

Report on 2006 Appalachian Music Fellowship

Ajay Kalra, Aug 1, 2006.

Berea's Celebration of Traditional Music Archives Offer a Window into the History of African American Experience(s) in Appalachia

Personal Context:

I am first and foremost an aficionado of exceptional music and although since I moved to the United States seven years ago I finally have managed to learn to play serviceably the bass guitar and to an extent the mandolin and the guitar, my main qualification in commenting upon any music is as a discriminating listener of musics from most quarters; African American and Appalachian musics just occupy a privileged place in my universe.

Even as an aspiring musician, I would have to confess that the greater part of my knowledge about the actual making of music comes from my ongoing struggle with learning a variety of American guitar and bass playing styles, largely through continuously working with more and more commercially available instruction material – a habit bordering on obsession that has left me in considerable debt. Yet, while I grew up in a North Indian Punjabi cultural milieu where absolutely nobody (or their mother) had ever considered music performance even as an avocation, as a listener I became a meticulous cataloger of Western music related information from the day I was introduced to it – August 1, 1977.

It was love at first listen, although, I like to imagine, a discriminating one. The only way for me to find my way to more extraordinary music was to research everything I could about the music at hand. So began a journey of charting nexuses of taste and influence through cataloging names of songwriters, guest and session musicians, producers and engineers. Used music encyclopedias and magazines became my best, and soon only, friends. The American Center library at Kasturba Gandhi Marg in New Delhi almost became a second home. Unbeknownst to me at the time, this was a habit that would serve me well in all my research projects once I would switch careers from medicine to the study of music, a step I took unwittingly on June 14, 1999, when I landed on American soil – hallowed ground that harbored the roots of the musics I had loved for long.

Context of the Present Project:

This study takes up one of the threads for future research suggested by Deborah J. Thompson, a previous Appalachian Music Fellow who earlier this year explored representations of race and gender in the three-decade history of the Celebration of Traditional Music, an annual event hosted by Berea College mostly in the fall. A cultural geographer, Thompson examined, among other aspects relating to race and gender, the geographical origins and broad stylistic categories represented by African American musicians who had performed at CTM through the years and suggested further analysis of repertoires and playing styles to “help broaden our understanding of the diversity of African American traditional music, both in the Appalachian region and in America more generally” (Thompson).

With guitarists being the strongest contingent among African American performers represented at the CTM and with my 14-year struggle to learn a number of styles of African American guitar music including alternating-thumb picking styles typically associated with Appalachia, I like to imagine that I fit the job description well. With my six thousand album strong music collection and decades of dedicated listening and mental cataloging of historical musical fact, I could also fancy myself in a good position to study the repertoires of musicians performing in non-guitar genres, although I am sure experts in fiddle and religious musics can definitely offer greater insights into those genres as represented at CTM.

Celebration of Tradition Music at Berea College

Since 1974, every fall the Appalachian Center at central Kentucky's historic Berea College has hosted the Celebration of Traditional Music, except in 2000 and 2001 when the event was held in May. Berea College is part of the Appalachian College Association – a coalition of thirty-five private liberal arts colleges within the region that focus on studying and presenting to the outside world Appalachian life in all its diversity.

While presenting the modern diverse, cosmopolitan, and *progressive* aspects of Appalachian life that challenge obdurate stereotypes of the region is surely a major *raison d'être* for the existence of such centers, the Appalachian Center at Berea, as similarly oriented units at other regional institutes, does not attempt to deny the strong continuing role of the *idea of tradition* in structuring a majority of Appalachian lives. The centrality of tradition, then, at least in concept, in celebrations of regional culture is not surprising.

Certain cultural traditions, musical or otherwise, definitely have a much stronger association in national and regional consciousness with Appalachia than do others, and by and large such linkages do have a strong basis in reality. Hence, at any regional celebration of cultural traditions, a fair representation of some traditions is to be expected. Yet, the function of an Appalachian studies institute is to present a *balanced* overview of regional culture(s) commensurate with reality, and that is a process that takes much deliberation and research. Still, as Deborah Thompson pointed out, despite the best intentions on the part of the organizers, issues of practicality often unavoidably might have taken precedence over those of equity.

My allusion above to the palpably stronger presence of some musical traditions at most Appalachian cultural celebrations obviously is to the traditional musics of the majority white settlers of the southern highlands. In the larger public consciousness, both within and outside the region, the mention of Appalachian music brings to mind images and sounds of white old time fiddlers and banjo pickers, just “pickin’ and a grinnin’.” Much like mainstream media images throughout the foregoing century, a spate of recent popular Hollywood movies – especially *O Brother Where Art Thou?* and *Songcatcher* – with narratives based in and around the Appalachian region have only reinforced mainstream America's and the world's long-held notions about Appalachian music.

Not only is the world fed by mainstream media not interested in a contemporary Appalachia, it has not really been inquisitive about traditions outside of the long-romanticized and equally often parodied culture of white old time/hillbilly music. Hence it becomes imperative for an institution in principle dedicated to studying and presenting the region's diverse cultures to provide a corrective to that lopsided mainstream representation.

This was an issue not lost on the organizing committee of the Celebration of Traditional Music. Still delineating and representing, in a balanced fashion reflective of

the region's cultural reality, non-majority musical traditions has not proved an easy task. The extensive documentation of over three decades of proceedings at the CTM, both on the main stage and behind the scenes, provides a valuable view into the degree to which concerned individuals might actually have succeeded in that goal.

With musics of the white settlers of the mountains, there is much clearer general consensus on what constitutes tradition. So in 1974, for Loyal Jones, then director of Berea's Appalachian Center, it was easy to place the cutoff at the birth of bluegrass music, an acoustic and tradition-inspired yet commercial music associated with and widely popular throughout the region that is often accused of displacing older "folk" traditions.

Berea's annual event was explicitly to be a celebration of musics that went further back in antiquity and hence had a greater *sense* of oral folk continuity and authenticity about them – i.e. musics now classified under the rubric old time.¹ Bluegrass was alive and well, in 1974 as now, and hardly needed a special event for its commemoration or to ensure its survival. What constituted white old time music was also quite clear – Protestant hymnody, old world and native American ballads, and fiddle tunes. Also acceptable, usually without questioning, was music of fair antiquity that had been initially composed for minstrelsy, sold as sheet music for playing in the parlor in nineteenth century, and songs from the early decades of the twentieth century that incorporated influences from ragtime, blues, and Dixieland and that had been sold as "old time tunes" during the first two decades of commercial country music. With time all these had entered tradition as "old familiar tunes."²

Identifying and representing traditions of minority groups in the region, however, was another matter altogether. What were the contemporaneous counterparts of these traditions among the region's African American groups? While the roots of country music, a significant cultural and commercial presence within the national music scene, in Appalachian old time music are widely acknowledged and explicated in history books and mainstream scholarship, the wellsprings of most prominent African American genres are located by such scholarship in loci outside the Appalachian region. And in terms of those genres' nation- and world-wide impact, that is not a very inaccurate generalization. Yet, contrary to an antiquated popular belief, African Americans have had a significant presence in many parts of the Appalachian region for two centuries or more. Surely, such a historically musically expressive people could hardly have lived without a significant musical culture.

