

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 401 162

SO 025 615

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 TITLE Roots, Branches, Blossoms, and Briars: Cultural Colonialism of the Mountain Arts in West Virginia.
 PUB DATE May 95
 NOTE 190p.; Ph.D Thesis, Pennsylvania State University.
 PUB TYPE Dissertations/Theses - Doctoral Dissertations (041)
 -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
 DESCRIPTORS Administrator Attitudes; Administrator Role; Aesthetic Values; Art; *Artists; *Colonialism; Community Education; Community Resources; Community Role; Cultural Context; Cultural Differences; Cultural Images; Cultural Maintenance; Cultural Pluralism; *Folk Culture; *Intellectual Property; Museums; *Stereotypes; Traditionalism
 IDENTIFIERS Appalachia; *Appalachian Culture; Appalachian People; Folk Art; Folk Music; Interpretation (Environmental); *West Virginia

ABSTRACT

This ethnographic study examines the process of cultural colonialism and the effects of cultural colonialist institutions in West Virginia on the mountain culture arts and artists. Interviews, observations, written material, and video recordings were used to substantiate interviews with artists and institutional administrators. Interpretation of local art forms by outsiders and issues of understanding, presentation, and stereotyping of local culture and artists were examined. Conflict and contradiction was found. The concluding chapter looks at the decolonialization process undertaken by participating artists.
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The Pennsylvania State University
The Graduate School
Department of Art Education

**Roots, Branches, Blossoms, and Briars:
Cultural Colonialism of the Mountain Arts in West Virginia**

A Thesis in
Art Education

by

Christine Marie Morris

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Submitted in Partial fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

May 1995

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Abstract

Each generation of a culture has new needs brought about by the changing influences of time, place, and material. Traditions give the new generation a base from which to view ways, solutions, and expressions. Traditions that have been recorded, documented, and institutionalized by outsiders, not of that culture, are often misconstrued, redefined, and stereotyped. Cultural colonialism occurs when the misconceptions are set in policy and insiders no longer control the destiny of their culture and arts.

The first stage of cultural colonialism occurs when outsiders establish art education courses to promote economic and social development for insiders. The outsiders establish themselves as experts of the culture and arts; creating non-cultural criteria to judge and exploit the art. In the second stage, insiders try to gain a share of control within the colonial institutions. In stage three, the colonizers view themselves as insiders and replace insiders with outsiders who imitate the cultural art forms. West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists are now in the final stage of cultural colonialism.

In this thesis, I examine the affect cultural colonialist institutions in West Virginia has had on the Mountain Culture, artists, arts, and transference process. This is an ethnographic study. Interviews, observations, written material, and videos were used to substantiate the interviews with artists and institutional administrators. The results of the examination showed conflict and contradiction. Issues such as denial to exhibit art, stereotyping and misrepresentation of the culture and art, cultural differences, and decolonialization are explored.

The Mountain Cultural artists in West Virginia are aware that the examined institutional administrators have values, belief systems, and intentions different from their own. They are aware that they must take action. Recommendations are made based on suggestions by Mountain Cultural artists, decolonialization experts, and a West Virginia field organizer. Time will tell if cultural colonialism will be reversed by Mountain Cultural artists.

CHAPTER ONE

Briars

The kingdoms of Experience
In the precious wind they rot
While paupers change possessions
Each one wishing for what the other has got
And the princess and the prince
Discuss what's real and what is not

(excerpt from "Gates of Eden" by Bob Dylan)
Dylan, Bob. (1973). *Writings and Drawings*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

By examining the lives and art of the Mountain Cultural artists of West Virginia at the close of the twentieth century, this study investigates outsiders' control of the cultural arts and ramifications of this control on the arts, artists, and the Mountain Culture. In prior studies, regional culture has been construed in simple terms as the locus of folk ideology or a set of doctrinal structures underwritten by traditional authority. In this study, regional culture encompasses material resources, value systems of community, time, place, and cultural perspectives. Culture reflects a particular history and set of socioeconomic conditions which are mirrored in the arts through style, language, and approach. This approach to the study of regional culture is in sharp contrast to prevailing works that have romanticized West Virginia Mountain Culture or dismissed it as the locus of exploitative policies imposed by agents of cultural capitalism.

This research is an ethnographic study. Written data, material culture, historical data, interviews and observations were collected and analyzed. The interviewees were male and female ranging in age from 35-75 years old. Mountain Cultural artists and administrators of organizations that capitalize on West Virginia Mountain Cultural Arts were interviewed.

Statement of Problem

There are two groups with opposing views and values vying for economic success in West Virginia. There are outsiders whose origins are outside the West Virginia Mountain Culture, who are in positions which allow them to instruct, judge, change and/or organize Mountain Cultural art forms. The second group are insiders, comprised of those who are born into or reared in the Mountain Culture, who instruct, create, and/or create organizations based on their cultural art form. In the current cultural struggle, the outsider has gained wide recognition as the perpetuator of Mountain Cultural arts by exploiting institutional policies that are not congruent with the philosophy of the Mountain Cultural artists. The outsider sees the insider as no longer necessary for the transference of cultural arts knowledge. Outsiders have learned to imitate the style and are now transferring their imitation to each other. An additional component in the paradigm is that this generation of insiders are not perpetuating themselves as quickly and as effectively as are the outsiders. The insiders are excluded from venues controlled by the outsiders' national network power base. Outsiders limit the insiders' access to productions, performances, and interviews. This exclusion is a method of culturecide.

The exclusion or limited use of insiders is not the specific policy of any organization, but is an accepted practice employed by institutional administrators. Why this practice develops, who gains from this type of discrimination, what roles the outsiders have maintained in the cultural arts, and how the insiders have been affected are questions which will be explored in this study.

What occurs is not a case of taking Mountain Cultural arts for display or ownership, removing the context and replacing it with a commodity value as in tourist art (Whisnant 1983). Instead, there is pilfering of the product, redefining the content and method of pedagogy, imitating the outsider's version of the insider, and claiming the

Mountain Culture as their own. It is not about objects, but about people. This is not about influence, but about intrusion. It is not about appreciation, but the redefinition by others to make a safe representation of Mountain Cultural art by eliminating the context of that art. It is not specifically about race, gender, or region. It is about the differences of values, beliefs, and traditions of cultures. It is not about style or technique. It is about the living history of a group of people and how that history relates to today. This is not about the past but the ability to understand the past and use that knowledge in the light of history to cope with and understand conditions today.

In October, 1992, West Virginia's Department of Culture and History sponsored a meeting with artists and State Festival Administrators and staff. At this meeting, an attitude of stagnation and oppression was expressed by the Mountain Cultural artists. These artists were frustrated by the lack of State support and with exploitation. The West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists expressed concerns about organizations that utilize non-West Virginian Mountain Cultural artists to represent their culture and arts and about how to reach the younger generation effectively to ensure the continuation of the West Virginia Mountain Cultural arts. These issues, cultural colonialism, transference, stereotyping, self determination, economics and the impact of these issues on the arts will be explored in this study of ownership of the Mountain Cultural Arts in West Virginia.

Previous Appalachian studies and theories have addressed the "they" and "us" issue, utilizing a colonialistic theory, as I do in this study, by referring to colonialization in a historical context with writers such as David Whisnant, Allen Batteau, and Helen Lewis, suggesting that it does not exist today. Traditional historians concentrate on historical events from an above view that reflects a white male perspective. Folklorists and anthropologists, who utilize a material culture theory, often view people and objects as the same thing. This approach dehumanizes those they seek to understand or explain. The vast majority of these studies are conducted by those who are from outside the

culture being examined. The anthropological concept of culture probably would never have been invented, except for the fact the colonial theatre of operations necessitated a knowledge of culture in order to control the people and to legitimize the control. Discovering, documenting, and classifying a culture confirms difference and re-confirms the colonialist's agenda. Other researchers do not take into account the oppressive activities and colonialistic history of outsiders in West Virginia; therefore, their research objectifies the culture and leads to self glorification. What "they" did for "us." As an insider, I cannot utilize the traditional historic, folkloric, or anthropological perspectives. I see culture as living, dynamic, always changing, and spiritual. I am not burdened with the self-serving folkloric notion that the culture died in the 1940s; I know better. To be understood, we must speak for ourselves. The outsiders project their biases and lack of understanding of the culture; therefore, the view of the culture at which they arrive and present is flawed and skewed.

Within the new historical approach and feminist critical pedagogy are arguments that objective research is impossible. I subscribe to both. Choices made, perspectives taken, and methods of analysis employed are naturally subjective; therefore, biases are always present. My personal experience, research, and interviews with Mountain Cultural artists and administrators of West Virginia arts institutions have lead me to conclude that cultural colonialization exists within the Mountain Cultural arts of West Virginia.

Colonialism in West Virginia

Colonialism occurs when a group of privileged people procure resources and exploit those resources for their own gain without regard for the people or culture of the land wherein those resources lie. The land is seized and the indigenous people are

enslaved, executed or dismissed. Those of the culture are deemed inhuman, ungodly, and uncivilized. The enslaved people's language, religion, and traditions are banned and replaced with that of the perpetrator's culture. Ireland, Scotland, and Australia have endured England's colonialism. Africa has been maintained by England, Holland, Denmark, and France. North American Native Indians have been a hostile host to Spain, England, and France. The objective of the colonialists is to exploit for economic gain. Many guises are employed by the colonialist such as educating the ignorant, instilling the true religion, and raising the indigenous to "human" status which masks their intent, which is to gain economic power. Jean Fisher examined colonialism's effect on Native American's art and concluded, "Colonial discourse reduces its subject to an abject of psychic dependence and inaction" (1992,46).

Colonialism is defined in racial ideologies. It was when Joe Feagin and Clairece Booher Feagin researched discrimination in the United States and expanded the theory to include sexual and class oppression that the term *internal colonialism* was applied to incorporate capitalistic inequalities based on race, gender or class. In the internal colonialism theory, the perpetrator is from the same country. The aim is to institutionalize and perpetuate a class, gender or racial stratification system, and to capture the resources for the colonizer's economic gain. Once the original thirteen colonies became independent, the colonization process became an internal phenomenon. In their research, Feagin and Feagin found, "In newly colonized societies, the unequal distribution and control of economic and political resources, initially established by force, was institutionalized" (1986, 44). The imbalance of political and economic power creates a super-ordinate group. Those who are indigenous or different are seen as third class. Policies are established to maintain dominance, and a stereotypic belief system is established as a tool to secure class and racial stratification. As Feagin and Feagin state, "From this perspective, racial stratification can exist where there are currently few

prejudiced people because domination is built into the institution” (1986, 44).

Stratification keeps different groups from forming alliances against the colonizer and the colonialization blossoms.

Internal colonialism is not dependent on racial identity; economic dominance is central. Its power revolves around the haves and the have nots. The history of West Virginia’s colonialism begins with Britain conquering Ireland. Britain continued this process, in what is now the United States. When the American Revolution ended, people in other British colonies saw North America as their chance for freedom. Many of those attempting to escape colonialism were immediately colonized in the cities as the labor class by a “democratic elite” society. Others, especially those from Ireland and Scotland, moved to isolated areas in the Appalachian Mountains, in what is now West Virginia, Virginia, and North Carolina.

Other races and cultures moved into these regions propelled by the same desire for isolation. Their isolation developed in two ways. One was to develop a common bond, not isolating themselves from each other, but from those that represented the colonizers. An “us” and “them” attitude developed. Second, a cross cultural exchange occurred based on the struggle to survive in the harsh mountainous region. In that process, food ways, belief systems, arts, and values were adapted and adopted. They became a closed society resisting colonialism, the hatred of which became an integral part of the cultural development. After a few generations, perhaps, the people no longer remembered why outsiders were to be considered an enemy; they just knew they were, and acted upon that belief by rigidly maintaining their isolation. For this reason, they were declared as “other” by outsiders. The criteria were expanded to include all who were not “Americanized,” who did not obtain or aspire to obtain “the American Dream” (Feagin and Feagin 1986,11).

In the 1800s, while West Virginia was still part of Virginia, the region was exploited for its wealth, but did not receive a fair share of the tax money that was spent on government service and road building. Prior to the Civil War, this state of affairs had led to political and social anger. The two regions were also culturally quite different. The people who lived in the mountains were looked down upon by the aristocratic east Virginians. West Virginia became a state in 1863, in part, to throw off the bonds of internal colonialism.

By the end of the nineteenth century, political turmoil, urbanization, a revolution in aesthetics, changing economic and labor relations, and new techniques of transport and communication began to bring about what is now called modernity. Outsiders saw West Virginia as a region "ripe for development," development being a dramatic euphemism for exploitation. Outsiders viewed West Virginia as underdeveloped, which means human and material resources were under utilized and ripe for the picking. The colonialists required technological and social expansion. Coal, timber, oil, and gas rights were purchased from the insider, whose culture did not value these things in the same way as the outsider, and who could not foresee what was to come. Cultural differences between the insiders and outsiders helped the outsiders secure dominance over the insiders. The West Virginians were left as owners of the land's surface—but not of the minerals below—and became an easily exploited labor force.

In the early 1900s, outsiders came into the region to document the culture and the arts. With this documentation came judgments which led to exploitation. Allen Eaton, in 1937, wrote *Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands*, which documents the intrusion of outsiders through the establishment of settlement schools to produce crafts. Eaton and others found the area and people interesting and resourceful and then proceeded to impose change upon them without asking the insider if change was desired. The Works

Progress Administration of the Federal Government and private donors helped to establish schools to educate the locals in marketable skills.

Classes were held to train adults in basketry, sewing, wood carving, metal craft, pottery, rug making, and weaving. Those visual forms had been documented by Eaton as Appalachian Cultural crafts and yet outsiders established schools to teach the insiders their crafts. The first stage of colonialism is to convince the colonized that colonialism is here to bring light to their darkness (Fanon 1967). Outsiders became the authority that determined what the culture was and how to maintain quality of the craft. Albert Memmi, who wrote *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, states that colonizers import specialists, “recruiting experts among his [their] own kind” (1990, 146). The justification is based on the colonizers’ portrait of the colonized which includes declaring the latter lazy or lacking intelligence. This validates the colonizers’ control and the position that wages can be low because the insiders are not skilled workers. Institutions, under the guise of education, employment, or documentation of the arts, directed attention away from the colonial subjugation and resource exploitation.

David Whisnant (1983) examined the intrusion into the Mountain Cultural arts of Appalachia and concluded that the intervention was characterized by: failure to understand the culture, misrepresentation of the culture, redefinition the culture, and the creation of cultural bigotry. His analysis of why this occurred in the 1900s in Appalachia is as follows:

Just as every act in a complex social order is inescapably political in character, so is it also bound up in origin, intent, and effect with culture. Thus culture must inevitably be construed in political terms, especially in an encounter between two cultural systems that are socially or economically unequal. (1983, 259)

Whisnant examined the intrusion into Mountain Culture by outsiders from 1900 to 1940. He documented the cultural differences and intentions of insiders and outsiders which I use as the foundation for the theory of cultural colonialism.

Colonialism and internal colonialism are theoretically based on Marxists' ideology that capitalism is the center of inequality. Although economics is a part of the situation, the theory is essentialistic and reduces the complex socio-psychological, economic phenomenon to a simple explanation. Cultural colonialism expands the colonial model beyond capitalism because capitalism is not the foundation of cultural colonialism. Cultural differences, cultural misinterpretation, cultural exploitation for economic gain serve that purpose. The dominant culture ethnocentrically creates or takes control of institutions whose stated policy is to preserve the culture through educational courses, showcases, festivals, documentation, and tourist shops. The paradox is that individuals from the dominant culture become experts and judges, who then re-define the culture and the arts by institutional policies that determine who and what will be a part of the institution. Anytime cultural arts are commodified, the arts are bound to marketing rules and are no longer controlled by the culture from which they sprang. What the institution winds up preserving is an ethnocentric vision of what it believes the culture should be rather than that which is real. Those of the institutions state they are preserving the culture; however, their attempts at preservation have inexorably altered the cultural arts and changed the natural evolution of the culture. The colonialistic attempt to change culture to fit a model set forth by the colonizer and the economic exploitation of the cultural arts and artists lead to a cyclical announcement by the institutions that the culture is dying due to modernization. With each cycle, a group of old artists are discovered and marketed which seems to keep the culture on the edge of extinction and is an excellent marketing tool to increase sales, class attendance, and tourism and to maintain institutional power.

During the 1930s, those from the outside proclaimed themselves as the authority and were not challenged by the insiders. By virtue of their assumed status and accrued power, they established credibility with foundations and publishing companies. One outcome of cultural colonialism is the re-definition of goods and services which satisfies the colonizer's agenda of economic gain. For example, in the case of Berea College's coverlets, the decision to improve quality included changing the traditional patterns, creating a "new" tradition for the purpose of marketability. When outside criteria are used, boundaries are re-established and a stratification of the cultural arts occurs. These boundaries set up a need for a system to determine authenticity and purity, which brings about the stagnation of the arts into stereotypes. Cultural colonialization occurs when people lose control of their culture and art forms. The first stage of cultural colonialism is when the colonialists establish themselves as experts in culture and create schools and venues for insiders' economic and social development. By the 1930s, this stage was in place throughout Appalachia.

The cultural colonialism which began in the 1930s was institutionalized in the 1970s. The 1970s modernist's view, based on writings and assumptions of the 1930s, created a sterile, romantic, generic Mountain Culture. Appalachian studies became institutionalized. Many political and economic factors came into play in the 1960s and 1970s which affected the exploitation of West Virginia arts. National media attention on poverty in West Virginia helped to create President Johnson's War on Poverty. Federally supported VISTA (Volunteers In Service To America) workers were sent into the area with little training or cultural knowledge (Anderson 1993). Many counterculture youths, desiring to escape the dominant culture, also sought asylum in the mountains. Disenchanted with their own culture, these colonizers sought refuge by adopting cultures that provided relief in places that led them to find their "indigenous self" or the "pioneer within." Outsiders came to overt political power in 1976 with the gubernatorial win by

John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV of New York. The interests of the general public in West Virginia Mountain Cultural arts and socio-political movement converged and brought together groups of people with divergent agendas and cultures.

During this period, The National Endowment of the Arts (NEA), under the direction of Livingston Biddle, stressed grassroots projects and initiated the Folk Arts Program as an independent division. Grants were plentiful and were given to state agencies for distribution to communities and individual artists. The NEA was convinced by outside experts, including Sharon Rockefeller (Governor Jay Rockefeller's wife), that the Mountain Cultural arts, as represented in the 1930s, were quickly dying. The NEA worked hard to preserve them by funding any project that attached itself to Appalachia. West Virginia was invaded by outsiders carrying tape recorders and cameras. Their lack of knowledge of the Mountain Culture resulted in misrepresentation of the culture and the treatment of other outsiders as insiders. Festival proceeds, documentation material, and art objects were stolen. David Trend (1992) examined culture, art, education, and politics in the United States and stated that the NEA itself was a colonializer, dominating all the arts by the funding choices it made. He also argued that the NEA was overly concerned with image and used image as criteria for funding. The United States Government was embarrassed by the nationwide publicity accorded West Virginia's poverty. This embarrassment could partially explain the massive federal funding. Good public relations and a positive image were needed to repair the rend in the social fabric brought about by the political turmoil which occurred during Viet Nam War era. Altina Waller (1988) explored cultural differences between outsiders and insiders in West Virginia and stated that outsiders believed that an inferior culture was to blame for the years of poverty and that cultural enlightenment would cure the problem in Appalachia. Cultural enlightenment and creating a marketable image helped motivate federal funding for West Virginia. This funding fulfilled the government's external need for self-

aggrandizement without regard for the Mountain Cultural need for self determination of identity, the arts, culture, and economic opportunity.

John Paul Ryan delivered a paper, "Cultural Diversity and the American Experience: Political Participation Among Blacks, Appalachians and Indians," at the 1973 American Political Science Association Conference. Ryan (1975) stated Blacks, Indians, and Appalachians are "non-Americans" due to past racial and or class stratification and the inability or desire to attain white middle class. He wrote that Appalachians are systematically deprived of an equitable share in the distribution of goods and services. Government programs, such as those making up the War on Poverty, were not intended to end poverty but to maintain it as status quo since much of the agitation for social-political change was diverted by War on Poverty money. This diversion kept the focus off the real problem: the inequity fostered by the alliance between government and big business. Ryan assumed that Appalachians wanted to be white middle class and didn't take into account historical outsider intrusion, intentions of outsiders, and cultural differences between insiders and outsiders.

Many West Virginians felt little political and economic efficacy and ownership; money seemed like the answer for them. Sharon Rockefeller supported the Cabin Creek Quilters, a quilting business organized by VISTA for economic development in Cabin Creek, West Virginia. Immediately the VISTA workers had the insiders use their traditional quilting methods to produce items more marketable than quilts, such as vests, skirts, and potholders to be sold in New York shops. Many revivalists, those not of the culture, who set out to document and revive Mountain Cultural arts through performance, production or in written format determined the culture was ready to die, and co-opted the work insiders had done to document the elders. The insiders who had assisted the revivalists and folklorists were then discarded and the work was published as sole authors. This established the outsider as an expert. The West Virginia University

Agricultural Extension Service 4-H adopted the Berea's version of arts, crafts, music, and dance as Mountain Cultural arts and taught it to thousands of West Virginia children. The West Virginians, who were struggling for cultural and political efficacy, allowed the outsiders who represented themselves as experts to join them in their efforts. What the insiders didn't realize was the outsiders' agenda was not the same as their own. The second stage of cultural colonialism occurs when the insiders decide to claim their cultural identity and efficacy within the system which unbeknownst to them, is taking the culture away. Larry Rader, a Mountain Cultural artist sums it this way:

We let the music and culture slip through our fingers into their hands and then we have to stand around on the outside waiting to be invited back into our own music. But we've done a very poor job, the West Virginia people. We can't bitch too much. We gave it to the other people, let them come in and take it away from us. (Interview, September 1993)

Administrators of newly formed institutions defined the arts in a traditional, anthropological manner. Policies were initiated which ensured the continuation of the frozen-in-time version of the arts. The present day directors follow the status quo. Younger artists who were seeking a place in the market and teaching positions were not aware that their arts had been institutionally appropriated until outsiders declared insiders' art as inauthentic because it did not sound or look like the revivalist's forms. The Mountain Cultural artists found they were being judged by colonialists' standards that honored nostalgic versions and they could not meet those standards because the culture hadn't remained static.

The present day status of the cultural arts in West Virginia is a result of the policies and practices of the 1970s. Today, outsiders have established themselves as the authorities in organizations that promote colonialism. Augusta Heritage Center in Elkins, West Virginia, utilizes instructors born and raised outside the culture to teach Mountain

Cultural arts, although knowledgeable insiders are available and qualified to teach (Blevin, interview, September 1993). This institution utilizes insiders to validate its cultural standing in order to receive grants from the state or the NEA. The outside instructors are hired each year according to how many points they accumulate during their employment: the more the better. They receive a predetermined number of points for good evaluations, high workshop attendance, and they receive fifty points if they bring in a “real” West Virginia cultural artist for the afternoon. This show and tell attitude is an example of how Augusta Heritage views the culture and people which it exploits. By what can only be described as a lack of ethics, Augusta ignores the traditional, oral, and cultural method of transference and promotes a material culture attitude toward the ritualistic format. Changing the process of transference, the use of outsiders, and stereotyping the arts to meet Augusta Heritage Center’s representatives’ financial goals has resulted in a redefinition of the Mountain Culture. The institution has established itself as the cultural arts expert, and through a hegemonic process, nationally perpetuates its version of the cultural arts as inclusive. The final stage of cultural colonialism occurs when the outsiders view themselves as insiders and the insiders’ culture is reduced to a style and/or a historical memory. The institution’s representatives interdict the artists who do not agree with them by branding them as inauthentic. This keeps the artists from posing a threat. The Mountain Cultural artists who choose to ignore the colonial situation and cooperate with the institutions are supporting institutionalized colonial policy.

A new organization which is involving itself in the cultural arts of West Virginia is the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority. The Parkways’ representative states that their concern is economic gain and to preserve the culture (Burge, interview, February 1994). The majority of the artists employed by the Parkways Authority are not of the Mountain Culture and do not make West Virginia

Mountain Cultural items, yet these artists are advertised as makers of West Virginia Arts and Crafts. The traditional elements of the art form, the transference method, and the meaning have been removed. What is left is an object for sale.

Many of the 1970s revivalists proclaim themselves as authentic artists who are preserving the Mountain Culture that died in the 1940s. This allows them to claim that the people now in their 70s and 80s and themselves are the only true practitioners of the cultural arts (Menconi 1992). In cultural colonialism, the colonialist cannot maintain geographic distance. This creates a complex situation. The colonialists develop ties within the culture and declare themselves to be the same as the insiders. The cultural colonialist repackages and promotes Mountain Culture perspectives to facilitate the colonized incorporation into the dominant culture. "This empowers the [outsider] to begin to view themselves as a new hybrid [revivalist]" (Churchill 1994, 143). The Culture and History Department of West Virginia has historically been governed by outsiders and insiders who have adopted the colonizers' system. In Ward Churchill's examination of the colonialization of the Native American, and as a Native American activist for self determination, he concludes, "in advanced colonial settings, the colonized are convinced to administer and impose on themselves the policies and regulations set forth by their colonizers"(1993, 380). The participation of the colonized insider in governing and outside power over the insider brings up the question, how is colonialism maintained? According to interviews I have conducted with Mountain Cultural artists and administrators of art institutions, I have identified the two following means of maintaining cultural colonialism in West Virginia: institutional authority and cultural stereotyping.

Those in authority decide who and what will be included in the overall view of how the culture is seen and presented. Their judgments re-define the arts and the culture. Lakin Cook (1994), Director of the Arts and Humanities Division of the Department of

Culture and History, states that the West Virginia Parkways Authority in its current attempt to industrialize hand-made arts and crafts for mass consumption is changing the culture forever. Those who are judging the arts and crafts are not insiders, which may explain why many insiders are excluded. The older traditional craftspeople will probably not pay much attention to the Parkways; the danger lies in what will happen to the younger ones now, and in the next generation, as they try to accommodate themselves to the Parkways ideal. When Blevin (1993) was asked why outsiders are used to teach West Virginia Mountain Cultural arts, she stated that people of the culture were not needed to teach the arts, just good teachers. Whisnant (1983) concluded from his research of the historical intrusion in Appalachia that this attitude is a failure to understand the culture. The outsiders' flawed understandings of the social structure, intellectual habits, manners, and economic arrangements are not congruent with the actual culture.

Folklorists, revivalists, and some cultural anthropologists base their arts criteria on historical documentation. Establishing themselves as the authority creates a foundation upon which the current insiders' art can be declared as inauthentic, because it does not look or sound like the outsiders' stereotype. To admit that the cultural arts are a living, breathing entity would require that traditional transference methods, family or regional histories, and cultural language be factors in establishing authenticity. The inclusion of such criteria would eliminate the outsiders' power base and they could not present their imitations as authentic. Fisher's analysis of this dilemma regarding Native Americans' art is that "a past dependence on institutional definitions of cultural 'authenticity' has often seemed a retreat into nostalgia, an avoidance of resolving the conflicts of the present or a capitulation to the demands of the marketplace" (1992, 49).

Because commercialization of the Mountain Cultural arts has occurred for over one hundred years, many of the present producers and teachers are not from the culture.

The few insiders who are a part of this system are torn between cultural ethics and income from a market that seems lucrative. The outsiders' control of the market has created a stratification of the arts, creating two types: tourist and cultural. Whisnant (1983) states revivalists (outsiders) are the producers of tourist art. Two types of art by two types of makers. What is the problem? Because of outsiders' authority, one type of art, tourist, is being chosen for the market and to represent the Mountain Culture to outsiders and—most importantly—to the next generation of insiders. One glaring example of misrepresentation of the Mountain Culture to outsiders was in the late 1970s when the Department of Culture and History sent a band composed entirely of outsiders from the Augusta Heritage Center to a conference in New York City to represent West Virginia Mountain Culture (David Morris, interview, November 1993).

In today's cultural struggle, outsiders have gained wide recognition as the perpetrators of Mountain Cultural arts, and the insiders are seen as no longer needed in order to transfer cultural arts knowledge. Alice Gerrard, founder of the journal *Old-Time Herald* and an outsider, stated in an interview that the last generation of authentic artists who learned in the oral tradition are dying (Menconi 1992, 41). This assumes she knows all of them and negates the existence of artists younger than 70, who learned in the oral tradition. Creating history as an assumed truth manipulates and incorporates power based on cultural bias and untruth. The annihilation of the young secures the present cultural institutions' cultural colonialism.

Today, some insiders are encouraging other insiders to join the market place by producing static commercial style. With coal mines closing, coal machines replacing workers, factories shutting down, and ghost towns developing, the arts and crafts and tourist trade market seems promising. Many insiders are being encouraged to adopt the blueprint manufactured style for a pay check. In a McDowell County Arts Newsletter the following was stated (copied as written):

Tourist as they travel down thru W. Va. want to pick up gifts and souvenirs to take back to their state or country that was made in W. Va. by W. Vains, authentic, handmade items. ..lots of gals are make in lil dolls to hold a roll of Tol. Tissue and tryin to sell em for 15 bucks and I know they (The Parkways Authority) would sell for 29.95 and the maker would get 60% of that or 18 bucks. (Rutherford, 1994)

Wade and Strickland in 1981 examined the Native American's struggle with a similar situation in Southwest United States. They found that artists who did not produce tourist art but maintained a culturally, socially relevant art had no marketplace for their art. Wade and Strickland (1981) further state that the market is built on stereotype, the process of supply and demand, and if the artist cannot meet these demands, they must change, quit or produce art for its own sake. In West Virginia, those in power find the outsiders more manageable due to their unchallenging attitude toward authority and the form of art, emphasizing technique rather than cultural qualities. The outsiders' belief and value systems are similar to those in authority; therefore, there is little conflict. The outsider can say yes to things which would not seem correct to most Mountain Cultural artists.

The conflict over art authenticity has resulted in a hegemonic exclusion which utilizes a variety of colonialistic techniques. The first is the predominant utilization of outsider artists. Those in positions of authority, by directing press coverage to outsiders, authenticate their arts and make their art appear as valid as insiders'. This manipulates the public to assume the items they purchase or the music they hear is of Mountain Culture. Manipulating the public is a powerful tool of colonialism. The masses cannot dispute what they do not know.

It is necessary to understand the consequences of cultural colonialism to determine needs and methods for decolonialization. Many cultures are in the process of post-colonialization which espouses an inclusion of multiplicity. If West Virginia is to overcome a paternalistic state, the artists must pursue strategies and courses of action that will lead to decolonialization. This will not mean the preservation of a romantic status quo. The Mountain Cultural artists must control the direction of change and the identity of their beneficiaries. For a cultural revolution to begin, the oppressed must first know they are oppressed and then employ methods to counter the oppression (Trend 1992). What methods are needed and who will take part in the revolution? Those entrenched in the hegemonic establishment are sure to contest. Change means loss, and loss will be resisted.

To liberate oneself from oppression is to unite in solidarity, break the silence, take responsibility, make a commitment to work for change and to value diversity within the culture. Resistance to the hegemony is in its formative stages. There is a growing realization among the Mountain Cultural artists of what has occurred and is occurring. They realize that it is up to them to resist further advances. The form this resistance will take is less clear to them than the realization that change is necessary. The insiders are no longer as firmly in the thrall of the outsiders as they once were. They are aware of their lack of participation in the economic benefits to be derived from the performance and sale of their art. The outsiders have taken the spirit of West Virginia Mountain Cultural arts and with their eschatological approach have stagnated and pickled the arts instead of preserving them. Their replacement is a pre-packaged, pre-fabricated culture with easy to read directions: you, too, can be a West Virginian.

In L. A. Wheeler's *The Kingdom of Kanawha, An Allegory for America*, a fictional account of colonialism in West Virginia, the story details the insider's journey to freedom by eliminating outsiders from the state. The insiders declare their independence

with a proclamation as the forefathers of the United States did over two hundred years ago. The Proclamation states that the world needs the characteristics that West Virginians possess and they are now protecting those characteristics “at all costs” (Wheeler 1992, 147). Wheeler continues:

The major problem is that its wealth, in terms of natural resources, has been owned or controlled by “outsiders,” who can be defined as non-citizens of the state, uninterested in the good of the state (292). . . . While the situation is not quite this simple, in essence, the birth-right of West Virginians —their land and resources have been owned and exploited by outsiders, while the West Virginians themselves have been kept in the status of the original indentured servants. (1992, 51)

Although the story is fictional, it becomes realistic when compared to the current condition of the Mountain Cultural arts and attitudes of the cultural artists in West Virginia. The cultural colonialism in West Virginia is in its final stage during which the outsiders not only reinterpret the culture for exploitation, but replace the Mountain Cultural artists with outsiders and declare the outsider’s version as Mountain Cultural art. I will examine the Mountain Cultural artists’ reaction to the colonialism, the effect on their culture, product, transference of their culture and art forms, and their predictions for the future of their arts and culture. The Mountain Cultural artists’ responses will be juxtaposed with the institutions’ stated definition of Mountain Culture and arts and policies which will illustrate the cultural differences and intentions of both groups.

