# Recreating and Deconstructing the Shifting Politics of (Bluegrass) Festivals

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ABSTRACT

Utilizing archival research from Berea College's Appalachian Sound Archives and Appalachian State University's Belk Special Collection, more than 45 survey results, 15 extensive interviews, and participant observations from 15 festival field sites, I examine bluegrass festivals as sites of identity production through feminist methodologies and a participatory ethnographic approach. This requires careful analysis of the nature of the genre's audience and audience members' investments in the process of framing the performance of bluegrass music's history through a shared historical narrative. More broadly, this analysis clarifies the nuanced role of bluegrass festivals in constructing generalizations about place-based identities, race, and gender within the performative space of festivals. In this assessment, the political and economic actions generated as a result of bluegrass performances are explored as temporal and spatial organizers for the (re)production and consumption of generalized ideals which are projected onto both literal and figurative southern stages. I perform this research utilizing the conceptual frameworks of theories of space and place, politics of culture, and feminist methods, combined through critical regionalism. My hypothesis is that bluegrass festivals serve as spaces to perform white patriarchal capitalist desires while relying on marginalized and hidden cultural productions and exchanges.

My findings reveal that in order to gain a fuller understanding of politics culture, the stage must be subverted and the researcher's gaze must go beyond that which is typically traditionally framed to encompass the festival in its entirety. This requires seeking out not merely that which is intentionally framed but also narratives that create the stage or are omitted by dominant ways of interpreting the festival space. Ultimately, I find the significance of temporary physical sites for identity construction and the potential for dynamic social change within these spaces relies on the ability of scholars and participants alike to re-historicize and retell dominant narratives.

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ABSTRACT (GENERAL)

The fantasized rural Appalachian region and greater south—a social construct, constantly created and recreated by social desires, political needs, and economic trends—has been a space of cultural production and experimentation, notably since the reconstruction era. One result has been the stereotypically regional genre of bluegrass music. This project asks how bluegrass music festivals began, for whom, and to what end. More importantly, it turns an eye towards research methods and power structures within the community.

Research was conducted at Berea College's Appalachian Sound Archives, at Appalachian State University's Belk Special Collection, and through online surveys, participant observations, and interviews. In this dissertation, I carefully examine the role(s) of bluegrass festivals, specifically those envisioned and enacted by Carlton Haney (notably, in Fincastle, Virginia, in 1965). My findings illuminate how bluegrass festivals serve as sites where widely accepted generalizations about place (specifically, Appalachia and the rural American south) and specifically the bluegrass community are formed. Further, I address the role of gender within these spaces and the symbiotic relationship between female labor and bluegrass. The history of bluegrass festivals is approached with the intention of broadening discussions of gender, labor, and historical narratives beyond the festival grounds.

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## Chapter 1: Welcome to the Festival: Study Overview

*[I]t is not the work of cultural critics to merely affirm passively cultural practices already defined as radical or transgressive [but to] cross boundaries to take another look, to contest, to interrogate, and in some cases to recover and redeem. –bell hooks, Outlaw Culture, (5)*

*In order to understand the history of the banjo and the history of Bluegrass music, we need to move beyond the narratives we've inherited, beyond generalizations that bluegrass is mostly derived from a Scots-Irish tradition, with 'influences' from Africa. It is actually a complex creole music that comes from multiple cultures, African and European and Native, the full truth that is so much more interesting, and American. – Rhiannon Giddens, IBMA Keynote address, 2017*

### Introduction

Understanding bluegrass festivals as heterotopias, and the bluegrass community as an imagined community, this dissertation interrogates the history of the genre as created through the performative Story told at the first bluegrass festival in Fincastle, Virginia, in 1965. Through a feminist theoretical lens and utilizing unique ethnographic methodological approaches, this project archives the first festival, reflects on the 2015 recreation of the Story, and deconstructs the impact of the Story to better understand the shifting politics of (bluegrass) festival spaces. Beyond bluegrass, this is a project and methodological exploration of stories: how they are shared, with whom, by whom, where and when. My findings are not directly applicable to all festivals or musical settings, but rather provide a

method for interrogating the manifestations of political norms within seemingly non-normative cultural settings.

During the hottest months of the year, almost every county in the rural parts of Appalachia and the greater east coast hosts public celebratory gatherings featuring bluegrass musicians, fried food, and fields of temporary communities[1] made of campers and tents. In recent years, the bluegrass festival phenomenon has expanded across North America and much of Europe; however, its symbolic ties to a rural countryside remain strong. At these gatherings, picnic tables are set up, flags are hung, and self-described "camps" form as micro communities for the weekend, gathering together, celebrating, and then returning to the "real world" after the show is over. This tradition, while seemingly "always, ever being," is relatively new; the first multi-day bluegrass festival can be traced to Labor Day weekend in 1965 on a property remembered today as Cantrell's Horse Farm in Fincastle, Virginia. In the years since, bluegrass festivals have developed as critical economic hubs, providing income for performers and vendors, an opportunity to travel for fans, measured economic boosts for festival locations (host cities), and a temporary social escape for locals who see the world around them shift for a weekend.

The genre of bluegrass, like other imagined aspects of Appalachia, is built on stories. These stories are set in an idyllic, romanticized place, "the back of beyond," as Horace Kephart would call it, or a real and imagined place, as Helen Lewis describes the region[2]

[1] In this dissertation the use of "community" is used in line with Benedict Anderson's understanding of the "imagined community." I elaborate on how the bluegrass community upholds the tenants of Anderson's theory in Chapter 2.

[2] Rosann Kent recorded a poetic statement by Helen Lewis, responding to the prompt; "Why Study Appalachia." The poem was housed on the North Georgia Website for many years but has been removed. It lives on in my archived course syllabi (www.jordanlaney.edu) and on Kathryn Engle's personal website (https://kathrynengle.wordpress.com/2015/08/31/why-study-appalachia-wisdom-from-helen-lewis/)

(Kephart 1922). I use the term "imagined" to describe Appalachia not to question the lived experiences within its borders, but to highlight the exceptional process of the intentional social, cultural, political, and historic construction of the region within the national psyche. Aligning with critical regionalists, such as social scientists Dwight Billings and Ann Kingsolver, and more recently, historian Elizabeth Catte, I understand the region as a social construction shaped by political and cultural understandings of place.

Bluegrass music constructs a similarly imagined place through soundwaves, from "knee to knee" sharing of songs in oral traditions, in barrooms, and festivals. The construction of the bluegrass genre as a sound connected to isolation, rurality, and pre-modernity, has been both externally and internally forged. In bluegrass song lyrics, the region is often compressed to "the old home place" or "the country," a region flattened and inscribed as impoverished, white, rural, and premodern. Along these lines, bluegrass music is frequently (mis)understood to be the embodiment of the southern Appalachian, white, working class.

Misconceptions of the region as a homogenous cultural force connected to European practices date back to early scholarship and archival efforts in the region. Such efforts were wrought with Anglo-centric racism and fantasies of a (constructed) place unscathed by the Civil War and slavery practices[3]. Similar, exceptional re-presentations of the (Appalachian) self and the region through symbolic or representative sound continue today. For example, Ted Olson points out that, "two soundtrack recordings featuring carefully produced, sympathetic interpretations of Appalachian music—from the movies *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (2000) and *Songcatcher* (2000)—attracted a broad-based national audience; the

[3] Local color literature and historical analysis grounded in Lost Cause sentimentalities illustrate this point.

former soundtrack sold several million copies" (Olson, 2006). Oh Brother is noted for turning national attention (and ears) towards the region. The soundtrack to the film set in Mississippi heavily used bluegrass, however, the performers featured most heavily via the Grammy award show were largely not from the region (Alison Kraus, Gillian Welch, Emmylou Harris, and Dan Tyminski are from Illinois, California, Alabama, and Vermont respectively, while Dr. Ralph Stanley is from the Appalachian County of Dickenson, located in southwest Virginia.) In turn, during the Reconstruction era, the Appalachian region was (erroneously) presented to northern elites and possible philanthropists as a white region, with stereotypes of being ideologically and empirically distant from the Civil War or slavery.[4] Such constructions become internalized and accepted, and in the following chapters I challenge this process as it happens at bluegrass festivals.

