
American Folklife Center
The Library of Congress

Fall 1991

Volume XIII, Number 4

folklife center news



Following the "Acadian Mass" held at St. David Church in St. David, Maine, June 27, 1991, parishioners carrying commemorative family banners lead clergy and congregation down to the place on the banks of the St. John River thought to be the site where Acadians first landed in the region (see photo on page 7). The history and cultural traditions of Acadians in northern Maine are described in an article that begins on page 4, part of a report from the American Folklife Center's Maine Acadian Cultural Survey. (MAP-LO-B002-4) Photo by Lisa Ornstein

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EDITOR'S NOTES

Maine Acadians

For those who think that Acadian-American culture exists only in Louisiana, this issue of *Folklife Center News* offers a catalog of expressive traditions from northern Maine documented for the Center's Maine Acadian Cultural Survey. French settlement in Louisiana and Maine was deeply affected by seventeenth-century events that lead to the Acadian diaspora or *La Grande Dérangement*, and the words *Cajun* and *Acadian* both derive from *Arcadie*, the original name for the region that is now New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Hendrix Redux

One more letter on Jimi Hendrix, for all the scholars of the performer's style, but no more, please. (See Joe Wilson, "Instrument of Blind Men and Kings," Folklife Center News, spring 1990) There are many other guitarists, after all—and a number of them are pictured in this issue of the newsletter, part of a report on significant acquisitions for the Archive of Folk Culture.

Re: "More on Jimi Hendrix" (Folklife Center News, summer 1991). I'm a fan of Hendrix. I even think his best work is right up there with Stravinsky, but it's *not* true, as claimed by letter-writer Gary Serkin, that he "introduced a new form of creative showmanship . . . playing with his teeth, behind his head and back . . ." Such showmanship was a longtime staple of the blues world from the legendary days of Charley Patton and Robert Johnson up through the late T-Bone Walker and J.B. Hutto to the surviving Albert Collins, Luther Allison, and others, none of whom copied Hendrix.

There's a beautiful old photo of T-Bone playing a large guitar behind his head while doing splits! It is reproduced at page 16 of the booklet with *The Complete Recordings of T-Bone Walker*

1940-1954 (Mosaic Records) (photo courtesy Michael Ochs collection).

The advent of electric guitars clearly made playing with your teeth somewhat risky: electric shock from spittle? But electrification also permits the hundred-foot extension cord favored by Albert Collins, among other show persons. Thus, without any loss of amplification, the guitarist can walk among the crowd, can even be carried on the broad shoulders of loyal retainers, playing all the while.

At the risk of adding fuel to the fire of the Joe Wilson-Gary Serkin debate over whether Hendrix was a guitar-destroyer, may I express my own feeling that he rarely destroyed guitars, but in any event was less likely to smash them à la Townsend than to (Wasn't this in a movie?) spray lighter fluid on the guitar, set it on fire, and make a quasi-religious burnt offering to the Blues-Rock Muse.

Anton J. Mikofsky
New York, New York

Cultural Resources Management Directory from NPS

While it is not the policy of this newsletter to advertise the publications of publishers other than the Library of Congress, a new sixty-page booklet from the National Park Service (NPS), *A Directory of Training Opportunities in Cultural Resources Management*, is so much in accord with the Center's interest in cultural conservation as to warrant notice here. The directory identifies workshops, courses, seminars, and other short classes in cultural resources management sponsored in the United States by various institutions from October 1991 through December 1992. Copies may be obtained from Emogene Bevitt, National Park Service (424/413), P.O. Box 37127, Washington, D.C. 20013-7127. Telephone (202) 343-9561.

Recognition for Folklife Specialists

While hundreds of professional specialties—including historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists—are recognized in the job classifications of the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), which is the employment office for the federal government, OPM has no classification for “folklorist.”

When the American Folklife Center was created at the Library of Congress in 1976, the folklorists hired for the new office were placed in the catch-all classification of “arts and information specialist.” Today the Center has four staff members with Ph.D. degrees—and several others with M.A.’s—in folklore and related fields, and recently the Library’s personnel office has agreed to give official sanction to the title “folklife specialist” we have been using informally.

During the past two decades the number of public-sector folklorists has grown significantly. Many government and private agencies have found occasion to hire folklorists for work on temporary or permanent programs. Folklorists in these agencies have expressed the need for a federal-wide job classification for folklorists as a standard to which they can refer, or at least for information about the specific job descriptions actually used now by individual federal agencies.

Unfortunately, the number of folklorists employed by the federal government, and the number of federal agencies in which folklorists work, have been too small to justify a federal-wide job classification. Although the Center has been told that an argument to the contrary will be difficult and time-consuming to make, it is taking up this matter with the OPM to see where it leads. In the meantime, we have sent the job descriptions we have recently used for folklife specialists, along with a statement of our policies and procedures regarding the employment of contract fieldworkers, to academic and public folklore programs throughout the country. To receive copies of these documents, contact Timothy Lloyd, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540. □

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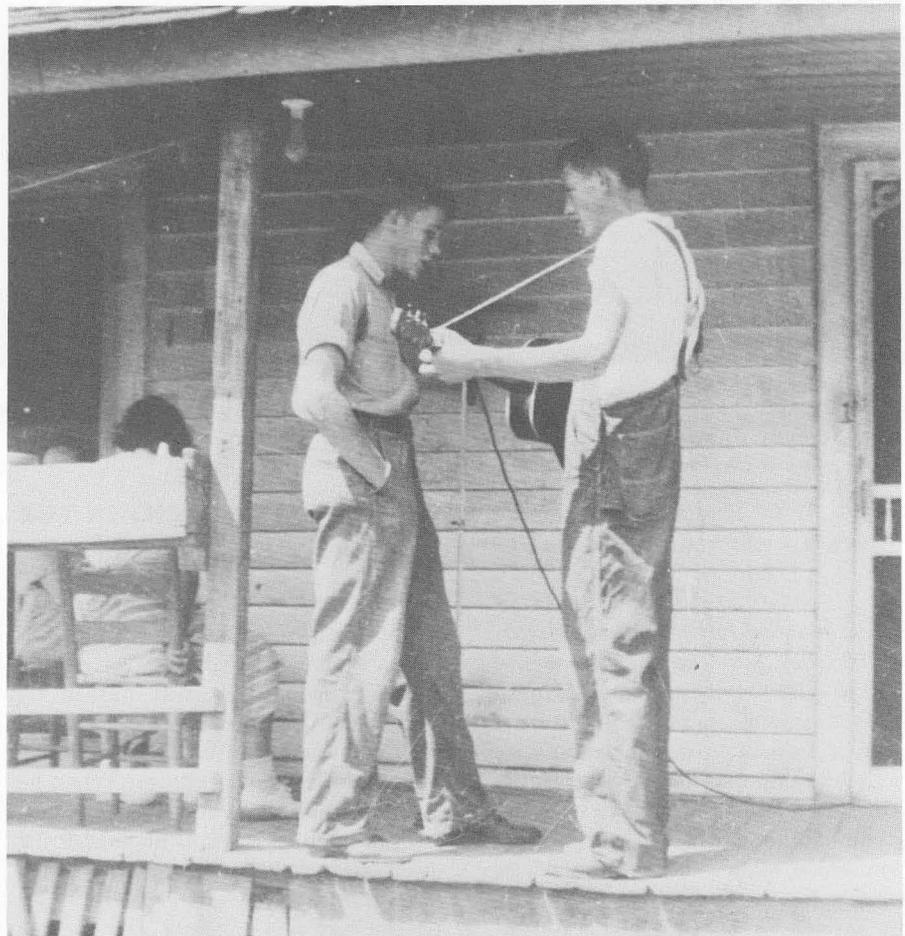
For timely information on the field of folklore and folklife, including training and professional opportunities and news items of national interest, a taped announcement is available around the clock, except during the hours of 9 A.M. until noon (eastern time) each Monday, when it is updated. Folkline is a joint project of the American Folklife Center and the American Folklore Society. Dial:

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FOLKLIFE CENTER NEWS

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Folklife Center News publishes articles on the programs and activities of the American Folklife Center, as well as other articles on traditional expressive culture. It is available free of charge from the Library of Congress, American Folklife Center, Washington, D.C. 20540. *Folklife Center News* does not publish announcements from other institutions or reviews of books from publishers other than the Library of Congress. Readers who would like to comment on Center activities or newsletter articles may address their remarks to the editor.



Zeb and Winfred Hannah performing for Joseph S. Hall in Cove Creek, North Carolina, ca. 1941. This photograph by Hall is one of eighty-three he donated to the Folklife Center to accompany the field recordings he made in the Great Smoky Mountains from the 1930s through the 1960s. Other recent acquisitions are listed on page 14.

THE LONG HARD ROAD TO MADAWASKA: ACADIAN CULTURAL RETENTION IN MAINE'S UPPER ST. JOHN VALLEY



Spring potato planting on the farm of Léonard Gagnon in Frenchville, Maine, May 1943. (LC-USW-3-30705-C)
Farm Security Administration photo by John Collier, Jr.