There are a number of preliminary questions that raise their heads when we try to understand the musical traditions of cultural groups whose presence in a region has itself hardly been adequately recognized, let alone documented. Since the advent of regional, in this case Appalachian, studies, there certainly has been in the academe an increasing emphasis on presenting a progressive and diverse face, racially or ethnically, of any given region. With African Americans constituting the largest non-white ethnic or racial minority in the region, cultural and other public bodies in Appalachia are served well to have a token, if not an entirely accurate, representation of their cultural expressions. But what are the musico-cultural expressions *specific* and *traditional* to African Americans living in *Appalachia*? A preliminary approach to answering that question might be through comparing the history of specific music genres associated with African Americans in the larger American historical backdrop and searching for contemporaneous, perhaps parallel, or contiguous developments within Appalachia to the extent they have been documented.

Following is a rough chronology of some of the most prominent genres of musical expressions associated with African Americans. The dates of the earliest available records for each are included in parentheses although it should be borne in mind that some of these practices – such as the ring shout, pattin’ juba, field holler, and work song – have remarkably similar antecedents stretching back decades or often even centuries to Africa.³ Indeed the ring shout has been described as being not a specific practice but a way of structuring most communal music making in many cultures among West Africans and African Americans.

- Music on instruments brought on the slave ships (c. late 1600s-1770s): the banjo, the tambourine, and percussive music on bones, spoons, various drums, and other crafted or improvised (the ground, wooden flooring, body parts etc.) percussive instruments
- Fiddle music to accompany black and white dances (c. 1690)
- Banjo music to accompany black and white dances (c. 1774)
- Ring Shout (c.1799)
- Spirituals (c.1800)
- Pattin’ Juba or Hambone (c. 1840s)
- African American string-band music (c. mid-1800s)
- Field holler (c. mid-1800s; but traced back to Senegal and other West African regions)
- Work song (c. 1860s)
- Jubilee singing or choir concert spirituals (1871)
- The solo concert spiritual (c. 1890s)
- Hollers and early blues accompanied on improvised single steel-string instruments such as the diddley bow (c. 1880s)
- Blues (c. 1890s)
- Ragtime (first published c.1893)
- Barrelhouse and Boogie-woogie piano (c. 1890s; but recorded only from 1923)
- Tin Pan Alley Blues/Orchestral Blues (published and played from 1912; recorded from 1914)
- Jazz (started evolving c. 1890s; recognized c.1915-1917)
- Classic/Vaudeville Blues (1920)
- Ragtime guitar (associated with Blind Blake c. 1921; likely played through 1910s when ragtime had a sweeping influence through the Tin Pan Alley)
- Country blues (first recorded evidence c. 1924):
 - and its regional variants (with their earliest recording dates): Texas (c. 1925), Delta (c. 1926), Piedmont/Atlanta (c. 1926), Memphis (c. 1928);
- Hokum blues (c. 1928)
- Gospel Music (c. 1932)
- Urban acoustic blues (c. early 1930s); urban electric blues (c. mid- to late- 1930s)

A number of the aforementioned genres, such as the ring shout documented in New Orleans in 1799 and 1819, at least in their well-defined form, were largely limited to regions outside of Appalachia and to those regions’ distinct cultural and socio-political milieus (Crawford: 118-120). With the increasing immigration of African Americans seeking jobs in railroading, mining, tobacco, and other industries starting from the early post-bellum period and peaking from the 1890s-1930s, a surprising number of these genres, however, did enter and become established in Appalachia. The following is a consideration of genres that have had a traditional presence in the Appalachian region, although some have few or no identified extant practitioners:

Spirituals

Although the term has often been used loosely, the spiritual refers to an African American genre of unaccompanied hymnody that emerged during the camp meetings of the Second Great Awakening. The camp meeting provided the first major venue that allowed African Americans to worship, and express themselves through music, alongside European Americans. The size of camp meetings and the rural location ensured that there was a significant degree of musical illiteracy and inadequate number of psalters to go around. African Americans were musically illiterate almost across the board at the time and adapted the psalm-singing to their pre-existing musical aesthetic, brought from Africa and transmitted orally in the New World (Crawford: 120-124). While the missionary fervor of the camp meeting extended into Appalachia, subsequent urbane trends in African American religious music, especially gospel, displaced the spiritual tradition, at least as it was practiced in rural nineteenth-century America and Appalachia.

Some concerned traditionalists, such as Ed Cabbell, however, have tried to retrieve, reclaim, and present such older African American religious music traditions. Cabbell (b. 1946), of Morgantown, West Virginia, who holds a masters degree in Appalachian Studies from Appalachian State University, has been a major champion of African American issues in the region and has used many forums to educate people both about the Appalachian African American history and regional heritage and about issues of inequity that characterize it. He claims to have learned his singing mostly from his grandmother who lived from 1890 to 1991. She was a miner's wife and lived in a shantytown, much before the advent of modern gospel music in 1930s. Because of his position as both a scholar and musician, Cabbell, in his presentations at the 2000 CTM, spoke extensively of the contextual history of individual spirituals particular to their singing in his grandmother's African American community in West Virginia.

At one point, Cabbell also invites the audience to join in responsorial singing by echoing the melody through "moaning"; he explains how women doing laundry in West Virginia tenement towns would "moan" such songs together, echoing in Appalachia an older tradition, identified in the US mostly only with the prison or plantation work song, likely extending back to West Africa. What is worth noting here is that Cabbell draws attention, without making it an issue, to the similarity in living conditions, and thereby musical traditions, of African Americans in Appalachia and those living elsewhere whose lives and music have more commonly been a focus of scholarly attention.