Festivals are layered spaces. There are layers of access, often demarcated by wristbands, name badges, and make-shift fences. These borders mark and uphold gendered, social, economic, and largely performed differences. Attendees park and enter, with the potential to travel deeper and deeper into the festival grounds, past the stage to the jam

[4] Local color fiction most notably resulted in these regional presentations. Scholarship to re-write history, specifically with regard to the systemic erasures of African Americans in the region has been most notably done through the work of Fred Hay (see: "Black musicians in Appalachia: An introduction to Affrilachian Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 23.1/2 (2003): 1-19), William Turner (see: *Blacks in Appalachia*. University Press of Kentucky, 1985, edited by Turner and Cabbell), Affrilachian Poets (Frank X Walker, Crystal Wilkinson, Bianca Sprigs, and Crystal Good to name a few), and Edward Cabbell who coined the term "black invisibility" (see: "Black invisibility and racism in Appalachia: An informal survey." *Appalachian Journal* 8.1 (1980): 48-54). It is perhaps important to note that while each of these writers has added to my understanding of race in the region, there is division within their approaches, as was highlighted in the 2016 panel at the Appalachian Studies Association, "Black Appalachian Studies: Three Pioneers Gather." Convener: William H. Turner. "Affrilachia: A Sociology of Knowledge and Literary Analysis of a New Appalachian Voice," William H. Turner, Prairie View A&M University. "Critical Race Theory & Personal Reflections on the Continuing Problems of Racism in Appalachia," Wilburn Hayden, Jr., York University. "What I Have Seen, Heard, Read and Said about Diversity and Unity in the Misty Mountains," Edward J. Cabbell, Scholar/Musician/Poet.

sessions in the woods, to the campsites with home cooked meals and star-studded "B chord" jams,[5] to tour buses and merchandise tables, to hotel rooms with catered buffets and even sound booths. If you know the right people, a nod of the head can get you through the gate, past the general admission area, through the seated area to the stage without paying. Maneuvering backstage, one can see the crowd, hear the jokes, and notice which performers are paid and which are not. One's experiences at each of these sites differ depending on experience, gender, race, and interests in the space. Due to the layered, somatic aspects of festivals, I employ a methodological approach uniquely informed by my positionality as an insider and participant observer, simultaneously physically producing and conceptually deconstructing the space.

This chapter, provides background information to provide a foundation for the study ("Defining and Contextualizing Bluegrass Festivals" and "Personal Positionality") and clarifies its purpose and objectives. I present my research questions, an overview of my findings and explore the project's significance. Before concluding, I (broadly) describe the literature review (further explored in Chapter 2) and methods (examined in Chapter 3).

**Background: Defining and Contextualizing Bluegrass Festivals**

For the purposes of this project, I define bluegrass festivals as multi-day, single genre events, marketed as "bluegrass." This is different from "folk festivals" which are the only types of festivals referenced in the index to David Whisnant's text, *All that is Native and Fine*. Regardless of this difference in definitions, I apply Whisnant's paradigmatic

[5] "B Chord Camp" is the name of a popular campsite at the Galax Fiddler's Convention (and beyond). The title and space are representative of popular spaces within the community, and exemplify similar "insider" place names within the community.

understanding of the historical production of regional music, but I insist, along with Rosenberg and Cantwell, that bluegrass has been commercial from the beginning (Cantwell 2003: 48, Rosenberg, 2005: 227, Tichi 76).

Connections between fiddler's[6] conventions and bluegrass festivals are few; large conventions have generally grown to serve old-time[7] communities (for example, Laurel Bloomery and Clifftop, well-known gatherings), while music parks fed into the bluegrass festival scene in a more dynamic way, creating the capacity for spaces of commerce. The term "convention" was largely interchangeable with "festival" prior to Carlton Haney's 1965 bluegrass festival. Since then, festivals have been spaces where attendees pay to see publicized entertainment, while conventions are spaces where competitors, rather than publicized bands, create the entertainment and some attendees have the opportunity of winning their admission fees and expenses back through competition.

The distinction between fiddler's conventions and bluegrass festivals is important. While the events have overlapping characteristics (both are tied to "jamming" or amateur music-making, typically traditional Appalachian or southern music, and similar spatial/regional constructs), they are in fact radically different phenomena. The purpose of fiddler's conventions is to host staged competitions and declare winners. Bluegrass festivals, much more influenced by folk festivals than fiddler's conventions, present (largely) professional musical acts in a (typically outdoor) concert venue. As Neil Rosenberg writes, early festival organizers hoped to support musicians and grow the fan base (*Bluegrass: A*

[6] "Fiddler's" is the commonly accepted grammatical practice when discussing "fiddler's conventions".
[7] Old time music, different than bluegrass, emphasizes conservation rather than innovation, serves to accompany dances and dancers, and uses a clawhammer banjo technique rather than the 3 finger technique made famous by Earl Scruggs. Bluegrass and old time, while often mistaken by pedestrian listeners, are vastly different genres and communities of practices.

*History* 275). Associations such as the Society for the Preservation of Bluegrass Music in America (SPBGMA) and the International Bluegrass Music Association (IBMA) also hold conventions which offer opportunities to compete for cash winnings, but are bluegrass-specific events.

Bluegrass festivals are also not to be confused with folk festivals. The nuances of the genres and gatherings are vastly different. As events, framing devices, and performance spaces, they happen within the same system (capitalist, patriarchal) and result in largely commoditized, commercialized events with shared roots in evening church picnics and late night dance halls. Bluegrass has been unapologetic about its performative and embodied quest for upward mobility, making bluegrass festivals a space where tradition and innovation not only collide but also thrive alongside one another on and off stage.

**Background: Personal Positionality**

*We must also interrogate the bearing of our location and context on what it is we are saying, and this should be an explicit part of every serious discursive practice we engage in. Constructing hypotheses about the possible connections between our location and our words is one way to begin. This procedure would be most successful if engaged in collectively with others, by which aspects of our location less highlighted in our own minds might be revealed to us. (Alcoff 25)*

Bluegrass performers compress their performed and representative identities into flattened, yet universal tropes through album covers, clothing, and promotional materials. I grew up pulling my father's record collection off the shelves, spreading them across the

living room floor, and reading the covers. My brother and I continued to do this through high school as he began to play festivals himself, with a band comprised of teenage friends and their fathers. I related to the names, tracks, and faces on the albums in the same ways I related to the family photo albums shelved beside them. As a small child I prided myself on being able to recognize voices singing different parts, and picking up on slight changes within band dynamics. As I studied album covers, noting what performers were wearing and where they would stand, I began to understand Kenny Baker, Steve Morse, Mark O'Conner, Ralph Stanley, Tony Rice, Vassar Clements, and Charlie Waller as extended community members with recognizable stories, voices, and tones. Their stories became my stories. Cultural theorists use the term mimesis to describe the imitation of the "real world" in art. In bluegrass, this "flips," to imitate the aesthetics and communal associations of the genre into and/or onto the "real world" of the audience member. Robert Cantwell writes of Ethnomimesis that "—its unconscious codes and impalpable images as well as its manifest works—replicates and modifies itself within the community and migrates across the boundary of one community or another…" (Ethnomimesis, 83). These communities (some embodied, some heard, some imagined) fold into one another, blurring the lines between performer and audience, community and family, insider and outsider.

Keeping in mind the mimetic nature of the genre, it was not such a stretch given that my family members, my "kin," were found in the albums as well, having produced their own radio shows and formed bluegrass bands. My father, Barte Laney, appears on the back of an album in black and white sepia tone, posing in front of a woodstove in a cabin no one used. And later, I found a video of my cousin, Glen Laney, a banjo player and singer for the Knoxville Grass. He was wearing a straw hat, performing on stages in downtown Knoxville,

Tennessee. In the video he described his thoughts behind the penning of the song "Back to the Country" by saying, "Well there ain't but two places you can go. You can go to town or you can go to the country" (GrassTV). The "country" undoubtedly held more appeal for the performers and audience than the "town." The country was over and over again depicted as a place to return to, a place where "we" – the listener and the performer—shared (imagined) origins and projected desires. "Country" was an idea, one recreated with each band photo and song. These personal connections began to reveal the multiple sides of the community: real, yet imagined, reflective, yet aspirational. It also, without intentional harm, began to create gendered connections and pre-modern notions of the genre. This also speaks to the challenges of being both an active participant and researcher, a unique aspect of my methodology. I elaborate on these issues in chapter 3.

**Purpose and Objectives**

This study begins with the first bluegrass festival (held in Fincastle, Virginia in 1965) to better understand the history of the bluegrass genre. This is a longitudinal study in which I focus on bluegrass music's staged genealogy and the power of the first festival's staging of this narrative as a tool of amplification and as an archival device and/or platform, offering self-narration with regards to (now) widely accepted understandings of the genre. By amplification, I am referring to the process of amplification created by the stage and its inherent repetitive and authorizing properties. The "Story of bluegrass" (referred to throughout as the Story) was heard with reverence due to the legitimizing nature of its staged presentation. Secondly, by archival device, I mean that I interpret the process of verbally recording the Story, followed quickly by the textual archiving of the story through Haney's

publications as internal, emic archival processes worthy of scholarly attention. Through my research, I found that the narratives told from the stage during "the Story" at Fincastle (and subsequently recorded in print/trade publications), implicitly celebrated a seemingly white and male genre. The rapid dispersal and collective acceptance of this Story as the history of the genre positioned the Story as a thread throughout my research.