By C. Ray Brassieur
with the editorial assistance of
David A. Taylor

During June and July of 1991, the American Folklife Center conducted a survey of Acadian culture in Maine's Upper St. John Valley, located in the state's northernmost county of Aroostook. The project was directed by Center folklife specialist David A. Taylor and conducted in cooperation with the North Atlantic Regional Office of the National Park Service, under a mandate of the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act, which was passed by the U.S. Congress in November 1990 (see Folklife Center News, volume XIII, no. 3, summer 1991, p. 5). C. Ray Brassieur was the project's field coordinator. The following is an excerpt from a report submitted to the Park Service at the completion of the survey.

PART I: SETTLEMENT IN THE ST. JOHN VALLEY

The naming of the North American region known as Acadie or Acadia has been variously attributed. According to one account, it was named by Giovanni Verrazano, who explored the Atlantic Coast for France during the early sixteenth century. When he visited what is now the Middle Atlantic states one April, "he found the vegetation so luxuriant that he named the country 'Arcadie' in remembrance of the region of ancient Greece whose innocence and joie de vivre were celebrated by the poets."¹ But whatever the provenance of the name, during the early years of the seventeenth century, "Arcadie" was changed to "Acadie" and came to refer to the ter-

ritory now known as New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The date of the first European contact with Acadia is unknown, but contemporary historians seem to agree that French fishermen and fur traders were among the first to land on its shores. Undoubtedly, commercial interest in the region was stimulated when the French monarchy began to grant American fur monopolies in 1588. In 1604, the merchant Pierre du Gua sieur de Monts, along with 120 men, including Samuel de Champlain and Jean de Poutrincourt, landed at St. Croix Island near the mouth of the St. Croix River (between Maine and New Brunswick) and initiated the first French attempt to settle North America.

Eighty members of the party re-

maintained on the island after the ship returned to France. During the first winter, the harsh climate claimed thirty-five lives, and the colony was moved to a more favorable site at Port-Royal (now Annapolis Royal) in present-day Nova Scotia. Eventually it was abandoned, and the settlers returned to France.

A second group of colonists returned to Port-Royal in 1610, more joined the group the following year, and in 1613 another colony was established at St. Sauveur on Mount Desert Island, Maine. Later that year, the colonies at Port-Royal and St. Sauveur were both destroyed by English colonists from Virginia. While most of the French colonists returned to France after the disaster, a few stayed behind and maintained a French presence.

Territorial Conflict

This conflict between the English and the French was merely one of the first in a long series of encounters that would unfold over the next 150 years in the area around the Bay of Fundy. Port-Royal was occupied by the British throughout the 1620s. In 1621, the King of England gave the concession of Acadia (now named Nova Scotia) to Sir William Alexander. Alexander began a small colony in 1629, but it was disbanded in 1632 when the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye returned Acadia to France. By 1636, other small settlements had been established elsewhere in Acadia, and by 1650 Acadia had over four hundred French inhabitants, including forty-five to fifty families in the Port-Royal and La Hève areas. These families are generally considered to be the founders of the Acadian population.

English forces seized Port Royal in 1654 and held Acadia for the next thirteen years. By the time France regained the territory in 1667 under the terms of the Treaty of Breda, the French settlers who remained had developed a capacity to think and act in their own interests, independent of European authorities. They adapted their French agrarian customs to the local environment, and they began to think of themselves as a people separate from their fellow Frenchmen

in the mother country and in settlements in Quebec. Because their territory "was subjected to divergent policies that turned it into a pawn on the great chessboard of imperialistic politics," the settlers concluded that, in order to survive, "neutrality was the wisest course until one of the combatants finally won the struggle."² The developing Acadian identity remained intact throughout the Anglo-French struggle for domination in North America.

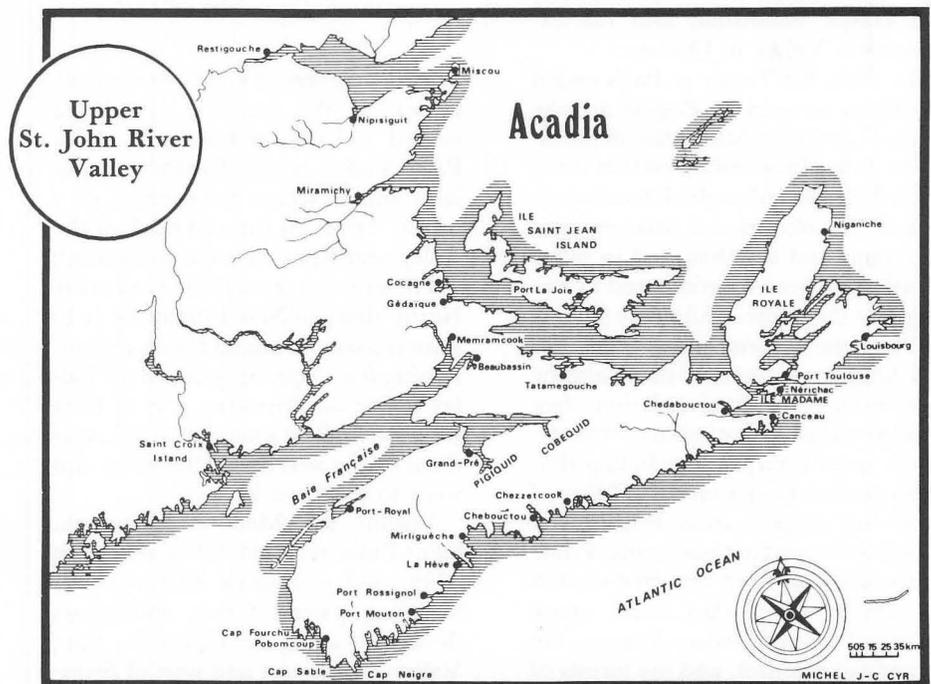
In 1713, Acadia became a permanent English possession as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht. The English wished to make the Acadians into British subjects and tried to persuade them to swear an unconditional oath of alliance. But the Acadians refused, insisting that they would not swear alliance to the English Crown unless their Catholic faith would be respected and they could remain neutral in any conflict between the English and local Indians. The English agreed and allowed the Acadians to pursue farming, fishing, and fur trading as before.

English tolerance of the Acadians' neutrality ended in the 1740s, however, when warfare resumed in

Europe between Great Britain and France and sparked the renewal of hostilities in North America. Warfare ceased in 1748, and the English then instituted a policy that would have tremendous repercussions for the Acadians. Previously concerned with commercial enterprises in the region, the English adopted the new goals of territorial acquisition and colonization. In the view of British officials and of the immigrants who came to Acadia from New England after the founding of Halifax in 1749, the Acadians, who had ties with the French and the Indians, were obstacles to English settlement.³

Acadian Diaspora

Following the resumption of hostilities between the English and the French in 1754, Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia again demanded that Acadians swear an unconditional oath of allegiance to the English Crown. Despite the growing strength of the English, the Acadians rejected the demand, and on July 31, 1755, Lawrence ordered the forcible removal of



Acadia during the French régime, territory which today includes Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. From *The Acadians of the Maritimes: Thematic Studies*, edited by Jean Daigle (Moncton, New Brunswick: Centre d'études acadiennes, 1982), p. 127.

the colony's large Acadian population. Thus began the Acadian diaspora, otherwise known as *La Grande Dérangement*.

During the next few years, thousands of Acadians were loaded onto British merchant vessels and dispersed throughout the English colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia. For many Acadians, the disruption continued for thirty years or more. Some were imprisoned in England, some were removed to France, and others made their way to the West Indies, Quebec, and Louisiana. Many died of disease and hardships suffered during the expulsion. Of Nova Scotia's twelve thousand to eighteen thousand resident Acadians, six thousand to seven thousand were removed from their homeland.

It is estimated that as many as one thousand Acadians escaped deportation by hiding in the woods and living among the Indians as fugitives.⁴ Some made for Cap Sable and Pobomcoup (Pubnico) in Nova Scotia and some went to the Lower St. John River region in New Brunswick. Others headed north to the shores of Chaleur Bay in New Brunswick and Quebec, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Gaspé Peninsula, and the St. Lawrence Valley in Quebec.