Methodology

Ethnography is a method of research based on the idea that the people who are being interviewed are the interpreters of their own story. Historically, ethnographers

have often presented flawed observations by including opinions based on their own bias of culture. James Clifford (1986) has extensively explored ethnography, cultural issues and museums. In his chapter, *Introduction: Partial Truths* he stated:

Ethnographic writing is determined in at least six ways: (1) contextually (it draws from and creates meaningful social milieux); (2) rhetorically (it uses and is used by expressive conventions); (3) institutionally (one writes within, and against, specific traditions, disciplines, audiences); (4) generically (an ethnography is usually distinguishable from a novel or a travel account); (5) politically (the authority to represent cultural realities is unequally shared and at times contested); (6) historically (all the above conventions and constraints are changing). (1986, 6)

Clifford (1986) states that the danger of ethnography is that because data are based on oral accounts, ethnography is at best “true fictions,” inherently biased and incomplete. It is for this reason that Triangulated Inquiry was utilized as the structure in this study. Triangulated Inquiry is a qualitative ethnographic approach in which social phenomena are observed in their natural setting, but supplemented with other data such as diaries, photographs, video, audio tapes, and newspaper accounts to provide a richer understanding of a complex social event (Sevigny 1978). This helps eliminate the “fiction” that Clifford states occurs when the only data utilized comes from interviews. In this study, I have utilized magazine articles and books written in the past twenty years, newspaper articles written in the past three years, films and videos made in the past twenty years, and interviews.

The artists were chosen because of their artistic experience, their extensive relationship with organizations in West Virginia that perpetuate and/or document the cultural arts, and their commitment to their culture. I spoke informally with artists at festivals and meetings about their artistic experience and their involvement with the

institutions under examination. The artists I selected to be interviewed are those who have worked for Augusta Heritage Center, Department of Culture and History, and West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority, have experience in several art forms or have organized arts functions, are members of the Mountain Culture, have been active in reformation activities, and were willing to be interviewed. I interviewed the following artists:

Mike Bing—A musician and singer, who is actively teaching his art forms to the next generation. Mike Bing has taught workshops at Augusta Heritage Center. He performs at events sponsored by the Department of Culture and History, and markets his bands' music tapes through West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority.

John Blisard—A musician, singer, stained glass artist, and Music/Dance Coordinator of the West Virginia Arts and Crafts Fair in Ripley. John Blisard has a Master's Degree in Humanities, Appalachia Culture, Music, and Literature. He has taught at Augusta Heritage Center, performs at events sponsored by the Department of Culture and History, and the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority.

John Brock—A wood worker, blacksmith, weaver, basket maker, and folklorist. He is completing his degree in Appalachia Studies at Concord College, Athens, West Virginia. He is an artist in residence at the Youth Museum, Beckley, West Virginia, and has a weaving apprentice. He has been funded by the Department of Culture and History, taught at Augusta

Heritage Center, and sells his work and demonstrates his craft for West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority.

Dwight Diller—A musician, singer, teacher, Mennonite minister, and craft store owner. He has taught workshops at Augusta Heritage Center, performs at events sponsored by the Department of Culture and History, and the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority.

Wilson Douglas—A musician and a recipient of the Vandalia Award which is the highest honor which can be bestowed on a West Virginia cultural artist. He is considered a West Virginia State “treasure.” Augusta Heritage Center has proclaimed and documented Wilson Douglas as an “Old Master.” His recordings are sold at the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority’s stores.

Kim Johnson— A musician who performs with Wilson Douglas. Wilson Douglas is her mentor. She is one of the few woman claw hammer banjo players of the younger generation from the Mountain Culture. She performs with Wilson Douglas at Augusta Heritage Center and events sponsored by Department of Culture and History.

Kirk Judd—A West Virginia poet, writer, and past President of West Virginia Writer’s Guild. His poetry and articles have been published in national journals such as *Old-Time Herald*, *Now and Then*, and a poetry

book called *Field of Vision*. He is an active member of the Arts Advocacy organization of West Virginia. Kirk Judd has performed for the Department of Culture and History, is a member of a criteria panel of the written word for the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority, and helped develop the West Virginia Poets performance and workshop at Augusta Heritage Center.

David Morris— A musician, singer, and crafter. David Morris is a cultural activist and has been employed by the United Mine Workers as a producer and musician. He has appeared in several documentaries about the Appalachia region and provided music for the Academy Award winning film *Harlan County, USA*. He has performed at events sponsored by the Department of Culture and History and has received funding as an artist in residence in West Virginia schools. For two years, he produced festivals for the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority. He has taught autoharp workshops for Augusta Heritage Center, but is no longer associated with the organization.

John Morris—A musician, singer, and wood worker. Like his brother, David, he worked for the United Mine Workers as a musician and did music in the documentary film *Harlan County, USA*. He has performed for and received funding as an artist in residence from the Department of Culture and History. He has performed at events sponsored by the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority.

Mark Payne—A musician and the Arts and Education Coordinator for Arts and Humanities Section, Department of Culture and History. As a musician, he has performed at events sponsored by the Department of Culture and History, West Virginia Parkways Economic Development and Tourism Authority, and Augusta Heritage Center.

Elaine Purkey—A quilter, singer, and musician, who often uses her talents for political/social organizing events. She is a field organizer for West Virginia Organizing Project. Her job is to organize members of communities for social change. She has been a guest artist at Augusta Heritage Center, performed at events sponsored by the Department of Culture and History and West Virginia Parkways Economic Development and Tourism Authority.

Larry Rader—A musician, singer, and record producer. Larry Rader worked with Augusta Heritage Center to produce Wilson Douglas' recording *Boatin up Sandy*. In 1987, he sponsored an informal gathering of Mountain Cultural artists and Augusta Heritage Center staff members to share ideas and goals. In 1988, Larry Rader became frustrated with the lack of results, and ended his association with Augusta. He has performed at events sponsored by the Department of Culture and History and West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority.

Nat Reece—A visual artist and art teacher. Nat Reece is a Blues Master and the recipient of the National Heritage Award. He won the NEA grant

as “Master of Coal Field and Railroad Blues.” He has appeared at festivals throughout the United States and abroad. He is an example of the diversity within the West Virginia Mountain Culture. He has taught at Augusta Heritage Center, performed at events sponsored by the Department of Culture and History and West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority. His visual works have been documented in the journal *Goldenseal*, Department of Culture and History. His musical recordings are nationally distributed.

Mack Samples— A musician, singer, dancer, writer, teacher, and President of the West Virginia State Folk Festival. Mack Samples was Dean of Admissions for Glenville State College for twenty-one years. He performs at events sponsored by the Department of Culture and History and West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority.

Robert Taylor—An old-time fiddler who won every major contest in West Virginia before he stopped competing. He has performed for the President of the United States and is a librarian at the State Archive. He is a staff member of the Vandalia Gathering, Department of Culture and History. Robert Taylor has taught workshops for Augusta Heritage Center and has performed at events sponsored by the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority.

Doug Van Gundy— A poet, writer, musician, actor, singer, and a radio disc jockey. He helped to organize the first West Virginia Poets

performance and workshop at Augusta Heritage Center. He is an active member of the West Virginia Writer's Guild and Arts Advocacy. Doug Van Gundy is actively involved with community arts programming. As a member of a younger generation of Mountain Cultural artists, his articles and verbal presentation at conferences contain a plea for reformation and are filled with optimism that change will occur.

I also interviewed administrators and staff of institutions that purport to perpetuate Mountain Cultural arts of West Virginia. The organizations are: Department of Culture and History, Charleston, West Virginia; Augusta Heritage Center, Elkins, West Virginia; and West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority, Beckley, West Virginia. The choice of institutional representatives were based on position within the institution, availability, and willingness to be interviewed.

Colleen Anderson—Originally from Michigan, she moved to West Virginia as a Vista worker. Part of her Vista experience was working with the Cabin Creek quilters during the early formation of the organization. She was a staff member of *Goldenseal*, Department of Culture and History from 1977—1992. During those years, she saw the journal's transformation and provided valuable insight regarding those changes. She is a graphic designer, poet, musician, and singer.

James Andrews—Ex-Director of Arts and Humanities Section, Department of Culture and History. He was the first to hold that position. He was actively involved in maintaining the Mountain Cultural arts in events and as part of the educational system. He gives credit to Norman Fagan, the first Commissioner of Culture and History, for supporting these projects.

Margo Blevin—Originally from New Jersey, she has been the Director of Augusta Heritage Center since 1981. The changes within this organization have occurred and been implemented under her direction.

Cela Burge—Born and reared in West Virginia, she is the Director of West Virginia Economic Development for the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority. It was under her direction that the realization of the Tamarack project in Beckley, West Virginia, occurred. Products, arts and crafts, books, and musical recordings that are “West Virginia Made” are sold at State Parks, Travel Information Centers on the West Virginia Turnpike, and will be sold at the Tamarack facility which is due to open in 1996.

Lakin Cook—Jim Andrews’ successor as the Director of Arts and Humanities Section, Department of Culture and History. Under this Section, grants are given to artists, organizations, and schools. She oversees the publication of *ArtWorks* which publishes articles about the arts in West Virginia. She was born and reared in West Virginia.

Interviews with these administrators and artists provided a rich and diverse perspective on the current state of the Mountain Cultural arts, and provided insight into the direction that artists and organizations will pursue for the future development of Mountain Cultural arts in West Virginia. Because cultural colonialism in West Virginia is in its final stage, wherein the institutions view outsiders as insiders and disregard cultural differences, I did not interview individual artists who are outsiders. Their views are not at

issue. The outsiders are hired, promoted, and accepted by the institutions and without the institutions many of these artists would not be able to perpetuate their version of Mountain Cultural arts.

Interviews were tape recorded and accurately transcribed in their entirety. Once the tapes were transcribed, I determined and utilized the information pertaining to the study's general categories: history, product, transference, objectives, biography, philosophy, culture, and social issues. I collected audio interviews, photographs of interviewees, and news articles pertaining to relevant subjects and institutions.

Sample Questions for the cultural artists

1. When did you learn your art form?
2. Who taught you? What were the circumstances?
3. What venues were you first exposed to that involved cultural arts?
4. What and who influenced you and your art in the early days?
5. What do you remember in the 1960s through '70s as influential to your art, such as festivals, audiences, and current events?
6. Were you ever documented and by whom?
7. Have you ever worked for the state, Augusta, or any other organization that states its purpose as perpetuating cultural arts? When? For how long?
8. What differences, if any, did you find in these organizations?
9. What are your feelings concerning outsiders learning the ways of cultural artists?
10. What is your opinion, as a cultural arts expert, about outsiders who earn monies through their involvement with cultural arts of West Virginia?

11. To your knowledge, have you ever lost a job to an outsider?
12. Is there a difference between insiders' art and outsiders' version? What? Why?
13. Are you presently teaching someone your form of art? How?
14. In your opinion, how do you feel about the institutional change from the 1970s to 1990s? How has that change affected you as an artist and as a member of the Mountain Culture?
15. What is Mountain Culture?
16. Are changes needed? Why? How?

Sample Questions for Administrators

1. What are the objectives of your organization?
2. How are those objectives met?
3. What is the general philosophy of this organization?
4. Who participates as students or consumers?
5. How are the artists chosen? Why? What are the general qualifications?
6. Do you see a difference between West Virginia cultural artists' ways of teaching and others who teach the same style of art?
7. Do you see a difference between West Virginia cultural arts as represented by West Virginians, and others whose styles and art are similar?
8. How do you define a West Virginia cultural artist?
9. What are your concerns regarding the current status of the cultural arts?
10. What are the changes that need to be made? Why? How?
11. Where does the organization receive its funding? Who controls the funding?

12. What motivates your organization? How do economic issues figure into the goals of your organization?

Each organization was the subject of a separate exploration which included: initial objectives, activities undertaken, audiences, developed patterns of growth, variety of art form, sources of financial support, and teachers utilized. The observations and interview data were interpreted only in the context of the situation or environment. The historiographic portion was used to study the past and how it influenced present conditions. The research questions were stated specifically so that categories, perspectives and relationships could be identified. By examining a wide variety of perspectives, one can reach a clearer understanding of the dynamics that are presently impacting the Mountain Cultural arts of West Virginia.

Outline of Chapters

In this chapter, *Briars*, I explored the historical intrusion of outsiders who have established themselves as experts and administrators of institutions that purport to be preserving and maintaining the Mountain Cultural arts. Like briars, the institutions have attached themselves to the culture. I maintain that outsiders are not capable of understanding the culture of the Mountain Cultural arts and artists that they dominate, hence cultural colonialism has occurred. Cultural colonialism is in an advanced stage. The colonialists no longer see the need for dealing with the insiders and have declared other outsiders as representatives of the Mountain Culture. The issues that derive from this are the redefinition of Mountain Culture, the products and intentions of the Mountain Culture, and the annihilation of Mountain Culture transference to the next generation. In

the following chapters, I address these issues from a perspective of the Mountain Cultural artists.

In Chapter Two, *Roots and Branches*, I explore the roots of the Mountain Culture of West Virginia according to the Mountain Cultural artists, institutional representatives, documentary films, and historical documentations. Topics such as cultural identity, insiders' self-image, stereotypes, internalization of popular mass media stereotypes, and cultural misinterpretation are examined.

In Chapter Three, *Seminal Seeds and Hybrids*, Mountain Cultural arts are defined by the Mountain Culture's seminal seeds, the artists and the institutional representatives that participate in cultural arts and promote hybrid versions. The products and Mountain Cultural artists' intentions are compared with those of the institutions in order to illustrate issues which include: spirituality, authenticity, culture adaptation, stereotypes, commodification, and economic development.

In Chapter Four, *Harvest*, I examine the status of transference of the Mountain Cultural arts. The variables: modernity, community, the public school system, and television are explored in relationship to the Mountain Cultural arts and the stereotypic representation of the culture.

In the final chapter, *The Rose Grew 'Round the Briar*, (last line from the traditional song, *Barbara Allen*), I explore the decolonialization process. In the ballad, the rose symbolizes unconditional love and commitment. The artists' responses regarding self determination are examined according to the perspectives of the cultural artists, which include: identity, empowerment, economic development, marketing, educational programs, and organization of artists.

CHAPTER TWO

Roots and Branches

You, who never saw from the valley that graves on a hill
Bring easement of pain to those below?
I tell you, stranger, hill folk know
What life is all about; they don't need pills
To tranquilize the sorrow and joy of living.
I am Appalachia: and, stranger,
Though you've studied me, you still don't know.

(Excerpt from *Appalachia* by Muriel Miller Dressler)

Since cultural colonialism is about institutional policies versus the wants and beliefs of the colonized, in this chapter I explore the definition of West Virginia Mountain Culture according to Mountain Cultural artists and three institutions and investigate how those definitions determine who and what will represent West Virginia to the public. In the first chapter, stereotyping was referred to as one tactic utilized by institutions to control the colonized. Has this occurred? How has this affected the Mountain Cultural artists? How have the institutions' Mountain Culture policies affected the Mountain Cultural artists? How do the Mountain Cultural artists define their cultural identity? Have they engaged in cultural struggle, and if so, what form has it taken?

The way people perceive, feel, believe, evaluate and behave is culture and is affected by the environment, the economic system, and modes of production (Stuhr 1992). Historically, West Virginia Mountain Culture has been ethnically described as Scotch-Irish. Although Scotch-Irish influences are present, the Mountain Culture could be more accurately described as a response to geographic place. The hardship of living in the isolation and rough terrain, plus occupations such as coal mining and logging, have helped to create a culture that adapted and adopted; therefore, regional and ethnic differences create a wide range of diversity within the Mountain Culture. In this respect, the Mountain Culture is comparable to that of Native Americans. Within the Native

American culture, there are Nations, clans, and regional differences. The Mountain Culture's foundation rests in the geographical qualities of the land, the relationship of the people to the land, occupations derived from the land, the adaptation and enculturation of the ways, values, language, and belief system developed for survival. The Mountain Culture has been documented and misinterpreted throughout the years in ethnic, class, and stereotypic terms by outsiders who possessed preconceived ideas and biases.

The need to examine and re-examine culture and issues of culture is not just a West Virginia phenomenon. Jill Hoffman attended a November 3-8, 1993, Native American conference in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and described it in a fashion that is similar to a situation I observed at the West Virginia Arts Conference, November 1993. Hoffman (1994) stated that as scholars presented their papers, Native American artists, standing in the back of the room, shouted rebuttals and spoke about self determination. Similarly, the West Virginia artists at their conference discussed who could claim to be of the Mountain Culture. In Santa Fe, the Native Americans discussed "Indianness" based on blood quantum. In both cases, boundaries have created divisions and an "us and them" attitude has developed. Both groups of cultural artists spoke of the difficulties, years of misrepresentation and stereotyping, brought about when trying to self-define their cultures.

Historical Identification and Stereotyping of the Mountain Culture

The West Virginia Mountain Culture has been described as a rural, ethnic blend of British Isles, African, and Native American derivatives. Crafts of home and farm, music, dance, musical instruments, poetry, sculpture, and painting document the life of the people at any given time. As the people of the culture responded to time and place, the arts documented the change. The thread that bound the ethnic groups together was the

mountains. Occupations such as logging and coal mining created the inspiration for songs and art. Stories about people and local happenings were documented in poetry, song, painting, and sculpture.

Geographically, West Virginia is the only state whose borders lie entirely within the area known as Appalachia. Books such as *All that is Native and Fine* by David Whisnant, films such as *Strangers and Kin* by Appalshop, and conferences such as Appalachian Studies in Boone, North Carolina have explored issues such as: what is Appalachian Culture, insiders versus outsiders, and stereotyping. West Virginia has for the most part been excluded from this inquiry. The reasons for this exclusion are not clear, and for the purpose of this study are not necessary to determine. My theory is that it is because of the difficulty encountered when trying to deal with the great diversity of people within West Virginia. In other states, the Mountain Culture is isolated in one region, such as Eastern Kentucky or Northwest Georgia, and is thus an easier target for the type of research previously done.

Documentation in the 1900s erroneously described a homogenous group of people, Scotch-Irish, which had not existed since prior to the Civil War. Regional differences such as, race, class, and cultural diversity were overlooked and replaced with a romantic, generalized, and stereotyped version of a mythic culture. The actual Mountain people were a closed society based partially on the common bond of isolating themselves from influences and rules of outsiders. Chosen isolation was an important component of the culture. Outsiders viewed the insiders' desire for isolation as being backward and this became an important element in stereotyping the culture and in cultural colonialism. The first colonialistic move was to dominate the natural resources; this was done in West Virginia by the acquisition of land, mineral rights, and the creation of businesses. The colonialists' ethnocentric views of the culture and the resistance to change by the insiders motivated the colonizers to depict the insiders as lazy, backward,

and ignorant. In exploring the Mountain Culture, the stereotypic representation of the culture must be examined simultaneously with the actual culture because the two are historically intertwined.

Appalshop, of Whitesburg, Kentucky in 1983 produced a film called *Strangers and Kin* that explored the history of the culture and the stereotypes, the use of those stereotypes, and how those of the culture felt about those stereotypes. David Morris described the discussion following a showing of this film at Augusta Heritage Center, in 1983, as follows:

In the discussion, after we viewed the film, the audience, which was from all over the country and from many ethnic groups, seemed to have a “so what” attitude. All of us have had to overcome this kind of stereotyping at one time or another. I think they did not fully understand that for Mountain people, the stereotyping has never stopped. (Interview, November 1993)

The director of the film, Herb Smith(1983), historically documents the beginning of the Mountain Culture stereotype, in 1900, when William G. Frost described mountain people as “not as much a degrading population as a population not yet graded up” (film). It was during this time that an interest in the lost pioneer culture of Appalachia and the West developed due to social upheaval brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The fear of machines and change motivated the modernized population to seek their pioneer roots. Writers, anthropologists, philanthropists, and collectors descended upon the Appalachian region. A writing style called “local color” developed and was used in creating many myths that still endure. John Fox Jr.’s novels, describing mountain people as savages, barbarians, and bloodthirsty, were quite popular. The stereotypic image was born. A 1912 editorial in the *New York Times* is characteristic. It read, “Mountaineers are like the Red Indians, they must learn this lesson. There are two remedies, education or extermination” (Smith 1983). The missionaries and philanthropists chose education

which eventually became a means of extermination. Due to the colonialists' choices of what would be taught and who would teach the students, education was a guise for annihilation of the Mountain Culture.

During the 1930s, philanthropist Allen Eaton worked in the region to educate the people of the mountains. His interest was in saving the culture, but he contributed to the destruction of the cultural economic system by creating a dependency on outsiders for employment. Prior to this time, a barter system was used by the mountain people; money, when they could earn it, was used for special things that bartering could not provide. The people's new dependency on money would later be one of the reasons for poverty. When the companies shut down and the crafts no longer sold, the outsiders left the region. This left the insiders without their cultural ways to fall back on and no way to earn money. This would change the culture forever.

Eaton's description of the culture was "The large majority are of English, Scotch and Irish ancestry" (1937, 43). Because Eaton chose to represent only one race from the region, forty plus years later, writers blindly concurred and perpetuated the misrepresentation. Eaton published his work in 1937, and during the same time period, Arnold J. Toynbee, in his book *A Study of History*, stated "They [mountaineers] are barbarians" (Smith 1983). Instead of appreciating the differences between the Mountain Culture and their own culture, which was the initial motivation for coming, the outsiders focused attention on many of the differences and characterized them as negative. Then generalized those negative characterizations into the stereotypic representation of the culture.

Since Eaton, the mountain people have often been portrayed as simple, quaint folks who require few material goods. This image, a distortion of life in the mountains, was sold to the outside market to help increase sales of the crafts. Eaton (1937) built an image using words such as "pathetic" (35), "disadvantaged" (33), "pure" (44), and

“traditionally know how to work with their hands” (274). Eaton also used the visual impact of photographs. He showed shabbily dressed people with grim looks, produced by a blurred camera technique employed by photographer Doris Ullman. Ullman photographed her subjects juxtaposed by shacks, rag-worn, and in soft focus with warm, dim light. This type of image provoked a strong sense of pity for the people and increased sales for organizations such as Berea College and John C. Campbell School.

Although those from the outside world found the mountain region majestic and the people mysterious, they felt a need to change, improve, and “modernize” it and the people. David Morris put it this way:

If do gooders didn't do good, there wouldn't be any do gooders and no good would be done, which in most cases would be good. I'd tell them this for their own good and ours, but it probably wouldn't do any good if I did. (Interview, November 1993)

If outsiders had simply left the Mountain Culture alone, they would not have had a role. Stereotypes keep the truth hidden. Incorrect characteristics assigned to a group of people, to explain or excuse social ways or problems maintain cultural stratification and thus solidifies the colonizers' control (Zahar 1974). Stereotypes control the colonized in two ways: one, externally, the outsider chooses images that rob the insiders of identity and renders them safe and disposable; two, after the passage of time, the insider internalizes the stereotype. bell hooks, an African-American feminist, who has explored the effect of stereotypes on marginalized groups, believes that stereotypes serve the outsider and argues it this way:

Stereotypes, however inaccurate are a form of representation. Like fiction, they are created to serve as a substitution, standing in for what is real. They are there not to tell it like it is but to invite and encourage

pretense. They are a fantasy, a projection onto the Other that makes them [seem] less threatening. (1992, 341)

The Federal Government used the stereotypic representation to their advantage in 1944 when Congress created the Tennessee Valley Authority to build dams for the purpose of producing electricity. The insiders protested because their land, cemetery sites, and homes would be destroyed. To counter these protests, the government produced a news reel film that shows cabins and people sitting around stills. A narrator states “Valley People saw it as an intrusion. They are generations of isolation, ignorance and bigotry, and die hards” (Smith 1983). This is countered by the showing of a young hill boy ignoring his parents’ command to stay away from the construction site. He is smiling and being accepting of the machines and progress.

Billy Edd Wheeler’s song, *Coming of the Roads*, is an example of the mountain people’s recognition of this phenomenon.

We used to curse the bold crewmen
 Who stripped our earth of its ore
 Now you’ve changed and you’ve gone over to them
 And you’ve learned to love what you hated before
 Once I thanked God for my treasure
 Now, like rust, it corrodes
 And I can’t help from blaming
 Your going
 On the coming
 The coming of the roads.
 (Carawan 1975, 14)

The 1960s saw a continuation of institutional stereotyping. During a 1963 CBS news show, *Depressed Area U.S. A.*, Walter Cronkite stated “Dead machines on the

roadside, die by the thousands and lie like beer cans” (Smith 1983). As part of Charles Kuralt’s program called *Christmas in Appalachia*, aired on CBS, in 1964, he stated that the poverty was due to effects of colonization (Smith 1983). The media became interested in West Virginia because of John F. Kennedy’s relationship to the state. Kennedy needed West Virginia’s delegate votes in order to be elected President of the United States. He visited depressed areas of the state, handing out money and speaking to the media of his concern for West Virginia poverty. Although the poverty was actual, the media presented such situations in a generalized format that suggested all of Appalachia was depressed. The reason why poverty existed was never examined beyond Kuralt’s acute analysis. Because colonialization changes occupational and living habits of the colonized and replaces these with the colonizer’s subordinate version, a dependency occurs. When the resources disappear and the companies leave, the insiders’ ability to survive is gone. The cultural ways have been replaced with the dominant culture’s ways, and poverty is created. Beginning in the 1960s, the Mountain Culture was misinterpreted as a low class. Poverty and cultural values were presented as the same thing. Again, the culture and the area’s diversity were generalized to the public, and another group of stereotypes were created.

By the 1970s, the stereotypical identity had begun to be internalized as a part of the culture and many Appalachian areas were known as “the paleface reservation” (Smith 1983). Outsiders who came into the region to document the people and the arts relied on past interpretations of the Mountain Culture and brought with them many preconceptions which they then sought to document. Good examples of this are writers Elinor Lander Horwitz and Kathy Kahn.

Kahn, who wrote *Hillbilly Women* in 1972, presented Appalachia as a white culture. She stated her intention was to help the native overcome the ignorance and poverty. Kahn also stated that Appalachian women were proud to be called “hillbillies.”

In her book, she led the reader to believe that all mountain people live in shacks, behave in an ignorant fashion, and to call someone a “hillbilly” is just fine. She wanted to change the hillbilly image, while insisting the word is a badge of honor. Assuming for a moment that it is an honor to be called a hillbilly, how can one separate the stereotypic image from the word? She defined Mountain Culture according to class and race. The culture and range of class within the culture were ignored which continued to perpetuate the belief that problems within Mountain Culture were not a cultural but a class issue.

In Elinor Lander Horwitz’s book, *Mountain People, Mountain Crafts*, written in 1974, she generalized and stereotyped the culture:

Most of its citizens live out their lives cut off from material comforts and conveniences considered commonplace throughout the rest of the United States . . . On Saturday the sidewalks of every small town in the southern mountains are crowded with farmers in bibtop overalls, who gather to exchange news on corners, by store fronts, or on benches, as they transform sticks into toothpicks. (1). . . It is a land of few restaurants and no smart shops. . . a land where children of illiterate parents leave ramshackle cabins, with washing machines on the front porch and privies out back.
(18)

The National Geographic Society in 1974 published *Life in Rural America*, which romanticized the culture and yet gave a voice to the people. My husband’s family was written about in this book . Bill Peterson (1974) interviewed John Morris for this book and wrote that the Mountain people have a fatalistic view that is reflected in the music, and then he proceeded to describe a delightful day sitting on John Morris’ front porch listening to tunes such as, “Cripple Creek,” “Minner on the Hook,” and “Sally Ann” which are about good things in life rather than fatalism. Many mountain songs are cautionary tales and contain warnings and morals, a common theme “You can’t do wrong

and get by.” In my opinion, this is not fatalism, but a metaphoric instruction on how to live a successful life. Jack Weller’s book *Yesterdays’ People* was used as Peterson’s resource to understand the culture and the music (Peterson 1974). Weller (1965) characterized the mountain people as being fatalistic. This view is not borne out in the songs and stories of the people as presented in *Voices From the Mountains* (Carawan 1975). This collection contains fifty-three songs in which life and struggles in the Appalachian South are documented. The songs paint a picture of a strong brave people who have fought back against the exploitative economic conditions under which they live, but seldom does one find acceptance of this as their fate. Rather, one finds that they do not accept these things and that they fight back and firmly believe they will overcome the conditions that have enslaved them.

An interesting note about the dialogue and description of what happened at the Morris’ home demonstrates the hidden agenda of the writer. Peterson (1974) states that John Morris, who was sitting on his front porch, yells at his cousin, Gruder Morris, driving by in his truck (distance being an eighth of a mile). Gruder Morris promptly slams on his brakes, backs up and crosses the bridge, gets out of truck, and is ready to play music all day long. I asked John Morris if this occurred. He said the dialogue was made up to suit the author. John Morris couldn’t remember if he had waved at Gruder or had arranged for Gruder Morris to come over to play music, but at no time did he yell because his voice would have never carried that far. He felt the writer romanticized and changed the day’s events to suit his preconceived agenda (Interview, November 1994).

The important difference in *Life in Rural America* from the other books previously mentioned is that Peterson documents the people from the Mountain Culture as not being ignorant, lazy, and poverty stricken. He describes the Morris’ work with Rockefeller Foundation grants to organize folk festivals in several Appalachian states, and that the brothers are college educated, were raised by college educated parents, and

yet the family has lived for several generations in the small, rural, mountain county of Clay, West Virginia.

Television and movies during this time period served to reinforce stereotypic representation of the Mountain Culture with shows such as *Beverly Hillbillies*, *Andy Griffith Show*, *Petticoat Junction*, and *Hee Haw*, and movies such as *The Incredible Journey of Meg Tilley*. American popular culture became polluted with a distorted view of Appalachian and Mountain Culture. Many of the artists interviewed, however, said that although these programs were presented on the networks, there were locally produced shows that countered the cartoon representation. Mark Payne, as a young musician growing up in West Virginia, was greatly influenced by the local programming and stated:

I can remember back in those times, when I was first getting interested in that type of music and everything, that there was more stuff available to me over t.v. . . . I can remember taping a lot of those shows over and over again and playing along with it. I can also remember that Dave and John [Morris] had a show and I can remember watching that. I remember it very clearly when I was in high school. I was on the football team and we had a game canceled because of foul weather. It was, like, whoever heard of that, and I got to go home that evening on a Friday night. I turned on the television and there was John and Dave and Ira Mullins, and some other folks. I can't remember now who. And it was, like, whoa. I recorded that on my tape recorder and that's where I remember Ira played "The Fisher's Hornpipe" on that show and I played the hell out of that off of the tape. . . . But, the point being I was interested in those sort of things, and limited, even though it was, you could still get it. For the past twenty years, if I was in high school or junior high I don't know where I

could have gotten any information on any of that stuff because you're not going to find it on television, you know. (Interview, October 1994)

In the 1970s, people from the Mountain Culture began to write about their culture. Dr. O. Norman Simpkins, in an address at the Huntington Galleries in 1972 and published in 1980, described Appalachian people generally as rural oriented, culturally isolated from the rest of the country, under-capitalized and basically Celtic rooted (1980, 204). He described Celts as hard fighters, hard drinkers, and lovers of music and magic. He described habits such as swapping which he stated is why Mountain people save abandoned cars; they use these cars like money. He stated they are hard working, but every six weeks they need to take a "toot," which is a vacation. Simpkins describes the food mountain people eat: milk, bread, apples, and whiskey. It is hard to determine how Simpkins arrived at his conclusions as there are no footnotes or references that would make it possible to refute or concur, but his work does substantiate the stereotypes. The struggle for self determination was based on the dominant culture's ideals. This as an internalization of an identity constructed by the colonial text and its efficacy as a tool of control and dependency. The insiders were beginning to explore issues and identity which together mark the second stage of cultural colonialism. The exploration occurs within the guidelines and information provided by the colonizer. The insiders assume they are autonomous. This is true only to the extent that the colonizer will allow.