To be clear, when I mention the Story, I am referring to the highlight of the Fincastle festival, an event organized by Haney, "called The Story of Bluegrass which reunited Bill Monroe with his former sidemen to reenact his musical career" (McKenzie). Describing the event, Richard Thompson wrote:

> Another of Carlton's original ideas was "The Blue Grass Story," a feature that saw Bill Monroe, who Haney had identified as having originated bluegrass music, perform in successive reunion with former members of his band, many of whom, including Jimmy Martin, Clyde Moody, Don Reno, Mac Wiseman, Carter Stanley, Sonny Osborne, Chubby Wise, Jim Eanes, and a number of others, had gone on to their own prominent careers.

Art Menius has similarly written:

> Barnum-like music promoter and artist manager Carlton Haney produced the first three-day bluegrass music festival with camping on Labor Day weekend 1965 on Cantrell's Horse Farm near Fincastle, Virginia. Haney combined his and Bill Clifton's idea of a big show with all the top bluegrass artists with the concept taken from Newport Folk Festival of a curated, multi-day festival offering some kind of narrative. Carlton capped off the three days with the "Blue Grass Story" on Sunday afternoon, creating a narrative arch for the community that brought the string tribe

> together. This was folklore being constructed on the ground (Menius "A Visit to a Lost Bluegrass Music Temple").

The Story, while no longer performed in the same ways, or even perhaps consciously known by fans today, has imprinted a history that was re-produced by those attending early festivals. The Story, importantly, positioned Bill Monroe as the beginning and originator of the genre.

While the performers were and continue to be predominantly white males, a deeper look at the history of the genre reveals the influence of marginalized participants, including women, African Americans, and Native Americans. The presentation of an all-male, all-white genealogy of the genre continued this conception and actively erased the legacy of marginalized performers. The impact of this erasure and lack of recognition has been increasingly contested in recent years.

The goal of this study has been both to gather and understand information regarding the first festival, reconstruct "the Story" as presented at the first festival, and reflectively deconstruct the impact of "the Story" today (via it's retelling and re-creation), as it continues to serve as the history of the genre. While the events of 1965 created the cultural and political capacity for the Story, I also studied current festivals to understand its lasting significance. This requires a folding of the time-space envelope in my study, meaning, the narratives of the past are explored through their active embodiment and re-creation in the present. In short, my analysis looks to the past to understand the present and utilizes the present to better understand what is questioned and what is possible. This analytic approach allows for a re-creation and re-imagining, through a feminist analysis.

To meet these project objectives, I use feminist and qualitative methods to unearth stories previously difficult to locate. My findings, presented in chapters 4 and 5, present a

biographical sketch of Carlton Haney, an overview of the creation of the Fincastle festival, and address the influence of the Story told at Fincastle. Then, I interrogate what the Story has meant predominantly for female audiences and performers, bringing into focus the erasures of women and their contributions.

**Research Questions**

This project began by asking: how has the concept of the southern white working-class identities been constructed by festivals since 1965, specifically for festival attendees and organizers? My initial interviews revealed that the participants who gathered at the first Fincastle festival (1965) were largely from the U.S. northeast, as well as scattered enthusiasts from across the nation, with typically fewer "local" attendees. Such conversations and findings opened the space for conversations concerning how those traveling through the region for the first time fused notions of place and sound, how and why did the first wave of bluegrass festivals (particularly 1965-1980) attract these particular participants, and perhaps most importantly, I found that the question of how Fincastle impacted the genre arose again and again.

There are a number of questions which point to key issues that this project addresses. While this project crosses cultural, political, and social relationships, it hinges on the question of how stories are produced. To address that overarching question, additional areas of inquiry are taken into account. These included, but were not limited to the following:

- In what ways are ideas of totalizing[8] rural whiteness constructed through bluegrass narratives?

[8] By "totalizing" whiteness I am referring to the idea of a generalizable white genre (or region) due to shared narratives.

- Are underrepresented groups within the bluegrass community rendered invisible by the exclusionary processes of festivals? If so, how and by whom?
- How do alternative narratives and methodologies substantiate and challenge dominant stories?

My working hypothesis was that bluegrass festivals serve as spaces to perform patriarchal desires (through dominant narratives, genealogies, and performative practices) while at the same time relying on (largely invisible) marginalized and feminist imaginaries[9] and labor. By reading bluegrass festivals as textual, interpretive events, my work is redirected to "the image, the imagined, [and] the imaginary – these are all terms that direct us to something critical and new" (Appadurai 1996, 31). Such theoretical and imaginative underpinnings are of great importance beyond the bluegrass festival site, genre enthusiast, or performer. As my methods chapter reveals, I interrogate this hypothesis through a careful deconstruction of bluegrass festivals and their resulting generalizations about southern Appalachia and place-based identities, I aim to illuminate the ways in which the region functions and is consumed on a national level. Much of the methodological and analytical work for this project required sensitivity to the temporal elements of my fieldwork sites and qualitative processes. By temporal I mean the significance of my project shifts with time—interviews are remembrances, reenactments provoke present-moment responses, archives are organizations of past materialities with current understandings. These reflexive processes have been considerations in not only my analysis, but also my findings and methodologies.

[9] Feminist imaginary (image/imagine) speaks to the fact that I am not re-writing or righting history, but rather re-imagining futures through the re-production event of the Story and archival analysis. In the words of Appadurai, "[t]he image, the imagined, the imaginary – these are all terms that direct us to something critical and new" (Appadurai 1996, 31).

## Findings

In this study, I posit that the genre exists as a construct through stories that build and are built around these narratives and performances. These stories have framed the region and, in doing so, defined the space, making it a reality in the reader or the consumer's geographic and cultural imagination.[10] A close examination of the framing of such stories and the performances which inform the popular and often unbelievable notions behind them, reveals the fears, anxieties, and hopes of the storytellers and listeners. For example, the participatory re-enactment of the 1965 Story, presented by and for an audience in 2015 was one way of revealing the affectual impact of the Story. By revealing these often-hidden emotions and attachments related to the genre, these findings become more easily universalized and applicable beyond the festival grounds.

My findings reveal that feminist and ethnographic methods provide and validate the capacity to claim space and power, disrupting the social order(s) created (and mirrored) at festivals. Specifically, the ability to construct the Story of bluegrass, and then deconstruct it through performance and qualitative methodologies provides opportunities to question assumed histories.

## Project Significance

Since beginning this project, political and social events have shifted the ways in which I personally consume and understand the music around me. Lives and homes are filled

[10] For most academic studies of the region, the Appalachian Regional Commissions definition of Appalachia is accepted. "The Appalachian Region includes all of West Virginia and parts of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. The Region is home to more than 25 million people and covers 420 counties and almost 205,000 square miles" (https://www.arc.gov/index.asp) accessed on 12/16/2017.

with images of war, refugee crises, economic exasperation, deadly attacks at festivals and music venues, and the deaths of hundreds of people of color. Many of the popular culture emerging in the years prior to and during the writing of this project can easily be read as political, cultural, and social. For example, Beyoncé's halftime performance at the 2015 Super Bowl, which was followed by the release of her album *Lemonade,* sparked discussions of Black power, intersectional feminism, and collective resistance ("Super Bowl 50"). D'Angelo's powerful delivery of "The Charade" from the album *Black Messiah* on *Saturday Night Live* (February 1, 2015) brought about discussions of the Black Lives Matter Movement among even the most passive consumers of popular culture. Using the removal of his hoodie in a performative gesture evoking Trayvon Martin's untimely death, along with having the Vanguard wear t-shirts which read "I can't breathe" in remembrance of Eric Garner,[11] D'Angelo's televised performance was nothing short of political, a statement about police brutality. As the American flag hung like a cape from D'Angelo's guitar strap, he directed viewers' attention to the content of his emotionally charged lyrics: "all we wanted was a chance to talk, 'stead we only got outlined in chalk" ("D'Angelo").

I interpret the stories of the first bluegrass festival, held in Fincastle, Virginia, in 1965, through the context of music as a tool for potential power. The lack of political discourse within bluegrass is not only noteworthy, but political through its banality within the current moment, claiming an apolitical stance. I interpret this silence in itself to be a political stance.