In 1763, the Treaty of Paris ended hostilities between the English and the French and also halted the deportations. It has been estimated that there were thirty-seven hundred Acadians in American colonies and between nine thousand and ten thousand in other North American locations and in Europe by that time.⁵ After the Treaty of Paris, the victorious English permitted Acadians to return to the Maritime provinces, but stipulated that they must swear an oath of alliance and settle in small groups. Concluding that there was no longer any possibility of receiving support from France, the Acadians agreed to these terms. While some who had been deported elected to remain where they were, many returned from Quebec, France, the American colonies, and the forests of New Brunswick. According to Muriel Roy, "refugees in the more southerly [American] colonies headed for Louisiana, hoping for a more fraternal reception in French territory. Those

who left the New England colonies headed mainly for Quebec and Acadia."⁶

Although one might assume that repatriated Acadians who wished to return to Acadia would return to their original settlements, this was not generally the case:

In general, Acadians who returned to the Maritimes avoided resettling their former land because it was now occupied by English colonists and because the British authorities preferred to have them scattered in small groups. For these reasons, they settled around Baie-Sainte-Marie in western Nova Scotia and around Cheticamp on île-Madame in Cape Breton. On Prince Edward Island, they chose the area around Malpeque while in New Brunswick, they settled in the north, the east and the St. John River Valley. Those who returned to the Fredericton area were forced to move to the northwest and northeast between 1784 and 1786 after the Loyalists arrived. Today, the majority of Francophones in the Maritimes are still scattered over these diverse regions as their colonization movements of the 19th and 20th centuries merely developed the hinterlands behind these areas.⁷

Within seven or eight years of the arrival of the Loyalists, Acadians moved out of the Lower St. John River Valley, mainly to acquire more land and to secure the services of a priest. Those on the east bank of the valley near Keswick (a few miles north of Fredericton) generally moved to the North Shore of New Brunswick or to Madawaska, an inland region encompassing the Upper St. John River Valley in the northwestern part of New Brunswick. The majority of the Acadians on the west side of the valley also went to Madawaska.⁸

Within the Madawaska region, Saint-Basile received its first settlers in 1786, and it became Madawaska's founding parish. Other settlements developed along the Upper St. John Valley, to the east and west of Saint-Basile. The establishment of settlements on both sides of the valley has not been the subject of rigorous scholarly investigation. Indeed, the best known history of the area was writ-

ten in 1920 by a local priest, Father Thomas Albert. In his book *Histoire du Madawaska*, Albert claims that the first Acadian landing on the southern side of the valley occurred in 1785 at St. David, about five miles east of the present-day town of Madawaska, Maine.⁹ Although contemporary historians and other scholars have not unanimously accepted this interpretation, it is the one generally accepted by members of the region's communities.

Acadian Settlement Patterns

Canadians from Quebec joined the Acadians in the Upper St. John Valley, and by 1831 there were over two thousand settlers in villages along a forty-five-mile stretch of the valley, from Fort Kent to Van Buren. During the first fifty years of settlement, a thriving, Catholic, French-speaking, and virtually self-sufficient farming community with many Acadian cultural features developed.

Settlement spread up and down the St. John River, eventually occupying eighty miles or so along both banks (roughly from Grand Falls to St. Francis). The banks of larger tributaries, like the Madawaska, the Green, the Grand, and the Fish, were settled early, especially near their confluences with the St. John. Smaller brooks flowing into the St. John also attracted early settlement. The "flats" along the banks of the river were soon developed into productive farms, and clearing for new farmlands pushed progressively farther from the river banks. When the valley's French villages were created, a line-settlement pattern was established which remains intact today. Virtually all public and private buildings, including houses, churches, and mills, were dispersed in a linear fashion along the courses of waterways.

After the establishment of the international boundary in 1842, more people moved into the valley and the area of settlement was extended. The growing sense of Acadian identity was reinforced by the publication of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem *Evangeline* in 1847. In it, the couple

Gabriel and Evangeline symbolized the history of a people, both in their dispersal and their eventual reunion.

During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Acadians migrated from their settlements in the St. John Valley to other communities in New England. Considerable out-migration of Acadian workers and their families first occurred in response to a shortage of millworkers in New England during the Civil War. Availability of new clearable farmland diminished during the nineteenth century just as the population in the valley increased.

The Valley Today

During the twentieth century, mechanization increased the yield of farmland but reduced the number of laborers required. Facing a decline in employment opportunities in their home territory, many residents headed south in search of jobs created by the industrial growth of southern New England. The connections between

the St. John Valley and southern New England continue today. Some who left return to the valley for brief visits. Others return when they encounter difficulty adjusting to urban and suburban life in southern New England and elsewhere. Still others have worked in distant places for decades and return for their retirement.

Each summer large family reunions occur in the valley as Acadians from throughout New England and beyond return home. Weddings and anniversaries are scheduled to coincide with summer vacations. While the annual Acadian Festival Family Reunion, cosponsored by the Madawaska Historical Society and the City of Madawaska, is very successful and garners considerable local publicity, it is only one element in a larger system of summer family reunions throughout the valley. During the first week of July 1991, automobiles with Connecticut and Massachusetts license plates threatened to displace those with Maine tags, demonstrating that the Upper St. John Valley continues to be the cultural hearth and home to many Acadians.

Notes

1. Jean Daigle, "Acadia, 1604-1763: An Historical Synthesis," in *The Acadians of the Maritimes: Thematic Studies*, ed. Jean Daigle (Moncton, New Brunswick: Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton, 1982).

2. Daigle, p. 17.

3. Wade Mason, "The Loyalists and the Acadians," in *The French in New England, Acadia and Quebec*, ed. Edward Shriver (Orono, Maine: New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Center, 1973), p. 11.

4. Muriel K. Roy, "Settlement and Population Growth in Acadia," in *The Acadians of the Maritimes*, pp. 125-96.

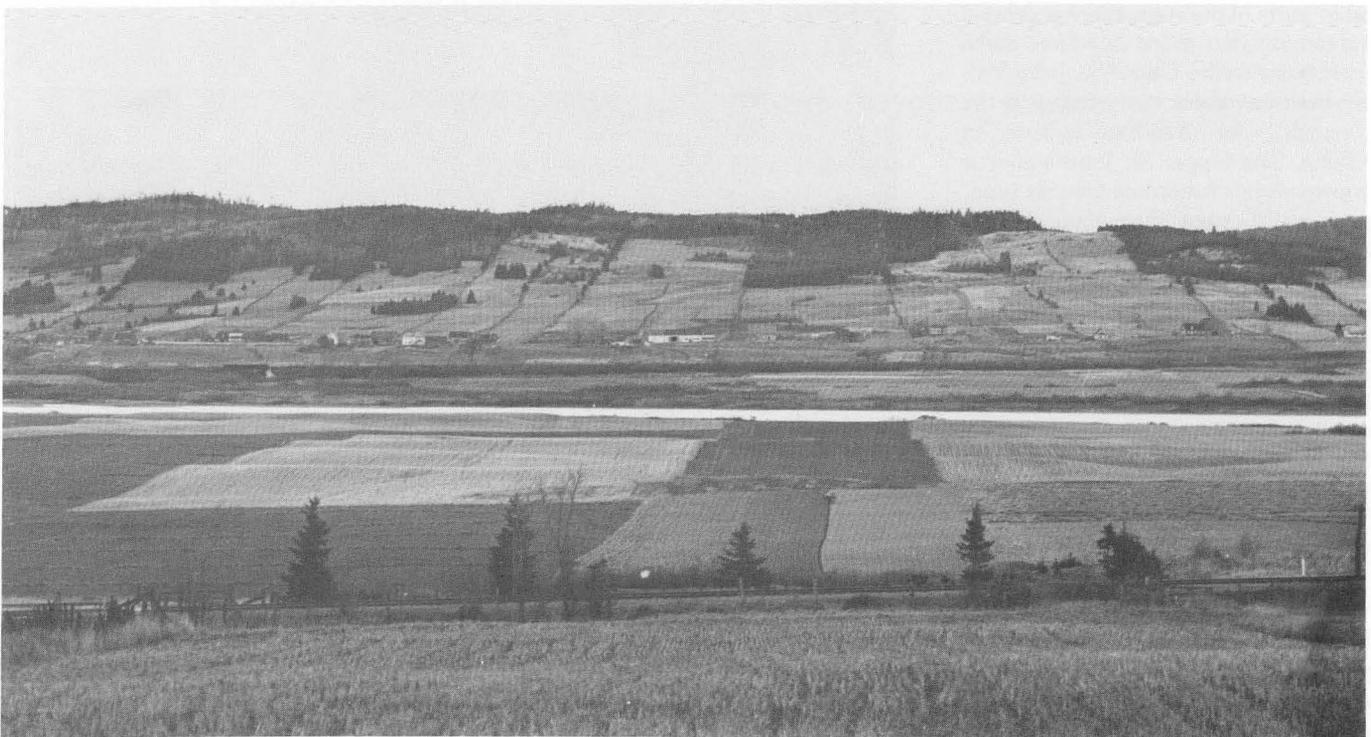
5. Roy, p. 155.

6. Roy, p. 157.

7. Leon Theriault, "Acadia, 1763-1978: An Historical Synthesis," in *The Acadians of the Maritimes*, pp. 47-86.

8. Mason, pp. 7-22.

9. Thomas Albert, *The History of Madawaska*, translated by Sister Therese Doucette and Dr. Francis Doucette (Madawaska, Maine: Northern Graphics, 1985), p. 42.