The 1970s were a time when the insiders struggled to come to grips with their cultural and political identity. David Morris (1993), who was a musician for the Jock Yablonski's and Arnold Miller's Miners for Democracy campaigns and for the United Mine Workers during the 70s, noted that since West Virginia's beginning, the coal and logging companies suppressed the people. Rebellling against the oppression created a re-definition of their culture by the insiders and the discard of decades of stereotypical labels that were generated by outsiders to control the insiders. David Morris (1993) said Don

West talked about the insider's need to obtain and maintain control of their destiny. West created the Appalachian Folklife Center, which was designed as a center for the miner's rights movement and radical reformation for the insiders by the insiders. More than twenty-five years later, those of the culture are still stating the same need. Al Fritch describes the Appalachian region as a "Third World island in a First World sea" (MacNeal 1994, 5). In a speech delivered to an Appalachian audience, Fritch, a Jesuit founder of Appalachia Science in the Public Interest in Livingston, Kentucky, stated:

The liberation from exploitation and self deception our people seek and to share is different from that of purely Third World regions. We need for ourselves and for the First World dominant culture in which we are immersed—we need recognition. (MacNeal, 1994, 5)

The following two stories demonstrate the hardships that were created by stereotyping the Mountain Culture and the potential consequences of the transference of the art forms. Growing up in West Virginia during the early '60s, Larry Rader, a musician and cultural activist, describes the confusion he felt when cultural ways were misinterpreted by the outsiders and fed back to the mountain people:

Back when I was growing up, of course, it was during the Kennedy Era in West Virginia. It directly affected a lot of people, at least it did me. I was ashamed of the way we were portrayed and I guess that had a lot to do with my not being around the music at all. We cooked on wood and we heated with coal and had to take a bath in a damn washtub in the kitchen and stuff like that. It never really meant anything to me and I was very satisfied with it until I saw the horror on the faces of the people in the United States when they were looking at pictures of the poor, backward Appalachians and it suddenly occurred to me that the things that I'd been satisfied with all my life and felt good about , as a youngster, was probably something to be

ashamed of, and I was, very much so. I ran as hard as I could to not be from West Virginia. I think mostly I resent the people that caused me to do that. (Interview, September 1993)

As a young man, Dwight Diller, was searching for his artistic identity. His family's cultural background was divided. One group remained in the Mountain Culture. The other group was influenced and tried to conform to new ways and values of the dominant culture. Diller in the process of trying to come to terms with his culture, attached himself to the Mountain Culture, but internalized the outsiders' interpretation that Mountain Culture is low class. His story goes:

I had one foot in the Mountain Culture because my mother and her relatives were trying to better themselves and get away from who they had been as poor mountain folk; you just don't leave a culture in one generation. You make moves to leave it but you still have a lot of the same values and a lot of the same ways of looking at life. So, I had one foot sort of in the middle class world and one foot in the Mountain Culture, the underclass world and I guess I was comfortable then as I am now when I was closest to the the Mountain class, Mountain Culture. In 1969, I met the Hammons [a family from West Virginia Mountain Culture which were isolated for long periods from the outside world and played Mountain Cultural music]. There was something about them; whatever it was I was looking for was found. Sherman [Hammons] played, they [outsiders] wanted him to tell lies, they wanted him to be a *Beverly Hillbilly*, and he did. He was willing to be a court jester. He was really smart, really intelligent, in his culture. He couldn't read or write so he come up short in the middle class culture, but in the oral culture, like, his, he was sharp, sharp man. He let people make fun of him, and he didn't

care. It didn't make a bit a difference to him. I watched him be in a crowd of people and they start that stuff, "Sherman, why don't you do this, gobble like a turkey, Sherman." On and on and he would do it. They thought that they were putting him down. They didn't; they couldn't. He'd look at me and we'd just grin at each other and raise our eyes like that and we'd go on. He'd just go on and he had done that for years. He was so comfortable with who he was and so strong within himself, that sort of thing didn't bother him at all. That's coming from a place of power. I've come to realize, if you decide something is trash and you throw it out, then, you don't like people going through your trash. So my mother's generation had decided that the Mountain Culture was of no value and they had thrown it out. So, I was digging through the trash, trying to dig up those people who had been discarded. I, of course never thought about it, at the time. It seems to me, when two cultures are side by side, you don't have the two coming together and forming a third one, an alloy as such, that is better and stronger. I observe one seeking to destroy the other or one of them clamps down on the other in such a way that the other one can't get out from under that. So the problem in the Mountain Culture, I see, is the people feeling they're nothing and that destroys you. West Virginians often feel they have to make excuses for themselves. Ones outside the culture make excuses and insiders go ahead and make fun of themselves before anyone else, so you're not put on the spot. Many West Virginians constantly sense their inferiority. Look at Sesame Street and you'll see the prejudice. Not Blacks, Hispanics, they wouldn't dare degrade them, but there is a character named Forgetful and he's really stupid. He has a southern accent. They closed the season on

Blacks, Native Americans for the most part, but they haven't closed the season for rural southern or mountain people. Stereotypes are here and we have to live with, accept or deny them. (Interview, September 1993)

Larry Rader and Dwight Diller reacted differently to the shame of their culture, but the internalization of the stereotype was the same. Rader (1993) ran away from the geographic area, but he found that his culture stayed with him. It took years for Rader to overcome his internalization (Interview, September 1993). Diller accepted his culture, but accepted it according to a definition given to it by outsiders. He still believes Mountain Culture to be less than the dominant culture (Interview, September 1993). It is also interesting to note how Diller described the colonial phenomena of how the dominant culture devoured the Mountain Culture. Diller recognized the annihilation process set forth by the colonizers. Others spoke about acceptance and family support due mainly to a cohesive community that maintained the cultural way of life and had little or limited contact with outsiders.

A current ideology of the Appalachian Mountain Culture is explored by various authors from different fields in the anthology *Fighting Back in Appalachia*. The conclusion I reached from reading the book is that the current ideology in Appalachia Studies states the Mountain Culture never existed. Allen Batteau (1990), who is used as a resource in several of the articles in the anthology, believes that Appalachia Culture is and always was a myth. Appalachia was "created, forgotten and rediscovered" for economic opportunity of the urban elites (Batteau 1990, 1). Appalachia's culture was identified, classified, and documented by outsiders for outsiders, but is that a reason to dismiss it as a culture? Where does this leave the insiders? Is it a culture?

At the 1993 West Virginia Arts Conference, a division was noted when stereotypes were discussed. The resistance to the stereotypic image has created a stratification of beliefs within the insiders' camp. One group, led by an insider, felt it was time to dispel

the negative images. The other group, led by an outsider, saw the hillbilly image as a symbol of honor. Carl Rutherford, a native of McDowell County, West Virginia responded to stereotypes and to the fact that a school in Raleigh County, West Virginia celebrates hillbilly day:

Why any teacher would hold a hillbilly day is beyond me. I feel sorry for people who are so ill-informed that they call me a hillbilly, or [a] Virginian. I'm a West Virginian, I'm a Mountaineer and [humorously] I believe a hillbilly comes from Kentucky. (West Virginia Arts Conference 1993)

An outsider and an Augusta Heritage Center staff member, Gerald Milnes' response to the word *hillbilly* when compared to an insider's view such as Carl Rutherford's, illustrates the two perspectives. Milnes stated:

I don't think anybody should be ashamed of being a hillbilly. Does anybody in this room know where the term comes from? [Someone in the back of the room starts to answer and he interrupts by saying] No, no, everybody knows what a hill is and a billy is an old Scottish, affectionate word for a fellow, a person, a friend. So its your hill friend, a hill fellow. So, you just need to straighten people out about it. (West Virginia Arts Conference 1993)

Milnes' definition of hillbilly led me to research the origin and the following information was found. Although the word *billie* does mean friend, the combination of hill and billie was not found in any Scottish dictionary. The only reference found that came close to Milnes' definition was in Archie Green's article "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol" in which he stated:

One possible clue on origin might be found in a pair of Scottish colloquialisms, *hill-folk* and *billie*. The former was deprecatory, for it

designated a refractory Presbyterian—a Cameronian—a rebel against Charles II. Scots hill-folk and hill-men in 1693 were noted for zeal, devotion, and prudence in seeking isolation away from their rejected monarch's rule. *Billie* was used in Scots dialect as early as 1505 as a synonym for *fellow*, *companion*, *comrade*, or *mate*. The words *hill* and *billie* might well have been combined in the Highlands before the first austere Cameronian took refuge in the piney uplands of the New World. Historical speculation aside, we know the word in print only from 1900 and only as an Americanism. (1965, 204)

The word appeared in print, in the United States, on April 23, 1900, in the *New York Journal* which pejoratively described a “hill billie” as “a free and untrammelled white citizen of Alabama, who lives in the hills, has no means to speak of, dresses as he can, talks as he pleases, drinks whiskey when he get it, and fires off his revolver as the fancy takes him” (Green 1965, 204).

The term *hillbilly* is a cartoon image that is in contrast to the real people of the Mountain Culture. The cartoon image shows hillbillies as lazy, stupid, sloppy, moonshiners, tobacco spitting, barefoot, incestuous by nature and on and on. The *Dogpatch*, *Hee Haw*, *Beverly Hillbilly* image that prevails in the mass media has been accepted by the general population without much question. Why would they question this perception? They have seen few positive images with which to compare the stereotype. Today, very little stereotyping is tolerated by ethnic groups. Bill Best, a scholar in Appalachia Studies, has suggested that Appalachians “readily see through stereotypes” (Drake 1994). Richard Drake (1994), a retired professor of history at Berea College, agrees with Best and is hopeful that intelligent people could never believe in such a place or such persons. Drake's conclusion is, “Clearly, Appalachia is a complex region that defies easy generalizations. Those who see the region as an exploited colony

resent the quaint picture of the region often presented by the folklorists” (1994, 13).
 What do those born and reared in the Mountain Culture feel about the current ideology regarding Mountain Culture? How do they define their identity?

Self Identification

One of the questions I asked the artists was, “What is Mountain Culture? Explain it to me.” Each artist described one or two aspects, but the conversation always came back to their struggle with the stereotypic image, and how that has affected the culture, and/or them personally. Cunningham (1987) refers to this as “peripheralization.” An example of this was seen in Dwight Diller’s internalization of class distinction. This is when an opposed pejorative representation causes “psychological heredity” and the insider is unable to get beyond the stereotypic images for the purpose of self determination. Mike Bing, a musician, responded to the question by stating:

The culture is on the edge of non-existence. For years everyone wanted to kick the image of being a hillbilly. I don’t know who made us feel bad to live in the hills, raise your own stuff and not keep up with the urban’s idea of what you should be living like. (Interview, August 1994)

Bing referred to rural components, land, isolation, and independence, as did many of the artists. Doug Van Gundy, a poet, musician, and disk jockey at WVMR in Frost, West Virginia, recognizes that cultures change and states that the land and isolation are two cultural aspects that have remained constant. Van Gundy’s response to the question was:

Culture is a riddle. Anytime you examine it, you change it. That’s ok, that’s part of the process. Culture is something that is evolving. People interchange culture and heritage which is a misnomer. Heritage is the culture that was, culture is what is now. To me what West Virginia

Mountain Culture should be embracing that which may make our lives a little bit easier, a little better—while having a reverence for what has gone by. Knowing where we came from and where we are going and where we are right now. What is important to me, about the Mountain Culture are the things that have validity now that had validity fifty, a hundred, a hundred fifty years ago. The traditional mountain forms of expression still have value, there is still something to be said. They still speak to us. If all we do is look at the past, our culture will die and the converse, if all we do is look at how we can be like everyone else, our culture will die. The culture itself is a dialect. A dialect is a variant of a language [that] better expresses the needs, thought, concerns of a community. As West Virginians, we have very much in common with other people. We also have things that are unique to us. That is why I use the analogy of the dialect. Isolation sets us apart not just physically but culturally. Because we are sheltered, although less and less in this electronic age, but for so many [years] we were sheltered from influences. Still when you talk to people who are trying to get here and driving in on 219 or 250 or 33, they'll tell you how hard it is to get here. "What do you mean you live two and a half hours from an interstate?" That sheltering allowed us to change a little slower in many ways and move into different directions. I think the values are still tied to the land in many ways if it is just a garden. That tie to the land, knowing the place so well contributes to the culture. West Virginians are [as] fiercely proud and fiercely individualistic [a] people [as] you'll ever run across. If we can continue the culture—if we can help the young people who are coming up into this culture to understand that this isn't something to be ashamed of, this is something of value, this is worthy,

[it's] beautiful, strong, and good, then they'll want to keep it going, it will speak to them. (Interview, July 1994)

John Brock, a woodworker, basketmaker, weaver, and folklorist, states that independence is not only a major component in today's Mountain Culture, but jealousy of the Mountaineers' independence is one reason why stereotypes still persist. He also referred to colonialism and how it is a major cause of poverty. His reference to the land and its connection to the people illustrates one characteristic of the Mountain Culture that is often used by insiders. Brock's response:

If you tell them you are from West Virginia, people not from here will have something derogatory to say. "West Virginia, but you have shoes on." We just have a mystique about us. The mystique comes from outsiders in our past. . . Maybe as a whole, we have a certain amount of independence. We still want to do things the way we want to do it. I can't be told what to do. Other people don't have the independence. They are confined in the low lands, metropolitan areas and they have zoning rules, restrictions where you can park their car. We don't have that. It could be they are jealous of our independence. We are different and we like it. We are independent, hard working, honorable people with long roots in these mountains. We are these mountains. What is done to them is done to us. That is our culture, our history. We have been used, exploited by coal barons, timber boom, and everyone else who came into this region and took and took and took. Is it a wonder we didn't have shoes? They left us nothing with which to buy them. (Interview, August 1994)

The historical stereotypical representations that these artists have had to deal with and be reared with has influenced them greatly today. Since culture is influenced by economics, the need to make money and how one makes money can change the culture.

Since the 1900s, marketing the crafts, music, and an image has become an aspect of the culture, depending, more or less, on the region and the acceptance by the people. Some try hard to be the Mountaineer who meets the needs of the outsiders by dressing up and becoming an unrealistic distortion of their ancestors for the entertainment of tourists (Maggard 1994). For some, they no longer can recognize the difference between their culture and the stereotypical image that is marketed. Carl Rutherford, who earlier stated his dislike of the hillbilly image, uses that image in his newsletter titled *Mountain Music*. It seems that Rutherford cannot write or spell very well, but when he was approached by a fellow artist who offered to help edit the letter, Rutherford responded that the newsletter was fine as it was and needed no editing. It reads:

I started all this talkin so I could pass on to, W.Va. has 100s of craftspeople & intertainers working at the welcome centers selling & demoin. their craft & selling tapes & danceing & makeing biscuts & gravy & selling candels, turning wood, pointing iron, makeing baskets, quilts & shucks. I bet you are getin the idea by now. If you interested in getin your craft out to the whole world, selling you record, tape, CD, or vidio. It aint easy but you show up at one of our Jams & I will be gald to stear you thru the ropes to get you craft judged for sale in the craft shops or set you on the road to pickin in an outhouse, I say this couse its been 40 odd yrs of makin music & now I am playin at fancy welcome center like the pryimid shaped buildings at Princetion (Some beutiful Arct. Design) still I am playin in out houses tho fancy, after all these yrs. **WILL I NEVER MAKE THE BIG TIME???** (1993)

The issues that are apparent from the 1993 West Virginia Arts Conference and this study, in determining what and who belongs to the Mountain Culture, are values, belief systems, tradition, and the need to make money. Those who have come into the region

have not been enculturated, so, their interpretation of the culture is based on what they *think* they see, their cultural bias, and ethnocentric assumptions. Many have consumed the hillbilly stereotype in their mode of dress and their personal social habits which can be seen at the Augusta Heritage Programs, in the audience or on stage. Others, not knowing that a part of the culture is a state of mind, assume that if they move to West Virginia they will become a member of the Mountain Culture. Moving to Sante Fe would not make one a Navaho, but because the Mountain Culture is not perceived to be ethnically based, the assumption seems to be that moving to the region automatically makes one a member of the Mountain Culture. The process of enculturation is no different in the Mountain Culture than ethnic based cultures. Language, values, beliefs, and ways of life are transferred from birth within the family and the community.

All people need to make money. Since the 1970s, for a variety of reasons, people from outside the Mountain Culture have secured positions of authority in Mountain Cultural institutions or have sought to establish themselves as artists of the culture. West Virginia history is permeated by colonialism. This has created boundaries between “us” and “them.” Cultural colonialism is institutional bigotry perpetuated through policies, stated or not stated; therefore it is necessary to explore the institutional criteria used to determine what West Virginia Mountain Culture is and who the institutions categorize as members.

Augusta Heritage Center

Augusta Heritage Center developed from a re-awakening of interest in traditional roots, brought about by the Viet Nam War and the political unrest of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Blacks began searching for their African heritage. Cajuns were taking pride in their diverse cultural roots, and Appalachians, who were in the process of coming to

grips with their own cultural identity, were rediscovered by outsiders as the pioneer culture of yesterday. Organizations emerged that stated their main goal was to preserve the culture. In 1971, two local residents of Elkins, West Virginia, Sadavioe Goddin and Dorothy Cromwell attended a national meeting about handcraft programs. Subsequently, they presented to Jesse Reed, the art instructor at Davis-Elkins College, an idea of having workshops on West Virginia traditional arts. From this in 1973 the first Augusta Heritage workshop was held.

The name Augusta was chosen because it was the first name given to the West Virginia region by George Washington (Screven 1974). Actually, the region West Augusta referred to was the land from the west Blue Ridge Mountains to the Mississippi River, which included West Virginia. Augusta County, Virginia, was formed in 1738, so Washington was referring to a term already in common use.

By 1994 the workshops included studies in Appalachian dialect, dance, drama, folklore, basketry, caning, general crafts, leather, music, pottery, quilting, rug making, spinning, weaving, musical instrument construction, and herbs. By 1978, tuition at Augusta Heritage Center was thirty-five dollars per week, and sixty dollars for room and board. A scholarship program was established for West Virginians. The courses were first offered to West Virginians and then to outsiders if classes were not filled. The philosophy was to teach through the culture by a sharing, hands-on process. A *Goldenseal* article that reflected on the importance of Augusta stated, "There is something intangible about joining together to pass along our heritage, that spirit and excitement [and was] the true importance of Augusta in 1973" (Kline 1982, 68).

Institutions change, reflecting not just cultural change but the biases and knowledge base of those who are in charge of the institution. In 1981, Margo Blevin from New Jersey was hired as the full time Director of Augusta Heritage Center. The program was bankrupt due to the elimination of Comprehensive Employment Training Act funding. This federal

program supported the training of people in non-traditional occupations. In the re-organization, old programs were dropped and new ones were added. The last year for West Virginia music and arts to dominate the course offerings was 1982. Afterward, the workshops no longer focused on West Virginia or Appalachia but were expanded to include Irish week, Blues week, dance week, and vocal week. As the other workshops increased in number, a corresponding decline was seen in offerings related to Mountain Culture. Gerald Milnes from Bucks County, Pennsylvania, became the coordinator of Appalachian music. Another change was to focus attention and energy toward drawing national and international students. Nationally acclaimed performers and artists began to replace the local and regional teachers, because the emphasis of Augusta had shifted from cultural transference to economics. Blevin explained the reasons by stating:

When I became Director of Augusta, it was bankrupt. We are pretty independent, we are not dependent on the state, we are not dependent on the federal government for handouts. The audience for the broad spectrum of traditional arts is what has kept us going, and so when I became Director of Augusta, it was bankrupt. We are pretty consciously [sic] we do try to offer training in a variety of styles.

(Interview, September 1993)

By 1983, West Virginia Mountain Cultural arts and artists were reduced to a generic label, Appalachian, and the utilization of non-Appalachian instructors increased as West Virginia Mountain Cultural instructors decreased. The inclusion of “fine” crafts such as bobbin lace making and paper making, not associated with the region, became dominant (Kline 1983). As of 1994, ninety workshops were offered, which an estimated 2,000 attended, and the majority of participants were from outside the state (Blevin 1993).

Blevin (1993) states that the culture of West Virginia is varied and “I don’t think there is any one type of stereotype.” (Interview, September 1993) She states Augusta does

the best it can do to offer a variety, but admits “there is a constant pull and tension due to the need to make money”(Interview, September 1993). Her goal for Augusta is to showcase a diversity of traditional arts. She states:

I am proud of the fact that it isn't strictly limited to Appalachia Old-Time Music. So, what we are doing for the people whose music this is, whose culture it is, is hopefully helping to keep this music alive and showing them it is appreciated, respected and admired. Not being from here [West Virginia], myself, I can respect the culture in a different way than someone who can claim this as their own heritage. I think being exposed to traditional arts is the key because there are a lot of people who grow up in West Virginia who have never heard traditional music. It's not on the radio, it's not on television; it's something that people have learned to be ashamed of. It's something that people have learned to consider almost backwards, because they don't see it being held up as a role model, as something to be admired and respected. I think that when people come to Vandalia and Augusta and they see a National Heritage Fellowship Award going to someone who typifies that, it becomes something that they can be proud of. They wouldn't have thought of being proud of it on their own, they have to learn that. And that is sad, but I think that is true in all cultures. (Interview, September 1993)

One conflict between outsiders and insiders is typified in Blevin's statement that the insider “wouldn't have thought of being proud of it on their own, they have to learn that” and it is the outsider's job to teach us to respect and appreciate our culture. David Morris' response to Blevin's statement illustrates the Mountain Cultural artists' perspective regarding the need to be taught these values:

I do not think people of the Mountain Culture or those from West Virginia need to be taught to admire or love the artists of our culture. We are the ones who elevated them in the first place. To me it is the height of ignorance and arrogance to think that outsiders are needed to explain to us what is good about our arts and our way of life. If the Mountain people had not cared for, listened to, and encouraged these artists they would have been gone a long time before these so called experts showed up to discover them. (Interview, November 1993)

The other conflict is that Augusta still states in print that their intention is to preserve regional culture. In the above quote, Blevin is referring to West Virginia but the decline of Traditional Mountain programming and those who teach the classes are in contradiction with her statement.

Blevin (1993) states her goal for Augusta is to provide instruction in diverse traditional cultures of the world, and yet in print “region” is used. Whose region? Region has been used in their literature since 1973 when referring to West Virginia. This designation cannot now be truthfully used because of the national and international nature of the workshop offerings. The vestigial remains of the original Augusta Heritage Center are found in a week long workshop called “Old-Time Music.” It is described as mainly Appalachian style although Ozark style is also included. Artists who were interviewed spoke of the change in courses and the increasing number of teachers from outside the Appalachian Culture who are teaching Mountain Cultural arts. West Virginia Mountain Cultural course offerings have been decreased and the use of outside instructors has increased. When I asked for her response to these observations, Blevin (1993) denied this was true. In reviewing three years 1992, 1993, and 1994, of Augusta’s programming and the Augusta Heritage Center’s brochure’s description of the instructors, I found that the numbers of insiders hired for Old-Time Music week differed significantly from the number

of insiders employed for Cajun, Irish, and Blues Weeks. The average employment of Mountain Cultural artists during Old-Time Week for three years was 20%. In comparing that figure with the employment of insiders from other cultures represented, I found 72% for Cajun, 90% for Irish, and 71% for Blues. There is a definite difference that is easy to see but is not recognized by Blevin. Consistently, the numbers show that when the Mountain Cultural arts are taught non-Appalachian instructors are utilized in higher numbers than those from other cultures. Lakin Cook, Director of the Arts and Humanities Section, Department of Culture and History, spoke about Augusta Heritage Center's utilization of non-Mountain Cultural artists to teach Mountain Cultural arts identified that her Section has now mandated that funds must be used to support West Virginians. She explains:

I would say that Cajun music, specifically, Zydeco, from what my knowledge is it's not indigenous to West Virginia. And that if someone is brought in to teach that particular music, I see that as fine. What I do question is, and this again is we really have to look at the broad spectrum of what is West Virginia? West Virginia is blues, jazz, traditional, country. If there are strong traditions in the state that can be documented and someone else is teaching it, personally, I think it is questionable. As a matter of fact, one of the things the Commissioner of the Arts has been very adamant about is related to those kinds of things, is the Augusta Heritage Center. In particular, we have mandated that our funds go only toward instructors from West Virginia and they are teaching traditions. We have questioned for several years, not to criticize Augusta, but they are one that passes on tradition through instruction. . . and asked them why they weren't using more West Virginians to teach the traditional cultures of West Virginia. Again, we're making somewhat of a judgment, but when

you look at certain things that you know are very prevalent West Virginia, why not use the ones that are here? (Interview, February 1994)

Cook defines West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists by where they live and not if they are from the culture. For example, if a native of New York City who played the fiddle moved to West Virginia, the Arts and Humanities Section staff would consider them fundable to represent West Virginia Mountain Culture because they now live in West Virginia. Can there be a difference between Cook's and Blevin's ideology if both are using criteria to judge a culture by non-cultural standards?

In 1937, Eaton stated that insiders were incapable of being in control of their art (272). It is the opinion of some artists I interviewed that the notion that we are unqualified to teach our own cultural arts is ingrained in the outsider's mind set and acted upon without thought. If Mountain Cultural artists are incapable of teaching, there wouldn't be Mountain Cultural arts and none of this would be happening. It would simply never have been. The stereotype prevails and rules for the benefit of the colonizer who claims to be the expert. The cultural arts are taught and therefore changed by outsiders because of the belief that insiders cannot teach. Larry Rader, a Mountain Cultural artist, who tried to work with the system of Augusta Heritage Center to produce an album for Wilson Douglas and was involved in various other activities, shared his feelings about Augusta Heritage Center's policy of utilizing outsiders to instruct Mountain Cultural arts:

It's interesting that you go to Augusta and God forbid if you went to Irish-week that the people that were doing the instruction or whatever were not Irish. But apparently it is easy for anybody to be an Appalachian. I would feel very cheated personally if I paid Augusta a lot of money and drove from California and learned to play traditional old-time music from—who's the Italian yahoo? Ray Stephanina. Or somebody like that. I would

feel like I had been cheated out of my two hundred fifty bucks. The argument, I think, has always been, at least it has been presented to me that “Well, Appalachian people can’t teach.” And that may be true also because the people that I’ve met at Augusta, the students seem to feel like somehow that they should pay their couple hundred dollars and come away being a West Virginian fiddler, a North Carolina fiddler, or whatever and I find that kind of laughable, childlike too. I think for the most part they have good intentions. I think for the most part they never have understood the bitterness that some of the people have felt about it and probably never will. (Interview, September 1993)

David Morris has taught and performed at Augusta Heritage Center both before and after Blevin, and believes their guiding principle to be economics and not authenticity. He states:

They use people until they can get someone bigger, instead of promoting us. If they were really about preserving the culture, they wouldn’t hire someone from Chicago to teach West Virginia Folk Arts, a person from New Jersey to teach Appalachian dance, and people from Italy and California to teach Appalachian Fiddle. We wanted to be a part of Augusta and we are until we are of no more use. It can’t be our artistic value, because they had us there until they replaced us with someone who could make more money for them by bringing in a larger audience. (Interview, November, 1993)

Artists that I interviewed expressed their belief that Augusta Heritage Center negated them as the inheritors of the culture because of the institution’s unwritten policy that the art form remain unchanged. This issue is discussed in Chapter Three, but is relevant here because the artists believe that this is one of the reasons they are not chosen

as representatives of the Mountain Culture. Blevin (1993) states this is not true. Although, she did admit that artists aged 70 to 90 are not influenced by rock and roll as those aged 30 to 60 have been, and “can’t possibly be playing the old time music exactly the same way as someone who hadn’t heard that music” (Interview, September 1993). David Morris summarized the majority of the Mountain Cultural artists feeling regarding this issue by stating:

No one ever plays music like his teachers and is not expected to. I wish someone could demonstrate to me how my singing *Barbara Allen* or *Shiloh Hill* has been influenced by rock and roll. What the hell would be wrong with it if it had. Stopping a culture dead in its tracks does not preserve it. It kills it. (Interview, November 1993)

This an example of how two different cultural representatives define the art. When the outsider bases his or her criteria outside the Mountain Culture’s criteria, misinterpretation and misrepresentation occurs.

Clifford (1992) states that cultures and the people have always been travelers. The Eurocentric definition of authenticity is “that which has not changed” (97). Unpure and inauthentic is that which has been influenced by others. This leads to an issue that evolves from authenticity based on tradition. Stereotyping derives from notions of tradition. Folklorists, by stereotyping the art and establishing institutions to preserve the art, present a romantic version that is more or less ignored by the locals. David Whisnant (1983) states these institutions are “frequented by culturally dislocated middle class visitors from other parts of the country” (266). Sanitizing a version of a culture and its art, then claiming to have rescued and preserved it, bespeaks a shallow commitment and could be seen as academic and cultural fraud.

Kirk Judd (1993), a writer, poet, and Mountain Cultural activist, states he has a solution: “Change the name. Augusta means West Virginia so what that institution states

is West Virginia Heritage Center and this is no longer true. Change the name and we won't have a complaint" (Interview, December 1993).

State Department of Culture and History

Another institution that developed during the 1970's was the State Department of Culture and History. Three divisions were created that were to support all arts as well as those of the Mountain Culture: Arts and Humanities, *Goldenseal* Magazine, and The Vandalia Gathering. The Arts and Humanities Section was formed to provide grants to communities, artists, and non-profit organizations for arts related projects. These grants are partially funded by the National Endowment for the Arts.

Goldenseal, a quarterly publication, was developed to preserve a record of the state's traditional life through documentation and to serve as a means of communication for the people of West Virginia. In the first issue the editor, Tom Screven, a non-native, described the magazine's purpose: "All over the state more and more people, individually, and through institutions are responding to the definite need for us, West Virginians, to document our orally transmitted tradition" (1975, 1). West Virginia Culture was defined as those cultures, ethnic and traditional, whose roots could be historically documented. The Mountain Culture was seen as the culture that had permeated much of the state and yet reflected community diversity because of the various ethnic influences. The *Goldenseal* emphasized communities and their people.

Vandalia was to be the name of the fourteenth colony, which was being planned by Ben Franklin and others when the American Revolution occurred. The Vandalia Gathering was created by the state department of culture and history to celebrate the Mountain Culture and its artists which were defined as mainly British Isles derivative (Cook 1994). The initial goals of the Vandalia Gathering were to identify old masters, present concerts

and workshops, and to link masters and youth. The original intent was for the four day festival to be a homecoming for all West Virginians whether or not they lived within the borders—hence the name Gathering. In the early days, West Virginia artists who lived in other states were invited to participate. It was to be the gathering of all West Virginians. In *Goldenseal*, Vandalia Gathering was described as:

Memorial Weekend is a traditional homecoming time in the mountains, a time for family reunions and clan gatherings...Vandalia Gathering has become a time for renewal of ties and a common celebration of our state's rich folk tradition. . . Vandalia will showcase traditional mountain culture as well as our black and ethnic heritage. (Sullivan 1983, 65)

In its present incarnation, those cultural artists who no longer live within the borders are not invited to participate. The definition of who is a West Virginian, as it is now practiced, eliminates those who no longer live in the state even though they were born and reared in the culture. The reverse of this policy is that any one who lives in the state no matter what their origin or culture can be a part of the Vandalia programming.

The Culture and History Department has in some sense changed, but in other ways remained as it was in the 1970s. The Director of Arts and Humanities, James Andrews, retired in 1991. When Lakin Cook took over, changes were noted. Less emphasis was placed on the Mountain Cultural arts and more on contemporary formats. Cook states the Department's philosophy:

I would say the philosophy of our section is to work with communities and artists and support and promote the arts in West Virginia as part of the everyday life of individuals in West Virginia, and to help preserve in some way the arts and cultural heritage of West Virginia and pass it on through funding and technical assistance. (Interview, February 1994)

When I asked Cook about the change of the Department's attitude toward West Virginia Mountain Culture, she stated:

I've had this discussion with the National Endowment of [sic] the Arts and a few other folks that talk about the folk arts. "How come you're not doing anything with your folk artists?" One of the things about programs of this section of the agency is, we use the word *arts* to be all encompassing. Meaning, the traditional arts, and you know, the traditional arts could very well be flatfoot dancing such as you do, but it can also be a young man who has grown up, whose parents were black and they love jazz and they played that all their lives in his home. So, it's very hard to define what traditional arts, to me, is in West Virginia. I think because of that a lot of the policies and programs we have do not exclude anyone, they're all inclusive. They wouldn't dare jump to define what this is. I think that Vandalia does define what traditional arts specifically is as music that's related to the Irish/Scottish/English heritage of West Virginia, and that's a large portion of it. (Interview, February 1994)

Although Cook states her department is inclusive, the bureaucratic process that determines who receives the grants is very difficult for Mountain Cultural artists to negotiate. Arts organizations receive and write the grants and Mountain Cultural artists do not belong to arts organizations because they do not fit the narrow criteria or are uncomfortable with the organizational format. Second, the paperwork necessary to receive individual grants for educational programs has become so cumbersome and complicated that artists who do not possess the knowledge of the system do not benefit from this Section of the Department of Culture and History. Individual artists must compete for grant money with organized groups. Additionally, the money available in the Arts in the Community Fund, for the past two years, has been depleted three to four months into the

fiscal year. This fund was reduced by nearly twenty thousand dollars in 1994. Who is excluded? Most likely, those who have not been trained in the business of art. This group certainly includes the Mountain Cultural artists.