[11] On July 17, 2014, Eric Garner died after a New York City Police Department officer put him in a headlock while arresting him. https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/14/nyregion/eric-garner-police-chokehold-staten-island.html

By observing performers and volunteers, performers' partners, backstage versus frontstage communications, and by conducting more formal interviews, I was given access to memories. This retroactive gaze through which we understand the "creation" of the genre is of course altered by such remembrances, myths, and the staging of cultures. At the festival grounds, the past is in the present, and these multiple temporalities consistently deconstruct, reshape, and reframe one another. This is a fairly new approach to understanding typically traditional music in rural America. Typically traditional efforts have largely been dedicated to collecting and preserving—creating a history that reinforces patriarchal hierarchies. This project works to deconstruct that history.

**Methodological and Organizational Overview**

I begin presenting institutional scholarship and accepted definitions of bluegrass and bluegrass festivals, tracing texts where these terms appear, including the impact of trade publications within the genre. To address the theoretical foundations of the dissertation, I present relevant literature on theories of space and place and the politics of culture, as well as feminist understandings of performativity. My full literature review is found in Chapter 2.

Within the scope of definitions and limits for this project, the first bluegrass festival was held in Fincastle, Virginia in 1965 and was organized by Carlton Haney. I set these particular boundaries—festivals as two-day events, starting in 1965—for multiple reasons. First, the project was compelled through my engagement with the Carlton and Charles Haney Collection. Second, the immense "Story" told in 1965 marks a beginning to the genre's now commonplace ability to performatively define itself for itself.

Narratives are not only in the stories collected and shared from stage, but also found in the ways in which knowledge is organized, recognized, and transposed. Realization that "the story of bluegrass" is created through multiple modalities has required a mixed, responsive method, moving backstage, listening in quiet places, and noting details often considered less than noteworthy. It has also provoked a questioning of what archives are and what the function of indexes, finding aids, and collections is and can *be*. Katrina Powell writes that "[b]ecause archives are 'neither universal across space nor stable across time,' the methodology of researching and building archives, I propose, would always assume that there are gaps in knowledge, whether known or unknown (Powell, Np).

I worked with the notion that festivals are a source of archival data; social and cultural archival spaces in which the stage, the program, the set lists, hashtags, vendors, maps, and Facebook groups all serve as spaces of self-narration. Festivals provide qualitative and quantitative data sets which have been underemployed as such. Understanding the internal system of creating origins and histories is important when realizing the larger (national) influence of festivals. For example, in 1968, ethnomusicologist Alan Lomax spoke before a performance at the National Folk Festival, and stated:

> [T]his is the Festival of the common man. This is the Festival of the democratic art the American people have made out of their experience. In affairs like this we realize our strength. We realize how beautiful we are. Black is beautiful. Appalachia is beautiful, and even old, tired, Washington sometimes is beautiful when the American people gather to sing and fall in love with each other again. (https://folklife.si.edu/legacy-honorees/alan-lomax/smithsonian)

Lomax, unlike Carlton Haney, intentionally wielded and wove the political within the performance space of the festival. In addition to the overview here, the complete methodological details of my project are provided in chapter 3.

I employ feminist and participatory ethnographic practices to distill the stories, archival documents, and observations to present the dominant narrative of how festivals (specifically, Fincastle) began. I highlight the story of Carlton Haney while reflecting on the cultural and methodological implications of such a dominant narrative. I analyze archival data, including "the Story" of bluegrass music. In doing so, I engage with the mythical story of Carlton Haney told through interviews and ethnographic analysis.

**Conclusion**

In this study, I develop these initial conceptual explorations by focusing on data collected at and related to festivals (1965-2017). The literature review (Chapter 2), overviews my use of theories of space and place related to bluegrass and addresses gaps in bluegrass literature with regards to feminist methodologies and studies related to bluegrass. This chapter offers a theoretical context for the reader. In Chapter 3, I elaborate on my participatory and feminist methodological approaches and provide my data found and modes of analysis used. Chapters 4 and 5 provide analysis and findings, beginning with Carlton Haney and context for the Fincastle festivals, and ending with a close examination of the influence and impact of women within the genre.

Festivals become a vessel through which organizations, movements, crises, ruptures, and communities can be studied. In line with this exchange there are tensions within the writing, the form, of this project. I am aware of the challenges of efforts to translate between

etic and emic, scholar and practitioner, participant and observer, public and (institutionally) academic writing. To explain or provide clarification I provide bridges (as noted in the table of contents) between chapters. While each bridge offers a varying function as title, they also serve as a textual break offering time to pause, reflect, and make connections between chapters, much like the function of musical *bridges* which occur between a verse and chorus. In the bridges, I interject my observations and reflections which do not easily fit within the traditional dissertation format.

**BRIDGE: Translation and Tension**

The tensions in studying bluegrass, studying my own community, and presenting these studies, are seen in the following chapter as tensions of translation, voice, and (common) language. I am not alone in translational struggles. I have watched as musicians alter the way songs are shared, taught, and recorded. The materiality of the genre (tablature, recordings, videos, instruments, etc.) demands an exchangeable language. The success of the genre via reproducibility demands a permanency, and a reproducible presence. Such materialities and written records offer a power to those with the ability to interpret, understand and translate what is captured. The need for translation and common language is seen at jams as performers with minimal acquaintance perform together. Additionally it is seen in exchanges where performers are challenged by written music or performing by ear.

Responding to the hostilities of the current political climate, cultural studies continue to question and reimagine rigorously the uses of celebratory spaces and collective identities. Further, the literal and metaphorical voice historically used to empower, organize, and oppress, is increasingly realized and recognized due to hyper-mediated methods of communication[12]. Speaking both inside and outside (emic and etic) translation becomes necessary, as embodiment and experiences are often connected to insider terms and gestures. It is here that my position between festivals (as ethnographic field sites), and the academy, serves a translational function.

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[12] The bluegrass community largely communicates via listerves, chatrooms, and online forums, mediated spaces with hyper-textual exchanges.

Symbol Chart.

◇ = a dimond, let it Ring

^ 1 = Choke the chord.

$1^{\Delta}$ = major $7^{th}$

-1 = minor, flat that $3^{rd}$

1/3 = bottom # = bass voicing. If you're in "6", play a "B" in Bass.

$1^{dim}$ or $1^{o}$ = diminished, flat that $3^{rd}$ and $5^{th}$

$1^{ø}$ = half diminished = minor 7 flat 5

$1^{+}$ = Augmented = raise the 5

$1^{sus}$ = leave out the $3^{rd}$ - add a $4^{th}$ (or 2)

$1^{7}$ = dominate $7^{th}$

[13]

[13] https://www.premierguitar.com/articles/The_Nashville_Number_System_Demystified

## Chapter 2: Review of Literature and Theories

### Introduction

The study of bluegrass is a relatively new phenomenon which has fallen largely within the areas of folklore, history, and ethnomusicology. In writing an interdisciplinary dissertation, I am not only attuned to different theoretical conversations, but conversations happening in different communities. To reflect this, I present several histories and literatures and examine non-traditional texts. For example, I treat trade publications as a literature to be reviewed alongside academic publications within this review. I begin by introducing applied theories, specifically space and place, particularly heterotopias. I also address the concept of imagined communities, the theorization of performativity, and politics of culture. Once my theoretical frames have been addressed, I move to provide an overview of literature relevant to my topic; bluegrass festivals. I begin with a broad history of festivals, including regionally significant fiddler's conventions, followed by (critical) regional studies. I conclude by addressing the questions, "What is bluegrass" and "How is bluegrass studied," before locating current studies of bluegrass festivals within larger discussions.

### Theoretical Framework: Space and Place

One theoretical framework of my analysis concerns theories of space and place, specifically, the ways identities are recognized and produced through space. In my dissertation, I expand existing studies of the bluegrass community to include theoretical knowledge about bodies, space, and identities. Space and place are not used interchangeably, but are connected through experience and the conceptualizations of one's festival experiences

I also invoke space as a conceptual tool for understanding the relational and gendered productions of festivals and the genre. As explored in chapter 3, my theoretical use of the concepts of space and place are influential in my methodological choices and decisions as a qualitative researcher. As Doreen Massey writes:

> Moreover, since social relations are inevitably and everywhere imbued with power and meaning and symbolism, this view of the spatial is as an ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification. Such a way of conceptualizing the spatial, moreover, inherently implies the existence in the lived world of a simultaneous multiplicity of spaces: cross-cutting, intersecting, aligning with one another, or existing in relations of paradox or antagonism. Most evidently this is so because the social relations of space are experienced differently, and variously interpreted, by those holding different positions as part of it. But it may also be seeming to be so by continuing the analogy with modern physics. For there too the observer is inevitably within the world (the space) being observed. And this in turn means that it partly constitutes the observed and the observer of it, and the fact of the observer's constitution of it means that there is necessarily a multiplicity of different spaces, or takes on space (Massey 1994, 3).