From the vicinity of Madawaska, Maine (Aroostook County), looking across the St. John River at the long-lot farms in New Brunswick, Canada, October 1940. The settlement pattern established by Acadian settlers remains intact today. (LC-USF-34-42151-D) Farm Security Administration photo by Jack Delano

PART II: THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The Upper St. John Valley is not quite a part of mainstream America. The French language is in everyday use. Local foodways are conspicuous in both homes and restaurants. Catholic churches and religious shrines punctuate the line-settlement villages of the region. Local farmsteads include distinctive houses, barns, and outbuildings. Well-kept residential landscapes are decorated with religious statues, flowers, and an array of yard ornamentation. The colors of many painted surfaces reflect an appreciation for contrast and brightness. Neither litter nor crime is a problem. Residents generally refuse to lock houses and cars. On the Maine side of the Upper St. John Valley, the one McDonald's hamburger stand is located in Madawaska (one in Van Buren closed for lack of business), and Madawaska has the only Chinese restaurant. There are no restaurants that serve only pizza, or only fried chicken. The downtowns of Fort Kent, Madawaska, and Van Buren remain vital centers for shopping.

Although Acadians can be found in other parts of the state, there is general agreement that more Acadians make their home in the Upper St. John Valley than anywhere else—that it is the “hearth” for Acadian culture in Maine. The Upper St. John Valley is known within Aroostook County (and, to a certain extent, throughout the rest of Maine) simply as “the Valley.” And there is a generally held sense that the region is distinct—marked by its French heritage and also by its natural resources, economy, and location along the international border, and also by a cultural milieu that is the product of the interaction of people of diverse cultural backgrounds.

At Home on the Farm

Farming has been the principal occupation of the Upper St. John Valley since its early settlement. Until quite recently, the work force was provided by the immediate family, though a tight-knit extended-family network could be called upon during times of need. Immediate families (father,



Two men roast a pig in a homemade cooker at the 1991 Lavertu family reunion. (MAP-DW-B031-35) Photo by David A. Whitman

mother, and offspring) tended to be large throughout the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries. When he married, the oldest son would often bring his bride into his father's house, and a new generation of Acadian children would make grandparents of parents and aunts and uncles of sisters and brothers.

Oldest sons usually retained the house and farm when their fathers retired, and there was a tendency to maintain the integrity of well-

developed farms instead of dividing them among offspring. When younger sons reached marriageable age, additional land was cleared to create new farms for them. These farms were developed on the higher slopes and rolling plains that stretched back from the river and came to be known as *les concessions*. Local farm produce during the nineteenth century supplied most of the needs of the valley's population—vegetables, potatoes, buckwheat, oats, hay, sheep, hogs, and dairy products.

The arrival of the Bangor and Aroostook Railroad at the turn of the twentieth century greatly altered farming. The improved transportation opened national markets, and the expansion of the market encouraged farmers to put more land into potato production. The early twentieth-century expansion of potato farming also contributed to the development of a distinctive feature of Upper St. John Valley material culture—the Madawaska twin barn, a pair of rectangular barns placed one next to the other with their ridges parallel and a roof that encloses the intervening space.

Traditional farming in the St. John Valley was labor-intensive, although mechanization has altered older patterns. The old practice of harvesting potatoes by hand, employing school-age children to do much of the work, continues at only a few farms. Valley schools continue to recess for a two-week period during the September potato harvest, though there are claims that relatively few children participate in the harvest. Those who do are paid according to the number of barrels of potatoes they pick. This piece-work involves the hand-loading of split-ash baskets that are emptied into fifteen-peck (165 pound) cedar barrels. The local French term for the potato barrel is *quart*. The barrels are still built on a part-time basis by potato farmer and cooper Adrien Morin and his sons, who live at Long Lake. Both potato barrels and baskets are sturdily constructed so as to stand up to the rigors of the potato harvest. Traditionally, the split-ash baskets have been made for potato farmers by local Micmac basketmakers.

Today, potato farms in the valley are highly mechanized and require fewer workers. The transportation of potatoes is done by truck instead of train. The traditional potato houses on the farms are being replaced by large Quonset-type buildings used for both potato and equipment storage. Large eighteen-wheel tractor-trailer combinations have become part of the typical farmscape, and the trucking of produce is currently one of the most common farm-related occupations. Though the farms continue to be owned and operated as family enterprises, many smaller farms have been

consolidated into relatively few large operations. The expense of operating large farms has become so great that there are few new potato farmers, and some previously farmed land is now reverting to forest.

At Home in the Woods

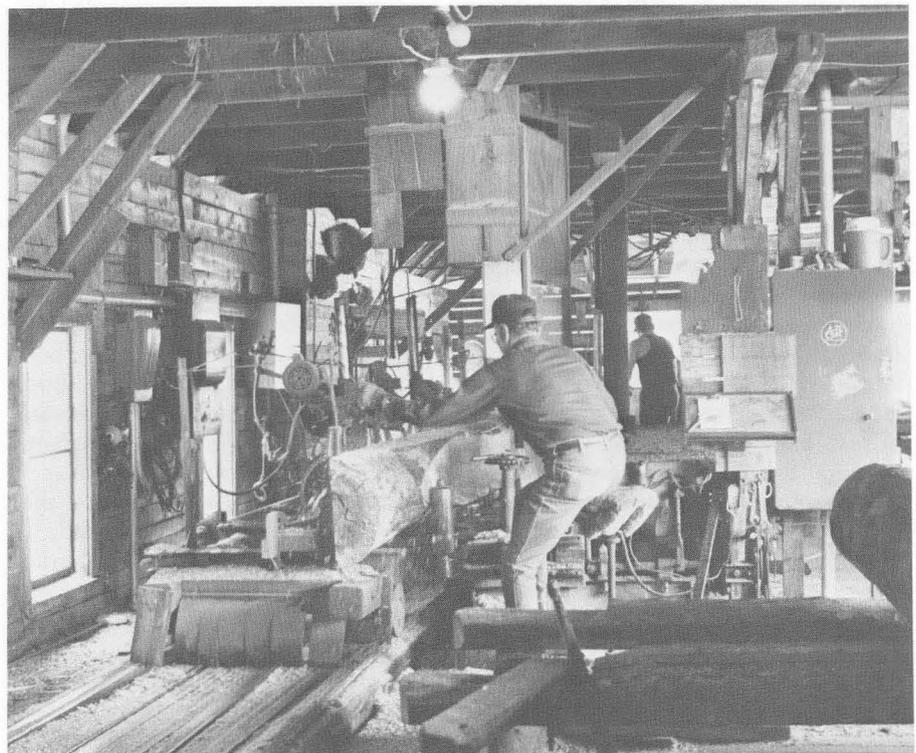
The first order of business for Acadians who settled in the Upper St. John Valley was to carve farms from the virgin stands of pine and other species. As veteran pioneers, they were fully prepared to make use of the forest resources of the northern Maine woods, and the great number of well-built log houses testifies to their success.

Commercial interest in the great pine forests of the North Woods began during the eighteenth century, with Acadian farmers already on the scene to supply the food needed to support the developing forest industry. With the extremes of climate in this northern region, a pattern developed of farming during the warmer months and working in the forests in winter.

After crops were put away in the fall, many men moved to *les chantiers* (lumber camps), where they worked until it was time to prepare for planting.

This seasonal pattern continued far into the twentieth century. Mark Jalbert of Frenchville remembers that his grandfather, Sam Jalbert, a famous wilderness guide of the Allagash Waterway, often worked as a foreman on log drives. During the spring flood, Sam Jalbert's crew floated logs from the Allagash area down the St. John to the mill in Keegan. Mark remembers seeing log drives as a young boy during the early 1960s.

Today, the lumber industry operates year-round and provides work for many valley residents. There are jobs in the woods, in the lumber mills, and in pulpwood factories. And independent truckers are hired to transport wood products. A reduction in the work force caused by mechanization has affected the lumber industry, however, and there is some concern for the health of the industry itself: some observers believe that while tree-cutting continues to increase, the rate of reforestation is decreasing.



At Tardiff's sawmill in Fort Kent, Maine, Raoul Tardiff operates the saw. (MAP-DW-B050-29) Photo by David A. Whitman

Self-Employment and Independence

Self-employment and family-operated businesses are characteristic features of the valley's economy. Many farming and forest-related occupations are owner-operated or self-contracted. The contract lumbering of pulpwood, firewood, and saw logs, and the contract hauling of forestry and farm products are popular wage-earning strategies for independent-minded valley residents. Small, individually owned and operated saw mills continue to be part of the valley's economy. The Tardiff Mill in Fort Kent Mills, for example, produces custom sawn and rough-cut lumber from logs brought in by local farmers and woodlot owners. The smaller mills provide some local employment and encourage farmers and independent contractors to embark upon projects that would otherwise be too costly. The do-it-yourself approach encouraged by the smaller saw mills exemplifies the independent, self-sufficient ethic prevalent in the valley.

Large and small-scale family gardening of table potatoes, *eshalots* (shallots), and other vegetables is common. Trade occupations like carpentry, woodworking, specialized and custom sawing, roofing, small machine mechanics, plumbing, electrical contracting, tin work, and general contracting are generally practiced by home-based, self-employed craftsmen. Small family grocers and family-operated restaurants are the rule. The many cottage industries include knitting, sewing, weaving, basketmaking, axe-handle carving, hair-cutting and styling, candy-making, catering, cake-decorating, maple syrup-making, and the making of bric-a-brac crafts. Other enterprises, such as trapping, guiding, hunting, fishing, and gathering local wild resources like fiddlehead ferns, strawberries, and blueberries, supplement family economies.