Vandalia Gathering and *Goldenseal* have remained virtually unchanged in their philosophy toward cultures in West Virginia, but have changed in presentation and format. Since 1983, the Vandalia Gathering has gradually decreased workshops and craft demonstrations so that by 1992 none existed. Discontent by artists increased and the Department responded by having a meeting of the artists and staff on October 15, 1992. Among issues discussed were including more ethnic groups, eliminating contests, and once more presenting workshops. At this time, there are only two Black artists invited to the Vandalia Gathering. Nat Reece (1994), a winner of the NEA grant as “Master of Coal Field and Railroad Blues” and actively trying to get Black Mountain Cultural artists included in the Vandalia Gathering responded, to the exclusion of Blacks: “It is hard not to think it isn’t intentional when I have been trying to get them to invite more Blacks to participate for years and as you [interviewer] can see I’ve not won. What else can I think?”

The Department responded by developing workshops under the Vandalia Gathering name which are held throughout the year and not at the festival. Public response and attendance have been steadily increasing. As of 1995, the issue of ethnic inclusion has not been addressed by the Department. Administration within the Department of Culture and History still adhere to their policy that to be a part of their events and to be recognized as West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists you must live in West Virginia.

West Virginia Parkways,
Economic Development and Tourism Authority

In 1992, the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority announced that it would be investing millions of dollars in an arts and crafts center located in Beckley, West Virginia. Throughout this document I will refer to this organization as the Parkways. Cela Burge, of the Parkways, first announced that a folk life center would be built, but that appellation was quickly dropped. The Parkways state in print that this center, the satellites on the turnpike, and the shops in state parks, will create thousands of full and part-time jobs all over West Virginia. In November 1993, the center was named Tamarack, and has been projected to draw 687,000 customers in its first year and clear five million dollars in sales in three years. The facility is scheduled to open on West Virginia Day, June 20, 1996. Cela Burge, Director of West Virginia Economic Development for the Parkways, has overseen the Tamarack project since its inception. She projects that the total economic impact throughout the state will be fifty million dollars in three years. Burge states the objective of Tamarack is to make money. At this time, there are four small shops located at the rest stops on the turnpike, and all the gift shops in the state park system carry items from Parkways' warehouses. In addition, the Parkways' board has allocated funds to build a two million dollar shop at Ogleby Park in Wheeling, West Virginia. Cela Burge describes the project:

The number one activity everyone participates in, especially when traveling or on vacation, is shopping. There is currently no other West Virginia market which retails high quality, juried West Virginia handcrafted merchandise. Tamarack will be a beautiful, contemporary center of expert

craftspeople, artists and agricultural and food products, demonstrating, exhibiting and retailing their ware. Tamarack will showcase the best of West Virginia to half a million out of state visitors, while the center basically pays for itself. The program will help create higher standards of design in folk arts, while preserving a vital part of West Virginia's cultural heritage. (1993, 4)

Some of these ideas and phrases are troublesome. What does it mean to "create higher standards," while "preserving West Virginia cultural heritage?" A controversy is created regarding what and who is being juried to represent arts and artists of West Virginia. Who are getting the jobs? Cela Burge, like Margo Blevin, speaks in terms of West Virginia having a diverse cultural background. Burge wants to be inclusive of all arts, yet she wants a particular image that depicts West Virginia. Jane George, a Vandalia Heritage Award winner and an expert in West Virginia Mountain Cultural crafts, attended a general meeting with the Parkways Authority. At the meeting, she challenged Burge by asking what the Parkways would sell in their shops to specifically represent West Virginia (John Morris, interview, November 1994). No answer was given.

The majority of the products being accepted are not culturally based in West Virginia. Burge (1994) states the guideline of being a West Virginian according to the Parkways is that one lives in West Virginia. This broad view of who is a West Virginian makes the label meaningless, and when it is attached to a culture the label becomes fraudulent. It isn't that the Parkways shouldn't represent the diversity of West Virginia, but there is a difference between geographically living in West Virginia and being a member of a culture in West Virginia. Burge (1994) recognizes the need to increase Mountain Cultural arts and artist participation but states that a lack of quality and the inability to meet the high quota have been a problem.

The phrase “create higher standards” is a judgment that assumes that the arts are not of sufficient quality. Artists must meet criteria set by jurors who are not familiar with the traditional Mountain Culture or its art forms. At a public meeting held by the Parkways, an outsider stated that help should be given to enable West Virginians to get their crafts up to standards so they could be a part of the West Virginia craft shops on the West Virginia Turnpike.

The jurors are picked from artisans who have previously been approved by the Parkways. This has raised concerns. Rebecca Stelling (1994), Arts and Crafts Director for the Parkways, states they have increased the jurors from three to five, and now provide on-site critiques to help the artisans. John Brock, a juried craftsperson with the Parkways stated:

Parkways rules [criteria] are that the products can't be made from a kit, no molds. Yet, pewter figures from molds are sold but coal figurines are not, though the process is the same. Both use molds that are hand carved. Coal is West Virginia. The coal art has always sold well and is popular with tourists. Parkways refused the coal art based on the use of the molds.

(Interview, August 1994)

Brock feels that the rejection is not about art criteria, but rather is an issue of image. He relayed a story about one craftsperson who uses an imported wreath, adds corn shucks and ribbons to the wreath and the Parkways bought them, even though no store bought or manufactured item is to be a part of the craft. Does the Parkways know this? Brock's response:

I think they are ignoring it. What if somebody at the Parkways has a problem with it [coal figurines] and they turn their nose up at it. I've talked to a couple of the jurors and from what they told me that anytime they feel like Rebecca [Stelling] or someone else doesn't want someone one of the

ways to not jury them in is by stating their product is not fine craft. They make the rules up as they go. The jurors are given instruction. Like I said earlier I talked to some of the jurors and they are given instructions such as: what to look for, details, find out as much as you can about the product. And then when it comes down to the final decision, its like not having a jury. I think the jury people are there just as a facade for what Rebecca feels is appropriate. I truly believe that. It will be a long time before they convince me otherwise. (Interview, August 1994)

The coal figurines and other crafts not juried into the system became a news item in West Virginia newspapers. The Associated Press reported:

Authority member Joe Turley said the figurines, which include animals, railroad engines, coal trucks and outlines of the state, are a longtime favorite of tourists who want to take a bit of West Virginia back home. Authority member Alan Susman said that excluding the coal figurines goes against the idea of the authority's arts and crafts project. "We're trying to produce an industry to get our products, products made in this state, moving," he said. . . . Cela Burge, Parkways director of economic development and tourism, said jurors consider the quality of materials used, the artistic technique and the usefulness of each item. "It's a sensitive issue," she said. "I wouldn't criticize these products for the world. That's just not a product that's high-quality, handcrafted West Virginia item." (June 25, 1993)

In the *Register Herald*, June 29, 1993, Brian Bowling reported:

[Vivian] Lilly said the letter she received from the authority [sic] said her dolls were rejected because they had too many commercially made parts. The only parts made commercially are the eyeballs and glasses, she said.

“Everything else is handmade. The grandpa [doll] has a corncob pipe and even that is handmade,” she said. (8A)

These newspaper accounts substantiate Brock’s statement that it seems, in the end, it is whatever the Parkways’ representatives want, and the rules are made and broken as they proceed. Burge (1994) states no manufactured items are to be a part of their system, but one of their best selling wooden toys are made in a factory. Sixty people produce separate parts and the toys are assembled and packaged in another area. The second point is the use of commercially made parts. The wreath maker buys her wreaths, the earring makers buy glass beads, and the vinegar makers buy bottles from Italy, but the dollmaker (grandpa with a corncob pipe) cannot buy glasses or eyeballs.

It is all about image. It is their attempt to redefine the image of West Virginia, and to escape the stereotypic image of the history and the culture of West Virginia. Burge and Stelling do not seem to be able to view the Mountain Culture beyond the stereotypic representation. The Parkways’ representatives are now training artists to produce higher quality arts and crafts. When I asked Burge what high quality meant, she responded:

We believe that there is a tremendous market for the high value, high quality and also, products. Christine, for a lack of a better way to describe that, whether they be food items, you know, produced in appropriate Department of Health certified kitchens that have great taste, great looks, whatever, to something like a woven item, a piece of pottery, a song, a dance, or whatever. (Interview, February 1994)

Cela Burge’s answer referred to certified kitchens and great looks, but how that designates high value and quality is ambiguous. Lakin Cook, Director of the Arts and Humanities Section of the Department of Culture and History, reacted to the Tamarack project and its possible affect on the arts and crafts system:

It’s a little scarier and nobody’s projected it out and nobody’s researched it.

And it's a little frightening to me. I'm not critical of it, but more and more artists are going to be trained. Are we going to compromise, then, in the way they're trained in terms of mass producing rather than spending the time really being an apprentice at something? That hasn't been well thought out, this whole process and that scares me. (Interview, February 1994)

The concern is that those who are admitted into the Parkways' system will be changed to fit the Parkways format and the uniqueness of their art will be lost to satisfy a mass marketing idea of the art.

The second phrase "preserving West Virginia cultural heritage" is in conflict with who and what Parkways' jurors decide to represent West Virginia's image. In the 1994 *Grapevine*, West Virginian Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority's newsletter, Rebecca Stelling, Director of Arts and Crafts wrote:

A line of products that we have a lot of requests for is the "primitive folk art style." It has been a difficult category for our jurors to review, because it does not fit neatly into our criteria of fine handcraft. However, the jurors in February agreed that if we juried this line as a style or product category, it would be a marketable quality product line. This style is very difficult to describe, but I would be glad to provide visual resources. (5)

The word "primitive" and the phrase "does not fit neatly into our criteria of fine handcraft" are statements of a devalued opinion of the Mountain Culture and are contrary to the image they say they want to project. The conflict builds to a crescendo in their approach to meeting the demand for these items. Instead of going to those who are producing this style and buying their art, Stelling chooses to ask those who have already juried to create in this style. The fact that Stelling chooses to call this a style or product and not art says much more about their criteria and policies. John Brock's opinion is that

the ambiguity is due to a lack of knowledge, and he stated, "I don't think they have anyone on staff that has a clue as to what the culture is" (Interview, August 1994).

When I spoke to Cela Burge about West Virginia Mountain Culture and artists, I asked her what were they doing to identify these artists. She stated they helped fund Danny Williams, Folk Arts Specialist for the Department of Culture and History, to locate artists whose work could be included in the shops. Danny Williams' response was that his job was partially funded by the Parkways but "nothing was written or stated specifically to me as to this is what we want you to do" (Interview, November 1993).

The conflict is in what the Parkways' representatives say it is doing and what has been chosen to represent West Virginia. Burge (1994) states that the products are uniquely West Virginia. Comparing the products in the West Virginia shops to those offered in craft shops such as those in Gatlinburg, Tennessee; Dayton, Ohio; and Antonnio, Parana, Brasil, no difference could be detected that would declare the West Virginia products as unique to the culture or region. The items in all these places look much the same. These are examples of generic crafts, no matter where they are made. Since the Parkways emphasis is on fine crafts and not culture, the items are generic and no longer imply heritage or handcraft. Labeling them otherwise does not change the situation. The label is irrelevant.

In the Parkways' attempt to be inclusive and to escape the stereotypic image that West Virginia Mountain Cultural art is second rate, the Parkways has refused to label their products or to state the origin of the artists. The result of this is that no identifiable image is present. Burge states, "What we're trying to do is to express the image of West Virginia that it is like every place, a place of transitions" (Interview, February 1994). The shops in Santa Fe, on the other hand, state tribal origin and if the product is a traditional or contemporary form. The viewer has a definite idea of who and what is being bought. It is not the diversity of the Parkways' shops that is in question but their lack of understanding

the importance of labeling the form. In 1993, the label used was *West Virginia Crafts*; in 1994 it was changed to *West Virginia Made*, which includes such products such as 100% Colombian coffee packaged in West Virginia and called *Almost Heaven*. What is meant by “West Virginia Made”? Only that the product was manufactured or packaged in West Virginia. This is no different from *Made in Taiwan*.

In a public meeting for artists, I asked Jose Henrique de Faria, Coordinator of the Arts for UFPR in Antonnio, Parana, Brasil, for his opinion about these questions and issues. He stated that any time a capitalistic institution becomes involved with culture and arts a redefinition and misrepresentation is inevitable. The institutions do not want the true culture to be represented because of an unspoken belief that the true culture is an embarrassment, too simple, too (in his case) South American. So the crafts are replaced with an image that is desired. The West Virginia artists that I interviewed believe this to be true of the Parkways. To counter the negative image, the Mountain Cultural artists are minimally represented or a “style” made by outsiders is chosen. In reviewing the Parkways newsletter it was revealing to note that the featured artists for the six months of its existence have been outsiders, transplanted to West Virginia. Not one article focused on a West Virginia Mountain Cultural artist. There could be two reasons for the exclusion. The first reason might be as I already pointed out, the number of Mountain Cultural artists who are a part of the Parkways system is comparably lower than those of the outsiders. The second reason could be that the image of the insider is not what the Parkways administrators want to project. Both reasons actually imply the same ideology, the Mountain Cultural artists have not been received with open arms. They have hardly been received at all.

Parkways has created a monopoly. Throughout West Virginia, the shops supplied by the Parkways will sell “West Virginia Made” arts, crafts, and products. The monopoly of the arts and crafts business secures colonialist power. This method of cornering the

market place has been used in West Virginia for over one hundred and fifty years, as found in the banking, timber, and coal industries. Those who rebel will not be able to obtain high marketability in West Virginia. At this time there seems to be no solution. The artist must accept and play the game or not be a recognized artist in West Virginia.

Branches

Kirk Judd, a West Virginia poet, shared his involvement with the creation of the panel discussion, "What is West Virginia Culture," at the West Virginia Arts Conference in November 1993.

I fully anticipate whining so much that somebody's eventually going to say, "Shut that guy up and put him on the task force." And actually, that's what has happened. I mean, since I got my activist hat on and became an arts advocate, people have said, "ok, do it." And that's why I became part of this conference planning committee. I was invited to a meeting and they had all these wonderful plans for all these workshops. I kind of sat in the corner of the room, and these were heavy hitters. There was NEA people, arts advocacy [groups], and a lot of heavy hitters in the room, and here I am. I sat in this corner and they said, "Why are you sitting over there looking like that?" I said, "Well, this is really great, you've got all this planned, all this stuff on West Virginia art and music and all this stuff, West Virginia Culture, all these workshops and do any of you have any idea what you're talking about?" And they looked at me like I was from Mars. They said, "What?" I said, "Can somebody in this room give me a definition of West Virginia Culture? What are you talking about? Are you talking to traditional musicians? Are you talking to

West Virginia Theater Company, are you talking to the Wheeling Symphony? Who are you talking to and what are you talking about?" And they went, "By God, that's a pretty good question, you're in charge. And so, I'm now facilitating the session on "What is West Virginia Culture?" (Interview, December 1993)

On November 16, 1993, at the conference held at the Coolfont Resort in Berkeley Springs, the room was filled with anticipation and friction. There was standing room only. Voices filled with passion, anger, and pride spoke about West Virginia Culture and issues that were related to the culture and its art forms. Many had a story they wanted to tell, some no longer waited for the microphone but stood at their seats and shouted, sharing their opinions, in this chaotic manner.

The panelists were Cela Burge, Director of the West Virginia Economic Development, Margo Blevin, Director of Augusta Heritage Center, and myself, a Mountain Cultural artist, graduate student, and arts activist. Kirk Judd, the moderator, began the discussion by stating, "Although we disagree, we are finally trying to learn about each other and we are opening the door, establishing a dialogue" (West Virginia Arts Conference, 1993). Each panel member provided a different perspective. Burge reminisced about childhood memories, describing general cultural components: family, food, occupation, education, songs, stories, and crafts.

Blevin provided her observations of West Virginia Culture, as one not of the culture. She spoke little of the West Virginia Mountain Culture in an attempt to stress the diversity of West Virginia. Blevin's reference to the Mountain Culture was as follows:

Culture was required when I was growing up—such as opera. I learned later culture was what we all had. I'm New Jersey middle class and I never felt connected but I was a product of that culture, it was my culture that was disconnected from the people. I came to West Virginia by

accident and was drawn to it because the culture was connected to the people. You don't become a native West Virginian just because you move here. In a recent article in *Washington Post*, a writer from West Virginia addressed stereotypes and jokes which he minded such as Hatfield and McCoys, moonshine, and stated West Virginia is a real mystery. I have a pride living in West Virginia. It is a rural essence of landscape and the seasons that permeates the culture which has a great impact on the arts. It is definitely a Mountain Culture and a sense of the mountain terrain. What has formed the characterization of what is a West Virginian is the terrain, the isolation, a definite sense of place. I had never heard anyone else use the word *country* meaning the place where they lived, are you from this country, or he wasn't from this country, it just knocked me out when I heard that. They didn't mean the United States, they meant West Virginia. That's a very powerful statement wherever you hear that. It is a frontier culture and mentality. . . . We don't want to be tamed. There is a great sense of identity. A strong sense of neighbors. . . . Respect for the old ways of doing things and for the elderly. . . . The way people speak is poetic, a poetic language. Last [sic] making do, grow your own food, music, art making, your own culture, not going out and buying their culture. (West Virginia Arts Conference 1993)

It's interesting to note her cultural change. At the beginning, she states her culture as "New Jersey middle class" but when she is describing West Virginia Mountain Culture she uses the word *we* including herself. As the Director of Augusta Heritage Center, which is a part of the cultural colonialism in West Virginia, her view of herself as an insider confirms not only the final stage of cultural colonialism, but her involvement in its progression.

In my address on the topic, I spoke about recognizing the multiplicity and equality of cultures in West Virginia and urged artists to concentrate on building relationships and understanding of our similarities and needs as artists and audiences. Our common bond is love for the people, the history, and the arts of this state. Recognizing the great cultural diversity of West Virginia will prevent those who are not part of the British Isles derivative from feeling and being excluded. I also discussed issues such as insiders, outsiders, insiders' exclusion from arts organizations, and the lack of educational curriculum material about Mountain Culture. The audiences' responses to the panels' presentations were as follows:

Colleen Anderson, an outsider, ex-staff member of *Goldenseal* and ex-VISTA worker, stated:

There is a part of me that thinks we maybe get embroiled in this question of are you a West Virginian, what does it mean to be a native, what does it mean to be an outsider. It gets to me to be a hair splitting, fruitless endeavor and at a certain point it seems like you are what you are either because you can't help it or because you made choices but whichever way, you are. You might as well accept that anything you have [or] you don't have and any choice you make means not making the opposite choice. Nobody gets to say they're not necessarily right. What the hell difference does it make? You are a person and your life is different from anybody else's life anyway. (Interview, November 1993).

David Morris is an insider and a Mountain Cultural artist, and he stated:

They made music. They made poetry. They respected learning. They respected each other. My granny sung ballads to me. My mother sang hymns, ballads, and played the guitar. My daddy played the guitar and the banjo. My grandfather came to West Virginia with everything he had in a

little wooden box, he and his wife after the Civil War. They came out of Morristown, Pennsylvania. Some went on to Arkansas. When I was a little kid, I read *Lil Abner*. I thought *Dogpatch* was in Arkansas. I grew up playing and singing that music and I was in college before I had any intellectual appreciation for the gifts I had been given, as a youngster. You don't recognize what is common place as being uncommon until you step back from it a pace or two. In all my life, I've been performing and teaching, going into the schools for thirty years now. The first professional job I ever had was at the Normantown High School in 1963. And I'm just now at the last leg now of performing forty some school concerts in West Virginia. I wish that ten years from now, someone like me could go into a school in West Virginia and sing and play and talk without having to explain to the children what the hell he's doing there. An artist in West Virginia could go into a school and simply play and sing and dance and have that understood. I'm facing children who think I'm from the dark side of the moon because the culture is so removed. We live in the culture, I'm talking about the cultural arts of the culture of the Mountain Culture. They are so removed from the home and family context, the community context that I grew up in that these children have no idea what I'm talking about or where the music came from. The West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists have been left out of everything. We are not on the Governor's Task Force. Christine interviewed me for her dissertation and I spoke for five hours and I was only up to 1980. The reason for that was that it was the first time in thirty years that anybody had ever asked me what I thought. I think a great deal. And there are many like me. Men and women of my generation who are skilled in these

traditional arts that are not being able to reproduce themselves in a way that will allow it to be perpetuated much beyond our generation. Now people are still gonna make music but there is something that's going to be lost. I call upon arts educators, politicians, and people who make decisions, programming decisions, who book for festivals to include traditional arts in every aspect of the cultural life of West Virginia. It is a basis of knowledge of the Mountain Cultural arts that will allow our children to appreciate all other art and we want that to happen. It's time that the Mountain Cultural artists of West Virginia are given more than one showcase a year or two or three. It needs to be in the community in the same context as the other art. I hope that in the coming months and years that I am able to facilitate some of that with my contemporaries and I ask for the support of everyone here in doing that. I thank you.

(West Virginia Arts Conference 1993)

John Nicklaus, a native West Virginian, stated:

This has been a most rewarding session and encouraging. I live outside Arlington, Virginia, but my roots are in Greenbriar, Clarksburg, Harrison County, Ritchie County. I'm proud of my heritage. Ever since I moved to the metropolitan [area], a group of us have had to fight the hillbilly image.

(West Virginia Arts Conference 1993)

Doug Van Gundy is a poet and writer of the Mountain Culture, and he had this to say:

This panel moved me to tears. I wrestle with these questions and I would like to share them. It is a persecution attribute we have of ourselves . . . In John Sales' movie, *Matewan*, the union organizer is talking to the fourteen-year-old boy who is a coal miner and Baptist preacher, and the

young man said: "Look, first the rail road came through offered to open us up, then the coal companies came through and offered to buy up our worthless land and now you come through offering us talk of a new day. Well, sorry mister I think we've had about all the help that we can stand." Is that true? Is this cultural art going to be able to survive? I think about the difference between West Virginia culture and culture in West Virginia. Having a symphony concert is culture in West Virginia but that is not West Virginia culture. Have a Cajun workshop at Augusta, that's culture in West Virginia but that's not West Virginia culture. [Lakin Cook, Director of Culture and History, yells out, "Why not, why do you think that, Just because its not indigenous, doesn't mean its bad?" and Van Gundy replied] I didn't say it was bad, Lakin. I said it was culture in West Virginia and has value and we should support it, but it is not traditional West Virginia Culture. That's all, not a judgment call and I have no answers. These are questions I wrestle with. (West Virginia Arts Conference 1993)

Lakin Cook later reflected on the conference:

I felt like we had just gotten worked up for one thing, and it really was a shame, because I would have liked to seen that particular symposium be, maybe the opening one and kind of be the vein through the whole rest of the thing exploring what our cultures were, and if they were different, how do we work to make them all be presented in the best light and be taken care of in the best light. I guess that's what disappointed me. It felt like there was a lot of animosity stirred up between people who do very contemporary work, however, they're native West Virginians. And continuously, we run up against the fact that there's this huge resentment

even after they've been in the communities years and years, that they are not natives. (Interview, February 1994)

The same fear was reported in the *Charleston Gazette*, Thursday, November 25, 1993, by Sean Gannon who stated: "In forging common bonds, a few in attendance wondered if traditional Appalachian arts will overshadow contemporary and fine arts in the mad scramble for tourists" (3D). Fear of the Mountain Cultural artists seemed out of place when comparing the overall attendance to the conference and how many of those were from the Mountain Culture. At the time, I counted less than ten from a total of three hundred in attendance.

I agree with Cook's observations of how the topic made contemporary artists feel. There is a fear of the Mountain Culture. If Mountain Cultural artists seek to gain control or receive what would be rightfully their share of the money, competition for grants would occur. Although this was the best received discussion at the 1993 conference, this subject has been totally eliminated from the 1995 agenda.

The institutions' printed policies state they are preserving the Mountain Culture, but the administrators will not define Mountain Culture. Instead, they talk about diversity as if recognizing the Mountain Culture in West Virginia would somehow negate other cultures. Augusta Heritage Center has emphasized heritage, which places its representation of the culture in the past. Having "experts" from outside the culture teach the culture communicates that the culture no longer exists. The Parkways' administrators' definition of West Virginia Culture dilutes it to a style which anyone can learn and they are eager to teach it to anyone as long as they move here. At least Blevin recognizes that "moving to West Virginia does not make you a West Virginian" (West Virginia Arts Conference 1993). Lakin Cook and her staff at the Arts and Humanities Section, in their attempt to be inclusive, have severely limited the Mountain Cultural artists' ability to receive funding.

The 1970s brought rapid change. The natural resources in West Virginia were being rapidly depleted and the Mountain Culture and its arts were seen as the commodity replacement. Although Augusta and Department of Culture and History began as advocates for the Mountain Culture, the cultural institutions also presented themselves as a way to provide jobs for economic development while preserving and maintaining the Mountain Culture and its arts.

The 1980s and 90s right wing political move to eliminate grass roots projects and replace diversity with a monolithic culture altered the objectives of cultural institutions. The Mountain Cultural arts programs began to be reduced and were replaced with broader themes. In 1981, the Mandate for Leadership by the Heritage Foundation suggested NEH support humanities and not social crusades, political education, or action. This conservative direction for funding affected the Mountain Cultural arts because the political and social movements were a significant part of the arts and the festivals. In 1990, William Bennett and Frank Hodsoil, appointed by President Reagan as stewards for NEH and NEA, systematically changed policies, giving the decision-making power to the government instead of to arts groups (Trend 1992). What this did to the Mountain Culture and artists was present them with a denial of efficacy and self determination. In the 1970s, individuals of the Mountain Culture began to explore their identity; then funding for cultural education projects declined in the 1980s. Cultural institutions then replaced the Mountain Culture with a commodified, stylized, stereotypic version that anyone can learn.

The Mountain Cultural artists define their culture and arts in terms of tradition. The culture teaches one to understand their surroundings, their values, history and skills needed to survive. How can those from outside regions understand the Mountain Culture when their own culture's values, belief systems are bound to be different? Can they understand the subtleties, the language, and the closeness of the communities? The

Mountain Cultural artists say no. The arts are determined by culture and tradition. In interviews, not one artist stated that Mountain Cultural arts should not be taught to or appreciated by others. Most felt complimented and honored that someone wanted to learn their art form. They feel frustrated when the institutions that claim to be preserving Mountain Cultural arts don't include them as artists or in administrative decision-making. They are asking for absolute autonomy over their culture.

In the past, the Mountain Culture has been defined by outsiders as being Scotch-Irish, then low class, and today it's a place. Anyone can belong to the culture if one moves to the place called West Virginia. The reduction of a culture to a geographic place is the colonizers' goal. Many of the Mountain Cultural artists stated that they had never heard of other cultures that outside people would assume they could just move into and become the same as insiders. Many gave me analogies such as: moving to Mississippi to become a Blues singer, moving to New York City's Jewish section and becoming a Hebrew singer etc. One artist who wants to remain anonymous stated:

It would be like me going to New York and trying to teach them their tradition. Now, before I could do that I would have to live in that tradition, for quite a period of time and learn it as best I could. Something that would be missing in my teaching of the New York tradition, maybe I'd get the notes of some of their prominent old time fiddlers, and I would get the tunes down that they played. But you know what my fiddling would still have? It would still have a West Virginia flavor to it. It never can or never will be New York. It would be West Virginia. I would have to take some of my culture with it, and that's fine as long as it's spelled out, "I am from West Virginia." (Interview, October 1994)

The artists I interviewed say those outside people only know a small amount. They will know a tune, a stitch, a step, but they'll never know the essence. Moving to West Virginia

doesn't make one a West Virginian from the Mountain Culture. To be of the Mountain Culture one must be reared in it. The blood line throbs with the history of oppression, community, and love for the mountains. The institutions have reduced the culture to a product and a style that is for sale. Dwight Diller summarizes how the Mountain Cultural artists responded to the issue of who should represent their culture and arts:

If you care about a culture that you are not from, then help those from the culture get in a position that they can speak and be heard. They shouldn't bill themselves as being able to play the music or do the art. They don't know anything about the anguish of the mountain people, the loneliness, the joy; they do know about their culture and should play but not bill themselves as people playing authentic mountain music. (Interview, September 1993)

In L. A. Wheeler's fictional account of insiders and outsiders and the process of removing outsiders from West Virginia, he/she describes the Mountain Cultural artists' sentiment:

West Virginia is not only a geographic state but a state of mind. Its native citizens hold a deep love for this fractured mountain country that is quite possibly unmatched by the citizens of any other sections of the United States. Although many are forced to be "outside" to find work most West Virginians have a central motivation: to come back to the mountain. The two phrases, "West-by-God-Virginia" and "Almost Heaven" express their [the natives'] feelings exactly. (1992, iii)

CHAPTER THREE

Seminal Seeds and Hybrids

We're Hill Folk
Our land is our life.
Our land is our soul.
Our land is the continuity
of our existence.
The pulse of our hearts,
The laughter of our children,
The graves of our fathers.

(Excerpt from the poem *Heritage* by Pat Love)

In Chapter Two, the definition of West Virginia Mountain Culture and those the institutions choose as representatives of the Mountain Cultural arts were shown to be at odds. Whisnant (1983) describes this by stating that the institution's perception of the culture is rarely congruent with the culture's perception of itself, due to the selection process and business arrangement of institutions. The institutions' policies are aimed at reducing the Mountain Culture to a style of art that can be produced or taught by those not of the culture. Appropriation, the final stage of cultural colonialism, occurs when the colonizers view themselves as representatives of the colonized culture. This state of affairs affects the Mountain Cultural artists and their audiences. An example of this can be seen in other situations, "Watching a Texas cowboy relate sacred Native American myths can be as jarring as watching a white performer in black face and just as insulting to those whose culture is being appropriated" (Hearne 1993, 41). The product and what is being presented as West Virginia Mountain Culture is the overall concern of Mountain Cultural artists. Augusta Heritage Center's product is preservation, scholarly pursuit, and transference. West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority's product is an object to sell. The Department of Culture and History's product is mixed because there are three divisions within the department. Issues that arise from the cultural differences are: authenticity of product, authenticity of maker, and the intentions

of the institutions and the cultural artists. The institutional representatives' and artists' perspectives and definition of the issues will be explored in this chapter.

Authenticity of the Product

The criteria used to determine authenticity vary according to the object, the intended use of the object, who is doing the asking, who needs to know, and the ramifications of the answer. In the case of Mountain Cultural arts or as it is generically referred to, *folk art*, authenticity of the objects is not a factor. Folklorists concentrate on the tradition of the culture and its art. The ideology of Mountain Cultural arts is not bound to formal issues of art but to a concern for or a reaction to the immediate human condition. Folklorists study the traditions of an individual, a family, community, or region. Within these groups, patterns and regional differences and similarities are documented. Oral and written history is gathered and becomes an essential part of the classification and documentation process of folklorists.

The documentation of objects, individuals, and regions have been determined as ways to authenticate styles. David Whisnant (1983), an American Studies professor, states that through the documentation process of a few individuals, the assumption is made that all people and their art are the same. In the process of classifying folk art, characteristics are identified and used as the knowledge base for understanding the art. When the culture and the art change, the original characteristics are no longer applicable. If the characteristics are kept in place, stereotypes develop. The exceptions are determined to be inauthentic because they do not satisfy the stereotype that has become the deciding criteria. One criterion utilized to determine authenticity is based on a traditional anthropological/folkloric belief system that judges the authenticity of non-Western art according to its lack of identification with modernism. The second criterion

is that cultural arts are seen as inauthentic if the artists gain financially because the artists have replaced context with commodity (Clifford 1992). The colonialist can profit but the insider cannot.

Two issues evolve from authenticity based on tradition. The first issue is that stereotyping derives from the notion of tradition. Folklorists, by characterizing the art and establishing institutions to preserve the art, present a romantic version that is more or less ignored by the locals (Whisnant 1983). The art that is being preserved is no longer of the culture. The second issue is that the institutions' commitment is economically motivated and the stereotype fits that purpose. The institution's emphasis is placed on rarity of the product based on age of the producer. If the producers are not old or the product readily available, the value of the art or artist decreases and the institution has a less profitable product. The insiders' versions no longer coincide with the institutions' image of what is proper, and thus is no longer sought.