Issues worth exploring further:

- Musically, how much correspondence is there between Cabbell's renditions of spirituals and the oldest nineteenth-century transcriptions of spirituals as sung in the oral tradition before they were modified and arranged for concert spirituals and jubilee choirs?
- Does Cabbell reclaim any twentieth-century gospel compositions as spirituals, rendering them according to his understanding of the older spiritual style? Musicologists interested in confirming if there are any essential compositional, and not merely arrangement and orchestration, differences between the oral-tradition spiritual and the twentieth-century written tradition gospel song might also find a wealth of material at Berea archives where musicians representing different traditions such as Uncle Homer Walker, Ed Cabbell, Drink Small, and a number of twentieth-century gospel groups have rendered the same songs in different styles and arrangements.
- Are "authentic" roots traceable to an older pre-commercial tradition a requisite for any music to subserve the function of tradition and specifically a "folk" tradition?

(This question becomes even more pertinent with a number of other African American performers at the CTM – especially Bill Livers, Robert “Bud” Garrett, and the Foddrell Brothers – who have drawn much more consistently on twentieth-century popular musics, especially Tin Pan Alley compositions and commercial country music.)

Anglo-American melodies adapted to the banjo

Through the efforts of dedicated scholars, the banjo’s origins in Africa are finally widely acknowledged. While there are many historical accounts, dating back to at least the 1740s, of slaves playing banjos in the coastal regions of Maryland and Virginia, there is no real description, let alone transcription, of the *African* musics they might have initially played on their instruments (Conway: 151). While it is known that the first *popular* purveyors of the banjo in the Western world, blackface minstrel performers such as Joel Walker Sweeney and Billy Whitlock, did learn from African Americans, the exact nature of what was transmitted it is not certain. Were African Americans already playing Anglo-American fiddle tune melodies on their banjos or was it the minstrel context that first brought the banjo together with the fiddle, encouraging players of the former to emulate the melodies played on the latter, which had a long-standing history in the Western world? There are records dating from the second half of the seventeenth century of slaves being trained by their masters to play fiddle tunes, but the content of banjo music from the same time is not clear (Wells: 136).

Irrespective of whether banjoists and fiddlers combined to play fiddle tunes for the first time in minstrel performance or earlier, scholars have contended that, despite Minstrelsy’s role in popularizing the banjo-and-fiddle combination that became the basis of the acoustic string band and in introducing the banjo to many rural dwellers across the South and Midwest, a continuous parallel tradition of playing the banjo, often with the fiddle, remained active among some black communities in Appalachia and the Piedmont (Conway: 156).

When he performed at the 1978 Celebration at Berea, John “Uncle” Homer Walker, born in 1898 or in 1903 in Summers Co., West Virginia, was one of the oldest and few remaining black banjo players in Appalachia outside of the Piedmont region. According to Ed Cabbell’s introduction at that event, Walker was the last remaining black banjo player from West Virginia in 1978. Walker reportedly learned much of his banjo playing, starting around 1911, from his grandfather who had been a slave in Summers County – a piece of information that sheds light on both the presence of slavery in the Appalachian heartland as well as on the long history of black banjo tradition. (Walker, in between the song performances, confirms that his great grandfather, grandparents, and uncle Abe, were all slaves.) The suggested dates, still, do not prove conclusively an *uninterrupted* black banjo tradition through the nineteenth century.

At the celebration, Walker performed three pieces, interspersing the music with testimonies and anecdotes regarding how he had learned the pieces and what they meant to his African American community. In his introduction to one of the most popular and earliest of all spirituals, “Steal Away,” Walker discusses one specific contextual meaning of the song during slavery relating the practice in which slaves such as his uncle Abe would steal away from their masters to pray on the mountain. The other two numbers Walker performed were the blues ballad “John Henry,” associated with a legendary African American hero who likely worked at the C&O in West Virginia around 1870 and has lately been the subject of much historical research, and an early blues titled “Rockin’ Chair Blues,” which Walker recalls having learned when the blues were just entering West Virginia.

His banjo playing on both the tunes is notable in that the main banjo melody does not make a conspicuous switch to the subdominant and dominant chords when the vocal melody alludes to the changes. This seems to have been continuous with a pre- or early-blues practice when the vocal melodies of African American song had been acculturated to some basic tenets of Western harmony while the instrumental accompaniment was still resolute in holding on to the practices of African music in which the melodic and rhythmic material is only slowly varied and built upon. A number of blues guitar players from Appalachian Northeast Mississippi, including Howlin' Wolf, Junior Kimbrough, and R.L. Burnside continued to favor such single-chord riffs as a basis of their improvisations rather than the 12-bar blues form. It might be worth exploring if an initial reliance on less harmonically oriented instruments such as the diddley bow, the banjo, and the fife may have influenced some Appalachian African American musicians' choices vis-à-vis those of blues guitar players from other regions.

Issues to further explore:

- Are there any black banjo players among later generations, perhaps from one of the already documented North Carolina or Virginia Piedmont musical families, who might be invited for future CTMs? (White Appalachian folk music has thrived because younger generations have been enthusiastic in taking up its performance, also perhaps encouraged by enthusiasm among generations of folk revivalists from outside the region who have provided opportunities for Appalachian white traditional musicians to perform at a number of venues throughout the year. This nexus also provides young musicians something to dream about. If a counterpart to this nurturing arrangement does not exist for African American traditional musicians or if they have been unwilling to perform in traditional secular styles for other reasons as discussed later, the traditions represented at Berea's archives from the last three decades' CTMs may likely become relics of the past. I will discuss in the conclusion how one might approach that, perhaps realistic, situation.)

Hambone

Hambone or the "pattin' juba" is a dance style made popular throughout the world by William Henry Lane (1825-1852) or Master Juba, a free black who in the antebellum period became an international star and was often billed above white performers with whom he shared a bill. His dancing style was derived from older West African traditions and involved making various sounds through striking different parts of the body and the ground to make distinct typologies of sound, often selectively pitched, in complex and syncopated rhythm (Crawford: 410-412, 425-427). His popularity ensured that the dance enter the most popular performance genre of the era – blackface minstrelsy – and later vaudeville and medicine shows.

Associations with minstrelsy, again, might explain the style's dropping out of favor with African Americans in the twentieth century. Minstrelsy's influence, however, through vaudeville and medicine shows in which many early country musicians had performed, continued in "hillbilly" music's live performance, especially at barn dances. Not surprisingly, then, hambone continues to be more popular with "old time" country music's white practitioners, and one such example appears in David Morris's performance at CTM 1977. Morris performs "Turkey in the Straw" on the jaw harp while doing a "pattin' juba." The selection of the piece is especially apposite as the tune is one of the most popular of the old time fiddle tunes that began life in minstrelsy, in this case having been composed by George Washington Dixon in 1834 under the title "Zip Coon" (Crawford: 201).