Places, to use human geographer Doreen Massey's term, are traditionally sites of nostalgia, sites of history, and governance, and the use of the term place is most often an attempt to "stabilize the meaning of particular envelopes of space-time" (Massey 1994, 5). When I refer to places within the common bluegrass or regional understandings of history (such as Camp Springs, Fincastle, or Nashville) I am myself attempting to reconcile with a particular envelope of space-time.

In understanding festivals as spatial and social organizers, both productions and producers, I look to Massey who states,

> "Instead then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether it be a street, a region, or even a continent (28, 1991).

In addition to place, I use the concept of space. My understanding of space is informed by what Michel de Certeau refers to as "spatial practice" meaning, spaces are created discursively; through movement (1984). Influenced by de Certeau's line of thinking which illuminated the relationships between movement, agency, action, and the construction of spaces, my understanding of festivals was shifted by my own movement through archives, in and out of festivals, across state lines, and into classrooms. My entrance into spaces changed them. If I wrote about a festival, the space, for me, was moved through differently. I noted different experiences than I would had I been only enjoying the festival. This movement is reflective of the fleeting space-time collectivity of festivals as an event where people gather, to move through, and depart.

Movement and mobility are used in addition to concepts of space and place as a viable lens for understanding racist, classist, and gendered systems of oppression. Mobility—conceptual, metaphorical, and literal—also allows for resistance and the (re)construction of the self. Movement and mobility are measured in relation to space and place. My

understandings of space and place build upon the works of Doreen Massey and (spatial theorist) Edward Soja[14].

My cultural and political readings of archival texts and interpretations of my ethnographic fieldwork have been largely informed by cultural anthropologists, specifically Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, and primarily their article "Beyond 'Culture': Space Identity, and the Politics of Difference." In this work they encourage the reader to rethink the concept of culture in light of theories of space within postmodernist and feminist theory. This work is particularly important to cultures formed vis-à-vis colonialism or through geographical or spatial othering. I use these theories to address the ways festivals are spatial organizers with borders and boundaries of their own, creating "others" in order to delimitate the space. One way of breaking down such "othering" is to begin with the premise that "spaces have *always* been hierarchically interconnected, instead of naturally disconnected" (Gupta and Ferguson 8). If interconnectedness and politics are already within the organization of places, "cultural and social change becomes not a matter of cultural contact and articulation but one of rethinking difference *through* connection" (Gupta and Ferguson 8).

Gupta and Ferguson's collaborative work also provides the suggestion to discontinue mapping cultures onto places, and rather, to replace such grids with "multiple grids that enable us to see that connection and contiguity—more generally the representations of territory—which vary considerably by factors such as class, gender, race, and sexuality." Such powers are "differently available to those in different locations in the field of power" (20). This understanding of grids influenced my research choice to address the different gendered areas of the festival.

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[14] In particular, I understand Soja's concept of thirdspace to be a fruitful method for understanding festivals and hope to further explore the possibilities of this specific framing in future works.

**Festivals as Heterotopias**

I argue that the bluegrass community be understood as a relational space. In this project I interpret festivals as heterotopias. Such theoretical gestures call upon a wide body of critical geographers and theorists of space and place. Specifically, I argue festivals serve(d) as heterotopic spaces; marginal, mysterious, a site of paradoxical practices and ambivalent social meanings (Hetherington, 41). In "Of Other Spaces," Foucault writes that he is interested in "the space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs… is also in itself, a heterogeneous space" (23). Here, Foucault is focusing on external, physical sites rather than internal concepts of space. He clarifies that among all the different types and manifestations of heterotopias, his interest is placed in "certain ones that have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror or reflect" (24). Foucault's notions of reflection encouraged me to address the socially reflective nature of bluegrass festivals. This analysis is presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Foucault contends that heterotopias serve as crisis sites, or (and more commonly) as heterotopias of deviation. He continues to elaborate on the principles of heterotopias. These include: functionality, the capability of juxtaposition, linkages to slices in time, or, heterochronous, and seemingly inclusive access (Foucault 25-26). The final function of heterotopias, according to Foucault, is to "function in relation to all the space that remains" (27). I entered this project anticipating that I would use Foucault's definition of differing spatial definitions to further analyze festivals; however I found that the foundational work of

presenting festivals as places was not readily available within most academic conversations and (re)creating the festival and the Story in order to deconstruct it through a heterotopic lens became more of a methodological endeavor than an analytically presented "finding." However, I provide Foucault's terminology, as it influences the ways I read festival spaces. Further, a broad sweeping application of "bluegrass festivals as heterotopias" must be approached with caution, understanding that bluegrass festivals embrace the form of the heterotopia, and employ its liminal functions, largely and exclusively, for white males. Thus, festivals, while appearing inclusive, function exclusively, privileging white males. I address this in chapter 5. Like most qualitative research, generalizable approaches are not risk adverse, and the risk here is an unquestioned celebration of the exceptionalism and liberatory possibilities which have written out women and performers of color.

In short, heterotopias are diverse, occupied sites of alternative orderings and possibilities. They are sites linked to time and place, but within themselves allow for a type of fluidity not often felt in the world outside the heterotopic space. Such spatial theorizing supports the argument of bluegrass festivals[15] as relational spaces. Questions concerning collective spaces and their potential are highlighted by the work of Marc Augé, who wrote:

> Once it has become clear that it is the spatial arrangements that express the group's identity (its actual origins are often diverse, but the group is established, assembled, and united in the identity of the place) . . . . Collectives (or those who direct them), like their individual members, need to think simultaneously about identity and relations; and to this end, they need to symbolize the components of a shared identity (shared by the whole group), particular identity (of a given group or individual in

[15] Please note, unless otherwise stated, I am referring specifically to bluegrass festivals when using the term "festivals".

relation to others), and singular identity (what makes the individual or group of individuals different from any other) (119).

Augé however, did not use the term heterotopia, rather he made use of the phrase "non-places." Further, Augé argues that such spaces allowed for identity formation to occur within groups—Foucault does not address identity formation, however the exclusivity (25-26) suggested in "Of Other Spaces" leads readers to understand a commonality among individuals invited and welcomed into heterotopic sites. While Foucault also directly makes such claims in *Subject and Power*, his essays specifically on the topics of heterotopias have informed much of this project, as I understand the festival grounds to work in a similar way.

Many theorists have utilized Foucault's thoughts on the organization of space. Gilles Deleuze, specifically in the essay, "Postscripts on the Societies of Control" published in 1992, dealt with spaces of enclosure, noting that "[e]nclousures are *molds*, distinct castings but controls are a modulation, like a self-deforming cast that will continuously change from one moment to the other (2). Others have used the concept to unravel cultural and social issues, with power, knowledge, and control always present in the researcher's intention. I am not the first to make the connection between space/place and bluegrass or bluegrass festivals. For example, human geographer Owen Gardner explains the ways in which festivals are atypical spaces. He writes:

> In these communal spaces, participants interacted in ways that are considered uncommon or inappropriate in other social settings. . . Paulette, a thirty two year old university employee, explained this transition as a 'hangover from their daily lives' where people wanted to 'maximize their space and build these enormous houses and create boundaries between their neighbors with big fences' . . . Clint, a twenty-eight-

year-old banjo player pointed out that relationships he formed at the festival 'are special and endowed with something that my other relationships are not' (165-166).

Additionally, Gardner found that the bonds between festival-goers were made quickly and were long lasting. Further, he found that certain social differences did not matter within this space in the same ways they mattered in non-festival spaces. One informant shared, "I often find that I am associating with people involved with bluegrass music that have political and religious perspectives that are radically different than mine" (170). This "ambivalence to difference" found in heterotopic space explains the sharing of Christian songs even among Jewish and Buddhist performers. Further, the feeling of moving beyond one's "ordering" is often expressed, as well as feelings of solidarity.