In Chapters One and Two, I state that the institutional policies define culture and traditions as not influenced by other forms and styles. Yet, these same institutional representatives will state cultures and their art forms do change with the passage of time. Qualifiers used by institutions such as, *true*, *real*, *traditional*, *older*, *not influenced by modernity*, *for everyday use*, and *do it for no economic gain* are used to separate their idea of the Mountain Cultural art forms from the ideas held by those of the Mountain Culture. Gerald Milnes, a staff member of Augusta Heritage Center, wrote in an Augusta publication the institution's definition of Mountain Cultural arts and artists. I have italicized the words that are used as qualifiers by Milnes in his descriptions as follows:

In West Virginia, there is still an *older* generation of musicians who play and entertain themselves with a distinctly traditional style of music, many of whom are *not inclined to perform publicly*. Not everyone can listen to them in their kitchens and on their porches. The Augusta Heritage Centers

recordings of traditional music played by West Virginia Masters, bring this to a wider audience.(Augusta Heritage Center Catalog 1993, 7)

However, *their true value lies* in the beauty of the voices and musicianship, which compel one to *listen simply for the musical* experience itself. (Augusta Heritage Catalog 1992, 6)

True folk musicians *pay little attention*, however, *to popular movements*. *Most* play their music for *common everyday reasons* and purposes. Someone might sing or play because “Dad played it,” or because “It puts the baby to sleep” or because they “need a fiddler at the dance.” (Milnes 1994, 6)

Traditional handicraft has *endured the onslaught of modern technology* and has survived, often in connection with other folk art forms. (Milnes 1994, 5)

Danny Williams, Folk Arts Specialist for the Department of Culture and History description of folk artists follows:

I do field work and I’ve really concentrated on trying to find people, traditional craft people who have learned their craft in the community or who do it within the community, who have done it long term, who have *no* commercial connections or aspirations at all. (Interview, December 1993)

These two examples illustrate a folklorist belief system. In the process of documenting artists who had no commercial aspirations, Williams and Milnes according to their criteria inauthenticates the artists by arranging recording sessions and gallery shows. If the artist was already displaying in galleries, Williams would not have

documented the artist or help sponsor shows according to his own words. The question becomes, what motivates folklorists such as Milnes and Williams? Is it the art, artist or self glorification in documenting an unknown?

Through institutional policies, artists and arts are viewed in past tense because institutional decision makers translate tradition as forms remaining constant and unchanged. This view implies that the culture is a commodity and cultural arts are objects to be analyzed, dissected, sterilized, and reproduced. The value of the art is set according to its proximity to vanishing (Clifford 1988). This creates conflict. In the institutionalized view, if the art form reflects popular culture inclusion it is no longer traditional art of the culture and is discounted as inauthentic. Only those forms which show no change are deemed to be authentic. This keeps the art in the past and leads to the growth of stereotypes.

In 1976, Yvonne Milspaw documented the transition of quilts in West Virginia, and in her article, she addressed the purist's criteria versus those of the Mountain Cultural artists. She stated:

A purist might contend that all three areas must be uncontaminated by technology or popular taste in order to produce a truly "folk" item . . . But a careful look at the events surrounding some traditional crafts in West Virginia will, I think, convince us otherwise. (15)

The first documented quilts were complex geometric designs that were often named to reflect the geometric form, such as Nine Square or Star. The geometric quilt pattern names began to reflect the surroundings and the time period of the artists, with designs such as Log Cabin and Drunkard's Path. The popular literature of the 1930s inspired quilters to combine traditional geometric shapes and realism producing quilts such as "The Sunbonnet Girl" (Milspaw 1976). The history of design documents that quilt forms have always been in transition, influenced by popular culture and the Mountain Culture's

response to time. These quilts are institutionally designated as traditional, based on their age, but they actually were influenced by popular culture at the time of their creation.

The quilts' transitional patterns are symbolic. Friendship quilts were made as a gift of remembrance by a group of people each of whom signed the square they had produced. The wedding ring quilt was given upon the occasion of marriage, and widow quilts were made of the clothing of the deceased. All of these are important human issues. Quilting bees have been seen as among the first feminist gatherings. Women could speak freely of political and social issues without being ridiculed or dismissed by men. Bernice Steinbaum, owner of Steinbaum Gallery in New York City, described quilting bees as follows:

Quilting bees created a sense of community; a desire to pass on heritage, as well as an arena to make a statement, either political, social, or historical.

Political quilts of the past documented action against alcohol, pro-union sentiments and support for the fight against slavery, etc. (1990, 6)

The utilization of new media and processes by quilters document the embrace of new technology which counters the purists' criteria that Mountain Cultural arts must not be influenced by outside cultures or modern technology. Milspaw stated:

The substitution of materials takes place with great regularity and ease; designs change with fashion; but the process often remains nearly stable . .

The changes in both process and materials are largely results of timesaving devices and practicality. (1976, 14-16)

Quilts in West Virginia, in the early years, were made of scraps. Fabric was scarce and therefore had to be utilized in whatever form possible. The availability of new fabric, threads, stitches, and designs were incorporated into the tradition of the quilt. In the 1920s, embroidery and applique were popular, and quilts in West Virginia reflect that trend.

When sewing machines became available quilters saw the machines not as intruders that corrupted tradition, but as technology that would make their quilt making easier and more time efficient.

Another example of Mountain Cultural artists embracing modernity is Jenes Cottrell, of Ivydale, West Virginia. He was a woodworker and banjo maker. He chose to not install electricity or running water when these conveniences became available. He used hand tools and wood from his farm to make banjo necks, furniture, toys, tool handles, sleds and virtually any implement needed for the farm or home. Although he chose an older style of living, Jenes, like the quilters, believed in utilizing whatever materials were available. In making banjos, he used aluminum pressure cookers, pots, the torque converters of 1956 Buick automatic transmissions, and cross-cut sections of knitting needles for position markers. Jenes' banjos are not just instruments but a reflection of the maker's cultural belief toward recycling.

The quilts and Jenes' banjos are accepted by institutions as traditional, and yet that acceptance contradicts the written criteria. The criteria often become insignificant when the item or the artist is old. Younger artists are bound by the purity criteria until they reach the acceptable age set by institutions. Today, Mountain Cultural artists use available technology as their mentors did to improve their product. Artists use electronic tuners, amplifiers, sewing machines, and power lathes and do not see them as intrusions into their tradition.

The *Journal of American Folklore* in 1965 carried an article by D. K. Wilgus. He explored the isolation and uninfluenced criteria and stated:

To value and to collect only the oldest songs as preserved in non-instrumental domestic tradition is one thing; to believe that the folk of the South or even of the Southern Appalachians were isolated from any other tradition is another. Whatever were the prior conditions there is much

evidence that the folk of the post-Civil War South were exposed to song material from the North and West. Even the “isolation” of the Southern Highlander is a myth celebrated as much in the in-group folk jests as in the ethnographic accounts. By steam packet, by railroad, by returning loggers who had rafted timber, by returning westward migrants, by those who drove the jolt wagons to the settlements—selected musical materials reached our “contemporary ancestors.” The South has been “backward,” but it has not been totally isolated. Throughout the later nineteenth century the entire rural South was accepting, rejecting, absorbing, reshaping the cultural influences and artifacts of the encroaching urban civilization. (196-197)

In similar fashion, Wayne Erbsen, a bluegrass music historian, stated:

Drawing upon a song tradition that went back many generations, they often sang in a high-pitched, ornamented solo style. Those who came to America and settled in the southern mountains kept this singing tradition very much alive. . . . As the years went by, guitars, banjos and vocal harmonies were added and the old irregular ballads were changed to suit the rhythms and melodies of the instruments. (1981, 3)

Institutional qualifiers and value systems become the criteria by which Mountain Cultural arts are judged and denied in the name of authenticity. Although Margo Blevin, Director of Augusta Heritage Center, denies this, her choices and use of qualifiers contradict her response by the mere fact that she views the older generation as purer because of her belief that they have not been influenced. Since 1965, historians have concluded that outside influences *did* come into the region of West Virginia by ways such as workers from other states or countries which at that time influenced the arts as much as television or radio does today. The belief that one is purer than the other creates a

hierarchy within the cultural arts. Blevin states the word *authentic* is judgmental but so is valuing one artist or one regional style over another. She offered:

I just hate that word, authentic. It is judgmental. The world will never again see another Harvey Sampson. Those people grew up not even listening to the radio, and their ear and their talent was formed in a very different way then from anyone who was born from the '30s on —so, you can't take something and define it and set it in stone and put it in a museum and call it art and say it can't deviate from anything and I think an example of that and an example of why that fails is the re-enactment of Scottish music and dance. It takes a certain era, and this is the only way you can play it and it's got to be done a certain way, and they have judges and competitions and [it] has to be note for note, step for step a certain way or it's not authentic. None of [us] were around when that music was played and the dances were done, and we can only guess how they were done. I'm sure there was wide range in how they were done. We have been lucky to have people in their 70s and 80s and 90s who are still around so we can see how they do it. We have got some old records, but we can't really tell what the Skillet Lickers really sounded like. Nobody really knows. We are missing that whole broad range, and I don't think it is fair to narrow it down to say this is a certain style. All of us have heard rock and roll. We have heard pop music. And we can't possibly be playing the old time music exactly the same way as someone who hadn't heard that music. You can appreciate and recognize an older style and a style less influenced by commercialized music and enjoy that more and try to nurture that and keep that going. I think that really [is] important to do, not to outlaw a certain kind of music. For an example, bluegrass is played a lot on the radio.

Bluegrass will never die. It is everywhere. It is enjoyed and loved by thousands and thousands of people, but old-time music which is less adorned, simpler, more raw sounding, it's got to be nurtured, it's got to be heard. It's got to be encouraged or it will die out. It's like amplified music next to unamplified music, one will drown the other out. (Interview, September 1993)

Blevin contradicts herself several times in her statement. She recognizes the danger of pickling the arts, but then states the older style is rare and therefore more valuable. The institutions' ideology that the culture is dying and the criteria based on purity and being uninfluenced, creates unwritten policy which rejects the current generation of Mountain Cultural artists and leads to the utilization of revivalists who imitate Masters. This practice is at the heart of the Mountain Cultural artists' resentment of cultural colonialism and the reason for their active and passive resistance.

There is a tradition in the mountains of West Virginia of exchanging plant cuttings (John Morris, interview, November 1994). In the Mountain Culture, cultivated flowers and plants are valued. Women exchange cuttings of these plants as symbols of friendship. Along with the exchange, the history of the plant is shared. The history includes the name of the plant, when they got the cutting, and who gave it to them. The tradition has continued for years, and their stories illustrate generations of owners and places. The plant becomes a documentation of ancestral links, living, growing and becoming a plant of its own. The roots are known but are not bound to one place; they are set free to become branches of the root, blossoms in their own right. The artists of the mountains of West Virginia experience this same process. The history of ancestral connection often precedes the introduction of the art piece. The teacher, master, mentor lives in the artist's work, which is not a replica but is new growth from the root. Dwight Diller, a Mountain Cultural artist, explains it this way:

It has to do with us having the freedom to play our individual music. But, on the other hand, that freedom carries the responsibility of immersing yourself in the tradition. I've heard fifteen fiddlers play *Jimmy Johnson*, and they all play it different. They all play it right, but there is also a wrong way to play it. And if you don't understand the tradition, if you refuse to immerse yourself in it, you'll play it wrong and you won't know it. All you can do is imitate. (Interview, September 1993)

Doug Van Gundy, a Mountain Cultural artist, shared the experience of his mentor, Mose Coffman:

This is important stuff. Mose [Coffman] could tell you who he learned it from, their favorite tunes, what tunes were their tunes. Like Mose's tunes were *Rocky Mountain Goat* and *Lost Indian*. No one else played it as well as he did. He talked a lot about Glen Gillespie, who was the man who did for him as he did for me, took him under his wing spent a lot of time with him and showed him and told him over and over again "You'll make a good fiddler." (Interview, July 1994)

Those of the culture orally document their mentors and their mentor's mentor and they become a link in the ancestral chain. Their link is often challenged by an institution's written or unwritten definition of tradition as something unchanged and, thus, authentic. The Mountain Cultural artists' criteria for authenticity are the extension of a Master's influence and response to time and place. The Mountain Cultural artists are producers not reproductions. The institutional criteria set forth to determine authenticity maintain cultural colonialization because outsiders are accepted as experts since the Mountain Culture was "discovered" by the outsiders. The Mountain Cultural artists have been interpreted and translated by folklorists, historians, and philanthropists. This method of presenting the arts and artists establishes the outsider as a needed member and the artists

and arts as objects to be dissected, classified, and catalogued. The institutional representatives have their own pre-determined interpretation of authenticity, which they then classify and institutionalize as truth.

Authenticity of Maker

Determining authenticity has, in the past two decades, presented other problems. Who is qualified to make Mountain Cultural Arts? What criteria can or should be utilized to determine cultural authenticity? The Native Americans have experienced a race authenticity system since the early 1900s. Clifford (1988) examined the situation of the Mashpee Tribe who were judged, by whites, as inauthentic, because their blood was too mixed with white, and the Tribe's traditions were seen as intertribal. The attempt by the tribe to gain recognition was denied, and they lost their bid to be declared Indians. A few of the criteria were: ancestral enrollment of names within the tribe, continuous relationship with the federal government since its existence, and blood quatum. If a tribe is declared authentic, it receives health and financial benefits, and the legal right to sell their art work as Native Americans. Jean Fisher addressed the Law 101-644 and its effect on Native Americans in her article *In Search of the Inauthentic* and stated:

The full implications of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board Act, Public Law 101-644, passed by the United States Congress in 1990, are now being realized. It is an act designed ostensibly to secure the "authenticity" of Native arts, but I know of no other ethnic group whose artistic identity is legislated by the state, rather than by self-determination. (1992, 50)

This law prohibits anyone from producing tribal art that does not have a federal government roll card, which is the official recognition of Indian authenticity. The law did not stop the imitators, but it did eliminate many Indian artists from the market place

because they did not possess roll cards. The stated intent of the law was to support Native American artists, but the judgment criterion, the roll card, was the dominant culture's standard for authenticity.

West Virginians have been trying to deal with a similar issue. Unlike the Native Americans, who have been judged according to blood quatum, there is not an established guide for determining who is authentic, because ethnicity or race is not the issue. The issue is the tradition of culture. The value and belief systems of those who have come into the region may differ from those of the Mountain Culture. Because of these differences, the outsiders' interpretation of the culture may often be based on what they think they see and their culturally biased assumptions.

Are the products the same ? Does it matter who produces the Mountain Cultural arts? Russell Means, a Native American activist and actor, responded to a similar issue, non-Native Americans representing Native Americans :

You are a thief of the sort who is willing to risk undermining our sense of the integrity of our cultures for your own perceived self-interest. That means you are complicit in a process of cultural genocide, or at least attempted cultural genocide aimed at American Indian people. That makes you an enemy, to say the least.(Churchill 1994, 221)

In the process of assimilating the Native Americans into the dominant culture, their culture and arts have been reduced to fetishized and stylized commodities. Like Native Americans, the Mountain Culture is seen by institutional representatives as a product; the cultural and spiritual components have been removed and replaced with hybrid interpretations, labeled as Appalachian-style or Native American style. The Mountain Cultural artists state there is a difference between a style and the production of a cultural artist. John Brock views it this way:

The biggest difference would be in their story. You would have the story about two, three, four generations of basket makers learning from his father, father's father, passing it down. There is a big difference from that story and "Well I moved here from Long Island, I wanted to learn how to make baskets —so I came here to West Virginia to learn. They manufacture a story and avoid the true identity. (Interview, August 1994)

Another artist, who requested anonymity, stated:

I feel that I can go and copy a tune from elsewhere and do a very good job on it, but until you can put yourself into that tune it's somebody else's version and it will come off a little bit computerized until you can put yourself in it. The reason I said what I said about "you have to be from the land to have the same soul and spirit," lifestyle and everything goes into that. So that, in itself, is what adds to sound and to style. I think that wherever you're from, your lifestyle, your everyday life goes into what you are and in your music. I think there definitely is a difference. I think there has to be a difference. (Interview, October 1994)

Dwight Diller describes the difference between the Mountain Cultural art made by insiders and the outsiders this way:

You break into the U.S. treasury and you get your paper, plates and ink and go home and get someone who really knows what they're doing and you crank out the money. Everything is all there but it still doesn't have the authority of the United States, so it is counterfeit. (Interview, September 1993)

Kirk Judd defined passion as the missing component and stated:

Oh, it's the passion. It's the drive. The guy [he is referring to a musician from California, who was playing an old Hammon's family tune from West

Virginia at the West Virginia Arts Conference] playing that fiddle just—I mean, he was a great fiddler. I’m taking nothing away from his talent. And just driving it, that tune, just going as fast as he could go, but it did not have the power, and there’s a difference between being fast and being powerful, and it did not have that power, that stroke of passion, and it lacked that passion. I think any time a piece of visual art can make an impact on you, then that’s passion. Any time music, which is a very passionate thing to begin with, any time it grabs you and you understand you feel that welling up, then that’s what’s lacking and what’s being transformed into marketable art. I don’t think anyone can write, I don’t think I could go to New York City and write in the culture of New York City. I don’t think anyone from outside this region can come in and write from this region. I think that you must write from your base, from grounding in what you have. I’m not saying you can’t be good at what you do, you just don’t have the background. (Interview, December 1993)

David Morris explained his position on this topic in terms of *spirituality* and stated:

It is a spirituality, it is a part of you. I can sing Tribal Nations’ songs or Hebrew songs but I will never be mistaken by those people as one of them. I thought I was the only one starving, but when I started to talk to people of my age and station, they too told similar stories of rejection from Augusta and other venues. Well, if we aren’t, then who is making the money? The answer is people from outside the culture who have captured the national scene, playing Old-Time Appalachian Music. Everyone has the right to express themselves artistically and to make a living but I deeply resent it

when they represent themselves as authentic practitioners of the cultural arts. (Interview, November 1993)

Mack Samples defines the difference as soul. He stated:

Well, to use a modern terminology, what I hear in the old traditional—the people who learned as a tradition and the people who didn't. What I hear, the difference is soul. That's what I hear. There's a spark in the music of the natives, maybe something akin to the people who play blues in the deep south. I don't know if it's genetic or not, but there's something there. Just for example, John Morris. Now, John Morris' fiddle has got more soul in it than anybody you'll ever hear from out of state. They play the same tune. It's not that the people don't play it well at all. It's just something that's there which is almost, I think un-nameable. (Interview, October 1993)

Dwight Dillers' explanation of having all the right ingredients but no cultural authority defines the difference between style and Mountain Cultural arts. The cultural authority is what the other artists referred to as spirituality, soul, passion, and story. Larry Rader speculated why outsiders appropriate West Virginia Mountain Culture and through his examination, he concludes that what is missing is living the life as a Mountain Cultural artist. He stated it this way:

We seem to be the culture that's easiest for everybody to be. It's sort of like playing, if you've ever watched Cajun music, everybody wants to play a triangle, because everybody thinks that anybody can play a triangle. So, if you want to be a real Cajun musician all you've got to do is go pay ten dollars and get you a triangle and you're a musician. And I think they look at us kind of like a triangle of cultural music. Anybody can be Appalachian. I mean, they're mostly white, no particular characteristics. It's sort of easy to affect a southern accent or mispronounce a few words.

Hell, you can become Appalachian almost overnight, in appearance and in speech. But they've missed the greatest part of it, I think. I think there's something in the music that comes from being raised very hard and being looked down on by the rest of the country. I think that shows in the music a lot. (Interview, September 1993)

Colleen Anderson, born and reared in Michigan, has lived in West Virginia for over twenty years. She agreed there is a difference and stated:

Yeah, I see that there is a difference. I could never, for instance, write poems that are as deeply informed by Appalachia as Louise McNeill's poems are. I wouldn't have enough time in my life to learn it. Although, I'm gonna, you know, give it my best shot. I just finished reading *The Night of the Hunter* and, you know, if in the same way that I could never describe what it's like to grow up during the depression just because I didn't do it. I can't really describe what it's like to grow up West Virginian. (Interview, November 1993)

Margo Blevin, Director of Augusta Heritage Center, stated there are no differences and put it this way:

I'm going to tell you what some of the old time master musicians have told me. I don't see them differentiating. It looks to me like they are really grateful for somebody coming in and being interested in carrying this on, and I've never heard them make that distinction. We were just talking this morning about the cultures we grew up in and how some of us from New Jersey are ashamed of it and it's a big mystery to me. How to resolve that kind of question. But I remember somebody telling me the story about Tommy Jarrell [a famous Mountain Cultural fiddle player from North Carolina]. There was a man from New York who came to play music with

Tommy and spent a lot of time with Tommy and one day they were sitting and playing and Tommy said “ Don’t your people have their own music,” and his people were Russian Jews and he went back to start a revival.

Well, I don’t think Tommy was resenting him playing old time music. He was just looking hard into him and saying “Where did you come from, aren’t you curious about that?” And he meant that in a very sincere way.

He didn’t mean, “You’re an outsider, why are trying to collect my music?”

I asked Blevin if there was a difference in an insider’s and outsider’s version. She responded:

I can’t tell you that. I don’t know. I think that if there is, I don’t know. I come at this with an understanding that I’m just appreciating and trying to play what I can, and I’m not making a value judgment. I’m not trying to be someone I’m not. I’m not trying to hide under an identity or adopt an identity. It’s just what I’m hearing and enjoying. You gotta pay your dues. It’s easy for me to say. I’m standing here, and I’ll be here till I die. I happen to have a job . I’m living in a community that has a lot of infrastructure that can employ people. I don’t live in an impoverished area of the state and I know the kind of heartache the people have to go through when [they] have to leave and they have obligations and financial obligations and families and jobs that take them away from their music and they see somebody else retiring [or] coming to live in West Virginia and buying land and a house and sure they can spend all their time learning to play this music and someone else who’s from here who would love more than anything else to do that might not have the ability to that now. It must hurt. (Interview, September 1993)

In reviewing Augusta Heritage Center's 1992 catalog the following descriptions of workshops were noted:

Old-Time Week

Tracy Schwarz has been a traditional music legend for over 25 years. A member of the New Lost City Ramblers, he has toured all over the world with the Ramblers, as well as with master Cajun musician Dewey Balfa, and as a solo performer. His singing has been described as "a coal-country tenor." Tracy currently lives in Tanner, West Virginia. (44)

Cajun Week

Tracy Schwarz (co-coordinator) will oversee the music classes. He has been at the forefront of the Cajun music revival for 15 years. He has produced four instructional records for Folkways Records, and appears on dozens of recordings, including *Fait A LaMain* with Dewey Balfa. He has produced an instructional video on the Cajun accordion, with Mark Savoy, and his own solo album of Cajun music, *Louisiana and You*. (34)

Old-Time Fiddle

Gerry Milnes has been playing old time music for over thirty years, and has been collecting and documenting it since the early 70's. As Folk Arts Coordinator for the Augusta Heritage Center, Gerry produces recordings of traditional West Virginia music and directs a state-wide Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. (2)

Bob Smakula has been playing old-time music for twenty years and has won many regional awards for his fiddle and banjo playing. Bob has played fiddle in several bands over the years, including the Able Brothers and the Cajun band Stand Bayou. He frequently performs as a freelance musician with other West Virginia musicians such as Tracy Schwartz and Gerry Milnes. Bob is also the proprietor of Smakula Fretted Instruments, specializing in the restoration and sale of vintage stringed instruments.

(36)

None of these artists are from the Cajun or Mountain Culture. It is interesting to see the correlation of revivalists in Old-Time and Cajun music. Artists in both cultures were becoming active in the early 1970s and yet the revivalists have cast themselves as experts. They direct attention away from their own origin by carefully documenting their relationship with cultural masters. They constantly reinforce the notion that their replications of cultural arts are valid as cultural art.

Geography is also important. In Chapter Two, I stated that the institutions' policies define membership in the Mountain Culture based on where one lives. Being able to say one lives in West Virginia heightens the illusion that one is an authentic practitioner of Mountain Cultural arts. If the artist does not live in West Virginia the emphasis is placed on the Master the artists studied with, which is demonstrated in the descriptions of Bob Smakula and Tracy Schwarz. When Schwarz was described for Old-Time Week, living in West Virginia was mentioned but when he was described for Cajun Week, the person he studied with was emphasized. The fact that he is not from either of those cultures is not mentioned in the Augusta description.

I became aware of the way words are used in the Augusta Heritage Center publicity materials when I was described by them in an inaccurate manner. I sent Margo Blevin my public relations material, which states that my family has been in West Virginia

since George Washington gave them a land grant in what is now Summers County. Economic hardship forced a move to Ohio in 1950. I was the first generation born out of the mountains, but the Mountain Culture had remained alive in the traditions of our family. My grandmother started teaching me to dance when I was four years old. The weekend trips, summer visits, and finally moving back to the state had kept the ways alive. Augusta edited the information to state, “Christine Morris, who will demonstrate steps she learned growing up in a family of West Virginia flat-foot dancers” (Augusta Heritage Center Catalog 1992, 10). Technically true, but far from the whole story. If it’s true, as Margo Blevin states, that the maker doesn’t matter, why do they present biographical information in the above described manner?

The Department of Culture and History does not distinguish origin difference. Age is the main criterion for determining who performs and who acts as Masters of Ceremony and presenters at Vandalia and who gets written about in *Goldenseal*. In recent years, the young performers, who used to be M.C.’s, are now performing because the older regular performers are passing away. The young are still not written about in *Goldenseal*, except for articles in which Gerald Milnes includes himself. John Blisard, who has earned a Master’s Degree in Humanities, Appalachian Culture, Music, and Literature, shared his experience with *Goldenseal*, and stated:

Years ago, when I started playing with the Bing Brothers, I was in graduate school. I was taking a class from Professor Dick Kimmel in Appalachian Music. Part of the requirement was a biography on either a person or a group. So I’d been playing with the Bings a couple of years and decided I would use them with their permission. On both sides of the family they have traditional musicians in their family going back six generations, with photographs of all of them. Stories, tales, Mr. and Mrs. Bing gave me priceless family photographs to use. I got an A. Professor Kimmel said. “

I think this is probably suitable for publication.” I said, “Great.” He called somebody at *Bluegrass Unlimited*. It got published. I wrote the article, did the photographs. It was an edited version, because of limited space. I had all this other material on the forefathers and mothers and the past five generations of pickers. So I got an appointment with Ken Sullivan [editor of *Goldenseal* and state historian]. I went in there, and he basically just blew me away and said, “Look, we just like to write about old people.” I said, “You’re missing the whole point of this.” I gave him a copy of the article. I said, “What I’ve got in addition to that”—which I had with me, my historical report on the Bings. I said, “And look here, we’ve got the final living product here.” He said, “Well, they’re too young.” I just stormed out of the office. The *Goldenseal* is a wonderful magazine, and he does a lot of wonderful stuff, but the narrow vision these people have is amazing to me. And they’re the people that are in control of everything. (Interview, October 1993)

Colleen Anderson, a graphic designer who worked for *Goldenseal* since its inception, stated that the first editor, Tom Scriven, was interested in current topics and the arts so *Goldenseal’s* articles were about young, old, current issues, and heritage. She concluded:

We would say that the magazine has been a reflection of its editors all along. Tom’s focused on his training, and therefore his focus was his love for art. He was a folklorist, a real serious folklorist and is and he was doing what he loved and what he really needed to be documented. Ken Sullivan, the present editor is a historian. And probably just not as focused on the arts. I personally think I like the more scholarly art, folklore approach more, but I also understand that they need to appeal to a wider audience.

And now, partly because of just economic necessity it has to be seen as a self-supporting venture, and it has to be popular. (Interview, November 1993)

Ken Sullivan popularized the journal in order to attract a larger audience, and an avenue to voice concerns and issues of the culture was lost. Sullivan, a historian, concentrates on heritage, elders, and the past. The switch from Scriven to Sullivan was contemporaneous with Margo Blevin's economically driven changes in the curriculum offered at Augusta Heritage Center. The need to reach a wider audience, due to economic constraints, compromised the product, the artists, and the culture. Both institutions replaced the needs of the Mountain Culture with the needs of the institutions to make money.

West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority's policy does not recognize any differences between insiders' and outsiders' products. This indifference has affected the Mountain Cultural arts in two ways. Insiders' and outsiders' art forms are both labeled as West Virginia Culture. The word *culture* is meaningless in this context. There is no West Virginia Culture; there are cultures. To which culture is the Parkways referring? Second, in the pursuit of a better product, the Mountain Cultural artists have been pressured to change their art forms to be like outsiders in order to be a part of the Parkways' system. Colleen Anderson, who worked with quilters when she was a VISTA volunteer, told a story about a quilting tradition:

I bought this quilt top, and it had this one patch in it that was really just out of place. I mean, conspicuously out of place, and I thought that if somebody had made a whole quilt top that they would notice that and fix it before they sent it out to sell. Stella said, "Oh, no, that's supposed to be like that. We always put one square in wrong." Or she said, "All the old

quilters do that. That means that you recognize that only God can make a perfect thing.” (Interview, November 1993)

At a jury, another artist (name deleted upon request, 1993) overheard a quilter being told that it was a “cute” tradition but that others would not understand. Drop the custom, she was told, and she would be accepted by the Parkways.

Mountain Cultural art derives from experience in everyday life. Mountain Cultural arts reflect a language of the people that communicates values, ideas, and beliefs. The language of the culture is embedded in the arts. Insiders of a culture secure ways to communicate with each other in their art that outsiders do not read or comprehend. The unspoken language and the spiritual quality is not comprehended by outside imitators; therefore, it is missing in the version presented by the institutions. Whisnant (1983) describes outside versions as “airport culture” at best. Outsiders’ translation is a sanitized shallow version (Lippard 1990). The point is, those of the culture recognize the difference. The institutions do not or will not admit it if they do recognize a difference.

The image becomes a label and is important when marketing the product. The Augusta Heritage Center’s description of its teachers is a good example. The institutions which claim there is no difference in the art forms of outsiders and insiders recognize that a relationship to the culture must be present in order to make the product more marketable. Since outsiders’ versions cannot be directly attributed as a response to growing up in the culture, formal qualifications, relationship to a mentor, or an avoidance of the issue are displayed.

West Virginia Parkways and Economic Development Authority has also caught on to the importance of story for their quilts and in their May 1994 *Grapevine*, Stelling, Arts and Crafts Director for the Parkways, states, “Buyers want to know the person and the story behind the piece and a printed tag or card attached or accompanying the piece can accomplish this” (5).

In October 1993, I wrote an article for *The Charleston Gazette* about the same thing. I stated:

If the emphasis is on “Made In West Virginia,” we can consider that label synonymous with made in Taiwan. I can go to Wal-Mart and buy an imported hand woven rug for one dollar or buy one at the Tourist Information Center shop for 60 times that amount. They would both function as rugs. The difference would be the label. The label is meaningless if there is no history. Suppose you went to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and bought an Amish quilt. Later, you find out the crafter was not Amish but a native of a large East Coast city who makes Amish-style quilts. It could not be said that this was an Amish quilt. Advertising the crafts at the Travel Information Centers on the Turnpike as West Virginia crafts could be seen as fraudulent. This is an issue with which the Parkways Authority must come to grips. (2A)

When items are labeled as cultural, the buyer expects the label to be truthful. The quilt is just a quilt if the maker is not from the marketed culture. It is a forgery if it is labeled as a cultural product of West Virginia.

Stories that satisfy the public without telling all the story is another marketing tool.

John Brock states:

They come here, I’m thinking of two particular ones right now, didn’t appear to be rich and still don’t maybe that is their choice to live. They sell to the Parkways and at other craft shows. The way they market some of their products is to say something like “Wear something Wild from West Virginia” or “Made with West Virginia wild bark or wild honeysuckle.” They seem to have the knack for marketing their product whatever it is. The difference between them is when I see people like that

at craft shows and other events, workshops —its almost like they want to say they're West Virginian, they want to be West Virginian, from Appalachia and they're almost scared to say that they're not because they know people from out of the region will buy their product but they also know at the same time that if they say they're from New York or grew up in Philadelphia and making a basket from something wild in West Virginia that maybe they won't sell it. You'll hear "I've lived here a long time." They make a tie in somewhere and it helps them in marketing their product. (Interview, August 1994)

The institutions project cultural images which serve the institutions' needs. The institutions' policies control selection of teachers and artists who will serve the institutions. Those of the Mountain Culture have no power or identity beyond that what the institution allows. Choosing outsiders to teach negates those of the culture and declares them incapable. The fact that they do not distinguish between those of the culture and those who are not implies an indifference to the culture itself. Ethics, culture and the arts are not the main concerns of the institutions' representatives, as they declare them to be. Rather, it is the business of cloning static art to increase attendance and profit. As long as institutional representatives continue to market the culture as dying or in a historical context, their choices of who and what is marketed are justified in their own minds. The determination of cultural authenticity is deeply involved in the institutions' need to profit from the Mountain Culture.