Issues to further explore:

- West African dancing informed the hambone and modern tap dancing developed from it. While the latter is obviously popular among urban jazz dancers – black or white – there are still practitioners of other related rural African American dances such as buck dancing in some communities in Appalachia. Some younger groups of African Americans are trying to revive the legacy of such related percussive dances and at least one of them performed in July 2001 at the Virginia Highlands Festival in Abingdon, VA. At a future CTM, perhaps a history of such percussive dances can be the focus of a symposium-cum-demonstration that includes white performers who perform hambone or who can make connections between some styles of clogging, flat footing, and buck dancing. (In a symposium at the 2003 CTM, Phil Jamison did cover the influence of African American dancing as evidenced in white square dancing)

African-American fiddling and string band music

Documentation of slaves being taught to play the fiddle dates from at least the late seventeenth century. When the banjo joined the fiddle attempting to replicate fiddle tune melodies, the basis of the string band coalesced. This synthesis likely happened in the hands of African American slaves, although it was minstrelsy that popularized the fiddle-banjo combination (Conway: 152-154). Like the banjo, due to its association with uncomplimentary minstrel stereotypes, the fiddle fell out of favor with African Americans once the guitar became widely and cheaply available through mail-order catalogs. Bill Livers and Earl White are the only two African American fiddle players who have performed at the CTM.

White is definitely a self-conscious revivalist who is a product of the specific urban cultural milieu of the late 1960s and 1970s when knowledge and mastery of folk traditions had great sway among urban intellectuals. Even in that milieu, though, White and Sparky Rucker were more the exceptions than the norm among educated blacks. While a healthy network of festivals, competitions, and career opportunities supporting fiddling has continued to draw white Appalachian youth to fiddling and string band music, as is evidenced in the consistent emergence of child prodigies such as Hunter Berry, Josh Goforth, and Jake Krack, the secular lives of African American youth in Appalachia is arrayed around the musical culture of hip-hop and contemporary R&B.

In that scenario, Earl White appears more a novelty than representative of a contemporary Appalachian African American culture or experience. In his only CTM performance in 2004, White did mention in passing that the tunes he played were shared heritage among black and white fiddlers. Although he does allude to a history of black fiddlers who according to him played old time string band and “Appalachian type” music, White does not attempt to further characterize individual pieces’ histories in relation to their black or white and folk or popular sources, nor does he attempt to delineate any differences in performance styles. Only for the tune “Riley and Spencer” does he offer some kind of hint that his immediate source, the white fiddler Tommy Jarrell, might have learned the piece from a black fiddler. Knowledgeable educated black musicians like White could be encouraged to focus equally on the educative goals of the Celebration by featuring them in imaginative settings that fall between cut-and-dried categories of symposia and concerts. Especially with tunes from shared black and white repertoires, musicians and perhaps interpreting expert guest musicologists could be encouraged to talk about the individual sources, learning processes, note choices, and stylistic particulars in their versions of shared tunes.

In contrast to White, Bill Livers seemed to fall into the “songster” category of “traditional” black performers – musicians who despite the sweeping popularity of commercially recorded blues continued to perform a repertoire of non-blues pieces from both black and white sources. Most “songsters” lived in smaller African American communities and often had to perform for white audiences in the region for their livelihood. Often they performed as part of African American string bands playing both white and black dances and parties. While Livers only performed once at the CTM, in 1975 at the age of 60, his playing is also extensively documented at Berea in the John Harrod Collection and together the recordings provide a better sense of this fiddler’s wildly eclectic oeuvre.

Although obviously presented as a traditional musician, Livers’ repertoire boasts at least of an equal number of commercial tunes – including “coon” songs such as “Big Fat Coon”; Tin Pan Alley and show tunes such as “In the Evening by the Moonlight,” “Yes Sir, that’s My Baby,” and “White Christmas”; jazz standards including “Ain’t Misbehavin’,” “Stormy Weather,” and “Honeysuckle Rose”; and commercial country songs such as Jimmie Davis’s “Nobody’s Darling But Mine,” and Pee Wee King’s “Tennessee Waltz” – as it does pieces that have a longer history of transmission within the oral tradition. Surely, a charming senior African American in cowboy attire with a relatively rough-around-the-edges fiddle sound does exude a vague sense of antiquity, often equated with tradition, especially when performing with a group of young white folk revivalist acolytes. Still, Livers’ repertoire does raise interesting questions regarding concepts of the “traditional” vis-à-vis that of the “folk” in music or culture at large.

Also pertinent is the question whether separate criteria regarding tradition necessarily obtain in relation to different ethnic groups. Especially given the fact that a much larger percentage of African Americans than of whites has been in Appalachia for less than a century and also that their arduous historical circumstances militate against their viewing the region with the same nostalgic slant of “home and hearth” that typically characterizes the region’s white cultures, it is understandable that African Americans in the region would identify more with musical expressions that have given their shared plight and struggles a voice as they have striven to elevate their collective lot in the New World. Still, while such an outlook would justify many regional African Americans’ greater interest in the blues, jazz, gospel, the concert spiritual, soul, funk, and hip-hop, Livers’ interest in white sentimental popular song and even “coon songs” featuring, in their vocal versions, unabashed racial slurs directed against blacks is intriguing. Of course, parallels may be drawn to black composers of the commercially rewarding turn-of-the-century coon song.

“Traditional” black popular songsters understandably evoke images of being undiscerning “song and dance men” interested more in pleasing white audiences than in retrieving and securing a position of power and dignity for African Americans. As late as the 1960s, even jazz great Louis Armstrong had a similar accusation leveled against him by beboppers such as Miles Davis, who were interested more in restoring dignity to the black American identity than in playing to the white gallery. To my mind, a parallel can be seen in the complicity of early country musicians in inhabiting the “hillbilly” stereotypes (through corny barn dances and appearances in movies such as *The Beverly Hillbillies*, for instance) created for them in mainstream media and the ensuing struggle of later generations of rural Southerners to either deny regional roots altogether or to embrace them from a position of sometimes almost militant power.

Work song

As mentioned above, the work song is typically identified with blacks working on plantations and in prison gangs in the Deep South. At the 2000 CTM, however, African American Appalachian studies pioneer Ed Cabbell provided an example of how the practice of responsorial “moaning” and clapping and tapping out rhythms that formed the basis of African American work songs and that can likely be traced back to West African musical cultures, was transposed to other work situations including those in regions within Appalachia. In the process, Cabbell, who balances entertainment with at least an equal emphasis of education, illumines a specific Appalachian context of a wider African American musical tradition.