**Bluegrass as an Imagined Community**

Building upon my Master's thesis, I continue to interpret the bluegrass community as an imagined community, as described by Benedict Anderson. Anderson proposes that an imagined community may arise when given the following conditions:

1. Fundamental cultural conceptions
2. The belief that society was naturally organized around and under high centres or monarchs who were persons apart from other human beings and who are ruled by some form of cosmological (divine) dispensation
3. A conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable, the origins of the world and of men essentially identical
4. Fraternity, power, and time are linked meaningfully together (34-36)

The following excerpt from my 2011 Master's thesis elaborates on these connections. I wrote:

> Anderson's second criterion, "The belief that society was naturally organized around and under high centers/monarchs who were persons apart from other human beings and who are ruled by some form of cosmological (divine) dispensation" (36), is upheld by the authority given to the generational organization of the genre and Bill Monroe's mythic role in the creation story of bluegrass. Monroe serves as a mythic figure, as Robert Cantwell explains, "As Monroe's childhood carried him to the farther reaches of Rosine society and to the floor of the social hierarchy, so his music symbolically thrust him to the zenith of an imagined community ambiguously situated in the "years ago" and in the emblematic 'hills of old Kentucky,' whose embodiments in Bluegrass music have by sheer emotional magnetism caused an actual community to coalesce around it" (Cantwell, 33 qtd. in Laney, 40).

Referring to Fred Bartenstein's notion of "generations" within bluegrass—an organizational tool which upholds the Monroe-centric narrative, I continued:

> Interestingly, each generation has such monarchs or "key figures" that often change the genre's sound from within. I agree with the many critics and bluegrass scholars who argue that Chris Thile serves that role today, just as Tony Rice did with the Rounder 00-44 recording. I later argue in the roles section that such monarchs emerge from what I have labeled the "creative core."
>
> Cantwell's above statement leads into Anderson's third necessary element for the formation of a nation: "a conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable, the origins of the world and of men essentially

identical," or a specific historical framework. The "history" of the bluegrass community lies in the collective imagination of the community. The collective remembrance of the genre (for most) is repeated in bluegrass texts, with the "beginning of the genre" happening in 1945 as Bill Monroe stepped onto the stage of the Grand Ole Opry with North Carolina native Earl Scruggs. They were named "the first generation," and every generation since has been structured similarly, making the history read more like a genealogical web than a discography. The world of bluegrass and Bill Monroe serve in unison as the "source" of the sound and community. Just as Adam and Eve's fateful story in the Garden of Eden cannot be separately called the "creation story" or "the beginnings of wo/man," the stories of bluegrass's origins and their individual meanings for the genre are inextricable from one another (Laney, 40-41).

**Theoretical Framework: Feminist Theories and Theories about Performance**

One of my contributions to these existing literatures is the application of a feminist critique, building on Gardner and Cantwell in order to deconstruct power structures within and outside the space; the same structures that allow for the creation of the festival space and limit its potential. In addition to exploring feminist epistemologies within the genre (and reflecting on my own experiences within the space), I utilize feminist historiography practices that I expand on in Chapter 3. For this project—one of both construction and deconstruction—I use binary understandings of gender (female/male) to address gaps in history and issues of performativity.

Performativity—particularly the presentation and production of gender within festivals writ large is a massive topic approached by ethnomusicologists and multi-disciplinary music scholars. Attempting to focus on Fincastle, I sought out hierarchical stories and spaces which demand particular performances and anticipate future works which build upon the foundational work this dissertation provides, which is an understanding of the normalized misunderstandings of regional music and academic scholarship, as a survey of institutionalized (recognized, academic) bluegrass scholarship reveals. By performativity, I am utilizing Judith Butler's insistence on gender as a repetition of acts which produce or enforce gender constructs (Butler, "Performative Acts" 519). With that said, in my analysis, performance and performativity both "reproduce gendered norms." This conscious performance is different from performativity in which the "body is figured as a mere *instrument* or *medium* for which a set of cultural meanings are only externally related" (Butler, *Gender Trouble* 12). My attention is directed toward the ways in which bodies are used to (re)produce gendered norms, as that was the essence of my findings, as presented in the following chapters.

Elaborating on the subject of gendered performance within musical spaces, Simon Frith, socio-musicologist, writes: "female creative roles are limited and mediated through male notions of female ability. Women musicians who make it are almost always singers; the women in the business who make it are usually in publicity; in both roles success goes with a male-made female image" (2007, 43). Particular gendered performances and performativity are elaborated on in Chapter Five.

**Theoretical Framework: Politics of Culture (History)**

"Politics of Culture" as a study and methodology allows me to emphasize the mis-directed ideologies which directly influenced the production and curation of early regional music scenes. Early fiddler's convention and festival organizers relied on Scots-Irish myths, and the "Agrarian Myth" of a happy "yeoman farmer" perpetuated by Thomas Jefferson, to determine cultures worthy of presentation. These misrepresentations, or myths, also masked other groups in the region. It is uncontested that racist ideologies and Eurocentric notions of civility undermine both. The planning and promotion, as well as success of early festivals and fiddler's conventions had unquestionably racist and white-Euro-centric positionalities, as illustrated through the "cultural intervention" and blatantly racist work of John Powell (Whisnant 237-244). For example, the White Top Folk Festival (1931-1939) was led in part by John Powell, along with Annabel Morris Buchanan and John Blakemore. While seemingly disconnected from the bluegrass festivals of 1965, the work of Powell is important to note, as it highlights the political and cultural power of celebratory (cultural) gatherings. The racist ideologies of John Powell went far beyond the White Top Fiddler's gathering. Powell is known for his assistance in drafting Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of 1924, founding the Richmond chapter of the Anglo-Saxon Club of America, and "was deeply involved in the drafting and passage of the act and was an ally of an infamous Virginia state registrar of vital statistics and eugenics advocate, Walter Plecker" (Moxley). The Racial Integrity Act of 1924 resulted in the reclassification of "all members of Virginia Indian tribes as "colored" to exclude them, as well as blacks, from public schools and other institutions" (Moxley). Further, the Act resulted in thousands of forced surgical sterilizations.

As Whisnant argues, festivals and conventions have been historically used by organizers and creators to promote ethnocentric political and ideological goals. There are known expectations and transactions at every turn when staging traditional culture. This is nothing new, "[A]although the emerging class of academically trained public folklorists and professional folk revivalists did not always constitute mutually exclusive groups, they tended to have different agendas and, ultimately different notions of authenticity" Michael Ann Williams writes of the 1960-1970 folk revival boom (173). For Knott (and her predecessors who directed the National Folk Festival) authenticity seemed to be closely connected with a distant past (Williams, 171-181). My work enters these conversations by reading the bluegrass Story through the lens of the politics of culture as the genre rests in the border between folk and commercial music. My theoretical reading of the Story and the festival space reveals connections to earlier fiddler's conventions and questions dominant narratives within bluegrass.

**Theoretical Framework: Politics of Culture (Texts)**

By studying typically traditional Appalachian musical gatherings, I enter into a line of discourse referred to as the politics of culture. Michael Ann Williams', *Staging Traditional Culture* (2006), and David Whisnant's, *All that is Native and Fine* (1983) offer key insights into early festival organizers and radio promoters on the regional, folk and national levels as well as the politics of culture (or cultural intervention used in the construction of the Appalachian imaginary). Following Whisnant and Williams, I focus on the production of typically traditional Appalachian culture. Like Whisnant, I am interested in placing politics and culture in conversation (xviii). This allows me to examine the ways in which "the stage"

allows for, or begs for gendered performances and regulates space—this intellectual exercise requires a bit of imagination as I expand the concept of the stage. I am implying that a stage is more than a raised area separating performers and an audience. Stages are platforms which direct the gaze of the masses.

Robert Cantwell's essay "Feasts of the Unnaming" is an account of the Smithsonian Folk Festival as a gathering that can be uncomfortable, painful, and telling, revealing national ideals and desires. He, like Whisnant, traces the lineage of modern day folk festivals to Annabel Morris Buchanan's White Top festival, largely through the eyes of Charles Seeger who recalled the event as "reactionary to the core" and "indifferen[t] to mountain music and mountain people" (Cantwell, 5-6). Cantwell connects folk festivals to the post-Civil War need for a national identity. Cantwell asserts that festivals serve as a "voice, literally and figuratively," that allows for such divided people to come together (9).

To understand the politics of culture, or the way power moves in culture, Cantwell invokes Roger Abrahams. Roger Abrahams suggests that the public or common spaces (outside of family and community) where people gather and exchange ideas be considered a marketplace or trade zone. Historically, marketplaces or trade zones occur "at the crossing points between two worlds" (Cantwell, 20). I argue that bluegrass festivals are less crossing points between two different economic or geographic worlds than they are socially constructed spaces of opposition (rural in an urban world, southern not a northern world, working class not the elite, etc.).