Intentions of the Institutions and the Artists

Augusta Heritage Center has invested a great deal of time and money in documenting Masters. A Master, according to this institution, is someone who has

dedicated his or her life to an art form and is usually synonymous with being in their golden years. To support Augusta's endeavors, those Masters receive grants from the Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts. The documentation of the Masters is currently being done by their folklorist Gerald Milnes, who was originally from Bucks County, Pennsylvania. The documentation of Masters is used in three ways: to identify Masters for the West Virginia Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program, for the institutions' archives and institutional standing in the folk arts field, and as a product to market.

The documentation of objects, individuals, and regions have been deemed as the way to authenticate styles and to establish the need for institutions. In Whisnant's (1983) examination of institutions which exploit Mountain Cultural arts, he stated that the initial motivation of the folklorists to document and preserve was replaced with an economic agenda due to the availability of grants and private funding that supported the documentation process.

Some of the cultural artists I interviewed mentioned how grateful they were to Augusta Heritage Center for documenting the arts. Bobby Taylor expressed his feelings about Augusta Heritage Center, "Basically, we can give them a lot of credit for preservation, because had it not been for them a lot of things would not have been documented and not showcased" (Interview, October 1993).

Others spoke about their uneasiness with the word *preservation* itself. Words such as *pickle*, *stagnate*, and *freeze* were used synonymously. The complaint I heard was not about the documentation, but assumptions based on the documentation. The artists described themselves as the living continuation of the tradition as practiced by the mentors. They viewed the documentation by Augusta Heritage Center as the preservation of the performance of the Masters to be relished and cherished for its time and place, but not as a standard by which all succeeding generations would be judged.

Colonialist institutions gain power and credibility through the process of networking and documentation. The ethnocentric perception of the culture and the arts is confirmed and reaffirmed within the network. With the support of the network, their various interpretations, ideologies, and institutional policies are dispersed to a greater audience which makes it difficult for the voice of the culture to be heard. The institutions have the power of large numbers which validates institutional policies. The dissatisfied cultural artists are easily dismissed or ignored. Individuals have little power to reform and the criteria of authenticity remain unchallenged by other institutions. One step in understanding this phenomenon is to decode the institutional language.

As stated before, the cultural colonizers have been established in the mountains since before the turn of the century. The guise of education and economic development to benefit the insider has kept colonizers' exploitative agenda from the public view. Internalization of the stereotype has kept the insider under control. Outsiders then use the stereotype to justify their subsequent actions.

Augusta Heritage Center's first folk arts coordinator, Michael Kline, is now on staff at Appalachia University, Boone, North Carolina. Michael Kline was also on the staff of *Goldenseal*, Department of Culture and History. Kline was identified as a key West Virginia insider in the cultural movement of the 1960-1970s by the Carawans in the anthology, *Fighting back in Appalachia*. The Carawans are ex-directors of the Highland Center, Hay Market, Tennessee, an organization which supported resistance in the mountains against exploitation (1993, 250). According to *Goldenseal*, Kline is from Washington, D.C. (Sullivan 1978, 2-3). Part of Kline's importance in the 1970s could be attributed to his institutional relationship which provided an avenue to publish papers and to pursue documentation. Would Kline's contributions be seen as less valuable to the people he worked among or to the Carawans' readers if it were known that he is not an insider? David Morris, who knows Michael Kline and his achievements, stated:

What he did, he did. The people knew he was not from West Virginia and did not value his contributions at the time when he lived and worked here any less because he was not from the state. This was during a time when West Virginians were more accepting of outsiders than they are now. A valid question would be, why did the Carawans feel it necessary to state that he was a native? (Interview, November 1993)

Gerald Milnes replaced Kline as Augusta Folk Arts Director. Milnes will, when pressured, state that he is not a West Virginian and that he accepts that fact (West Virginia Arts Conference 1993). In the publications released by him or about him he is described as a West Virginian. In his book, *Granny Will Your Dog Bite*, the biography states, "Collected by West Virginia sheep farmer and folklorist Gerald Milnes" (1990, cover). Milnes, like Kline, is perceived by outsiders as not only an expert but a voice of the culture. Milnes has used his institutional relationship to acquire power and to further his reputation as a traditional folk musician. Part of his job is to produce albums of old Masters. He is also a musician who plays on most of the recordings he produces.

Three artists relate their experience with Augusta Heritage Center's Folk Arts coordinators, Kline and Milnes. The artists' stories suggest a conflict of interest. On one hand, Kline and Milnes are directors; but on the other, they are musicians who seem to strive for validation which can be obtained by playing with Masters and being recorded with Masters. This is again another way the colonialist seeks to be seen as the same as the insider and to further the liquidation process of culture. The first example of this is told by John Blisard:

I played with John Johnson for about a year and a half. I was sort of his banjo player. I knew all his strange tunes that no one around here played, and it was just a real delight. A crazy man. An artist and musician. The most powerful fiddle player I've ever heard. He said, "Well, I've got to

do an album.” It was when Michael Kline happened to discover him, a year and a half after he got here [West Virginia]. So John called me up one day and said, “I’ve got to go up to Augusta at Elkins. They want me to be the Master fiddle player, whatever and I want you to play banjo with me.” I said, “Well, fine. Are you going to have anybody else?” He said, “Yeah, Michael is going to play guitar.” I said, “Great.” I said, “Now, John, you’re sure you told these people I was coming?” “Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah. I told them, ” he said, “and they are going to make a record of me.” I said, “Well, that’s great.” So we get up there separately and I find him. We go to the green room, and it’s twenty minutes till John’s performance. Michael Kline walks in and says, “Hi, John. Who is this?” I said, “I’m John Blisard, John’s banjo Picker.” He said, “Oh, we can’t do this.” I said, “What do you mean?” He said, “We haven’t rehearsed.” I said, “Well, I’ve rehearsed with John I know his music better than you do.” He said, “I’ve got to play guitar for him, and I just can’t play with you. I mean, we haven’t rehearsed.” So, I just said, “Well, you know, you can kiss my ass.” And I left. I didn’t go back to Elkins for, I don’t know, it was [a] good ten or twelve years. (Interview, October 1993).

The next example is told by Nat Reece, National Heritage Award winner, who has worked with Augusta Heritage Center for many years, but a situation occurred with Kline that broke the trust Nat had in the institution:

I was invited to go to Milan, Italy, to play my music and talk about my life. When the formal invitation came, Michael Kline took it and my material and went to Milan, Italy. Can you imagine what a surprise that must have been for those expecting me? I never trusted him after that. I work well with Margo [Blevin] but I don’t know why I am included in the Blues

Week. Those who are teaching learned it on the radio, and they've lost the roots. I learned it the way I did, from the people. (Interview, May 1994)

Wilson Douglas and Kim Johnson told their story about their experience with Milnes, who had promised Douglas and Johnson's recording tape would be completed by a certain date. Douglas and Johnson state that because the tape did not have Milnes as performer or producer, another tape that did have Milnes on it received priority.

WD - Well, this was the second one [tape]. This was mine. I bought this one myself. Well, this one old-time fiddler he cut a tape for Augusta it was long after I did. I'd say maybe five or six months. Well, we got a commitment to go to Morgantown.

KJ - To that festival of American fiddle tunes they have. It's a big, huge thing.

WD - We got up there. Well I told Gerry Milnes, I said my tapes is supposed to be in. I'm going to Seattle, and I want those tapes. [Milnes] Oh, yeah, Wilson. You'll have plenty of time. We'll get them. So July come when we had to go, so went without them. When we arrived back home in two days my tapes was there.

KJ - Wilson recorded his tape like in October, like, '87, I believe. And [name deleted], they kept Wilson hanging on there for like a year and the [name deleted] recorded his. Then we had to go to Port Townsend [Washington] in October '89 and they still didn't have Wilson's tape, you know. Oh, yeah, we'll have it. We'll have it.

[Question by interviewer - Was Gerry Milnes on your tape?]

KJ - No

[Question by interviewer - Was Gerry Milnes on the other tape?]

KJ - Yeah

WD - Do you get the message?

KJ - The [name deleted] birthday party is like every, March or May? They [Augusta] have him a little party. It was the May, when is it? and so it was in May? April, whenever they have that, before we were supposed to go in July of '89, they run the other fiddler's tape, produced it and reproduced all these copies just to have it for his birthday thing whenever that is in the Spring, and here Wilson was still hanging on the line and we had to have his in July to go out there. People was begging for them. We went out there, no tapes. He had two of those green Rush Fork records, you know, and he sold those just like that. The day before we left I said, "Gerry, have we got those?" "No, no." He said, "I can maybe ship them to you out there if they come in." No, we didn't want to do that. We came home and two days later here come three hundred tapes in the mail. They're not telling me that they didn't shaft Wilson. To beat it all, Gerry didn't have anything to do with planning that tape. Larry Rader kind of produced it, organized everything. We got the tape back and it said produced by Larry Rader and Gerry Milnes.

WD - But I can't retaliate. (Interview, May 1994)

The Department of Culture and History has challenged Augusta Heritage Center's lack of utilizing West Virginia artists. Their association with Augusta Heritage Center has occurred through sharing information. Milnes writes articles for *Goldenseal*, and Susan Leffler, when she was Folk Arts Specialist for the Department of Culture and History, referred callers to Milnes as the West Virginia expert. The Department of Culture and History also recognizes Milnes as a West Virginia Mountain Cultural musician and has hired him to teach workshops. At the Vandalia Dance Workshop, Milnes was hired to teach a workshop on how to play at square dances. The students were to be West

Virginia Mountain Cultural musicians who had the same or more experience. One musician stated “Just what we need another outsider teaching us how to play our music” (Morris, interview, November 1994). Some artists feel that Milnes’ position as Folk Arts Coordinator has gone beyond his job description. As Wilson Douglas and Kim Johnson put it:

WD - There’s another thing I really don’t give a damn about. Now, as far as I know, me and Margo is pretty good friends. She’s not my student but she comes down occasionally, and she does the fiddling and I help her out. You know, I’ve got a good heart in me. I’ll help anybody if I like them. I like her. But Gerry Milnes is not a West Virginian. No way is he a West Virginian, and he is into the music.

KJ - To further his own cause when these old people like, [name deleted] he was with him for years and years and years till [name deleted] can’t play anymore. Now he’s with [name deleted]. And then, when all these old people die off people will come to Gerry and say, “Oh, you play like [name deleted].” (Interview, May 1994)

After two years, Susan Leffler was replaced by Danny Williams as Folk Art Specialist. Williams’ position was funded for one year by the Department of Culture and History and the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority. Williams (1993) stated his job description was to document folk artists and that his concentration was on those who had no “commercial aspirations.” Burge (1994) stated that one of the reasons they partially funded Williams’ position was to find Mountain Cultural artists who would want to be a part of the Parkways’ Tamarack project.

The contradiction is in the disparate notions regarding the purpose of Williams’ job. Williams (1993) says he concentrated on craft people who had no interest in commercial ventures. Burge (1994) states William’s job was to find West Virginia

mountain crafts people for the purpose of being included in the Tamarack Arts Center. What can be concluded from this? The Parkways administrators' position is that they have invested eleven thousand dollars in Williams' salary in order to find West Virginia crafts people, and it is not their fault if he found none. They can state they actively made the effort. The fact that Williams did not define his job in those terms and was unaware of Parkways' definition is not a part of the conclusion made by Parkways' administrators. Williams (1993) explained that the artists he documented would not be able to produce in the volume that the Parkways would need. Burge (1994) concluded that mountain people cannot produce large amounts and that is why there are so few in the Parkways' system. Through Williams, Burge has further affirmed Parkways' affiliation with outsiders.

That government has an impact on culture is an understatement. By the methods of funding and institutional networking, the government determines what will be perpetuated and what is important. Within a few decades these conscious choices will redefine and shape the cultural arts and the culture. The government's institutional representatives' definition of culture, their role in perpetuating the arts, criteria of what is "true," and their condoning the separation of culture from the production of Mountain Cultural arts by utilizing non-Mountain Cultural artists, have created substantial boundaries between people and groups. Lakin Cook, Director of Arts and Humanities, responded to this by stating:

Their [those not of the culture] art form is different than people who—one thing that my staff and I see constantly—which is a cycle in West Virginia, particularly in rural areas, is West Virginia has a lot of folks that came here in the last twenty to thirty years, that came because they want what they saw . . . Now they're really trying to improve their communities through bringing the arts in, through educating their children about the culture in West Virginia of which they're a part. And continuously, we

run against the fact that there's this huge resentment, even after they've been in the communities years and years, that they are not natives . . . That's really tough for them to take, and we see it on a constant level, and yet we see them as the ones that are wanting to preserve, protect and promote the culture around us. And appreciate what a lot of times the natives are saying, you know, we don't want to be bothered. (Interview, February 1993).

In reviewing Lakin Cook's words, "liked what they saw," "trying to improve their communities through bringing the arts in," and "natives, are saying, you know, we don't want to be bothered" reveal personal beliefs and attitudes which could be seen as having colored her judgment. The artists that I interviewed work in their communities and have tried to maintain an on-going relationship with the Department of Culture and History and do not possess the "don't bother me" syndrome. Nat Reece stated, "I have tried and tried to work with Ken Sullivan and those people at the Culture and History and all I get are words. Action speaks louder. I have been doing this too long to be ignored" (Interview, May 1994). Larry Rader responded by stating, "I have worked for nothing to try to get Augusta and Culture and History to understand this art, but they don't want to hear how. They want to tell us how" (Interview, September 1993). David Morris stated, "Each year, following Vandalia, I used to think that part of my responsibility was to talk to the staff about concerns I had. They would always listen, but I was easy to dismiss. When they had the 1992 meeting, I told them the same things I had been saying for the past ten or twelve years" (Interview, November 1993).

There is great irony in the juxtaposition of phrases such as "liked what they saw" and "really trying to improve." Some of the artists want to know who invited the outsiders. Cook's position seems to be that the boundaries are set by insiders. She does not hear the agenda contained in the outsider's words. Boundaries do exist, but more

often than not, insiders are blamed for their existence. Because the value and belief systems of outsiders derive from disparate cultures, they respond to West Virginia and see West Virginia differently than does the insider. The Mountain Cultural people have built into their culture an intolerance toward outsiders who claim to be changing West Virginia for the betterment of the people. History and time have illustrated that change offered by many outsiders has been good of the colonizer but not the people of West Virginia. Sensitivity and understanding the histories of both sides, by all those involved is a necessary step if the boundaries are to disappear. Ultimately this is an issue of judging the Mountain Culture by the standards and values of other cultures. Because the Mountain people do not respond “correctly” or perceive it in the same way, they are often dismissed, ignored, or, as in the case of Lakin Cook’s statement, they are falsely accused of not caring. Former VISTA volunteer, Colleen Anderson tells a story that demonstrates outsiders’ expectations and the insider not living up to those expectations:

Somebody said when I was in VISTA, one of the first--when people sold quilts for the first time, these were women who had been living on very little money, and suddenly they had this big money, you know, drop out of the sky. Like, two hundred dollars. One of the workers, they would go out sometimes and buy—well, one of the quilters started getting her hair done every week. Another one would go out and buy a television or something and we were horrified by this, at first. Oh, no, we came in here to make these peoples’ lives better and all they’re doing is going to this tacky little stuff and buying knick-knacks and things. And one of the other VISTAS said, “You don’t expect people to just sort of bypass their middle class on their way to becoming, wonderful and whatever you want them to be?” You have to give people time and you have to let people change in their own way. If you come in to change them or teach them or whatever,

you don't always get to predict how that change is going to work.

(Interview, November 1993)

The outsider's cultural bias judgment, the need to improve, change, and teach the insider to be like the outsider by action, material values, and belief systems have created and maintains the boundaries between the two groups.

Mike Bing, a Mountain Cultural artist, sums up his feelings about institutions in this way:

They are good businessmen . . . They get just enough of us. It looks like they have West Virginians included. They don't really like us. They don't like our attitude. I'm sure I'm considered the biggest red neck around. But if I had a choice of being a red neck or like them, my neck is crimson. It's all business. Its ok to do this because it's business. (Interview, August 1994)

Those of the institutions do not seem to understand the resentment expressed by West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists. The differences re-enforce colonialist oppression and the response of the Mountain Cultural artists is resistance. The resentment is sometimes directed at the outside artists who are employed by institutions. Larry Rader, a Mountain Cultural artist and activist, illustrates his opinion regarding this issue by using Alice Gerrard, who is the editor of *The Old-Time Herald* and a revivalist fiddle player, as an example:

Yeah, but see Alice [Gerrard] is one of those people. When you think of people like Alice, when I think of a total outsider making fools out of me and taking what little bit of cultural background we have, Alice is one of those people that first comes to mind . . . Again you're lookin' at people who were raised fairly affluent who felt like this was an easy way to earn a living. They became very good at getting grants. She's living off Federal

grant money as far as I can tell, putting on festivals, holding dinners for old men and picnics and stuff like that, and trying to make it some sort of an educational experience or something. No, Alice considers our generation a lost generation because she considered her and her [kind] as being the next generation. I know Alice Gerrard, it doesn't bother me. She's just an over age hippie who's never worked a day in her life and always made her living off Federal dollars. She's talking to an audience that certainly wants to hear that type of thing. If she can convince them that the local Appalachian people who are in my age group are in no [way] traditional, then she's convinced them that they have the same opportunity to reach these seventy year old people as we did. So she has, by her own words, she puts herself and the people like her on the same plane with the people living and born and raised in Appalachia of that age group. She's trying to legitimize herself. But again, she's talking to an audience that wants to hear that. The audience of her age group, people like that, it's in their benefit. And as far as I know they very seldom say anything that's not in their own benefit. By rounding up a half a dozen old men and making pets out of them, those people have kept their self alive for years. Admittedly, they've brought a certain amount of fame to a dozen or so old people. But, at the same time they've legitimized themselves and built their own careers on it. Now were she to suddenly admit that the Appalachian people in her age group were a continuation of those seventy year old people, it would sort of prove her to be worthless. She would in fact [be] admitting that she's not the next generation. But see the one thing, Chris, the one thing with all the people like her, the one thing that they can't do, no matter how hard they try, no matter what they say and no

matter what they write about, the thing that they want most they never can be. They can never be from Appalachia. They're always going to be from New York or New Jersey or Cleveland or someplace. (Interview, September 1993)

Others direct their frustration toward the institutional administrators. John Blisard's education qualifies him for a job at the Department of Culture and History but education is not a criteria for certain jobs. Colonizers cannot control insiders, therefore jobs offered to insiders are with limited power and decision-making opportunities. Blisard explained:

I think that the main problem in the administration, like the Department of Culture and History, is [that] the two musicians who work there in jobs not related directly to music are so far down the ladder from the actual final decision making that they're just fighting with people that don't share an understanding of what it's all about . . . I think it goes back to putting unqualified people in positions of power. I tried to get a job at the cultural center. I have a Master's Degree in Humanities and Appalachian Culture and Music and Literature, and I can't get a job there sweeping floor. And, you know, I'm more qualified for the job than the Commissioner, but I didn't happen to go to prep school with [Governor] Gaston [Caperton], so I tried to get Jim Andrew's job as Director of Arts and Humanities, but they put Charlie Jones' [a coal company owner] daughter, the coal guy, his daughter in there. [Question by interviewer, Is that Lakin Cook?] Yeah. (Interview, October 1993)

Institutional language is based on power, economics, and marketing rules. The relationship of objects and people by the institutions are proscribed and those who deal with the institutions must adhere to those rules. Each institution has a dialect, therefore, these components are the essence that is expanded to meet their particular needs. The

Arts and Humanities Director, Lakin Cook (1994), stated, “We have to sell it [art] as economic development.” West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority’s Cela Burge (1994) stated “We are in the business to make money.” Margo Blevin (1993) of Augusta Heritage Center stated she has “a constant pull and tension” between what she wants to do and what she has to do to show profit. Commodification, marketing and attendance determine the institution’s values, beliefs, ideas, and traditions. Due to the rules by which colonizers and their sympathizers operate, it is inescapable that their intentions will be at odds with the culture they purport to be preserving, maintaining or economically developing. Colonizers and their sympathizers understand their own words and language of business and are therefore rendered incapable of understanding the language of the culture they claim to be saving or upon which they impact. The institutions’ administrators are unable to comprehend semiotic messages from the dominated culture and tend to hear or see isolated words and style that seem to them to have no relationship to the culture’s time and place. When institutional representatives approach cultural arts from their biased interpretation, the understanding of the cultural symbolic language is misinterpreted and misconstrued (Wagner 1986). The institutional view of the art is a commodity; the artists see their art as a cultural response that can provide an economic opportunity. The artists would be doing this art whether they made money or not, but in an economic system—not of their making—they want parity, at least.

For the cultural artists, this situation is beyond economics. It is the redefinition and misrepresentation of their art forms. They see their art as not just a song, quilt, or carving; the art represents their culture, tradition, history, and life. Milnes (1993) defined “the true value” as residing in the sound, which is vastly different from the way the artists described their art (7). The graphic language of a culture expresses a view through which their socially communicable reality of the world is objectified. The geographical land form is the common denominator found in the Mountain Culture and the arts, the people’s

history with the land, the struggles, occupations, family, resistance, oppression, social change, political dynamics, war, and community. These elements create beliefs, ways of life, traditions, reaction, action, and art. Lucy R. Lippard wrote in her book, *Mixed Blessings*, “Folk art has been defined as art that reflects its surroundings. These artists provide intricate maps of reality of daily and spiritual life” (1990, 77).

The Mountain Cultural artists’ purpose for the continuation of their art is communication. The Mountain Cultural artists see their cultural traditions as providing an association with the past which places them within the context of a broader cultural spectrum. They have a responsibility to draw strength from the past and be cognizant of the needs of the present. David Morris views his art as a way of translating his life experiences. He is an artist who expresses himself through his Mountain Culture, heritage, and art. Steven Smith (1988), a philosopher, describes culture as the factual side of spirit and is only for those who are committed to its continuation. The arts are spiritual manifestations which avail people of a way to become one with their culture. The following are quotes from Mountain Cultural artists describing their spiritual, cultural connection to their art form. Kirk Judd described it as:

What I write is very direct, but the passion of that is very obvious because it’s so plain. That’s one of the things that I think is very important in what people call Appalachian or regional literature, this is our voice. We speak with this voice, and it’s very plain, very simple, but very pure, very honest and very passionate. That’s the connectedness that comes across in, also, in the performance of traditional music. I mean, some of those pieces aren’t complicated at all, but they’re very strong pieces and very powerful emotive pieces and that’s my hook-up. The rhythms are the same. The rhythms of my poetry, that of the music, the rhythms of the lives that are tied up here are all the same. (Interview, December 1993)

David Morris described his artistic connection to the Mountain Culture as a spiritual extension of those who came before him:

When I play, the music, the people who taught me play with me. I hear them as if they are there beside me. The memories and associations are what lifts it out of the ordinary. We are not doing something that is in a void, but rather in a context. We are a link in the spiritual chain. The people who originated the music are watching and give their blessing to those who evoke their spiritual essence. For example, coal mine disasters are a part of our history, culture, and experience—not just an event. The people live in the songs, we [performers] speak for them. We [performers] are part of the audience and the audience is part of us and we share the experience with each other. (Interview, November 1993)

Ballads, songs, and poetry tell stories about people, events, and religious beliefs. The purposes of the stories are many: to uplift, moralize, show sentiment, to document, judge, reaffirm, and to entertain. The songs also helped people deal with new technology—as reflected in popular songs about the train, such as *Life is like a Mountain Railroad*, or about the telephone, such as *Royal Telephone*. The songs that deal with occupation or death often end with a moral. *Cherry River Line* tells of the loneliness of the logger's life and his unrequited love. The coal mining songs deal with the danger inherent in the occupation and attempt to deal with oppression of the miners by the owner class. David Morris defined the songs as metaphors that instruct those of the Mountain Culture how to deal with social, moral, and spiritual issues. He stated:

The songs are metaphors for life. That's what makes them valid today. We might not be a sailor, coal miner, railroad engineer or drive steel in a tunnel, but the songs not only tell us about what happened to the people who wrote the songs or those they were written about but in those songs,

we see a reflection of our own struggles. In this day and age, there are millions of *John Henry* [s] that have lost their jobs due to the advance of technology. There are thousands of people who lose their lives due to occupational hazards. There are songs about children and women being murdered. That's one of the biggest world wide problems we have today. People who lived in this traditional culture did not want these subjects to be swept under the rug. Lacking the media and technology which is at the command of people today, they used the only means they had to tell what happened and wrote songs about it, to warn others. Ancient ballads like *Tam Lane* deals with premarital sex, illegitimate pregnancy, abortion, witchcraft, sin, and redemption. A story such as the one in *Tam Lane* does not survive in an oral tradition from the middle ages until today if it is not about things in which people have an interest. This next thought is not original with me, it may have been Dr. Patrick Gainer or Mark Moore of Denver, Colorado, who said, "these songs aren't good because they're old, they are old because they're good." These ballads, folk songs, are a documentation of everything, good or bad, that we as human beings have ever thought or felt or done. They are the story of the people. They are as immediate and valuable today as the first time they were sung because as human beings, no matter our culture or the age in which we live we have not changed. I believe they are particularly valuable as a starting place for discussion of today's issues with the young. (Interview, November 1993)

Wilson Douglas described how creating Mountain Cultural arts develops an ethereal experience that transports the artists to a level of existence beyond the physical plane. He stated:

I don't hardly know how to word this—what little I've learned about playing the fiddle, I came up through the hedges, believe me, through the tall ones—and what I've learned, it was dear to me and what I comprehended from the old-timers I have computerized it in my mind—I do not waver from my mountain heritage or the way I was taught— [among that] bunch of musicians it is a heartfelt thing. It's not a business thing. Do you follow me? [yes, said the interviewer] Like I've said, when you're having a nice jam session or a nice dancing session, like we [Wilson Douglas, Kim Johnson, and interviewer] had last night, there's no problems. You're not worrying about that—your responsibility. You're free. It's good for the morale. Believe me. It's good—the best therapy in the world. I don't know what your belief is, Christianity. I don't know what it is. I don't care. But, I am a firm believer in Jesus Christ, and I think what we had last night over there for that hour, that jam session, we were hearing a sound of music and a sound of dancing like was done in the old days. As far as I'm concerned, whether you realize it or not, now, you're an educated lady, we were in another world that thirty minutes. We were in another plateau. Or the—I'll get it in a minute, the twilight zone. And as far as I'm concerned we were as close to Jesus Christ as anybody can get. Now that's the way I feel about it. (Interview, May 1994)

In the descriptions of their art forms, the artists articulated various forms of connections, emotions, community, spirituality, and/or etherealness. The Mountain Cultural artists share their aesthetic response with their audience, and with each other. Although it is personally gratifying, it is the process of sharing and communicating that motivates their production.

Seminal Seeds

Language is not mere words but also an internal way of describing one's life and world. Those of the same culture understand the unspoken subtleties of the language. Language conveys values, beliefs, ideas, traditions, and emotions. Culture dictates or reflects the rules and patterns which are concrete manifestations of its spiritual constructs and power relationships. Cultural language excludes those who are not of a particular culture. Thus, miscommunication is inevitable.

The artists of the Mountain Culture are enmeshed in a relationship with and connection to their history. Their own story is an important element of their art form. Philosopher David Novitz (1992) contends that art is a relationship between life and self. He views art as not only a reflection of life but also something that influences life. He views the story as a part of the art and writes:

It is not just that we have "images," "pictures," and "views" of ourselves which are more or less "balanced," "colorful," or "unified," but that we also have "stories" and "narratives" to tell about our lives which both shape and convey our sense of self. (1992, 86)

The story cannot be separated from the form. The story connects aspects of media, artists, culture, time, place, and observer for the purpose of understanding, appreciating, and communicating. Through the story, those of the culture affirm themselves. Those not of the culture seek to learn how to view the works and culture. The story translates the language to some outsiders, transcends the understanding of others, and to the Mountain Cultural artists is an affirmation that connects individuals, communities, and history through the mountain art. Because the story is the voice of the people in their language, it should be their own and not an "expert's" interpretation that represents them to the world at large. The interpretation, which includes outsiders' biases and the view of other

cultures, is cluttered and the original intent of the artist is lost. The stories, history, culture, and arts are misconstrued by ethnocentricity. This can be compared to a primary source and secondary source. In research it is important to use the primary source as often as possible because a secondary source contains the author's biases and an interpretation of the primary source. This is true of institutions in which outsiders chose themselves as representatives of a culture. The Mountain Culture's seminal seeds have productive and reproductive power; the colonizers' hybrid seeds can only produce cloned imitations. Cultural colonialism reduces the Mountain Culture to a style that is produced from hybrid seeds. This is a culture-altering phenomenon which has and will, if continued, reshape what is transferred to succeeding generations. This outsider "product" is shallow and misunderstood by those who attempt to control it and will be meaningless to those who have been cheated of their birthright. Due to institutional policies, future generations of Mountain Cultural people are in danger of losing the knowledge of who they were and are, and of being deprived of the means to combat and resist.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Harvest

In the cabin,
the fire burning,
Dave fiddling.
The bottle hanging between hands.
(Just a spoonful, boys.)
The worn wood curve of the cane
dark-stained from the oil
of the old man's hand.
Sherman laughing,
his crackling eyes
choreographing fire-dancing, diamond notes
shot from Tim's vibrant banjo,
Mike's breathless mandolin.

(Excerpt from the poem *In the Cabin* by Kirk Judd)

Modernization, cultural colonialization, commodification of the cultural arts, perpetuation of stereotypes, and the decline of grassroots projects have widely separated the once tightly knit communities. The artists I interviewed stated that the breakdown of community systems has decreased exposure of their art forms and has adversely affected the transference of their art form to the next generation. The decline of the strength of the community has increased the power of the institutions to select venues, transfer opportunities, and publicly expose their version of mountain art forms. In Chapters Two and Three, I established that certain institutions tend to use more outsiders than insiders for teachers. The art forms that are shown and the classes that are taught do not represent the wishes of those of the Mountain Culture. Mountain Cultural artists believe their culture and art are disappearing. In this chapter, I will examine how modernization, educational systems, and the effect of stereotypes continue to serve institutions in the process of cultural colonialization of the Mountain Culture and their arts.

Modernization

On April 2, 1994, the first symposium on the History and Culture of Southwest Virginia was held. The key speaker was Ronald Eller, Director of the Appalachian Center of the University of Kentucky. He identified modernization as weakening the traditional Appalachian ties of kinship and community because mountain people have misinterpreted the short-term growth as being long-term sustainable development. The dependence on cultural institutions to fund grassroots community projects and the subsequent decrease of funds have left communities, for the past ten years, unable to serve their own needs and culture. Festivals that began locally and which were conducted for the community are now faced with the necessity to draw larger crowds in order to subsidize festival expenses. In order to attract a larger audience, entertainers with recognizable names and crafters from outside areas are used, and artists in the community are left out. An example of this is the Sternwheel Regatta in Charleston, West Virginia. At its inception during the early 1970s, local musicians performed; today, local musicians are rarely seen.

Historically, the nurturing and transference of the cultural arts occurred within the community and home. Artists grew up observing, experiencing, living with the culture's arts. The art forms were valued and that value has always been a motivational factor for the transference of the culture and arts. The elders were not only the teachers of the art form but the source of cultural wisdom. Mack Samples echoes this:

As I recall the day when I learned to play instruments, I would sit in with uncles, cousins, all the people who played. Just get that old guitar and sit in there and make mistakes and get scolded and just tough it out. I've watched my kids do the same thing. That's what I think it's all about. My daughter and my son, they've been a part of it since they could hear, as I was. They

have watched me and listened to me and watched my brothers and my dad's brother, all the people play and dance and carry on. It just becomes a part of them I think. The idea of the [West Virginia State] Folk Festival was to bring all these musicians to town who pretty much know each other anyway, and have been friends for years. They don't get a chance to get together except at something like this. Give them a little bit of money to eat on and a place to sleep and just let them play. And the culture will be transmitted. (Interview, October 1993)

The artists I interviewed spoke about the relationship between home and community. Bobby Taylor, Mike Bing, John Brock, John Morris, David Morris, and Doug Van Gundy discussed their early experiences as children, watching family and community members gather to play music, dance, and create visual forms of the Mountain Culture. The community was an extension of home. Celebrations and social gatherings, such as festivals, jam sessions, quilting bees, and square dances, bonded their communities. Each artist I interviewed stated that the seminal seed was planted by observing and experiencing the cultural arts as a child. The art forms transcended the generation gap and created a multi-generational community. This system has been in place since the area known now as West Virginia was settled by Europeans. It is this type of community that created the bond of the insiders and their resistance to outsiders. If colonizers weaken or exterminate the traditional community system, further decay of the culture is inevitable and resistance will eventually be non-existent.