Field hollers and early blues (sometimes accompanied on improvised single-steel-string monophonic instruments such as the diddley bow)

In the documentary *The Land Where the Blues Began*, Alan Lomax documented musicians who still play the diddley bow and single-stringed guitar-like instruments in the Appalachian region of Northeast Mississippi (Lomax). Glenn Faulkner of Gravel Springs is a specialist electric diddley bow player while R. L. Burnside also plays a number of homemade guitar-like instruments that feature only a maximum of three strings (Patterson). Mississippi Hill country blues is a tradition fairly distinctive from delta blues and continues to draw upon pre-blues genres such as hollers and often feature pieces with only a single chord as the harmonic backdrop. Along with the fife-and-drum band traditions still extant in that part of Appalachia, a future CTM could focus on Appalachian traditions from that exceptionally musical region whose specific history of distinctive black and white cultural relations yielded, alongside a number of other musical syntheses, rock and roll.

Fife and Drum bands

Fife-and-drum band music is an African American tradition in the hill country of Northeast Mississippi that is fast disappearing. When Alan Lomax chanced upon it in 1942 during one of his field recording trips, there were a number of such bands active in the region. By 1999, Otha Turner, then aged 92, was reported to be the last living African American exponent of fife music performing with a fife-and-drum band (Patterson). He performed regularly at summer family picnics and a number of his relatives also tried their hands at playing the fife recreationally. The current status of that tradition might be worth exploring.

Ragtime

While ragtime emerged from St. Louis and other cultural hubs in the Midwest and in its original form as a notated music genre for the piano was unlikely widely popular in rural Appalachia, it soon wielded a sweeping influence through the adaptations of Tin Pan Alley composers. It also provided repertoire for the widely popular “classical” or “parlor” banjo playing, whose up-picking style influenced a switch in popularity from clawhammer to the finger-picking styles later associated with bluegrass banjo. In Dr. Joan Dickerson, Appalachia does have a scholar on the history of such intervening styles that sought to elevate the banjo from its African American and minstrelsy beginnings. She could be featured in a future CTM symposium that traces the history of banjo styles. Michael Jonathan did arrange a similar symposium with Dickerson, Sparky Rucker, and George Gibson on the *Woodsongs Old time Radio Hour*'s episode no. 350, but there was inadequate coverage of the different up-picking styles and their histories which are most pertinent to an understanding of the development of styles leading up to the three-finger banjo innovations of Appalachian white musicians such as Snuffy Jenkins, Earl Scruggs, and Don Reno.

Boogie-woogie piano

While boogie-woogie piano's origins are diverse and its early *evolutionary* history inadequately documented, Birmingham in Appalachian Alabama became a prominent center for boogie-woogie piano in the 1920s. Clarence "Pinetop" Smith and Charles Edward "Cow Cow" Davenport, two of the most famous and successful boogie-woogie pianists in the genre's early *recorded* history came from that scene (Pearson: 29). Boogie-woogie also became a major influence on honky-tonk and other country piano styles. Now, although honky-tonk, emerging contemporaneously with bluegrass, would be ruled out as a traditional genre according to the CTM criteria for white Appalachian music, boogie-woogie despite its pervasive influence on and ubiquitous undergirding of popular American music of the ensuing half century could qualify.

South Carolina's Drink Small, more noted as an electric guitar player, did perform a boogie-woogie piano tune during his 1980 CTM set. While Small presented a wildly eclectic array of Southern-based musical traditions, his touchstones were neither confined to Appalachia nor to significant antiquity, draw as he did for his guitar numbers on electric jazz, blues, and blues-rock guitarists ranging from Wes Montgomery to Jimi Hendrix. Of course, Small's selection might also have been problematic as he has never lived even within tantalizing proximity to Appalachia, having resided mostly in or west of Columbia, South Carolina. Again, what emerges from this example is the how the selection criteria regarding traditionality and regionality have been less strictly interpreted with regard to African American musics.

Classic Blues and Early Jazz

Although in the popular conception of the region classic blues and early jazz are not associated with Appalachia, a number of major contributors to these styles came from urban centers within Appalachia such as Chattanooga, Birmingham, and Pittsburgh. I have previously summarized these musicians' contributions in the essay "Jazz" in the *Encyclopedia of Appalachia* published earlier in 2006. Among African American performers at the CTM only Dr. Joan Salmon-Campbell gave a rendition of a classic blues and fiddler Bill Livers attempted some popular standards associated with early jazz. If in the future CTM organizers wish to present the diversity of regional musical traditions, both folk and popular, rather than exclude these popular traditions, they might want to focus on having either the performers or interpreters help situate these traditions within the region's history.

Guitar-based Music (including Ragtime Guitar and Country Blues Guitar)

Among African American performers at Berea's Celebration of Traditional Music, there has been a substantial representation, even preponderance, of guitar-based music, which might be a little surprising given the guitar's fairly late widespread availability through the region. Especially in the time frame within which CTM founders were expressly interested in seeking musical traditions – the period before the advent of bluegrass – the guitar had little time to establish itself as a traditional instrument, in either Anglo- or African-American musical traditions, although its use in performance or accompaniment of older or traditional-sounding material often disguised under the garb of tradition the then relatively new innovations of its early Appalachian practitioners. Given the fact that guitar-based music has dominated African American performance at the CTM, it is worth examining how the styles, genres, and repertoires presented at the celebration represent the lives and traditions of those for whom they supposedly speak.

Most Appalachian guitar players of any renown from the pre-bluegrass period of “traditional” music that has been CTM organizers’ focus were white, even if many were clearly playing in styles influenced by African American music and often learned from black guitarists. Some of these musicians played in a blues slide guitar style as did West Virginia’s Frank Hutchison; others such as Cliff Carlisle mixed up the blues with Hawaiian steel guitar influences; most sang in an idiom labeled “hillbilly blues.” Ragtime and soon jazz also became major influences and progressive-minded guitarists such as Hoke Rice in the late 1920s adapted those musics to the guitar.⁴ Yet there was very little documentation of the guitar styles of black musicians living or itinerating through the region.

We have a sense of these styles largely through some of these guitarists who were discovered during the 1950s and 1960s folk revival. Leslie Riddle, an associate of the Carter Family, for instance was recorded in the 1960s. But he was never interviewed in depth regarding his guitar playing influences and innovations and we can hardly infer that his later playing is not significantly different from his 1920s’ style. Arnold Shultz, a West Kentuckian black guitarist who proved a major influence on Bill Monroe’s blues-influenced mandolin sound and on Travis-picking style of country guitar, might have had a tremendous influence on what became white Appalachian musical traditions but his direct influence on any African American guitar traditions is not known.⁵ The only named school of guitar-playing associated with the Appalachian region, then, is the Piedmont guitar style.

