137
Smith, Joseph, 178
Smith, Melvin T., 12
Smithsonian Institution, 13, 123, 182, 192
social values, 17
Sorensen, Virginia, 26
Sorrels, Jim, 10, 226
Sorrels, Rosalie, 10, 186, 224, 226
Southern Paiutes. *See* Paiute Indian Tribe
Southern Utah Folklife Festival, 189, *242*
Spencer, Joseph C., 181
Spier, Leslie, 126
Stanford University, 9, 41, 211
Stanley, David, 13, 14, 107–09, *108*, *138*, 159, 195, 198–200, 236, *237*, 261, 263
Stegner, Wallace, 7, 9, 18, 23, 27, *28*, 146, 154, 157, 178, 255
stereotyping, 17, 121
Steward, Julian, 120, 131, 133, 134, 136, 137
Stewart, Omer, 120, 123, 128, 132, 133–37
Stewart, Polly, 188, 231
Stock, Jody R., 183
Stone, Elisa, 16
stonemasons, 166, 183
storytelling, 17, 29, 78, 107, 109, 122, 198–99
Sturges, Phillip C., 167
Sun Dance, 127, 131, 132, 138
supernatural, 145–48, 150
Swiss, 164, *222*

Taber, Susan Buhler, 152
Talley, Jeannine, 37
Taniguchi, Nancy, 159
tales. *See* narratives
Taylor, Archer, 35
Taylor, J. Golden, 10, 224
Taylor, John, 18
Taylor, Samuel W., 26, 28
teenagers, 4
Temple Square, 240
Tent Show, 213–15
termination of Native American rights, 134–35
Territorial Statehouse, 246
Terry, Jill Rudy, 250
Texas, *158*
textbooks, folklore, 11, 15, 90–91, 99, 100, 253
Thatcher, Elaine, 10, 16, *108*, 109, 174, 176
Thayer, Douglas, 28
theory, folklore, 37
This Is the Place State Park, *169, 197, 207*, 244
Thomas, Jeannie, 15, 109, 111, 149, 235
Thorp, N. Howard "Jack", 46
Three Nephites, 7–9, 29, 32, 35, 43, 81, 145–46
"Three Nephites" (Austin Fife, Wayland Hand, Hector Lee), 9, *21*, 22, 29
Thursby, Jaqueline S., 16, 104, 114, 250
Tillohash, Tony, 120, 126, 133

Timbimboo, Moroni, 121
time, sense of, 237–38
tipis, *247*
Toelken, Barre, 10, 11, 15, 17, 18, *77*, 82, **86–96**, *89*, 121, 122, 140, 148, 160, 164, 231–36, *232*, 235, *235*, *237*, 239, 253, 256, 259, 263
Toquerville, Utah, 61
tourism, 16, 106, **240–45**
towns, 180
Treasures of Pioneer Heritage, 22, 173
Tremonton, Utah, 243
tricksters, 127, 155
Truitt, Esther Ruth, 174
Twain, Mark, 2, 7
Tyler, S. Lyman, 6

Uintah-Ouray Northern Ute Reservation, 124, 126, 128, *131*
United States and federal government, 18, 95, 123
universities. *See* colleges and universities
University of California, Berkeley, 50
University of California Los Angeles (UCLA), 9, 35
University of Chicago, 2, 34, 50
University of Idaho, 55
University of Utah (U of U), 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 29, 30–31, 32, 34, 50, 52, 65, 99, *226*, 252–54, 253, 263–65
urban legends. *See* legends
Utah and state government, 1, 19, 214–15, 240, 244, 246–48, **268–73**
Utah Arts Council, 12, 14, 15, 82, 116, 169–70, **187–201,** 206, 228, 242
Utah Cultural Celebration Center, 13
Utah Division of Parks and Recreation, *247*
Utah Folk Arts Collection, 268–69
Utah Folk Arts Exhibition, 190–91, *190*
Utah Folklife Newsletter, 4, 29, 142, 228–29
Utah Heritage Products Alliance, 244
Utah Historical Quarterly, 12, 13, 69, 112, 158, 162, 167, 174, 228
Utah Humanities Council (UHC), **204–15**, *207*
Utah Humanities Research Foundation, 32, 52
Utah Humanities Review, 29, 32, 52
Utah Quilt Heritage Project, 211
Utah-Russia Institute, 211
Utah State Folklore Archives, **269–70**
Utah State Historical Society, 12, 14, 47, 65, 82, 169, 228–29
Utah State University (USU), 11, 12, 14, 15–16, 37, 41, 54, 82–84, 86–88, 183, *193*, 201, 206, 208, 230–39, 245, 254–60, 265–66, *266*
Utah Travelers, *207*
Utah Valley State College (UVSC), 105–6, 260, 266
Ute Indian Tribe, 6, 7, 108, 120, **124–32**, 139, 140, 164, 179, 202, 208, 210, *247*
Utter, Rev. David, 7–9, *8*, 265

Van Gennep, Arnold, 43, 47

Walker, Don D., 252
Walker, Ronda, 16, 105, 260
Warner, Ted J., 6
Wasatch County, *247*
water, 17, 26, 64, *83*, 148
weaving, 140
Weber State University (WSU), 260
Wellsville, Utah, *180*, 244
Welsch, Roger, 232–34, 237
West, folklore of, 9, 40, 106
West, Ray Benedict, 8
West Valley City, Utah, 13, 136, 202, 211, 241, 243
Western Folklife Center, 13, 95, 105, 110, 195
Western Folklore (journal), 37, 52, 84, 95
Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF), 194
Westminster College, 2, 14, 261, 267
Wheeler Farm, 244
Whipple, Maureen, 15, 24–25, *25*, 146
Whitelock, Kenly W., 52
Whitley, Colleen, 181
Wigginton, Eliot, 231
Wilde, Glenn, 14, 230, 231, 255
Wiley, Peter, 18
Williams, Randy, 16, 116, 201, 235
Wilson, William A. "Bert", 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 25, **78–85**, *77*, *80*, *83*, 142, 143, 149, 150, 155, 163, 164, 184, 187, 192, 195, 227–28, 231, *232*, 233–35, 249, 256, 259, 262
witchcraft, 92, 108, 142
women, 14–15, 17, 26, 66, 91, 110–11, 149
wood carving, *242*

yards, 166
yeibichei, 140
Yellowman, Hugh, 88–92, 121, 122, 140
Yoder, Don, 172
Young, Brigham, 8, 13, 105, 273
Young, Karl E., 18
Young, Kristi A., 16, 105

Zion National Park, 189, *242*, 248, 251
Zucker, Louis, 100, 224, 252, 263