Most communities are no longer isolated, and although many members do not remain within specific geographic boundaries, they still strive to maintain community ties. Geographic scattering has quickened the breakdown of the community bond and relationships. In the past, communities were geographically isolated due to mountainous terrain. The residents were accessible to one another for social and cultural exchange on a continuous

basis. Today, communities are geographically accessible, but the residents are becoming more isolated from each other. Social and cultural exchanges are sporadic and are being replaced by the dominant culture, via television. David Trend explored the concept of community change in many cultures and stated:

Historic markers of community such as class and geography are gradually being supplanted in an era of mass consumption and high-tech communication. To a certain extent communities are all held together by the various products they buy and see, as well as the desires these commodities create and satisfy. (199, 101)

Communities in West Virginia were held together by the bonds of resistance to outsiders' culture, the arts, class distinction, values, and belief systems. Today, television has begun to replace community social gatherings. If, as Trend states, communities are held together by what is seen and bought, this could explain the increase of the dominant culture's art forms in community activities. Today, the Mountain Cultural arts are not reflected through television. Since television has been present since the end of World War II, why is change in communities occurring now?

The artists I interviewed spoke about television shows that served as role models, influenced them, and reflected what was in the home and community. Bobby Taylor recalls, "I would watch the *Sleepy Jeffers Show* and he had a fiddler, Slim Davis, who played on there and Mike Humphries even played on that show. It was a local show. I was about fourteen" (Interview, October 1994). The mountain people have seen their culture and art reflected on television and the change in the representation of their culture from the 1950s well into the 1970s. Today, Mountain Culture and arts are no longer a part of regular television programming. In Chapter Two, Mark Payne explained how local television shows countered the stereotypic network shows and provided access to a wider range of artists than he would have been exposed to in his community. Through local shows, his knowledge base of West

Virginia Mountain artists was expanded, and that increased the value he placed on the art and influenced his playing style. The show to which he referred was hosted by David and John Morris. David Morris stated:

We had a show that ran fifteen weeks, thirty minute segments, Channel 4, WOAY [ABC affiliate], Oak Hill in 1974 or 75. To this day, if I'm in the area that Channel 4 covers chances are someone will recognize me from that long ago. That little effort we made there had a tremendous impact on the public and on young people as an inspiration. One of the things we must do today to develop an audience is get on television. If you're on TV for thirty minutes, you can have the potential to reach 100,000 people from a local station. If you are playing in the venues left for traditional musicians, it'll take you ten years to reach 100,000 people. The answer is not documentary films but being seen as performers of a living art form. (Interview, November 1993)

Mountain Cultural artists have always used the means which were available to reach an audience: festivals, social gatherings, radio, and television. This utilization greatly benefited the artists during the 1940s, '50s, '60s, and '70s but today, the limited media time and the sporadic and marginal exposure given to the Mountain Cultural art forms has created change. Local television programming of Mountain Culture has virtually disappeared and has been replaced with dominant popular culture. The conservative political movement, which was fronted by Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, decreased funding for grassroots projects, which, for the Mountain Culture, adversely affected television programming. Without grants, local programming became limited. Most national television reflects the monolithic culture, which furthers the conservative agenda to eliminate diversity. Without grants, local programming is extremely limited. Instilling a common culture annihilates the Mountain Culture and its resistance to change. In so doing, nothing is left to challenge the cultural colonialists' power.

The Mountain Culture and its art is being replaced with a value system expressed through dominant popular culture. Television is one vehicle which has accelerated the annihilation process. Advertisements, programming, class, cultural, and racial choices can subtly influence marginalized groups to believe that the answer to their problems is to become like the television characters created by dominant white culture. The marginalized groups are pacified with the presentation of class, cultural or racial diversity, but the values and belief systems portrayed by the characters are from the dominant culture. Since watching television is one of the main activities in which people engage, it is not surprising that community festivals reflect the dominant culture and exclude the Mountain Cultural art forms. There has also been a drop in the attendance at community festivals that continue to present Mountain Cultural arts. Many such festivals, when faced with declining revenues, elected to cease operation rather than change direction. This is a good example of Trend's assertion that technology influences not only what people see but what they want. If Mountain Cultural arts are seen less and less, the demand decreases and there is a corresponding increase in dependence on the institutions that purport to support these arts.

An example of this is Marlinton, West Virginia's *Pioneer Days Festival*. This festival originally developed as a grassroots project to celebrate the Mountain Culture through music, dance, occupations, crafts, and food. Today, the traditional food has been replaced by modern, generic vending booths, most of which are owned by the mayor of the town. The locally produced mountain crafts have been replaced with slick, crafts magazine art. The music presented is bluegrass, rock and roll, and country with a corresponding change in dance forms. The Mountain Cultural musicians are included only because grants are available, but they are placed at the football stadium, well away from the other activities. The community reflects that to which it is regularly exposed.

David Morris, festival producer for the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority, tells the story of his involvement with that organization's community festivals:

Let's take a look at the community festival program that was started three years ago to enhance the entertainment package that local festivals would be able to offer. This program was also to begin the outreach from the Parkways into the communities. Go out into the community, create goodwill and then bring the communities into other Parkway activities. When I was selected to produce these shows, I was told—and the Festival representatives were told—that this was a pilot program and if it was successful and everyone was pleased with it, it would continue. Subsequently, I passed this along to the performers. We contributed to two community plays and booked shows which featured country, rock and roll, blues, bluegrass mountain music and dance, poets, and actors. They [Parkways] took care of booking crafters. The first year we received fifty thousand dollars and funded events in ten locations. They collected between seventy and ninety responses to a questionnaire, and it was found to be 100% positive. The only thing the communities wanted was some help in advertising, which is very expensive and hard to do. The second year, we were reduced from ten locations to five which utilized the package I created. Parkways gave several locations five thousand dollars to use as they saw fit, be it for advertising or hot air balloons or marketing water. This benefited the community, but in most cases artists were not hired. The third year, it was discontinued. Looking back, I don't think it was ever about the things they first proclaimed. I now believe it was generating some positive publicity in those communities because the Parkways Authority is constantly under fire by the media and there is a lot of

resentment in the communities because of the arrogance with which they conduct themselves. Once they got the legislature off their backs and the first appropriation of seven million dollars was made to start building the Tamarack Center, the communities were forgotten and local artists' jobs were lost. The performers worked for bottom of the barrel wages to do this because we were told if we did it for low fees and it was successful, the money would increase. We lived up to our bargain, Parkways did not. We were used to generate positive publicity. The other aspects of the project were a sham. Cela Burge [Director] told me the reason they didn't do it this year was because they didn't have any money. These are the same people who are spending thirty million dollars on the Tamarack project, fifteen million dollars on the building, fifteen million dollars on a road they don't need, and one hundred thousand to a consulting outfit to tell them how to stock their shelves. Everyone involved in this, the performers and technicians, lost wages and exposure, the communities lost great performers which were a tourist draw, and Parkways lost the trust of all these people and the goodwill they were starting to build. I hope the performers understand that I did not lie to them to get them to accept low wages. I was only telling them what I had been told. When I think of the good it did in the communities and how devastated these festivals were when they were not given this help again, it makes me angry. Add to this the fact that the festivals were not notified when the project was canceled. By the time I found out and told them what had happened they were at a great disadvantage in trying to raise funds. I am still involved with two of the festivals. One of them raised seven hundred dollars for three days. The other could not find any money so the artists are playing for nothing, hoping to keep the event going for at least this year. Cela Burge blamed the

communities for the loss, saying “They didn’t ask for it.” They never asked for it in the first place. They [community festival directors] were called in and told what they were going to get. We don’t have the power to make them live up to their word, but now their word has no power. (Interview, November 1993)

In three years, the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority, went through the stages of colonialization that took Augusta Heritage Center and the Department of Culture and History twenty years of colonizing the culture and the arts to accomplish. In 1992, Tamarack was projected to be a Folk Arts Center with an apprentice program, which was reflected in the emphasis on funding community projects. In 1993, emphasis was placed on serving any need the communities had and on stressing diversity which had always been a part of the entertainment programming. Cela Burge would not have been aware of the impact the programming had on the communities, since neither she nor any member of her staff attended the functions. In 1994, the Parkways’ power was secured by policy and the Tamarack Center was no longer to be a Folk Arts Center but was by then emphasizing only *high quality crafts*. Funding for performing artists and community festivals disappeared.

The Parkways’ discontinuation of funding is not about a lack of money, it is about priorities. Their concern for the performing arts, communities, and West Virginia was a priority only when it served their institutional needs. Positive publicity was a crucial component in keeping the State Legislature from putting Turnpike revenue into road or school building projects. Once that threat was defeated, funding for the Folk Arts Specialist, Danny Williams, West Virginia Community Festival program, and mountain community theater productions was dropped. The two festivals which were hit the hardest by the discontinuation of funding are being supported by Mountain Cultural artists who are performing for little or nothing. Without the support of these artists, the two festivals would have had little or no

artistic presentations. The artists do not want to lose two more festivals in what is already a declining number of venues.

The decline of the traditional community has been accelerated by the lack of value placed on the culture, not only by the saturation of the dominant culture on television but also by the continual perpetuation of the stereotypic image. The use of the stereotypic image contributes to the abandonment of the culture by mountain youths as they embrace the dominant culture, and further serves to establish the monolithic culture. A basic tenet of colonialism is that a people removed from their individuality, culture, and tradition of resistance are easier to control.

Due to inroads made by the dominant culture and by institutions controlled by outsiders, the decline of the Mountain Culture has been accelerating for twenty years. Therefore, the youth are farther and farther removed from their cultural base, yet the idea of escaping from their home state remains due to their internalization of negative stereotypes. In conversations with students in West Virginia schools, many of them mentioned a desire to leave the state. One teenager stated he was tired of the looks and stupid remarks people made to him when he said he was from West Virginia. The youth no longer has cultural grounding that is needed to resist colonizers or the support to remain committed to place. Many of those who don't leave take on the trappings of the dominant culture in order to blend in and make it appear that they are not of the stereotypic *other*.

Many cultures in the United States have resisted the monolithic culture. The use of terms such as *African-American*, and *Japanese American* identifies roots and denotes inclusion. Appalachians are not ethnic and are often mistaken by outsiders as a sub-division of the dominant culture. This thought is expressed in the anthropologists' and sociologists' classification of cultures such as Appalachians and Cajuns as a sub-culture, while the ethnic groups are first considered individual cultures and then as a part of the dominant culture. West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists do not consider themselves to be a *sub-culture* and

resent the term. An element of the Mountain Culture, from the beginning of its existence, has been to remain separated from outsiders' values and belief systems. Plainly stated, those of the Mountain Culture have strived to be left alone. The colonizers are able to execute culturecide and have it placidly accepted by members of the dominant culture who mistakenly see Appalachians as an ignorant, low class, backward version of themselves.

Education

The stereotype has been carried into the educational system. One school in Raleigh County, as a homage to their Mountain Culture, celebrates *Hillbilly Days*. Teachers, staff, and students dress in bib overalls with red handkerchiefs, and female students fashion their hair in pigtailed. A Mountain Cultural musician was hired to perform which implies that the music he plays is *hillbilly*. When asked by the artist what is a hillbilly, the students demonstrated a *Real McCoy* walk and spoke in a slow *Hee Haw* dialect. The realization that this was a stereotype of their own culture had not occurred to them. It would seem that the school administrators are ignorant of their culture, have internalized the stereotype, and in the process have devalued the culture they meant to honor.

Jim Wayne Miller, professor of English at Western Kentucky University, states that schoolchildren in West Virginia have more exposure to other cultures than their own. He states, "Lack of knowledge about the area's history helps perpetuate negative stereotypes about the region's mountain people" (Associated Press, July 28, 1994, 7A). Among the reasons given are lack of teacher training. Danny Williams, who has taught a variety of Appalachian topics at the university level, shared his history experience as a student:

I grew up in Wayne County and went to school there and West Virginia History was taught in 5th, 6th, and 8th grade. It was the dullest goddamn thing ever. The succession of the governors and there are an average of 217

grasshoppers per square yard in West Virginia. You know, it's just stuff. Just things. Bits. The teachers were handed this book and were told "For the next six weeks you're going to deal with West Virginia history." You know, they weren't shown anything. (Interview, December 1993)

Williams brings to attention two issues. The first is lack of teacher training, and second, the lack of value placed on presenting West Virginia history. In 1992, the West Virginia Department of Education developed content objectives that correspond with the West Virginia Educational Personnel Content Tests. The areas are Reading, Language Arts, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Health, Physical Education, Fine Arts, Performing Arts, and Professional Knowledge. The objectives correspond with required educational college courses and educational objectives for the public school system. The objectives for West Virginia History, which fall within the area of Social Studies, are:

- 5.26 Identify major land features and bodies of water of West Virginia.
- 5.27 Compare major regions and cities in West Virginia.
- 5.28 Identify natural resources of West Virginia and/or their uses.
- 5.29 Analyze the impact of major figures and/or events during the early history of West Virginia.
- 5.30 Analyze the impact of major figures and/or events in West Virginia during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods.
- 5.31 Analyze the impact of major figures and/or events in West Virginia since the post-Civil War period.
- 5.32 Analyze factors that have affected the economic development of West Virginia.
- 5.33 Identify major characteristics or institutions of culture, the arts, and/or recreation in West Virginia. (West Virginia Department of Education 1992, 25-26)

For this study, I was interested in objective 5.33 and how it was met within the college/university courses required of education majors. I chose K-8th grade because the state requires West Virginia History to be taught at least one semester during those nine years. I chose to examine the three top producers of elementary education teachers which are West Virginia University, Marshall University, and Glenville State College. Each higher learning facility is required by the state to identify courses that meet the above objectives. I requested from the state the documents from the college/universities that identified courses that satisfied the 5.33 objective. The higher education departments published the following courses as meeting the requirements of objective 5.33 :

West Virginia University - West Virginia History 153

Marshall University - Social Studies, General History 207, Social Studies, West Virginia History, Geography, and Government 403, and World Geography Problems 317

Glenville State College - Social Studies 314 (Department of Education, 1992)

I called the three institutions for a description of the courses and text books used. The course descriptions did not state that major characteristics or institutions of culture, the arts, and recreation in West Virginia are a part of the courses. When I specifically asked the Education Departments' representatives about the 5.33 objective, the response was that they had no knowledge of that specific objective. Two universities require a class in West Virginia History. In reviewing required texts for the courses, the information on cultures in West Virginia was presented in the context of the past which does not meet the State required 5.33 objective. Prospective teachers receive little or no education regarding cultures or arts in West Virginia nor preparation in how such information may be taught to students in a meaningful way.

The lack of teacher training also stems from a decrease of advocates. Jim Andrews, former Director of Arts and Humanities Section, and Norman Fagan, former Commissioner of the Department of Culture and History, maintained the cultural inclusion within the Department of Education. Patrick Gainer, Professor of English at Glenville State College and West Virginia University, Ruth Ann Musick, Professor of English at Fairmont College, and Louise McNeill, Professor of English at Concord College maintained a cultural inclusion at the college/university level in the educational process of education majors.

There is no state mandate that requires West Virginia History to be taught in certain grades. The requirement is one semester by eighth grade. Kirk Judd's analysis of the system is :

My whole background in West Virginia history was my eighth grade year. My oldest daughter's whole background of West Virginia history through the school system was eighth grade year. My youngest daughter's whole background in West Virginia history, through the school system, was eighth grade year. That's when they teach West Virginia history. That's it. They don't teach it through grade school. They don't teach it beyond the eighth grade. Every eighth grader in this state gets their shot at West Virginia history in the eighth grade, gets their shot at the Golden Horseshoe test, and if they win they get a set of West Virginia encyclopedias and that's it. That's a crock. We ought to be cranking these kids up from the get-go. They ought to be exposed to everything West Virginian from the time they enter the school system and the state should be putting a lot of effort into that. Arts in education is extremely important, and they get some arts but they don't get West Virginia culture and history in their education and West Virginia culture and history is the art of their history. The stories of West Virginia are beautiful stories, and should be told at a very early age. Every kid in West

Virginia should know who Lewis Wetzel was, should know the story of Simon Kenton camping on the Kanawha. I mean, I shouldn't have had to research that and find that out by reading books written about West Virginia by someone else [outsider]. I should have known that in school and every school child should know a deep background of West Virginia history. Consequently, they will become, as I was, more exposed to the arts and the culture of West Virginia. That will breed what you see here [West Virginia Arts Conference]. That will breed. That will self-perpetuate. People who are exposed to art will become artists. I mean, that's what happened to me. That's what happened to you [referring to interviewer]. That's what happened to every artist. No one just grew up and said, "Well, I'm going to write poetry," or "I'm going to sing songs," or "I'm going to dance." It's because you were exposed to that and we're not exposing these kids to that. (Interview, December 1993)

The West Virginia Department of Education Program of Study and Instructional Goals and Objectives for Social Studies of West Virginia require the following:

Level 4 - History is used to relate the past to the present, concentrating on culture and heritage. (1992,119)

Level 5 - Demonstrate an understanding of our early history, focusing upon the period from discovery and exploration, colonization, the American Revolutionary War, the Establishment of a federal system of government under the Constitution, through the Industrial Revolution.

Level 8 - At this level students learn to describe and analyze: the political process in forming the state; its rich cultural heritage; the economic development of the state and, present and future career opportunities within the state. (1992, 169)

In one of the current West Virginia history books, *Horizons of West Virginia*, the authors, David A. Bice and Helen E. Jones, have made a few changes in the new edition. The book now explains oral history and how information is collected. Native Americans are shown to have played a more active role in West Virginia history. Previous texts portrayed the Native Americans' involvement and occupation of the land as sporadic and only in terms of *war, hunting, and traveling*. Louise McNeill's poetry is used to tell about an early event and a few works of Ruth Ann Musick's collection of stories are used. The text does not include biographical information about these women and their importance to West Virginia. The Mountain Culture and the art forms are presented in the past-tense in a chapter called "Reliving the Past." The following is an example of how the Mountain Cultural arts are described:

Festivals and celebrations help us remember the past. Museums and libraries may have displays of handmade quilts, furniture, or tools used by pioneer families; and headdresses, tools, and pottery made by native Americans. People in some communities dress in clothing styles of long ago. They entertain visitors by making soap in large kettles over open fires or by scraping hides to make leather. Others work as blacksmiths hammering hot metal into useful tools. Still others spin wool into yarn and weave cloth on large wooden looms. (Bice, Jones 1991,131)

The formation of the Mountain Culture is not mentioned, and, like the cultural institutions the authors of the text refer to the cultural arts within the context of the past as something to be observed rather than practiced. Studying the culture would provide a format of discourse to deconstruct the master narrative. In college and public school courses and texts, the voices of the Mountain people are excluded; and because institutions that control such discourses are not mandated to internally interrogate ideology, the voices of contemporary Mountain Cultural people are inevitably excluded, and their status, historically

and politically, is denied. This, in turn, reinforces the culturicide of West Virginia Mountain Cultural people. David Trend (1992) addressed this on a national level and concluded that such conservatives as Ronald Reagan and William Bennett were key players in keeping cultural diversity and multiple perspective history from the educational system. The choices influenced the school systems in progressing toward an inclusive and reflective ideology.

James Andrews, former Director of Arts and Humanities and Department of Education states the Golden Horseshoe Test was mandated to ensure that West Virginia history was taught. He stated that:

The launching of Sputnik caused government to mandate more time and allocate more money for the teaching of the sciences, reading, and math. Beginning in the 1960s, these subjects [West Virginia History and the arts] gradually began to lose number of minutes and number of teachers for instruction. This was the beginning of a decline of teaching the arts and subjects such as West Virginia History as part of the general education of all students. (Interview, November 1994).

What became clear in the interview with Andrews was that even though West Virginia History and cultural events were a part of the educational system, the programs had been in a decline since 1958. But the Department of Education was still co-sponsoring events in 1972, 1973, and 1974. An example of this was the Mountain Arts and Crafts Fair in Ripley, West Virginia. The focus of the 1972 fair was demonstrations and workshops. Cultural issues such as “What Makes A West Virginian?” were publicly discussed. Andrews and Fagan supported projects such as the “West Virginia Heritage Trunks” for use in the schools which were originally conceptualized by Dolly Sherwood of the Sunrise Museum, in Charleston. Another project, “The 100 Years of West Virginia History,” was created by Jim Comstock and reprinted by the Department of Culture and History for use by the Department of Education. “The important events in West Virginia History were presented as front page

newspaper headlines—one front page for each year” (Andrews, interview, November 1994). The Department of Education and Department of Culture of History had not forsaken the value of the Mountain Culture or learning about the arts of the Mountain Culture. In listening to Andrews talk about the programs, I realized the key to the Mountain Cultural inclusion in the 1970s was the fact that active advocates for Mountain Cultural arts were in positions of power. If not for people like Jim Andrews, Patrick Gainer, Ruth Ann Musick, Louise McNeill, Norman Fagan, and Jim Comstock the exclusion of the culture and artists would have occurred much sooner.

Art Education

In 1990, the National Endowment for the Arts and the West Virginia Commission of the Arts published a study on the status of arts education in West Virginia. The study concluded that no comprehensive arts program exists in West Virginia. In 1991, Governor Gaston Caperton organized the Arts Task Force, comprised of educators and artists of various disciplines. The duty of the Task Force was to explore ways by which the arts could be introduced in the public school system. As of 1995, little progress has been made. Classroom teachers desire to explore integration of the arts and team teaching. Arts specialists want to secure their positions and fear subject-matter integration. Artists want to be included; however, the Mountain Cultural artists were not mentioned or included on the Task Force or in the NEA report.

Federal funding for arts in education has increased from \$352,200 in 1984 to \$710,000 in 1994, but West Virginia's grant dollars have decreased. In 1984, West Virginia was twelfth in the nation per capita for spending and legislative appropriation for the arts. As of 1994, West Virginia had dropped to forty-fourth. Low legislative appropriation for arts only compounds the already complicated exclusion of the Mountain Cultural arts and artists. One

of the colonizers' rationales for exclusion of the Mountain Culture and arts is that the school system is preparing students for the future economic development of West Virginia. Arts in general are seen as an unimportant component of the educational system. The Mountain Culture and arts are not a part of the system because the educational representatives of today assume the Mountain Culture is in the past and is therefore not relevant for the students' future.

In 1993, an Arts Advocacy organization was formed in West Virginia. This organization recognized the Mountain Cultural arts in a press release which stated, "Study, preservation, and practice of traditional arts and crafts—an important part of West Virginia culture—aid in maintaining links with past values and building pride in our state" (Mozier 1994). The recognition was admirable but ironic considering that the Department of Education does not include the cultural arts in the state curriculum. A day of lobbying the legislature to restore the arts budget to its 1991 level was planned by the Arts Advocacy organization and supported by the Department of Culture and History. On February 3, 1994, over fifty artists, approximately sixteen of whom were practitioners of Mountain Cultural arts, attended the event. By attending, the Mountain Cultural artists showed their desire to be included in advocacy activities and that their concerns run in tandem with all art forms.

The Department of Arts and Humanities' editor of *Art Works* wrote an article on the day long event, but the pictorial coverage was given only to the fine artists. The Mountain Cultural artists were mentioned as having attended. Their voice, lobbying efforts, and art were ignored. The editor stated:

Artists who displayed their painting and photography around the second floor rotunda were similarly challenged by insufficient lighting and by the occasional observer who hoped to squeeze past the easels to lean over the banister and enjoy the work of traditional musicians or, later, the West Virginia State College Jazz Ensemble. "Nothing was broken," reported Elaine

Wine, one of more than 40 artists who'd brought work to display. (Sherwood 1994,12)

This was the only mention of Mountain Cultural artists in a two page article. I asked this editor if I could write an article which would seek to rectify the exclusion his department had displayed. We agreed that my article would not be turned into a letter to the editor which was what had occurred to an article on the same topic by Kirk Judd. I was told not to concentrate on Mountain Cultural arts because articles had to be of interest to everyone. He did not see the contradiction his terms displayed. On one hand the Mountain Cultural arts have been reduced to a style by his department, yet the style cannot have a separate voice or form such as other art forms are afforded by the periodical.

I delivered the article a month before press time and was told it was well written, but there was no space for it unless he presented it as a letter to the editor. I refused and a heated discussion followed regarding the original terms of agreement. The article was printed in its entirety on the Forum page which removed it from editorial approval. Other articles had the by-line and credentials of the authors at the beginning of the articles. Only my name was placed at the end of the article which made it appear as if I had written a letter to the editor.

Censorship, silencing, exclusion, and historical placing are techniques of culturicide. The educational system and the cultural institutions are a part of the same governmental system. The State of West Virginia is and has long been governed by colonizers. Colonialism in West Virginia began with the coal and timber industries and was later followed by the oil, gas, and chemical companies. The colonial owners run the politics in West Virginia. They are not of the Mountain Culture but instead own the mountains. Bill Drennen, Commissioner of Culture and History, is the son of a coal operator. Lakin Cook's father, Charles Jones, owns coal mines and barges. The policies and funding for educational programs are determined by these people and as Kirk Judd stated:

I have had some problems with the state in that--I have problems with all bureaucracies in that they are inefficient and they're double-speak and they don't think like I do. But, the other problem I have is the carpetbagging. I see very many people from outside the state in positions of administration in this state and in positions of administering the arts and humanities of the state. That bothers me because I'm very strong in the traditional background of art and culture of this state. I don't think that's who should be running it.

(Interview, December 1993)

Historically, this has been labeled as a class difference. I contend that it is a cultural difference which is created by class. The colonialists' values, belief systems, history, and community are different than those of the Mountain Culture. Class becomes a culture when its prerogatives go beyond monetary considerations. When the Mountain Cultural artists described their culture, they spoke about a oneness with the land. As one artist put it, what is done to the land, it's done to me (Judd 1993). Bill Drennen, Governor Gaston Caperton, and Lakin Cook come from a culture that exploits and destroys the land; they value the land only for what can be removed and turned into monetary wealth.

In 1991 the West Virginia Department of Education, Division of Art Education with funding from National Endowment for the Arts, created an art curriculum called *West Virginia Museum Resources for Teaching Art*. The package includes a curriculum book, video of works of art, and slides. The section on crafts is not about West Virginia but about the American Craft Movement. When I asked Victoria Fergus, the designer and co-writer of this project, why the Mountain Cultural arts were not part of the book, she stated they did the best they could (West Virginia Arts Conference 1993). In print it is stated:

The unit is just a small introduction into a few crafts and functional items that exemplify objects in West Virginia's cultural heritage. All these items are

located in the Oglebay Mansion Museum in Wheeling. (West Virginia Department of Education 1991, 187)

The slides and video show works from Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, and West Virginia. Mountain Cultural arts are not shown but rather depictions are given of an elite form of crafts that has come to West Virginia from other locations. It is clear that the State does not understand or want the Mountain Culture and the cultural art forms as part of the system.

Some schools still project a pride in their mountain heritage and show it by their efforts to include Mountain Cultural programs. There are schools that have heritage activities utilizing local and regional artists, even though it is not required nor are such activities a part of the Department of Education's Social Studies or Arts curricula. Cultural programs are not being offered consistently. The schools that do offer cultural programming do so without support from state curricula. These isolated events are not enough. These representations dehistoricize and depoliticize the Mountain Culture. Excluding the culture and its struggles from the history of the state continues the cultural colonialism. Institutional representatives re-define history and ignore the injustice and exploitation that is a part of the culture and heritage. The educational system is inadequate for many mountain children and does not serve their right for historical and cultural knowledge and recognition of their cultural tradition. It is the responsibility of administrators and teachers to make knowledge relevant and meaningful. This cannot be done without state curricula support or by romanticizing or eliminating the history of the culture. The demeaning representation of the culture in a past tense makes it a relic and no more compelling to learn about than the dates or number of grasshoppers the artists commented upon.

Education is one avenue through which heritage is perpetuated. If language and traditions are not a part of the educational system, or if a stereotypical version is taught as in the case of *Hillbilly Day*, both heritage and tradition are devalued. The colonizer replaces the

traditions, values, and belief system with those of the dominant culture. Education benefits the colonized only to the extent that it meets the colonizers' needs (Atback,1978). Schools in the United States have been built on that ideology. Inequality in education, poor distribution of goods, educational tracking, romanticized history, and culturally inappropriate teaching methods continue the cultural stratification. The colonizers' children are prepared to be the next generation of rulers, and the colonized children are prepared to be ruled.

In 1994, the West Virginia Department of Humanities funded a summer workshop project on folklore for public school educators at Fairmont State College. The overall goal was to prepare teachers to integrate culture, history, art, and lore of West Virginia Mountain Culture into their classroom units. The project was directed by Noel Tenny and Dr. Judy Byers. The results are being published in a magazine called *Traditions*. The articles are written by teachers who share lessons they have taught in their classrooms. While reviewing the first three issues, I noted that the bibliographies were from the book *Mountain Heritage*, published in 1980. Judy Byers contributed a chapter to this anthology. This book was one of the first attempts by insiders to address their own Mountain Culture. The foundation of the book was on past research done by outsiders. Current anthologies such as *Appalachian Studies* have included information that was not previously recorded and have not focused so narrowly on the Scotch-Irish derivatives as this earlier work. *Mountain Heritage* is a romantic stereotype and tends to stereotype the Mountain Culture. This is the view that Byers and Tenney have perpetuated. This dated ideology serves the colonizer because it removes the history, struggles, oppression, colonialization, and resistance of the Mountain Culture and replaces it with a stereotypical, patronizing, token representation which serves the educational system's agenda of disarming the culture and keeping it in the past.

The educational rights of many mountain children are not being met because teaching methods suitable for the white middle class are employed in the public school system. Mislabeling often occurs. Labels such as *behavior disordered*, *troublemakers*, and *slow* are

many times metaphors for resisters. One Mountain Cultural artist (name withheld upon request), who has a teaching degree, volunteered to work with children who had been described as *slow, stubborn, and troublemakers*. He found that the boys placed in his care were from the Mountain Culture and were not intentionally trying to cause problems. They did not understand the system in which they were required to perform. The artist began weekly visits, serving as a positive male role model of the Mountain Culture. He talked with them about the culture and the importance of self esteem and cultural pride and taught them ballads and banjo. With the support of parents, he took the boys to festivals to introduce them to other Mountain Cultural artists. He included them on an album as singers. The improved attitude, self esteem, and in-school cooperation of the boys was noted and as soon as they met the school's behavioral objectives the volunteer program was discontinued. The artist was no longer seen as a necessary player in the boys' education nor in the school system. The artist's efforts at least influenced one group of boys, some of whom are still actively pursuing the cultural arts. Others, such as the one I encountered at a grocery store in Marlinton, West Virginia, know the difference between his Mountain Culture and the dominant culture. The artist had planted seminal seeds in spite of the school system.

When children are exposed to their cultural arts on a regular basis, it is likely an appreciation and understanding will develop. This exposure will produce the next generation of Mountain Cultural artists and audiences. Valuing the arts, self-directed identity, and pride in the culture will replace the negative stereotype and cultural colonialism. This exposure will place or maintain the culture in homes and communities for future generations.

According to Cela Burge, Director of Economic Development, education will be a part of the Tamarack's programming. Burge stated:

I think it's a really important part of it. I'm not sure of the form it's going to take, but one of the things that I've talked to you [author] about and Lisa McCracken and I talked about a lot, are things related to the kids. This is

the chance to really almost overdose kids on West Virginia and to try to develop some either summer programs or, almost like Camp Tamarack, that's what Lisa and I call it. Where kids are there and they learn and they see and they do and they get a crash course, I guess, in some of the things that you [author] had as a child and that I would have had as a child or know something about. (Interview, February 1994)

The unfocused image of Tamarack and the utilization of outsiders as artists leads me to wonder what Tamarack would offer as educational programming and to question what students would learn.

At the 1992 meeting with the Vandalia Gathering staff, artists asked for hands-on programs. The artists were told workshops did not work at the Vandalia Gathering Festival. The staff instituted a series of four or five workshops held throughout the year. The Vandalia Gathering Festival presents arts, crafts, music, dance, and storytelling. At the workshops, different art forms are presented on separate dates and the attendance has been low. The artists' purpose in wanting workshops at the Vandalia Gathering was based on cultural pedagogy—because they had learned through exposure, demonstration, and experience, they saw an opportunity to reach large numbers of people in a three day period. As the Vandalia Gathering is now structured, a child would see fiddle, banjo, dulcimer, and liars contests, bluegrass music, cloggers, British Isles dancing, and a quilt contest in a one day visit. Only by attending night concerts, can one experience the arts and artists in a non-contest setting. The contest format is not based on Mountain Cultural pedagogy, which includes participation, valuing diversity, and transference of cultural and historical knowledge. Contests promote exclusion, stratification, and judgment based on non-Mountain Cultural criteria. The spiritual ancestor of the Vandalia Gathering, the Morris Family Old-Time Music Festival, which was held in Ivydale, West Virginia from 1969 through 1973, did not have contests. Participants were urged to play with and for each other—not against each other.