Foodways

The foodways of the Upper St. John River Valley reflect both a distinctively Acadian tradition and a more general regional tradition. Both traditions are apparent in the food served



Plourde's Grocery on Route 11, south of Fort Kent, Maine. Businesses operated out of homes, like this one, illustrate a common economic strategy employed by independent-minded valley residents. (MAP-HM-B019-36) Photo by Howard W. Marshall

in restaurants and in private homes. Indeed, with so few ethnic, specialty, and fast-food chain restaurants in the valley, the difference between the foods eaten at home and eaten at restaurants is not great.

"Family-style" restaurants are common and offer full menus at both lunch and dinner. Lunch specials often include soup, a generous main dish, and a dessert. One regional lunch favorite is *met chinois* (shepherd's pie), a casserole of mashed potatoes, ground meat, and corn. A wide variety of sandwiches is also offered, including the "hot hamburger," a hamburger steak on sliced white bread covered with a thick brown gravy. Dinner selections include a variety of chicken, beef, pork, and seafood dishes. In addition to their "American" menus, several restaurants also offer pizza, spaghetti, lasagna, and other Italian foods.

It should not be surprising that potatoes—french fried, mashed, or baked—figure prominently in almost every meal. Restaurants in Frenchville and Madawaska serve "JoJo potatoes," large potato slices cut lengthwise and batter-fried. Potato helpings are large, and they are the standard side order with every entree; rarely is there a substitute. One Fort Kent restaurant serves french fries with spaghetti.

In local homes, the potato is prepared in many ways: baked, creamed, mashed, hash-browned, fried, stuffed, and boiled. It is prepared in *au gratin* and *soufflé* dishes, and used in stews, soups, and many types of casseroles and salads. Potato doughnuts, potato cookies and muffins, potato custard pie, several varieties of potato cake, and a few kinds of potato candy are also made by Acadians in the valley.

Buckwheat is also an important component of the Acadian diet, and flour mills were established at Saint-Basile, St. David, Grande Isle, Violette Brook (Van Buren), St. François, and Chautauqua (Frenchville) by the year 1800. Locally grown and milled buckwheat is the main ingredient in *ployes*, a variety of thin pancake or crêpe that is a local Acadian food specialty. Once the staple of every farm family, *ployes* apparently diminished somewhat in popularity as a new generation of consumers was enticed by nationally advertised products. Today, *ployes* are on the rebound. They can be ordered for lunch at Dolly's Restaurant in Madawaska. Bouchard's Acadian Ploye Mix, manufactured by Alban and Rita Bouchard of Fort Kent, is being marketed throughout the valley and beyond.

Chicken stew is a favorite meal in the region, with small, rolled *poutines*

ACADIAN WEAVING TRADITION

(dumplings) added to the boiling stock. In Louisiana today, a similar repast would be called "chicken and dumplings," but the term *poutines* was in common usage among some Cajun families into the twentieth century.

Spices used to season chicken stew and other dishes are important elements of local cuisine. Summer savory, for example, is commonly used. Bunches of the fresh herb hang from the kitchen wall at Doris' Café in Fort Kent Mills. *Les herbes salés*, the chopped tops of *échalots* (shallots) cured in salt, are also commonly used. Jars of this salty condiment are put up during the summer and used throughout the year to season many dishes.

Some traditional Acadian foods are normally prepared only for special occasions. The 1991 Lavertu family reunion, for example, featured roasted pig. The young pig was butchered and prepared by Jesse Michaud, owner of a small general grocery store built onto the side of his home in Frenchville. It was roasted whole on a grill made from a large heating-fuel tank of the sort in common domestic use. The pig was roasted by men outside of a large Quonset-type potato house in which dining tables were set up. In addition to the roasted pig, the meal included baked beans, several types of potato salad, and other salads.

Different kinds of meat pies are also prepared for special occasions, including Christmas and New Year's festivities. These pies are called *tourtières*, and their ingredients may include chicken, pork, beef, veal, or a combination of these, and sometimes potatoes. For special large holiday gatherings, *pot-en-pot* is prepared. It is a very large, layered, meat pie baked in a roasting pan. Layers of sliced potatoes, four or more different meats, strips of dough or dumplings, and seasonings are covered with a pie crust and baked for hours. A hole is left in the dough covering so water can be added during cooking. The traditional *pot-en-pot* usually has venison, wild birds, rabbit, or other game, as well as pork and beef. Allspice, cloves, and cinnamon are commonly added. During the 1991 Acadian Festival, *pot-en-pot* was served at the Sirois-Duplessis Family Banquet.

Today the fall and early winter



C. Ray Brassieur interviews weaver Anita Albert at her home in St. Jacques, New Brunswick. Mrs. Albert learned to weave from her mother-in-law, and her husband, Gilbert, has designed and built a machine that allows her to cut rag strips quickly. She has woven hundreds of *catalognes* (rag-woven coverlets) and continues to produce them in the attic of her home.

Traditional weaving and spinning, passed down from one generation to the next, is rare in the United States. Almost all hand-weaving and spinning one sees today are the result of the revival or historical reconstruction of older techniques. Today's weavers are generally hobbyists who may have great enthusiasm for the tradition but no direct community ties to it. But a weaving tradition still exists in the Upper St. John Valley. (MAP-DW-B053-7) Photo by David A. Whitman

boucheries des cochons (hog butcherings) are not as important social events for Acadian families as they were in the past. However, a number of special products of the *boucherie* remain part of the foodways of the valley. Locally made *cretons*, a pork paté, is served in restaurants and is available at most grocery stores. *Boudin*, a blood sausage, is also sold at grocery stores. St. John Valley *boudin* is similar to the *boudin* made by the French Creoles of Missouri and Illinois, but it differs from Louisiana *boudin rouge*, which often has rice as an important ingredient. Nothing analogous to the *boudin blanc* (white *boudin*) of the Louisiana Cajuns appears in the valley. *Gortons*, pork cracklings, are still made by Acadians. The Creoles of Missouri also use the word *gortons* to refer to cracklings, though the Louisiana Cajuns call them *gratons*.

The pastries and breads prepared by valley Acadians are similar to those of Louisiana Cajuns. *Crêpes* (thin pancakes), for instance, are still popular in the valley. *Croxingnols* (twisted pastry) are similar to those served in Louisiana. *Beignets* are found in Louisiana and in the valley. However, the Louisiana version is fried in deep fat, while the valley version is cooked in maple syrup.

Religion and Identity

Public and private images and expressions of religion abound among the Acadians. The strength of Catholicism is clearly demonstrated by the many beautiful churches and associated buildings, statuary, wayside crosses, and shrines. The cult of the Virgin is everywhere visible. Some elaborate privately owned shrines to the Blessed Virgin are brilliantly lighted each night. The Acadian flag, with its prominent star (a symbol of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin) located on the French tricolor, is prominently displayed. It reaffirms Catholicism and links it with Acadian identity.

Private expressions of folk Catholicism are also prevalent. The blessing and distribution of holy water has long been an important function of local parish priests. But the actual use of

this holy water is often established by tradition and custom. Because many believe in its power to protect the home, holy water is kept there and often displayed prominently. At the first ray of light on Easter Sunday, Acadians collect water from a spring and bring it to a priest to be blessed. *L'Eau Pacque* (Easter Water) is considered a powerful holy water that will never go stale.

Another religious object prominently displayed in houses and barns is blessed palm (*les rameaux*). The palm is distributed annually during Catholic ceremonies on Palm Sunday. Sometimes it is braided into a decorative pyramidal form. Blessed palm is believed to protect a building from fire caused by lightning. It is used in a similar manner by Cajuns of Louisiana and French Creoles of Missouri.