A number of concerns need to be addressed in regard to the place of Piedmont guitar style(s) within Appalachian traditional musics. Firstly, even if we are willing to stretch the boundaries of Appalachia to include the areas of the Piedmont that do not actually fall within its officially-designated borders, we have to ask if there are not some aspects that make the region’s cultural and racial history distinct from mountainous Appalachia and not representative of the Appalachian region’s culture per se. Secondly, even if we admit the Piedmont region as a part of Appalachia and even extend the latter’s boundaries liberally to admit musicians from central and coastal regions of the southeastern states (Virginia, Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama), we still have to ascertain if the putatively regional traditions are in fact regional, even if specific to regions not exactly within Appalachia. Thirdly, we have to examine if the criteria for traditionality – for instance, antiquity, oral transmission, and acoustic performance – are applied to African American guitar music as strictly as they are to Anglo-American musics played at the CTM.

The legend of the Piedmont guitar style, often and not very accurately also called “Piedmont blues,” suggests that because of the much greater social interaction between African Americans and white residents in the Piedmont as opposed to in the Mississippi Delta and because of the shared repertory of mainly Anglo-American tunes, which black entertainers to stay in the business often had to play at white parties and dances, this style is more melodic in a diatonic sense (that is to say Piedmont guitar more closely adheres to notes which conform with the European-American-derived harmonic foundation) and features a more sparing use of blue notes (which contrast with that harmonic foundation and can be traced to African American tradition). The inspiration for picking of melodies with one or two fingers in an upward motion, according to that legend, is inspired by the earlier up-picking banjo styles of the region which were common among *black* banjo “songsters.” While the former claim is certainly plausible, the latter needs some reexamining.

A feature that most observers agree defines Piedmont guitar is the rhythmically consistent pattern of alternate on-the-beat picking of the bass strings with the thumb.

Piedmont banjo-picking, as much of five-string banjo playing, usually employs a single-string drone played with the thumb. Hence, it is the constant single-string drone of the delta style of blues guitar playing that in terms of technique is more akin to Piedmont banjo playing than is the Piedmont guitar style. Also confounding is the fact that styles very closely resembling what is understood widely as the classic Piedmont style of guitar playing, as recognized in the styles of Elizabeth Cotten and Etta Baker, emerged from far removed locations. Mississippi John Hurt's playing style and even his repertoire was not unlike Etta Baker's. Hurt, born in 1893 in Avalon in central Mississippi, had never ventured much beyond the town limits until he was referred to a talent scout by his playing partner and was invited to come to Memphis to make his first recordings, which are likely the oldest recorded documents of melodic alternating-thumb style guitar. While Hurt continues to be lumped into the Delta blues category because of his geographical origins, his music bore significant differences from the blues. The initial jump and the ensuing descending contours that typify blues vocal melodies are nowhere to be found in Hurt's even-keeled crooning. And, although he did play a number of songs with a roughly 12-bar blues form, a form which had informed much of American music by the 1920s, Hurt was equally fond of blues ballads, a pre-blues and non-Delta genre, regularly performing "John Henry" (which he rearranged as "Spike Driver's Blues" with no chord changes, much like Uncle Homer Walker's rendition of that West Virginian blues ballad at the 1978 CTM) and "Frankie (and Johnny)," and guitar rags such as "Make Me a Pallet on Your Floor."

Elizabeth Cotten, a contemporary of Hurt, born in the same year but in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is usually viewed as the quintessential Piedmont guitarist. Although she did not record until 1957, when she was coaxed by Mike Seeger for whose family she worked as a housekeep, she composed her earliest and perhaps the most widely known Piedmont guitar piece "Freight Train" as a 13-year old, i.e. around 1906. When recorded, that song, as all her other pieces, featured the almost strictly alternating thumb pattern. It however, did not feature any distinct blue notes. Her repertoire also included such nineteenth-century guitar tunes as "Vestapol" and "Spanish Fandango" (retitled "Spanish Fang Dang" by Cotten), revealing a more likely source of her alternating-thumb-pattern playing style. Henry Worrall had written, arranged, and published the former guitar instrumental in 1856 in the open-D tuning ("Vestapol" tuning—DADF#AD#) and arranged the latter older piece for alternating-thumb picking in open-G tuning ("Spanish" tuning—DGDGBD). These open tunings were not surprising and had a history of widespread usage from Brazil to Russia (James: 13, 27-31). Thus, contrary to the common claim, Piedmont banjo tunings may not be the likeliest inspirations for the open tunings used in Piedmont guitar or in other fingerpicked guitar playing styles of artists who emerged from various regions in the early part of the twentieth century.

Similarly, parlor guitar arrangements as well as piano ragtime pieces also feature the steady alternating-bass-notes patterns that emerge in Cotten's, Hurt's, and Shultz's playing. Since, guitar instructors such as Worrall's, parlor guitar arrangements, and ragtime piano sheet music circulated widely and, by 1910, were played across the country, it is more logical to find these geographically removed guitarists' shared sources of individual inspiration in those popular sources. A number of white fingerstyle guitarists – for instance James Mullins who played at CTM 2004 – who trace their influences to Hurt and white country guitarist Merle Travis (who indirectly learnt Shultz's style and repertoire through another white West Kentuckian Mose Rager), and John Hurt and Etta Baker also shared another feature in their approach to bass parts. On the offbeats, instead of cleanly picking one bass note, they let the thumb "drag," to quote Etta Baker, Picking two or three notes of the chord and replicating the oom-pah left hand rhythmic figures of ragtime piano (Baker; Martin).

What emerges then is a picture in which a number of guitarists in various parts of the South, including the Piedmont and Western Kentucky, who devised slightly individualized approaches, based in pre-existing non-regional styles, to playing a wide range of material – some in wide popular circulation and some enjoyed more in the South, but rarely only in a well circumscribed region. Even a description of these guitarists (or perhaps of their elder mentors such as Etta Baker's and the Foddrrell Brothers' fathers) as innovators and establishers of traditions does not hold up as not many of these guitarists founded regional African American traditions – both Elizabeth Cotten and Etta Baker's late-life careers were based in playing for and passing on their styles to white folk revivalists. And even if these styles were featured as part of communal music making for a while, are these traditions or the times and African American experiences they represent valued by and speak for contemporary blacks in the region? So which communities do such African American guitarists represent when they present such putatively communal traditions?