The Division of Arts and Humanities Section's Director, Lakin Cook (1994) stated she is concerned with the status of arts in education. She recognizes the poor training of educators in the arts and the lack of funding. The Arts and Humanities Section does not accept funding from the NEA Folk Arts division. Cook defends this position by stating she wants to present folk art as equal to other art forms. Other styles and forms in West Virginia have funding organizations which are open to the artists such as Pollock-Krasner Foundation, Mid-Atlantic Arts, and Getty Foundation. The Mountain Cultural artists do not fit the criteria set forth by these organizations and do not qualify for funding. The main funding possibility available to them, the NEA Folk Arts program, is not sought by Arts and Humanities. This leaves the Mountain Cultural artists with little or no opportunity for visibility within the institutional arts organizations of the state. Stilling the voice of the Mountain Culture by limiting funding, further enhances the colonizers' power.

Margo Blevin, Director of Augusta Heritage Center, stated her concern for the education of youth and states what she would like to see in twenty years:

I see this wonderful re-birth in traditional music, and I see live old-time music radio programs, people listening to old-time music and I see kids in schools playing in little bands and all these schools having dulcimer bands, banjos, and fiddlers and the kids growing up and learning to play them. And I see maybe the revival of dance halls. I think that people are tired of everything being spoon fed to them over the television and they want to get back into doing it themselves and getting together and having some hot band play and everybody clogging. The big thing that has been weighing down lots of people, and I have been worrying about it for four to five years and all of a sudden I realize it's got to happen, all of a sudden these people who are Masters and Mentors in their 70s and 80s are going to be gone. Who's going to take their place? How many of the people in their 50s and 60s right now,

from here, are in the same category, the same class with them? Precious few. Bings, Morrises and people in that age group, there are not a lot of them playing music and there is a real gap, and I think we have to be thinking about that. I think we have to make sure that all those 15, 16, 17 year old kids—as many of them as possible—get to hear the Melvin Wines, Wilson Douglas, Glen Smiths as soon as they can and maybe it will take. (Interview, September 1993)

Blevin appears to recognize the Bings and Morrises for their talent in the cultural arts and the fact that there are few Mountain Cultural artists, but does not seem to see them as the source of transferring the art form to the next generation. Why? Is it the age factor? Does she think the elders were always old? What would the elders transfer that would be different from the Bings or Morrises? Earlier she stated that the elders cannot teach because they cannot simplify the tunes enough for beginners and now she states that they should be transferring their art form. David Morris stated, “these people are constantly being bitten in the ass by their contradictory statements” (Interview, November 1993).

Mere words and fond hopes do not establish policies. It is only through funding and commitment that change will occur. If Blevin were to create a program of objectives that could achieve her vision, who would be chosen to teach the forms? Augusta’s choice in using a majority of outsiders as teachers of Mountain Cultural art forms has already been established. Further liquidation of the Mountain Culture will devastate the arts. How would producing a generation of native artists and audience serve the institution? A cultural colonialist institution run by outsiders for outsiders, which does not distinguish a difference, will not bring about the next generation of resisters who could challenge colonizers’ authority and criteria.

If Mountain Cultural arts die, the institutions will remain by reproducing the cultural artifacts and will continue to present the culture in a museum showcase style. The Mountain

Culture is dying! This has been declared by outsiders for ninety-five years and in spite of the institutions, progress, and the stereotypes, the culture has adapted and survived because of the commitment and convictions of those in the culture. But, today, the Mountain Cultural artists I interviewed have a real fear that this time the culture and the arts are truly being lost.

Continuing to present the culture and its arts as an artifact will only speed the decline. Cultural colonialism breaks down tradition and community. Tradition is the key to shedding the stereotype by remembering similarities, differences, struggles, and hope. For the past fifteen years, cultural artists believed the Department of Culture and History and Augusta Heritage Center were their advocates and assumed they were being considered and represented. During the past five years, the artists have reached the conclusion that they have no voice in these institutions. Meanwhile the institutions have established their authority and power, and they speak only about what and to whom they choose.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Rose Grew 'Round the Briar

When I see her beauty sometimes, I wonder of the beauty gone before
Yet the West Virginia of my grandad, I know its gone forever more
But when I'm gone & long forgotten & my grandson's children
Have grown old...May the ancient hills of West Virginia
Remain as young as they are old

(Excerpt from the song *Mountaineers Are Always Free* by Mike Morningstar)

Cultural colonialism is political and economic institutional power over a culture. Power is a relationship—for every institution that possesses power there is an individual or group that does not. Since the institutions I have explored do not derive authority from the consent of the governed, it is imperative that they be reformed. The institutions must be challenged by Mountain Cultural artists. The Mountain Cultural components of resistance and action must be utilized if the Mountain Cultural arts are to survive in West Virginia. Ronald Eller, Director of the Appalachian Center at the University of Kentucky, analyzed this situation in the Appalachia region and sums it this way: “We’ve lost our knowledge of how a democracy works. We’ve allowed decisions to be made for us by someone else. Appalachia will not be rebuilt from outside. Revitalization must come from within” (Associated Press, July 1994, 7A). The cultural infrastructure required for resistance is not as it was in the past because the colonizer has successfully established power over venues, referrals, grants, and publicity. Hegemony and censorship of individual resisters have caused further deterioration of the culture and impeded transference of the arts. West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists must reclaim their heritage of self-reliance and recover the power and authority to control their own destiny which will revitalize the community, the culture, and the arts.

The preponderance of the objectives of the West Virginia institutions, Augusta Heritage Center, Department of Culture and History, and West Virginia Parkways,

Economic Development and Tourism Authority are counter to the needs of the Mountain Cultural artists. Although representatives of these institutions recognize the tenuous future of the Mountain Culture, their objectives, policies, and programs promote further commodification which the representatives of the institutions regard as preservation. These institutional representatives must be shown the error of their ways. West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists are the only ones qualified for this task. In its literature, the West Virginia Parkways, Economic Development and Tourism Authority refers to this wrong-headed practice as *cultural tourism*. In the past, Mountain Cultural artists wrongly assumed that the cultural institutions were their advocates; now many are realizing that no one will bring public attention to their issues and that they have no voice or power. Henry Giroux, an author who explores decolonialism, post colonialism, and critical pedagogy examined the exclusionary policies of art museums. He concludes that due to marginalizing cultures and separating culture from communities, many cultural workers (artists) are uniting. Giroux explains:

A growing number of cultural workers are uniting to challenge the exclusionary and often colonizing discourses of the museum, the training of artists to serve the cultural industries, and the distribution of capital and cultural funds in ways that divide artistic production from forms of community participation constituted in subordinated and marginalized traditions. (1992, 239)

Giroux's statement describes perfectly what must occur in West Virginia. The Mountain Cultural artists must develop a power structure if the art of Mountain Culture is to continue. Preservation of the cultural arts will be accomplished by identifying and mentoring the talented young which will create the artists of the next generation. In this chapter, I will explore the Mountain Cultural artists' ideology regarding cultural changes and organization for the purpose of decolonialization.

Decolonialization

In George Orwell's *1984*, Big Brother had to first annihilate the culture and instill a common synthetic version of the culture in order to establish control and power. Big Brother eliminated cultural trappings, established a new language, and turned music and art into propaganda. Cultural colonialists use this method almost as successfully as Big Brother. Review the conditions of the Africans, African-Americans, Native Americans, and Appalachians. Without cultural continuity, identity, knowledge of the past, or hope for the future, the people are lost in a system not of their own creation. Artistic cultural identity and tradition are two of the main weapons employed by Africans and Native Americans in their struggle for survival. The Appalachians must do likewise.

When annihilation of a culture occurs, the power of the dominant political establishment is ever more secure. The struggle for power will cease and in the institutional view, the Mountain Culture will be seen as a culture of the past and the outsiders' replication will become the norm. Colonialists create history as an assumed truth which incorporates power based on bias, untruth, and hatred of culturally diverse groups. By patronizing the marginalized cultures through token acknowledgment, colonialists eliminate insiders' cultural struggles from history and political process. Resistance by those of the Mountain Culture is required to reverse this process. Stephen Fisher (1993), a Hawthorne Professor of Political Science, recommends that for resisting any type of power-over, resistors should begin by remembering their history. Fisher (1993) describes it this way: "Historical memory and a reliance on and defense of traditional values—a strong commitment to land and family, an emphasis on self rule and social equality, and patriotism have fueled many of the resistance efforts" (320).

Henry Giroux and Stephen Fisher both state that for a cultural reformation to take place, the workers must first “demonstrate the importance of historical memory” (Giroux 1992, 247). Historical memory is the recognition that there is no current language, knowledge, or social practice that is not rooted in the past. Kirk Judd, a West Virginia Mountain Cultural artist, understands the importance of historical memory. He describes colonialism’s effect on the culture and the land, and asserts his desire to use his art to counter the dominance:

One thing that I’d like to talk about is the fact that a lot of my poetry deals with the way West Virginia has been treated by the rest of this country. I’ve become a statistic. I just recently lost my job after 22 years of working for the same steel company. A very wise friend of mine told me when the Japanese came in and bought half the steel company I work for about five years ago, they said, “Oh, well, this is great because we think that the people of eastern Kentucky and West Virginia are one of our greatest resources. And this wise friend of mine, she told me, “Oh my god, Kirk, watch out. If they start calling you a resource they’ll start treating you like one.” They [colonizers] depleted the coal, they depleted the gas, they depleted the timber. They laid waste to the state. One of the premises behind my poem *The Campfires of the Hunters* is the fact that they brought the Italians and Hungarians in to build the railroad. They brought the Black population in to work in the coal mines and to dig the tunnels, they brought the Irish in to dig the tunnels and build railroads because they would work for cheap whiskey. The Irish, the old stereotypical Irish whiskey. And they got us here and they kept us here. I mean, we’ve been bred to become the labor force that made America rich.

Louise McNeill's *Cornertree* poem says it very well; we're the eastern most part of the western rest of this country. We're the highest point in the eastern continental divide, in this part of the state. Everything flows and starts from here and goes out. What they did is they got us here and we're being bred for blue collar labor. They're controlling the harvest of the people in this state, and they have been for two hundred years, and it's time to put an end to that and break out of that and let people know that we don't have to do that. What I'd like to see is, I'd like to use art as the tool to break that mold. I don't have any idea how I'm going to carry any of my ideas out. I'm very passionate about that. My people came here a very long time ago. On my mother's side, her mother was first generation born from Germany. They came in 1859. My father's side has been here since early 1700s. On my father's side, both sides of this family, have been here since the early 1700s. I've been reading a lot about the image of West Virginia, that we have a very strong sense of place. I've been reading that they [outsiders] take that to be a negative thing, and I can't understand that. I mean, how can you have a sense of place, very deep rooted through traditions here and think that that's wrong. I think that it is a very positive thing, and I think I should want to develop that sense in my children, in my children's children, so that Appalachia and West Virginia is not a place to grow up and leave, it's a place to develop and make your own. I feel ownership of this land, even more so by the fact I don't have any property. But this land is mine, all of the rivers and the valleys, and the hills. I can't stand and look down in the Cranberry [Glades] by myself, and get out there on one of those points and look down in there without crying. I mean, this belongs to me, man, look at this. I have a

very strong feeling of that and it really bothers me that people have exploited and have done this to me, because this is me. These trees, these rivers, these valleys, these mountains are me. That's the Tao of a West Virginia poet, and what they do when they strip a hill they're doing it to me. When they exploit the population for a labor force and when they cut people off without pensions and when they shut down factories, or when they strip mine coal and when they clear cut mountains, they're doing that to me. I have a sense of that being me abused. I understand the history and I understand my place in this place. If we educated our children, if from the first grade they begin to get a sense of who they are, and where they're from, they'll all feel that way. And if everybody felt the way I felt, they sure as hell wouldn't have been treating this place like this for as long as they have. (Interview, December 1993)

The Mountain Cultural artists in their march toward decolonialization must remember their history and struggles against oppression in order to gain strength, as Kirk Judd so eloquently stated. Decolonialization is not simply a transfer of political power from one source to another, but the process of becoming oneself (Fanon 1967). As the artists remember their ancestral linkage, they will draw strength from their history and solidify their identity. The cultural institutions, philanthropists, missionaries, folklorists, and government have defined and altered the Mountain Culture and arts for nearly one hundred years and in the process have denied the legitimate historical, political, and cultural identification and image.

In this study, the stereotypic representations have been examined in a variety of situations. The significance of discussing stereotypes is in how these images have been internalized by Mountain Cultural artists, have distorted the cultural image, and stunted possibilities for reformation. In *Apples on the Flood* Rodger Cunningham (1987)

examined colonialism in Appalachia. He concluded that an internalization of the pejorative image has created infantilization and psychological damage. The psychological internalization hinders the ability of those of the Mountain Culture to identify with their historical memory of identity, resistance, and organization. Socio-economic, political, and cultural differences have created psychological damage and internalization of the colonizers' beliefs, yet the artists struggle to maintain traditional roots. Because of a lack of identifiable success, the Mountain Cultural artists' struggle sometimes dissolves into frustration, depression, isolation, displaced anger, and denial.

When discussing organizing artists from the mountains, Mark Payne (1993) stated "That [organizing] will never happen. It hasn't happened in the last two hundred years however long" (Interview, October 1993). Larry Rader (1993) stated that the Mountain Cultural artists are incapable of finishing what they start. He said, "I don't think we'll ever do it. West Virginians are great about always having intentions of doing something and never accomplishing it" (Interview, September 1993). Mike Bing's internalization of stereotypes is not as advanced as Rader's or Payne's, because he recognizes a possibility for organizing. But, along with the possibility, he includes negativity that could negate success. He stated, "We can organize but we're not good at it. We're not good at being an organization or promoting ourselves or businesses. Can we do it or can't we do it? Its not a question I can answer" (Interview, August 1994).

The solution to this problem is for the artists to remake themselves to fit the needs of organizing based on Mountain Cultural traditions and the elimination of negative stereotypical mind-set. Mountain Cultural traditions have been resistant to modernity, coal companies, exploitative policies, and government restrictions. The artists I interviewed were born when the culture had been relatively stable for a long time and had spent their early lives in this tradition, then change occurred very rapidly as they grew older.

In the lifetime of the Mountain Cultural artists the culture has been changed radically by the monolithic culture. The impact of cultural colonialism has speeded and intensified the degree of change. The Mountain Cultural artists have had to deal with natural changes brought about by the march of time plus the negative influences of cultural colonialism. No culture can remain static and survive. Those of the Mountain Culture are the people who should define, produce, and represent it. Jerome Bruner (1986) summarized this in his book *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*, by stating that it is an aspect of culture that nurtures participants to make and remake their culture rather than be spectators who perform predestined roles. The Mountain Cultural artists have been handed a script written by the colonizers for their personal benefit. And for the past twenty years, the performance of the Mountain Cultural artists has not always been to the colonizers' liking. Since the 1970s, when the Mountain Cultural artists began to assert their cultural identity and image and to question the activities of institutions, the colonizers have been busy replacing the Mountain Culture and the artists with new actors who will not improvise or make demands. At the same time, the Mountain Cultural artists were being assured that everything was being done for the ultimate benefit of the culture. The Mountain Cultural artists must realize that the future of their culture and arts are at stake and that recognition of their potential and remaking their attitudes is their only hope for being in charge of their identity and destiny.

Today, as the artists face cultural change, action or demise seem to be their choices. Failure to act is to know that colonialization will continue to expand and that community and the transference of the arts will decrease and finally cease. The artists are well aware that they live in the present and that what was will never be again, but they do not seem to realize that the culture is theirs to mold and is a necessary step toward liberation. When I asked Mike Bing about the issue of reformation, he stated:

We'll be homogenous soon, just like they want us. Our culture is dying. To change is a big job [and] can't be done. People in control of it that's what they want, to get rid of it [Mountain Culture]. What's going on is in line with their [colonizers'] program, to bring us out of our "stone age" roots. (Interview, August 1994)

Mike Bing is speaking of change within the cultural institutions. His opinion that the cultural institutions will not reform is addressed by Nat Reece:

We have to organize. Let our voice be heard. I've been talking for years to the Culture and History Department without being heard. After a while you realize it is intentional. How else could I read it? As one person [he held up one hand and bent his fingers down, one at a time] we are easily broken. But, if we come together [he intertwined his fingers] we are united and will not break. Together, our voice will be louder and maybe then, they'll hear what we all have been saying for years. We can't afford to be polite anymore; we must be heard. (Interview, May 1994)

Mike Bing recognizes that the institutions won't allow change, Nat Reece re-affirms this by his experience of years of struggle to make changes within the institutions' systems.

The colonizer will not accept or negotiate with the colonized (Fanon 1967). The colonizer's discourse allows no foundation or text in which the colonized person can have a voice. This reduces those with issues to an abject state with no recourse within the colonizer's system. In West Virginia, an organization with a collective voice could work to bring about legislative change that would insure a fair share of arts funding for Mountain Cultural arts. The objectives of true representation of Mountain Cultural arts in the market, the creation of venues, and a greater audience which will promote transference of the Mountain Cultural arts to the next generation can be accomplished only if psychological, economic, cultural, and ideological self-liberation occurs. This cannot be

done without challenging the institutions and competing for grants, media exposure, and venues. Change requires an understanding of politics, economy, and society that exceeds what the colonizer is willing to accommodate.

On the subject of challenging institutional power, Stephen Fisher (1993), a scholar of Appalachian political studies, recommends networking as a vital component:

Organizers must make clear the connections that exist between local work and national and international politics if local citizens are to understand the importance of national and international forces as determinant of what happens locally and to see themselves as actors at the national level. (325)

Mountain Cultural artists are concerned with the future of their communities and state. The strength that could be derived from networking with other Appalachia artists and other marginalized groups regarding the fundamental issues of cultural colonialism, exploitation, and hybrid representation would further advance their organizational process. John Brock recognizes the possibility of strength for small groups, but he has had negative experiences with craftspeople who constantly disagree with each other. He stated:

Organization can't happen. To get everyone to agree on one topic will never happen. Some people are happy because they just got paid by the West Virginia Parkways, others haven't and complain. [Those] like me, who criticize could be excused as being sour grapes. Maybe in a small group or as an individuals, they [Parkways] might listen to me. As one representing a group of eight to ten people. Who knows? (Interview, August 1994)

Within the type of organizations John Brock has worked with, disagreements were arose over methods of marketing and displaying crafts. Individual needs exceed those of the organization because competition is fundamental in a capitalistic organization. For this reason, West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists must consider the history of the cultural

institutions whose original cultural objectives were replaced by capitalistic objectives of cultural commodity which contributed to the weakening of mountain communities, traditions, and culture.

Mike Bing (1994) responded to organizing by comparing present institutions to a potential Mountain Cultural organization: "I couldn't be like them [the cultural institutions]. So, let's not hire anyone to tell us what to do. Tell them what we want. If it's too straight line, I'll not deal with it, like everything else. I'll go home" (Interview, August 1994). Bing articulates an issue: If cultural artists do organize, they must analyze how the culture is represented and organized by and within existing West Virginia institutions. The goal is to not recreate themselves in the image of the colonizing institutions. The Mountain Cultural artists must understand the political, social, and economic history of the colonial institutions and not repeat the mistakes made by those organizations. The Mountain Cultural artists' values, traditions, and history must be translated into a new language of Mountain Cultural business which concentrates on issues common to the group such as: venues, marketing, education, media exposure, and support in the community, region, and nation. If this language is merely a version of that of the colonialists, the Mountain Cultural organization will become a sprout from the briar.

In advanced colonial settings, the colonized are convinced to administer and impose upon themselves the policies set forth by their colonizer. This self-administration is often touted by the colonizers and their puppets among the colonized as *self-governance* and *democracy*. The Mountain Cultural artists' language must be rooted in their traditions and include structure, movement and possibilities based on the demands of the present time and place. The creations of the colonialists' stereotyping, outsider versus insider, and exploitation of cultural differences can only be dispelled by the Mountain Cultural organization if their business and language reject cultural, social, and hierarchical

dominance of outsiders. Assuming the traits of the colonialists will continue stratification and will not nurture liberation or democratic possibility. Adapting the culture and memory of history and traditions to the needs of today and establishing an organization within that adaptation will allow for liberation, self determination, and growth without boundaries. David Morris stated:

We can't live our lives as Augusta victims. We have to develop our own agenda. The only hope is to unite. We will never take over *The Old-Time Herald* or the national network and power base that Augusta has built. We should declare ourselves as insiders, people of the culture.

(Interview, November 1993)

John Blisard's analysis of reformation is similar to that of David Morris. Blisard expands the notion of uniting by advocating political activism for change within the institutional system and at the same time by organizing a separate group for and by the Mountain Cultural artists to promote their arts. He stated:

I think the people that are my generation in their 50s and 60s, people involved in the arts here in West Virginia, are just going to have to take a more active role in government, in a policy making position or create an alternative one. Which I think is probably the way to go. Start out as a small group. I don't want to sound like the United Mine Workers but to get an organization started for people that want an alternative, want to set up ways to facilitate us. There are a lot of us that try to make a living at this and we have other people that we're having to fight. And if together we can draw up a charter and constitution and set up an organization to actively book people in this organization and create alternatives because what we have now only perpetuates the institution's idea. We have to have more of a voice, more control. I don't see anything happening with

any changes the way the political system is because the guys they put into being the Commissioner of Culture and History [William Drennen] went to prep school with the Governor [Gaston Caperton]. (Interview, October 1993)

Based on the interviews and data collected, I conclude that Mountain Cultural artists have no choice but to organize. As Doug Van Gundy, a poet and Mountain Cultural activist, stated:

It's a place, a purpose, an identity. Somehow we must protect it and become in charge of our arts and culture. We don't have a voice, and we need to find our voice before we are permanently silenced. (Interview, July 1994)

The cultural workers must unite for a cultural revolution (Giroux 1992). To liberate oneself from oppression is to value diversity, unite in solidarity, break the silence, take responsibility, make a commitment to change what can be changed, and to save what can be saved. Elaine Purkey, a Mountain Cultural artist and a field worker for West Virginia Organizing Project, believes that the artists have no choice but to organize and resist. She stated:

They don't have the right to sit around and say "we don't get the job, poor little me," they need to get off their butts and do something about it. Organizing and music, for me, go together. I couldn't do one without the other. They have to have the responsibility that it is their art that is being portrayed and not somebody's idea of what Mountain artists are all about or how they sound or how they look. Because a lot of times you don't fit what they think Mountain artists look like." (Interview, December 1994)

The Mountain Cultural artists clearly recognize that what is needed is an organization which will give them a voice and power to reach their goals. As a field

organizer in Kentucky, Joe Szakos (1993) stated that change in Appalachia has been difficult due to economic dependency on the oppressor. My study has revealed that the institutions use the Mountain Cultural artists on a limited basis. If the artists were to be completely shut out of these venues, they would not be losing a great amount of money. Augusta Heritage Center pays approximately one hundred twenty dollars for a Meet the Old Master program and four hundred dollars per week for instructors. The Vandalia Gathering pays an average of two hundred-fifty dollars for three days and one hundred fifty to two hundred dollars for special events. Two other festivals that feature Mountain Cultural artists pay, respectively, fifty dollars plus room and fifty to one hundred dollars plus room and board. Working at some of these events actually costs the artists money. Sharing their art form is the motivation for the Mountain Cultural artists, not just making money. The artists must ask themselves who are they sharing their art with when they participate in institutional programs which do not recognize the difference between insiders and outsiders and define transference in terms of *lessons, techniques, or styles*. The Mountain Cultural artists' motivation is a relationship between their art and the audience or students. Elaine Purkey summarizes this by stating:

Look at Augusta, look who runs it. It is somebody else's idea of what the Mountain artistry is. It's all well and good for people to come in and try to show us what we have. They have the money and the resources. But it's gotten into an organized clique. It's like the Supreme Court; if you're in, you're in for life, till you die. We've always been fighters and we've always been survivors, but we also adjusted to what someone else said we should be. We can't adjust and get anything done. Compromise is a big part of power. The artists choose to compromise and participate in the institution's idea rather than not do their art because they see no alternatives. (Interview, December 1994)

To take a stand against the institutions will require trust among the Mountain Cultural artists. They will have to agree to not participate in institutions that neither utilize them as primary sources nor acknowledge the Mountain Cultural artists' voice as the authority regarding their art forms. A majority stance will be required, but initially it will be up to individuals who possess leadership skills and are respected and trusted as role models. As an organizer, Elaine Purkey suggested, "Those leaders must meet and get to know each other's strengths and weaknesses so they can be utilized effectively. They must know the institutions like a general before the battle gets to know his opponent before the battle plan is drawn" (Interview, December 1994). What they must remember is they have everything to gain and little to lose.

Identified Goals

In a decolonialization process, goals must be chosen that identify cultural, political, and financial needs (Fanon 1967). In the past chapters, the artists have identified those needs to me. In Chapter Two, the Mountain Cultural artists spoke about their desire to have efficacy over their culture. They want to be the ones to define their culture and be recognized as knowledgeable sources. The artists want their culture back. Mike Bing believes that the artists should be examples of cultural pride. He stated:

To instill pride - not to kick the image but be it and promote it. I had a philosophy professor at West Virginia University who said "West Virginia is the hope for America. What is here, I hope, spreads to the rest of the country instead of the rest of the country absorbing what is here." I've always agreed with that. What used to be here, community, neighbor

helping neighbor—how do we get that across? I hope we can do something about this. (Interview, August 1994)

Nat Reece spoke about the need for cultural pride and extended those characteristics to transferring to the younger generations. He concluded that his intentions are serious. He stated it this way:

We've always been fighting for the right to be ourselves. That is who we are. I think we have been forgetting that. It's ours, not theirs, it's ours. We have to save the children. They need us. They might think they want to be like the others [the dominant culture], but I know from being involved with the children in the schools in my community for all these years, the other doesn't satisfy them and if we're not there to give them their heritage then what will happen to those children? Is that what is happening in the larger cities? It's like a sickness that eats up our young. Without culture and arts, they're without hope. For their sake, we must speak out and if we don't, I will, by myself. I'm too old to wait much longer. (Interview, May 1994)

The artists feel that by being role models and talking about cultural pride that the effect of negative stereotyping of the Mountain Culture can be diluted.

In Chapter Three and Four the artists spoke about a need for access to venues. They expressed the desire to be the representatives of their Mountain Culture and arts. The Mountain Cultural artists want and need jobs. A Mountain Cultural artists' organization must concentrate on establishing exposure in different forms to create public awareness, interest, and audience. The issues and the arts must be seen consistently, locally, and nationally. This will arouse awareness which can develop public concern, venues, and supports groups. The Native Americans are now using this format on television by telling their history and inviting viewers to send money to their colleges to

support the education of their young. This format is informative and constructive. Constant exposure of the arts and issues help also to re-establish the artists as experts. This is not a war that the artists can wage alone. The Mountain Cultural artists need the support of the mountain people and the general public in their struggle for change.

The artists want to be part of the educational system so the culture can be represented correctly and currently. For the Mountain Culture and arts to survive, students need to be exposed to the roots, branches, and blossoms of the Mountain Culture. Critical examination of the histories of the Mountain Culture, resistance, struggles, and colonialists will help to instill cultural pride, value, and sense of place. Mountain Cultural grounding is the foundation the students need to fight internalization of stereotypes, to gain cultural efficacy, and to resist colonialization. This type of Mountain Cultural education was employed at Pax Elementary in November 1994, as a pilot program by David Morris and myself. At this time we do not know the full impact of the program. A description of the procedure and initial results can be found in Appendix A. The initial evaluation from the principal, Pat Smith, Pax Elementary faculty and students, and community has been very positive.

This study is about Mountain Culture and the arts of that culture. But within West Virginia there is a great diversity of cultures, each of which deserves inclusion in a historic and current cultural curriculum. This inclusion will allow the young of each of these cultures to have their own story told while they see the whole picture. The young will then be able to claim that which represents their own background and culture while they learn how the diversity has combined to produce the West Virginia they live in today.

Transferring the Mountain Cultural arts by creating a Mountain Cultural arts school was most often mentioned as the most important need. Wilson Douglas and Kim Johnson, Mountain Cultural artists, explained:

WD - I really think, we know Charleston is the capital of West Virginia. Right? [interviewer answered right] All right, I think we need a second Augusta [of our making] right here in Charleston somewhere. If we don't do it this thing is going to die out.

KJ - I think it's already out of control.

WD - It's out of control. We need people like you [interviewer] that are higher educated. I don't know what we'd have to do to get through to these people [the institutions]. Now, as you know, you [interviewer] and me are going to [be] dead someday. Well, then it's gone.

KJ - Well, just think when Wilson and people his age, they all die, me and you [interviewer] are going to be it. And just think who younger than you [interviewer] is learning to dance like that? Or who younger than David [Morris] is learning to sing like that? (Interview, May 1994)

Only one artist, Mack Samples (1993) stated the arts won't die because the cultural artists will have at least transferred the forms within their families. I believe it is too early to know one way or the other. Right now, transference is not occurring with any consistency or regularity. There is another possibility that the Mountain Culture and arts won't die completely, but will be largely replaced by the antiquated, sterile version perpetuated by the institutions. If the next generation doesn't have memory of history, traditions, and values, they will face the final extermination. When the few Mountain Cultural artists left challenge the experts, they will be dismissed with more finality than the artists are today.

If the artists ignore the colonialization, it will lead to further decay and corruption of the culture, and there will be fewer artists to deal with the issue tomorrow. The culture and its arts will finally be reduced to a style that the institutions already purport. The institutions will then be able to state "From 1760 until shortly after the close of the twentieth century, a style of art was practiced among the quaint, backward, simple people

of West Virginia. This style is called Appalachian Folk Arts.” The Mountain Cultural artists’ stated needs for venues, cultural and historical memory, efficacy, voice, venues, and cultural and arts transference can only be realized if they unite. The Mountain Cultural artists cannot remain at home or deny the issues and implications. They must renew their commitment to the culture and its arts.

Mountain Culture encompasses a commitment to beliefs and values which are transferred not just in daily living and through such art forms as storytelling, ballads, tunes, dance, crafts, sculpture, and painting. The artists’ responsibility is to ensure transference to the next generation. The institutions’ policies are self-serving and run counter to Mountain Cultural belief systems and values. The time to act is now. Merely grumbling about or ignoring the situation is not productive, individually or collectively, and must end. Predictions cannot be made. The passage of time will reveal if the Mountain Culture and its art will flourish, decline or de cease. Can the artists ethically afford to risk the future of the Mountain Culture by waiting?

I believe the artists should view the responsibility as a trust that was placed in them by their mentors. The older generation of artists that taught the current generation chose these students from many who came to them. They based these choices on the amount of talent they saw and on the type of human beings the students were. Much is made of the amount of time the students spent learning their art, but we must not forget how much time the teachers spent learning these arts and the time spent transferring the arts to the students. The mentors saw the value of their art and did all they could to keep it from dying. The present generation owes it to the past and to the future to do as their mentors did. To not take whatever steps are necessary in their own time and place will hasten the demise of the culture and arts and betray the trust of the ancestors and short change future generations. The artists do not have the self-indulgent luxury of retiring

from the fray because they face conditions that require new types of thinking and the taking of actions which will be troublesome and time consuming.

What is needed is an organization that is rooted within cultural traditions, history, values, and resistance—but which is not blind to exploitation. This means pursuing a Mountain Cultural approach that blends new ideas with cultural values and language. It involves developing a resistance to the cultural colonial institutions and creating a determined organization that uses culture and community as vehicles for political action. The decolonialization process requires the artists to have courage, commitment, and patience.

West Virginia Mountain Cultural artists are beginning to recognize the existence and importance of resistance in their history and to understand that resistance has occurred in struggles to maintain cultural ways and values against the forces of cultural colonialization. This is a root of the Mountain Culture that can be nurtured by the artists in the form of an organization for decolonialization and self determination. The self determined organization will be new growth from their roots that can blossom into actualizing their identified objectives for venues, efficacy, and transference of their culture and arts. The briar of the cultural colonialists must be plowed under. This will not be an easy job. The briars are well rooted and will resist, but the rose of Mountain Culture can grow 'round the briar. A blossom that is the product of the seminal seed, well rooted, self-determined, and nurtured in the culturally rich mountain soil will produce branches and buds that will create a garden in seasons yet to come.

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