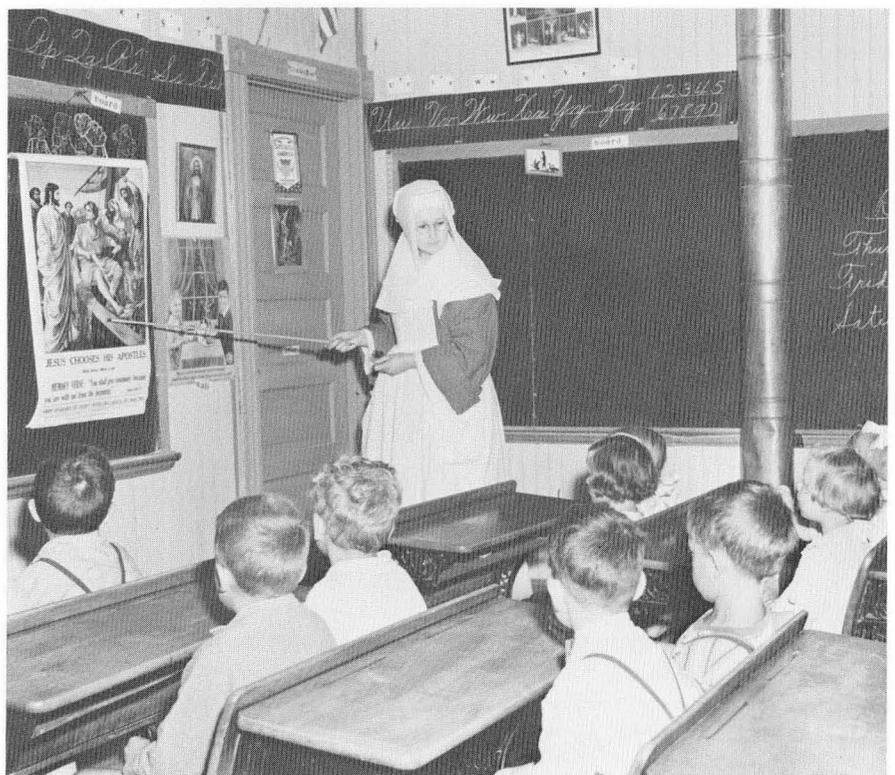
Oral Traditions

Along with other forms of traditional knowledge, Acadians brought oral traditions to the New World from France

during the seventeenth century. Some beliefs and oral forms from this period have passed from one generation to the next and survive today, both in the Upper St. John River Valley and in Louisiana. Since the two populations have been separated for nearly two hundred and fifty years, it is reasonable to assume that traditions they share derive from similar Old World sources.

For example, valley Acadians and Louisiana Cajuns share some stories about mythical creatures. The *lutins* who ride a farmer's horses at night and plait the horses' tails exist among both populations. *Lutins* live in caves and come out only at night. They are so small that a locked door can not keep them out; they can pass through a key hole. Along with tales about *lutins*, tales about the *feux-follets* (spirits) and *loups-garous* (werewolves) occur in both Louisiana and in the valley.

The persistence of elements of oral tradition within a group may provide clues about the self-perceptions of its members. Consider, for instance, the legend of Malobiana that derives from



Notre Dame du Mont Carmel Roman Catholic School in Lille, Maine, August 1942. (LC-USF-34-83641-C) Farm Security Administration Photo by John Collier, Jr.

the Malacite Indians of the valley. In 1920, the Abbé Thomas Albert, in his *Histoire du Madawaska*, recounted the tragic story of the Indian maiden, Malobiana. According to the legend, on the day of her wedding, a group of Mohawk raiders began to sack the Malacite villages along the St. John River. Malobiana's family and betrothed were killed and she was captured. Her captors forced her to guide them to other Malacite villages in order to continue their pillage. Instead, Malobiana guided the Mohawk canoes over the waterfall at Grand Falls. Though she sacrificed her life, the Mohawk invaders were killed, and her action saved the lives of many of her fellow Malacites. Today, Malobiana's legendary deed is memorialized in the tourist center located at Grand Sault/Grand Falls, New Brunswick. Over the years, her story has been retold and recast in song, poetry, and dramatic performance.

Another legend with the theme of self-sacrifice is the legend of Tante Blanche. According to oral tradition, the harvest of 1796 was ruined in the fields by an early snow. By the turn of the year 1797, famine hit the Acadian communities along the St. John River. During this time of hardship, Marguerite-Blanche Thibodeau performed many remarkable acts of charity. Wearing snow shoes, she brought clothing and provisions to people suffering from hunger and cold. Tante Blanche, as she was known, became legendary for her selflessness. She is memorialized at the Tante Blanche Museum in St. David, which was created by the Madawaska Historical Society.

It is not surprising, given a history of sacrifice and hardship, that Acadians should revere legendary characters who sacrificed their own well-being in times of hardship. Longfellow's *Evangeline*, who endured tragedy and spent her last years caring for the sick, fits the category.

The "Acadian Saga," as transmitted by local Acadians, is very much alive. Because of its apparent importance to the identity of Acadians, it may be the most important body of legend and myth in the area. There are stories about Acadian pioneers erecting a cross at the point of arrival



Musicians Robert Cormier, Victor Albert, and Leo LeBlanc performing at a park in Madawaska, Maine, during the 1991 Acadian Festival. While the three men now reside in Massachusetts, they all have roots in the Upper St. John Valley. (MAP-DW-B020-26) Photo by David Whitman

in the valley, and stories about pioneers who arrived without possessions—not even tools—and proceeded to establish villages and build houses.

Although some of the stories cannot be credited with historical accuracy, their function in creating a sense of cultural identity runs deep. For example, the ability to survive in the face of adversity is still highly valued, and the body of lore that pertains to the "Acadian Saga" of deportation and eventual resettlement in the St. John Valley is large and important. Such legends, passed down orally through the generations, reflect values from the past that continue to have meaning for Acadians today.

This rich history of struggle, determination, endurance, and celebration in the Upper St. John Valley has created a body of cultural traditions that is at once distinctly Acadian and quintessentially American. The "Acadian Saga" is the valued heritage of the many long-time residents of the region and of those who return again and again to the Acadian "hearth." It is their common possession and our own. □

Folklorist C. Ray Brassieur is a program coordinator at the University of Missouri Cultural Heritage Center, Columbia, Missouri. Of Acadian descent, he grew up in Louisiana and East Texas.

SIGNIFICANT ACQUISITIONS ADDED TO FOLK ARCHIVE IN 1991

By Joseph C. Hickerson

The following list describes many of the collections acquired for the Archive of Folk Culture during the 1991 fiscal year. Included are collections comprising especially large bodies of material, those of particular importance to folklore, ethnomusicology, and related areas of study, and those that exemplify the wide variety of format categories represented in the collections.

A cassette copy of a wire recording of a 1951 concert and conversation by Woody Guthrie at St. John's College. The cassette, a gift of the recordist, James W. Mavor, Jr., represents one of the last public performances by Guthrie before his hospitalization.

Fifty-three cassettes of Zuni storytelling in the Zuni and English languages, accompanied by ten packages of transcriptions and translations and a final report, from Andrew Wiget, project director of "Telapna:we—Zuni Verbal Art in Performance." This project was undertaken by the Pueblo of Zuni and funded by the Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts.

The first and second parts of the Burt Feintuch Northumberland collection. In 1986 Feintuch borrowed audio recording equipment from the Folklife Center to assist in his documentation of the traditional music of Northumberland, England. The resulting tapes include both musical performances by and interviews with traditional and revival musicians and instrument makers at home and pub sessions, wedding dances, festivals, musical workshops, pipers' society gatherings, and radio programs. The collection emphasizes dance music played on Northumbrian smallpipes, fiddles, accordions, flutes, and mouth harps by such performers as Forster Charlton, Johnny Handle, Joe Hutton, and Tommy Breckons, Alistair Anderson, Jack Armstrong, Billy Pigg, and Colin Ross.

Eighteen tapes donated by Michael Seeger, containing the earliest record-



Mississippi John Waters with his National steel guitar, Oakland, California, 1984. One of fifty-six black-and-white photographs of blues artists photographed by Patricia Monaco and donated for the Archive.

ings he made as a performer and field-worker. Included in the collection are performances by his parents, Ruth Crawford and Charles Seeger, by himself and sisters Barbara, Peggy, and Penny as children, and by Elizabeth Cotten in 1952 and 1953. The bulk of the tapes contain field recordings of three-finger picking-style banjo players made in the 1950s, including J. C. Sutphin, Hilary Dickens, Oren, Snuffy, and Verl Jenkins, Junie Scruggs, Wade Ward, Larry Richardson, Don Reno, Joe Stuart, Bob Baker, Pete Kuykendall, Kenny Miller, and Smiley Hobbs. Additional artists in the collection are Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, the Coon Creek Girls, Grandpa Jones, Hazel Dickens, the Stoneman Family, and Tom Dillon.

Fifty-six black-and-white photographs of blues artists and venues, mostly from Oakland, California, Chicago, Illinois, and Leland and Indianola, Mississippi, donated by the photographer, Patricia Monaco. In addition, Monaco has donated a typescript, "Bob Geddins Oral History," which she compiled in June 1990. Geddins, the "father of Oakland blues," was an independent record producer and songwriter who died in February 1990.

Twenty-two tapes of Hawaiian music, including paniolo music and the chant that accompanies traditional hula, donated by Lynn Martin, folk arts coordinator for the State Foundation of Culture and the Arts in Hawaii. These recordings were made on equipment loaned in 1986 by the Folklife Center. In addition, Martin has donated three copies of the commercial release *Nā Mele o Paniolo: Songs of Hawaiian Cowboys*, each a two-cassette set containing selections taken from the field recordings plus accompanying booklets. (These cassettes were included in the Center's *American Folk Music and Folklore Recordings 1987: A Selected List*.) Six photographs of musicians who appear on the tapes are included in the collection.