As previously noted, David Whisnant is credited for addressing such relationships within the Appalachian region. The intersections of festivals and political ideas about nation and culture are questioned through Whisnant's study, which asks: What are the limits of

"education" as an approach to progressive social change in the midst of a rapidly expanding industrial economic and social order? What ethical warrant does one have to decide what is good or bad, progressive or not, useful or not, in a culture other than one's own (20)? While festivals are not implicitly connected to (fiddler's) conventions, they are both commonly seen as representative of spaces, places, and populations that are pre-modern or not as advanced as the rest of the nation.

In multiple accounts, the events Whisnant studies intersect with the festivals highlighted in my study, as both allow for the creation of a particular place. Further, I am interested in their shared, common process of "othering" Appalachia as an overly romanticized notion of being a place one can escape to (Whisnant 43). Whisnant explained, "It is clear in any case that culture was the touchstone at both origin and destination; culture was key—to perceived difference, to energizing motive, to rescue and rejuvenation" (44). This perceived difference is seen in the trademark "high lonesome sound" of bluegrass music, a sound connected to "ancient tones" as Bill Monroe declared, while serving as a vessel through which young men could better themselves, make money, and become famous.

**Foundational History: The Staging of "White" Culture**

One key insight gained by utilizing the politics of culture framework and literatures to research bluegrass festivals has been to interrogate assumptions about the racial constructs of place, notably, the misunderstanding of a white Appalachia. It is important to note that the banjo—the iconic bluegrass instrument—was seen as "less than" authentic and not worthy of documentation during post-Civil-War-ballad collecting (as confirmed by Whisnant, 47, 55). Inasmuch, it would seem that bluegrass festivals—a celebration of the "bawdy music"

rejected by early folklorists and collectors in search of Anglo-Saxon connections and unworthy of staging— are, in themselves, counter hegemonic performances. However, as my research shows, festivals and the genre's internally narrated construction actually upheld and largely upholds practices which privilege white performers, erasing the artistic contributions of black culture in the rural south. While politics of culture have brought ethnocentric ideas concerning rural music into the festival grounds for years, the display of "southern pride" often masking white supremacy seems to be a newer trend (for example, the flying of confederate flags).

This erasure did not start in 1965 with the Fincastle festival. Rather, this process can be found in the staging of culture as early as 1931, when Annabel Morris Buchanan, John A. Blakemore, and John Powell launched what grew to be one of the largest, most influential folk festivals in the southeastern United States: the White Top Folk Festival in southwestern Virginia (Williams, 12). The festival was attended by First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt in 1933 and the festival garnered some positive attention. However, the purist tendencies of the gathering led musicologist Charles Seeger to refer to the event as "reactionary to the core" in 1936 (Williams 13).

Indeed, the Whitetop Mountain Fiddler's Festival, organized and promoted by Buchanan, Blakemore, and Powell, has been noted as a particularly problematic, politically charged, and even manipulative example of folk culture on stage (Whisnant). This is largely due to comments made by Buchanan such as "the folk festival is not concerned with products of the streets, nor of the penitentiaries, nor of the gutter . . . high standards cannot walk hand in hand with common-pure democracy" (Buchanan 1937:30 quoted. In Cantwell 2008: 6). Buchanan barred banjos and what she considered "bawdry" low class music from her

gatherings. She also sought out and presented solely white performers, perpetuating myths of (totalizing) Appalachian whiteness. "Not for the mountain people alone," Buchanan wrote of her music and fiddler's conventions, "not for one region alone or for one class alone: The White Top activities, if they are to endure, must be wrought slowly, carefully measure by measure for a race . . . for after all, the White Top festival belongs to the folk and we are the folk" (Buchanan 1937: 34, quoted in Cantwell 2008: 6).

While bluegrass festivals, as I present through Carlton Haney's personal history and envisioning of Fincastle, are far removed from the elite work of Powell and Buchanan, Haney fell into many of the same false narratives about the region. Further, the bluegrass history Rinzler and Haney created and narrated re-produced racist ideologies in a less direct way, erasing performers of color from the festival scene and from the genre's history.

Rather than signs or statements excluding African Americans from the festival grounds in 1965, there was a narrative displacement, an erasure, of African American labor and influence. Haney maintained (and maintains) a representation as a welcoming festival promotor (Bonnie Haney, personal interview). While I did not find racist remarks as a dominant theme within my interviews, the presence of the confederate flag was noted in my field note from Galax Fiddler's Convention, but was not prominent at the festivals I attended. I walked with a photographer friend through rows of makeshift campsites at the Galax grounds, almost all white, as we discussed what we were seeing. Almost each row contained at least one campsite using the confederate flag and "Don't Tread on Me" flag side by side as backdrops behind their picnic tables. While Haney worked to create an inclusive space, he also worked inside a heterotopia which served as a space of becoming for white, rural, men. Inasmuch, the narrative he told from stage excluded and rendered some performers invisible.

Historically, there were other gatherings in the region which sought to include groups typically marginalized by song collectors. Bascom Lamar Lunsford's Mountain Dance and Folk Festival (1928-today) held in western North Carolina, featured a number of banjoists. One such featured performer was the too-often overlooked white female performer, "Aunt" Samantha Bumgarner, who traveled to New York to make the first banjo recording (notably, in 1925, two years before the infamous Bristol Sessions) with her musical companion Eva Davis. Lunsford also sought out a Cherokee fiddler, Manco Sneed, for performances. However, on bluegrass festival stages, performers have consistently been white.

Crucially noted, the festival work of Sarah Gertrude Knott and Joe Wilson, among other folk-centered promotors, is drastically different from Carlton Haney's intentions with the first bluegrass festival. Knott and Wilson were involved in state supported and/or culturally authoritative projects[16] for the purpose of preserving a unique culture and notably included black performers at their festivals (Whisnant xxxii). Haney, on the other hand was an independent marketer, working to make a profit off of the genre, and later became a devotee of Bill Monroe and the production of the "bluegrass story" as described in later chapters.

**Theoretical Framework: Regional Studies**

It has become increasingly apparent that the field of Appalachian Studies does not have the disciplinary constructs needed to engage with the questions concerning music, culture, and narratives in the ways that I hope to do. Similarly, ethnomusicology requires a reconstruction of cultural narratives that I critique. With these challenges, critical regionalism

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[16] By "culturally authoritative" I mean that their work was often recognized by legitimizing agencies and for funding purposes, etc.

has served as a space from which I can bridge discussions within regional studies and ethnomusicology, and in doing so, address the deficiencies in "Appalachian Music" approaches while acknowledging the importance of space and place within recognized anthropological, social, and cultural phenomenon and events. For these reasons, I engage in academic conversations within Appalachian Studies, but do not see that as a destination for my work. Rather, I hope to question the institutional origins and alignments of regional studies which perpetuate the repetition of dominant narratives, further marginalizing narratives of underrepresented performers and participants.

The organization of spaces often reminds us, through embodiment, of social orders. Admittance into particular places because of their nostalgia, history, or definitions, in return imprints a history, a definition, and a memory onto individual bodies. My previous work has primarily focused on how regions and localities (re)produce social orders and knowledge. When thinking about place and the ways places are constructed, the emergence of critical regionalism as a methodology is incredibly productive.

Douglas Reichert Powell and Rebecca Scott have written on the creation of spaces utilizing such praxis in *Critical Regionalism* and *Removing Mountains*, respectively. Powell writes; "[r]egionalism typically does, but does not have to, categorically isolate "authentic" or whole spaces. If region is a rhetoric, then critical regionalism can use the construction of region to interconnect more fully, rather than disconnect, local places to broader patterns of politics, history, and culture" (Powell, 26). This dissertation allows me to expand on methods found in regional studies, addressing power beyond regional histories concerning the production of typically traditional music(s).

**What is Bluegrass?**

On the most basic level, bluegrass music is a form of American roots music, named after Bill Monroe's band, the Blue Grass Boys. The genre features specific instrumentation: fiddle, mandolin, banjo, (upright) bass, and resonator guitar (Dobro). Going further into the nuances of the genre, literary theorist Robert Cantwell, defined bluegrass music as "the music of the Appalachian people… a distinct kind of 'traditional' music: traditional that is, in practice, the long spans of time normally associated with tradition have been violently foreshortened by radio and phonograph… (2008: 144)." Bluegrass was birthed through the airwaves, crossing geographic, class, and racial borders, to enter any home with a radio. And yet, Cantwell continues, the genre remained, "essentially Appalachian, the [b]luegrass style was elastic enough to attract musicians and musical influences far removed from Appalachia; the widening of those influences, combined with the evolution of a community of participants whose means of exchanging information have become ever more sophisticated" (2008: 144).