Guitar music is the commonest category that has been represented at Berea's CTM. Etta Baker (1983), the Foddrrell Brothers and Lynn (1978, 1982, and 1983), Robert "Bud" Garrett (1984), Buddy Moss (1977, 1978), Moses Rascoe (1989), Nat Reese (1990, 1991, and 1998), James "Sparky" Rucker (1975, 1976, 1978, 1981, 1986, 1994, 2001 and 2002), and Drink Small (1980) are the eight performers who have performed at the celebration and many have appeared a number of times. Given the fact that only two representatives of black fiddle styles and one of banjo traditions have ever appeared, mostly in the first decade of the celebration, is there cause for concern over the possibility of overrepresentation of guitar players at the event? Or is there significant truth in the common understanding that because of the negative associations of banjo, fiddle, and dance music traditions with racial stereotypes popularized by minstrelsy, most blacks in the region were quite eager to switch to the guitar when it became widely available at the turn of the last century? Piano and guitar, starting around just before the turn of the last century, in many ways might have been the first instruments that allowed blacks to sidestep nineteenth century stereotypes and reclaim their dignity. Yet, some Appalachian black musicians, such as erstwhile delta-style blues guitarist James "Sparky" Rucker have assumed the arduous task of reclaiming, with dignity, the banjo for its African American progenitors. Rucker's initiative does not, however, seem to portend a sweeping trend.

Pondering the future of African American traditions at the CTM

Although I may be wrong, but from an outsider's vantage point, a number of trends seem clear to me. It has been relatively easier for festival organizers to find white performers from all age groups, including youth who have been eager to continue older Appalachian musical traditions of their cultural group(s). Contrastingly, even with relatively newer twentieth-century traditions such as guitar blues, it had been difficult locating any remaining practitioners even during the early years of CTM and the organizing committee had to often significantly stretch the geographical boundaries of the region to find African American representatives of Appalachian-related traditions (Buddy Moss's and Drink Small's inclusion are examples).

Most of these performers have either passed on (Buddy Moss, Bud Garrett, The Foddrrell Brothers, Moses Rascoe, Uncle Homer Walker, Bill Livers, and Etta Baker) or have become less active with age (Drink Small). More importantly, there has not been a new generation waiting in the wings to continue these already relatively new traditions. "Hip-hop generation" blacks in Appalachia, as elsewhere, have moved on from traditional guitar music just as their forebears had from banjo and fiddle music. The only musical realm where this generation apparently continues to connect with older traditions is religious music where spirituals are still sung and allusions to nineteenth-century

performance of those songs still made.⁶ Older instrumental styles from R&B, soul, and gospel also continue largely only in the religious music sphere.

It does appear that inclusion of minority traditions at the Celebration was more an afterthought than an instigating factor for the festival. In view of the reality of the situation as outlined above, though, the CTM organizing committee specifically and scholars of Appalachian and American musical and cultural traditions generally need to reconsider what exactly does it mean to celebrate tradition when in reality the idea of *tradition* itself speaks differently to people from different cultural groups with distinctly different experiences of *history*. A traditional festival can definitely seek out and often repeatedly feature the rare spokesperson of a given tradition. Still, one must ask if those spokespersons' relationship to the said tradition finds much resonance with members of the community for whom they supposedly speak. Is it merely the stylistic aspects of a tradition that we are attempting to celebrate and preserve for an outsider posterity?

The public performance of African American identity, perhaps more so than that of any other minority ethnic or racial identity in the US, appears to be an unremitting exercise in negotiation of power, which is understandable given the embattled history of that identity. It might then be educative to compare the contrasting power differentials that obtain, for instance, in the performance in front of white audiences in a contemporary setting of tunes such as "Run, Nigger, Run (The Pateroller Song)" and "Big Fat Coon" (tunes Bill Livers performed) vis-à-vis a gangsta rap song such as "Cop Killer." In that difference may lie the explanation for what bearing historical tradition, and even the idea of tradition itself, might be expected to have on the contemporary and future Appalachian African American experience. Cultural scholars and other concerned agencies might have to readjust their bearings accordingly.

Making Berea Archives more attractive for African American music research

In the report above in sections on individual traditional musical genres, I have incorporated suggestions that the organization committee for the Celebration of Traditional Music may consider when addressing the issues of better representing African American musical life of the region at future events. I do believe, still, that Berea College's Appalachian Center has made commendable efforts in that direction and their extensive documentation at the Berea College Special Collections and Archives has made the latter one of the important repositories of rare unique documents of Appalachian African American musical life. Scholars of African American music will find here documentation of a regional musical life and styles that have been neglected in the national scholarship on black music; Appalachian scholars will find a wealth of material to research and understand aspects of the region's history that despite sporadic attempts over the last two decades remains concealed. The Special Collection and Archives, for its part, could focus on making itself more attractive to scholars through adding secondary sources that contribute to making it a more comprehensive one-stop center for researching African American musical life in the Appalachian region.

Following is a partly annotated bibliography, discography, and a list of instruction videos that I believe would strongly supplement research into unique or primary sources documenting African American musical styles of Appalachia and its surrounding regions. Although some are explicitly focused on styles from outside the region, I have chosen them for the overlaps and contrasts they provide with styles associated with Appalachia. As acoustic guitar music, mostly played fingerstyle, has been the dominant African American music featured at Berea and the one in which I can claim any level of expertise, the following list reflects that focus:

Instruction DVDs

Baker, Etta and Wayne Martin. 1996. *The Fingerpicking Blues of Etta Baker (Homespun DVD-ETT-GT21)*. Woodstock, New York: Homespun Tapes.

A historically informative interview with and analysis of the guitar techniques of the only blues guitarist from within the Appalachian region who ever recorded an instructional video.

Bresh, Thom. 2004. *The Real Merle Travis Guitar - Like Father, Like Son*. Woodstock, New York: Homespun Tapes.

Merle Travis popularized African American Arnold Shultz's guitar style among white fingerpickers around the world as in West Kentucky and Appalachia. His son Bresh learned many of the tunes from Travis, plays on his guitar featuring the historical Bigsby head, and teaches tunes including one associated with Shultz, "Cannonball Rag."

Eisinger, Ari. *The Guitar of Blind Boy Fuller*. Sparta, New Jersey: Stephan Grossman Guitar Workshop.

A representative of the 1930s Atlanta school of Piedmont guitarist, Fuller was reportedly influenced by Buddy Moss and the latter's later playing style, as represented on later recordings from CTM, are worth comparing with Fuller's.

Hawkins, Ernie. *The Guitar of Blind Willie McTell*. Sparta, New Jersey: Stephan Grossman Guitar Workshop.

McTell was a contemporary of Buddy Moss who often also played with him around Atlanta in the early 1930s. His fame later surpassed Moss's but not necessarily because of greater talent. McTell and Moss were contemporaries who bridged the gap between the reigns of Atlanta "Piedmont" guitarists Blind Blake and Blind Boy Fuller.