Two hundred thirty-nine tape recordings made in 1969 or later, donated by the Laura Boulton Foundation of New York City. Two hundred

fifteen of these tapes contain field work conducted by the late Laura Boulton, primarily in Micronesia, Angola, Mozambique, and Turkey. The remaining tapes contain lectures delivered by Ms. Boulton and others based on her fieldwork, which covered a span of over fifty years. This collection comprises a supplement to the Laura Boulton cylinders, discs, and tapes that were donated to the Archive by Columbia University in 1973.

The "original yellow ribbon" and two photo-posters, donated by Mr. and Mrs. Bruce Laingen of Bethesda, Maryland. Also added to the collection of material on the custom of displaying yellow ribbons are three seven-inch tapes and thirty-eight photographs from the interview conducted at the Laingen home on April 15, 1991, by Gerald Parsons and Gregory Jenkins. (For article on the evolution of the custom and the presentation ceremony at the Library of Congress, see *Folklife Center News*, summer 1991).

A large collection of folk music of the Rushville, Illinois, area, donated by Chris Vallillo. Vallillo was director of the 1987 Schuyler Arts Folk Music Project, which was funded by the Illinois Arts Council and assisted by the Folklife Center's equipment loan program. The collection consists of thirty-two tapes, six cassettes, twenty-nine manuscripts, forty-seven positive photographs, and ninety-two photographic negatives. Among the recorded subjects are interviews and performances of songs, hammered dulcimer playing, square dances, fiddle tunes, fiddle making, string bands, guitar playing, jam sessions, rug weaving, and oral histories.

Eighty-three photographs from Joseph S. Hall of Oceanside, California. These photographs provide additional documentation of the Archive's large collection of field recordings made by Hall in the Great Smoky Mountains from the 1930s through the 1960s, primarily of local dialect and music.

Five hours of film footage and related material from Yasha Aginsky of San Francisco. Featured in the films are such folk musicians as the Balfa Brothers, Elizabeth Cotten, Alice Ger-

ard, Tommy Jerrell, Lily May Ledford, and Mike Seeger.

Thirty-eight home disc recordings of gospel and secular folksongs, recitations, and sermons made by Kate Sturgill and her neighbors in the late 1940s and early 1950s in southern Virginia, donated by George Reynolds of Foxfire, Inc. These discs contain up to four hours of Appalachian folk music and lore and feature an exceptional performer who has been heretofore sketchily documented.

Twenty-three cassettes of musical events and performances recorded in Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, India, in 1982, 1983, and 1990, donated by former Archive Fellow Frank Korom. Included are life histories, traditional stories, devotional songs, drumming, rural brass bands, street theater, verbal duels, mystical songs, legends, heroic songs, and performances on the classical flute and sitar. The 1990 recordings used blank cassettes provided by the Folklife Center.

Twenty-three cassettes of Georgia folk music from the Georgia Folklife Archive. These cassettes were made in August and September 1988 on equipment loaned by the Folklife Center as part of the Georgia Folklife Program's "Metropolitan Atlanta Folklife Project." Included is music by Caribbean, Columbian, gospel, Hmong, Mexican, Middle Eastern, Venezuelan, and Vietnamese performers.

Forty-nine tapes containing various types of folk music recorded primarily in the 1950s and early 1960s, from Ed Cray of the University of Southern California. A major portion of the collection contains music performed by Scottish Pipe Major James MacColl and British Isles folksingers A. L. Lloyd and Ewan MacColl. Also included are black music of Los Angeles from the Singleton family and a church service, Australian songs, and selections by the following folksingers: Shirley Collins, Jean Ritchie, Robin Roberts, Mike, Peggy, and Pete Seeger, and Rosalie Sorrells.

Four cassette tapes of fiddle tunes and interviews conducted during a five-month stay in Franklin, West Virginia, in 1974, by Nick Royal, coordinator of the Merrill College Field Program for Experimental Learning at the University of California, Santa

Cruz. The tapes feature the fiddling and words of Hansel Smith and Rob Propst.

Seven cassettes containing thirteen half-hour programs in the second "Downhome Dairyland" series broadcast on Wisconsin Public Radio Sunday evenings from March 4 to May 27, 1990, donated by Jim Leary. These programs of traditional and ethnic music of Wisconsin and the Upper Midwest are hosted by Mr. Leary and fellow folklorist Richard March. Two of the programs, "The Polish Fiddlers of Posen" and "Woodland Indian Fiddlers and Jigs," draw on Archive recordings from the 1940s and follow-up work with descendants of performers on the earlier recordings. A brochure from the Wisconsin Arts Board accompanies the tapes and provides brief descriptions of each program as well as the series as a whole.

Additional materials to the collection of tapes received last year documenting Romanian folk dance and music traditions recorded by Eugenia and her late husband Georghe Popescu-Judetz, from the late 1940s through the early 1960s, contributed by Eugenia Popescu-Judetz. The present

collection includes eighteen sheets of musical transcriptions, forty-two sheets of musical arrangements, and one hundred thirteen notebooks containing musical notations plus a two hundred sixteen-page listing thereof; eleven files containing folk dance notations plus a thirteen-page listing thereof; thirteen published books and folios containing tune notations; a copy of *Judetz Folk Dance Notation* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Tarnburitzans, 1979), which describes the dance notation system used; and fourteen seven-inch tapes comprising copies of the original tapes donated earlier.

Two boxes and four diskettes containing transcriptions and correspondence relating to field work resulting in the award-winning book, film, and recording entitled *Powerhouse of God*, donated by Jeff Todd Titon. Conducted between 1976 and 1986, the collection includes interviews, hymn sings, and church services held at or in connection with the Fellowship Baptist Church in Stanley, Virginia. The original recordings and film footage reside in the Human Resources Film Archive at the Smithsonian; copies of the tapes will be donated to the Ar-

chive at a later date.

Photocopy of a more than five-hundred-page typescript containing 2,515 song texts from Bill Martin of Birmingham, Alabama. This compilation, which includes an index, represents Mr. Martin's personal repertory and other favorite songs dating from 1934 through 1991. Sources and composers are included for many of the songs.

Twelve cassettes, five monographs, thirty-three issues of *Musique Breton*, and three other serials were received from DASTUM, a cultural organization in Breton, France.

Eleven back issues of *Zeitschrift für Semiotik* were received from the publisher. Twenty-two back issues of *WLW [Women Library Workers] Journal* have been received from its publisher, McFarland & Co. of Jefferson, North Carolina. The Folklore Society of Greater Washington has donated 104 serial publications that they received on exchange from similar organizations. The Lloyd Shaw Foundations has donated twenty-four issues each of the dance magazines *Foot & Fiddle* (Austin, Texas) and *Northern Junket* (Keene, New Hampshire). Over thirty-five numbers of *Banjo Newsletter* were received from its publisher, Hub Nitchie. Fourteen issues of *Gairm*, a Scots Gaelic folklore magazine have been received from its publisher in Glasgow. Eight issues of the American Folklore Society's *Public Programs Newsletter* have been donated by its current editor, Steven Ohrn; three additional issues were received from former editor Steve Siporin. Six issues of the folk dance magazine *Viltis* have been received from Morton Leeds. The National Council for the Traditional Arts has contributed 144 periodicals, 50 books and pamphlets, and 1 manuscript.

In all, the following statistics reflect materials acquired for the Archive of Folk Culture in Fiscal Year 1991: monographs 828; serials 2,768; manuscripts 403; compact discs 183; LPs 263; 45s 8; discs (unpublished) 38; dictaphone belts 15; audiotapes 485; audiocassettes 508; films 17; videotapes/cassettes 12; diskettes 14; photos 501; slides 264; contact sheets 29; posters 23; maps 1; sheet music 19; ephemera 3,575; miscellaneous 1. □



George Paul "Peppie" Cooke II (deceased) and George Paul "Gippy" Cooke III, who were recorded by Ricardo Trimillos and Lynn Martin for the Folk Arts Program of Hawaii's State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, using equipment loaned in 1986 by the Folklife Center.

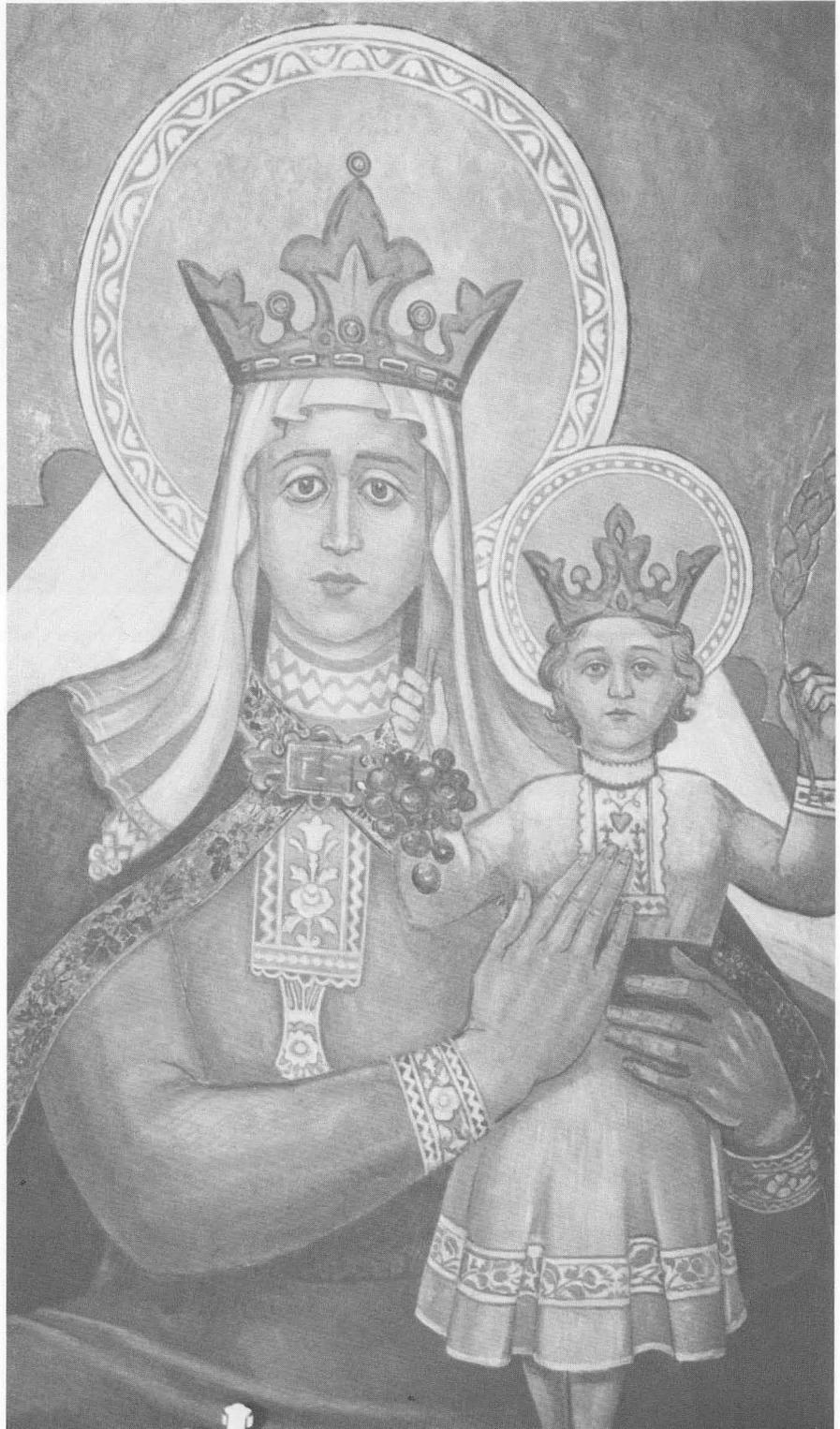
NEW PUBLICATIONS FROM THE AMERICAN FOLKLIFE CENTER

FOLKLIFE ANNUAL 90

“Is there a folk in the city?” asked the well-known folklorist Richard Dorson in questioning the notion that only the rural poor are “folk.” With articles on church murals and tavern decoration in Pittsburgh and Buffalo, graffiti memorials in New York City, African-American life in Houston, and community identity in Baltimore, *Folklife Annual 90* demonstrates that traditional expressive life and culture are to be found wherever people join together with common purposes and beliefs—whether in the city or the country. Edited by James Hardin of the American Folklife Center, the new collection of eleven articles is the fifth in a series designed to present the richness of American folk culture to a wide audience.

Four folklorists describe the way mural paintings have been used as “aids to adaptation,” to help immigrants embrace their new life in America without wholly giving up the Old World. In Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, the decoration of ethnic churches with narrative religious murals—a tradition brought from Eastern Europe—provide familiar contexts for parishioners. The custom spills out the church door as self-trained painters hired to help the masters are enlisted by members of the community to decorate taverns and private homes. A fifth folklorist describes the way painted screens provide a sense of identity in a Baltimore neighborhood, just as church and home murals define and express for their respective communities who and what they are.

Three articles on the uses of photography develop a similar theme: one shows the way photograph albums define different views of family life; one on photographer Benny Joseph shows the way he created emblems of distinction and achievement for the African-American community in Houston; and one on Deaf photographer Maggie Lee Sayre shows the way she used



“Mary, Queen of Croatians,” by Maxo Vanka, 1937. Altar painting for St. Nicholas Croatian Catholic Church in Millvale, Pennsylvania

her art to open a dialogue with other persons by documenting her life on a Tennessee River houseboat. By way of comparison, another article investigates personal relationships in a Deaf social club in Philadelphia. And finally an article on the church architecture of the Tohono O'odham Nation in Arizona demonstrates the resources of one group accommodating itself to the influences of another.

The underlying theme of the volume is the search for identity, and the ways in which decoration, design, arrangement, and various forms of artistic expression aid in that search—whether religious mural, tavern decoration, or painted window screen. The 176-page clothbound volume includes 156 illustrations, with 45 in full color.

Folklife Annual 90 is available by mail for \$19 (including postage and handling) from the Superintendent of Documents, New Orders, P.O. Box 371954, Pittsburgh, PA 15250-7954 (Cite title and stock number when ordering: SN 030-000-00230-0); and from U.S Government Bookstores.

A COMMONWEALTH OF CULTURES

American Folklife: A Commonwealth of Cultures provides a lively introduction to the subject of traditional American life and culture. Written by Center folklorist Mary Hufford, the twenty-page, full-color booklet includes eighteen photographs, a history and definition of folklife study, a perspective on the subject of American cultural diversity, and a section on the work of folklorists.

Folklorists were investigating and celebrating cultural diversity long before it became a fashionable topic, and Dr. Hufford addresses the question of whether America is (or ought to be) a "melting pot" within which various ethnic groups are transformed into homogenized Americans. She argues that cultural difference is not "a problem to be solved, but a tremendous opportunity, a rich resource for all Americans, who constantly shape and transform their many cultures."

But America should not be thought of as "a fixed mosaic of ethnic enclaves." Communities evolve; tradi-



Alma Jo Springs, United Negro College Fund Queen, 1960. Photo by Benny Joseph from *Folklife Annual 90*.

tions can be forgotten, transformed, or strengthened and shared with others. Traditional culture is created from shared experience, and the process occurs within and among the many different groups that make up the nation: familial, occupational, religious, and regional, as well as ethnic. The "art of associating together" is itself a distinctly American tradition, and the myriad groups in America (all of them with the possibility of becoming folklife communities) enrich the nation and make us "a commonwealth of cultures."

American Folklife: A Commonwealth of Cultures was printed at Print '91, in Chicago, Illinois, by Heidelberg Eastern, Inc., on recycled paper provided by the S.D. Warren Company and the Gilbert Paper Company. Publication was supported by the Center's Elizabeth Hamer Kegan Fund. Examination copies are available free of charge from the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540. Multiple copies may be ordered at the following rates: for the first 25 copies, \$2 per copy; for additional copies thereafter,

\$1 per copy (for example, 50 copies would cost \$75). The price includes postage and handling. Make checks payable to the American Folklife Center.

FOLK RECORDINGS LIST

American Folk Music and Folklore Recordings 1990: A Selected List, edited by Jennifer Cutting, 16 pages, illustrated. The latest in the series presenting a list of the best folk recordings of the year as judged by a panel of specialists. Free from the American Folklife Center.

ONE SPACE, MANY PLACES

One Space, Many Places: Folklife and Land Use in New Jersey's Pinelands National Reserve (1986), by Mary Hufford, 144 pages, illustrated. Reprint of the report on the Folklife Center's 1983-85 Pinelands Folklife Project, which has become a standard text in the literature on cultural conservation. Available from the American Folklife Center for \$15, plus \$3.50 for postage and handling. □

HOUSE EXHIBITS PHOTOS FROM LOWELL FOLKLIFE PROJECT



Mme. Yvonne Lagasse, at her home in Lowell, Massachusetts, describing her memories of "Little Canada" to folklorist Doug DeNatale, field coordinator for the Lowell Folklife Project, August 11, 1987. From *American Folklife: A Commonwealth of Cultures*.

Above: At an exhibit of photographs by John Lueders-Booth in the Cannon House Office Building in Washington, D.C., "Lowell Folklife: Portraits of Culture in a New England Town," from left to right: Center folklife specialist David A. Taylor; Rep. Chester G. Atkins, Massachusetts Fifth District; Center director Alan Jabbour; Rep. John W. Oliver, Massachusetts First District; and Center folklife specialist Peter Bartis, who coordinated the exhibit. The two-week display of photographs, selected from the Center's Lowell Folklife Project collection was sponsored by Congressman Atkins and mounted September 23 to October 4 through a joint effort of the Center and the Library's Interpretive Programs Office. Photo by Reid Baker



Bob Geddis holding the sheet music for "Haunted House," which he wrote for Johnny Fuller in the late 1940s. The 1987 photo by Patricia Monaco is one of fifty-six she donated to the Folklife Center. Other recent acquisitions are listed on page 14.

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