Jackson, John and Roy Bookbinder. 1995. *The Fingerpicking Blues of John Jackson*. Woodstock, New York: Homespun Tapes.

Jackson was another "Piedmont" guitarist not born in Appalachian surrounds. The D.C.-area guitarist was influenced by fingerpicking bluesmen from a number of regions and his different picking styles should afford an easy place to compare the styles of Mississippi John Hurt and Georgia Piedmont guitarists Blind Blake and Blind Boy Fuller, all of whose songs Jackson teaches here with the help of white blues guitarist Roy Bookbinder.

Miller, John. *The Guitar of Elizabeth Cotten*. Sparta, New Jersey: Stephan Grossman Guitar Workshop.

Sebastian, John and Happy Traum. 2004. *The Fingerpicking Blues of Mississippi John Hurt (Homespun DVD-SEB-MJ21)*. Woodstock, New York: Homespun Tapes.

Avalon, Mississippi-born "delta" bluesman Hurt was the first to record in the melodic alternating-thumb fingerpicking style that is most strongly identified with the Appalachian Piedmont region. His repertoire also shares a number of tunes with Piedmont guitarists. Traum and Sebastian were multi-instrumentalists active on the

Greenwich Village scene in the early 1960s and the latter is best remembered as the leader of Lovin' Spoonful, a group whose name was in fact inspired by a line from a song by Hurt, "Coffee Blues." Sebastian and Traum, both white folk revivalists who in the 1960s learned from Hurt by pestering the recently rediscovered bluesman to teach them the finer aspects of his style here pass on that knowledge. A first-buy DVD for understanding both the basics and the nuances of this approach to the guitar. Hurt's playing as explicated here especially bears comparison with Etta Baker's style analyzed on aforementioned Homespun Tapes DVD.

Seeger, Mike. 1994. *Old Time Banjo Styles*. Woodstock, New York: Homespun Tapes.

Features as guests black Piedmont banjo players Etta Baker and Joe and Odell Thompson.

Seeger, Mike. 2000-2002. *Southern Banjo Styles, Vols. 1-3*. Woodstock, New York: Homespun Tapes.

Seeger, Mike. 1987. *Talking Feet*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Folkways.

Ninety minute documentary and 142-page book on traditional solo southern dance: flatfoot, buck, hoedown, and tap. Worth studying for contemporary echoes of the pattin' juba.

Performance DVDs

Cotten, Elizabeth. 2005. *Pete Seeger's Rainbow Quest with Judy Collins and Elizabeth Cotten*. Newton, New Jersey: Shanachie.

Cotten, Elizabeth. 1995. *Masters of the Country Blues - Elizabeth Cotten and Jesse Fuller*. Newton, New Jersey: Yazoo.

Cotten, Elizabeth. 1994. *In Concert 1969, 1978 & 1980*. Sparta, New Jersey: Vestapol.

Davis, Rev. Gary. 1995. *Masters of the Country Blues - Rev. Gary Davis and Sonny Terry*. Newton, New Jersey: Yazoo.

Davis, The Reverend Gary, Mississippi John Hurt, Josh White, Brownie McGhee et al. *Legends of Country Blues Guitar Vol. 1*. Sparta, New Jersey: Vestapol.

Instruction Books

Berle, Arnie and Mark Galbo. 1993. *Beginning Fingerstyle Blues Guitar*. New York: Amsco Publications.

Mark Galbo is a fingerstyle blues guitarist who has studied with Etta Baker and John Cephas, two of the most important Piedmont blues guitarists who were active at the end of the last century. In this book, with the help of jazz instructor and prolific author Arnie Berle, Galbo explains elements of a number of fingerstyle approaches to blues guitar in standard and dropped-D tunings. Also transcribed are 5 songs representing the styles of Delta bluesmen Willie Brown, Tommy Johnson, and Robert Johnson, and Piedmont bluesman John Cephas. Perhaps the best single blues

fingerpicking course on the market, Galbo's text is also important in how he lumps together, rather off-handedly but actually perceptively, Mississippian John Hurt's and Piedmont-native Etta Baker's stylistic approaches.

Flint, Tommy. *Mel Bay Presents Merle Travis Guitar Style*. Pacific, Montana: Mel Bay.

Flint, Tommy. *Kentucky Thumbpicking Blues for Guitar*. Pacific, Montana: Mel Bay.

James, Steve. 1999. *Roots and Blues Fingerstyle Guitar*. San Anselmo, California: String Letter Publishing.

James offers the single most comprehensive introduction to not only fingerstyle blues guitar performance, but also a well-researched history of its development in different regions. James is a knowledgeable link between blues-influenced guitarists from black and white traditions and an accomplished practitioner who directly studied under blues masters Furry Lewis and Sam McGhee. Significantly, he also provides Henry Worrall's historical nineteenth-century guitar arrangements to "Sebastopol" and "Spanish Fandango," which likely provided the basis for Piedmont guitarists' open tunings and alternating bass note patterns.

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Notes

¹ I say a “sense of tradition” because a number of scholars in the past three decades have challenged the notions of whiteness in white stringband music. Dena Epstein, Robert Winans, and Cecilia Conway have argued, with historical documentation, that African Americans were the first to bring together the fiddle and the banjo, the basis of the white stringband “tradition.” Individually also a number of elements of Southern white “traditional” fiddling and banjo playing in both downstroking and fingerpicking styles were, argue these scholars, learned from African American musicians. Thus only passage of time and elision of differently colored origins has allowed much of Southern American stringband music to acquire a sense of insular white folk tradition. These views are summarized in Wells 2003 and Conway 2003.

² In the symposium on traditional music held at CTM 1974, Bradley Kincaid astutely noted that although tunes with commercial origins in minstrelsy or as broadsides could not be considered folk music, given a certain antiquity they could pass into tradition. Buell Kazee, at the same session, suggests that most, if not all, of the so-called “folk” tunes in the Anglo-American repertoire were initially composed for profit by individual authors who tried to cash in on important events by commemorating them in song, often sold locally as broadsides.

³ Of course, those antecedents in Africa can hardly be expected to be any better documented and Africanist scholars often have to extrapolate retrogradely from twentieth-century genres.

⁴ Liner Notes to *Old Time Mountain Guitar*, County Records.

⁵ The aforementioned article by William E. Lightfoot is the only detailed consideration of Arnold Shultz’s legacy and it suggests no evidence of his style being orally passed on to any African American musicians.

⁶ Personal interview with Britney, Berea College Black Music Ensemble member.