Radio is arguably the medium through which most individuals encountered bluegrass for the first time during the genre's emergence. The infamous Grand Ole Opry (still functioning today) added an additional layer of transactions through sponsorships and continued the tradition of presenting "authentic" culture to the masses (Cantwell 2008:5). While bluegrass was "birthed" over radio waves, my dissertation argues that it was rehistoricized through festivals.

Neil Rosenberg, the noted bluegrass historian, has observed that he grew up in the 1940s and "found" bluegrass through home entertainment media (largely radio and records). Rosenberg and (so many others of his generation who defined the genre as it is known today)

discovered bluegrass not at the foot of a stage, but in private settings, through technology. When a performance was seen live—at a nightclub, gathering, or festival— “a visual world unfolded,” Rosenberg writes, adding “[w]e realized that we’d been hearing aural textures created by people who moved around a fixed focal point—the microphone” (Fleischhauer and Rosenberg, 9). Or, as Jean Ritchie, “The Mother of Folk Music” has famously shared “I guess if it hadn’t been for the radio it’s no telling how long it would have taken us to find out that we were hillbillies, or what kind of songs we were supposed to sing,” (Wolfe, 151). The radio allowed for a layered example of culture through hillbilly programming. By 1951 there were over 1400 “hillbilly” programs on the airwaves (Rosenberg, 96). The home—intimate spaces of the bedroom, living room and kitchen—became the areas where the stage entered the daily routines of listeners. I share these anecdotes to illustrate the importance of staging and framing within the bluegrass genre, as well as to present a foundation for it’s deeply commercial and mediated history.

In 1948 “Bluegrass” became a term used to market a genre, with Bill Monroe making his first of many appearances on a *Billboard* chart in 1946 with his single, "Kentucky Waltz," (Bronson). By the 1960s, documenting bluegrass within the community through trade publications was already entrenched in the process of self-narration[17]. In the 1970s, New Grass Revival emerged and introduced the festival space to those interested in counter-cultural movements (Rosenberg, 298). This shift invited (and contested) the belonging of rockers-turned-bluegrassers within the space, but undoubtedly influenced performers, drawing more young people to the gatherings.

[17]Carlton Haney and Fred Bartenstein began publishing *Muleskinner News*. *Bluegrass Unlimited* soon followed increasing the availability and scope of print media/trade publications and ensuring a documentation of the growth of the genre.

Robert Cantwell, offers a definition of bluegrass I use as an entry point for exploring the social production of the genre. Cantwell writes, “Bluegrass music was and is the music of the Appalachian people… a distinct kind of ‘traditional’ music: traditional that is, in practice, the long spans of time normally associated with tradition have been violently foreshortened by radio and phonograph… (*Bluegrass Breakdown* 144).” Bluegrass was birthed through the airwaves crossing geographic, class, and racial borders with the possibility to enter any home with a radio.

Radio is not the only technological medium used to transmit bluegrass into homes. *Oh Brother Where Art Thou* won three Grammys in 2002. Like the radio, the Grammys—a televised show—enters into multiple homes and by doing so introduced the nation (again) to bluegrass music. During the 2002 Grammy performance (which featured Alison Kraus, Gillian Welch, Emmylou Harris, and Ralph Stanley) very few of the performers are actually from the region. What does it mean that the soundscape of the region, as presented in *Oh Brother*, is not produced by individuals from the region? Jeff Biggers, historian and journalist, reveals that many popular “Appalachian” tunes (“Little Log Cabin in the Lane,” “Wildwood Flower” to name a few) are actually Tin Pan Alley[18] tunes written by northern professionals and made popular on “hillbilly” music labels. The use of the stage to label—*to define*—what was traditional versus what was popular, as well as “white” or “black” music, is crucial in reading existing literature. In my interviews, observations, and archival work, I found performers and fans alike were able to use the radio (as well as their personal

[18] Tin Pan Alley was the name of the music business that hired writers and publishers to create popular songs. It is also the area on West Twenty-Eighth Street in Manhattan. This area was home to a number of publishing offices (Jasen, ix).

songbooks and recordings) to self-identify—through performativity *and* performance—with labels, regardless of their actual geographic home

Carlton Haney's understanding of bluegrass music is slightly different, and not widely adopted. He stated, "the rhythm is bluegrass… it's different than anything else. Now I'm gonna tell you something that [is] never been written or published yet…" and continues to inform the small crowd gathered around him that there are five instruments in bluegrass (fiddle or violin, dobro or resonator guitar, mandolin, upright or doghouse bass, and banjo) and Haney argues that each instrument is a different octave. Haney continues that Pythagoras created 12 notes of music. "When you get to the thirteenth you double the vibrations" (Boner). I speculate that perhaps Haney was attempting to emphasize the importance of the "1" and the "5" in bluegrass rhythm. Regardless, bluegrass music—exactly what it is and what it isn't—continues to be a point of contention among enthusiasts.

**How Is Bluegrass Studied?**

Much of the work being done as "bluegrass scholarship" is the practice of legitimizing bluegrass as an area worthy of study within academia. As noted before, institutional, academic scholarship about bluegrass requires a certain (re)production of recognizable norms and lineages—in this dissertation I both re-construct and deconstruct the lineages I find. Despite forty years of academic study, the study of bluegrass music continues to be a sparse field.

Being active in both theoretical conversations, and in the trade conversations, part of my project is to highlight that practitioner/academic conversations are mutually informative.

In doing so, I flatten typically traditional hierarchical narratives, and question embedded hierarchical claims which allow for the repetition of histories and dominant narratives.

**Trade Publications**

Authoritative bluegrass scholarship, especially Rosenberg and Cantwell's texts, have noted that trade publications are a constant factor in the bluegrass community, particularly since the genre's 1960s rebirth heralding Monroe's place as the father of the genre. Trade publications (in print and online) continue to be key texts for the creation and dispersal of knowledge about bluegrass performers, venues, and even conceptual musical conversations such as topics of authenticity and economics. These forms are intertwined; early LPs and the establishment of *Bluegrass Unlimited* (BU) in the 1960s created a scholarship for young folklorists and anthropologists to use as sources. Before UNC-Chapel Hill, East Tennessee State University, Warren Wilson, Clemson University, Berklee College of Music (in Boston), and Dennison College (Ohio) hosted bluegrass programs, Pete Keykendal, Fred Bartenstein, and Carlton Haney were preparing publications which served as early textbooks for the community.

Trade publications are often collections of fan mail and autobiographical sketches; they are stories within the control of the community, allowing for a process of self-narration. As Rosenberg states, "[j]ust as fans had named the music, they would now have to promote it and protect it. By the end of that year [1966], the beginning of the second Roanoke Festival, the beginnings of a bluegrass consumers' movement had appeared" (*Bluegrass: A History*, 217). Examples of this movement include: *Bluegrass Bulletin* (dates NA, no longer in print),

*County Sales* (1965- January 2018), *Muleskinner News*[19], and *Bluegrass Unlimited* (first issue published in 1966 and continues publishing monthly issues today). The role of trade publications—highly powerful with regard to the historical memory within the genre—is by most accounts, elite, or at least holding to historically significant social, cultural, and institutional capital. I treat trade publications as archives and emic commentary—artifacts of self-narration—throughout this dissertation.

**Bluegrass Scholarship**

Alan Lomax's article, "Bluegrass Background: Folk Music with Overdrive" (1959) and Neil Rosenberg's "From Sound to Style: The Emergence of Bluegrass" (which appeared in the Journal *of American Folklore* in 1967) opened paths to understanding bluegrass in the same vein as folklore. Mayne Smith's Master's thesis (1963-64) which was later published (Smith, 1965) was the first thesis or dissertation on the genre of bluegrass and continues to inform discussion regarding definitions and scope of the genre today.

The first book on bluegrass music was actually written by Toru Mitsui in 1967, titled *Burugurasu Ongaku*[20]. The text, was published again by a Tokyo publishing company in 1975, where it was revised and expanded. Neil Rosenberg's *Bluegrass: A History* is unquestionably the ultimate text regarding the history of the genre. Rosenberg, however, does not take a feminist approach; the extensive index to Rosenberg's over 400-page manuscript, fails to list "women," "female," or "gender." While (some) female entertainers

[19] "My last issue was January, 1975. *Muleskinner News* ended with a whimper. It came out sporadically, eventually in newsprint form, and changed its name to *Music Country*. According to Neil Rosenberg in *Bluegrass: A History*, *Music Country* was publishing in 1978 but not beyond." (Bartenstein, Personal Correspondence, July 2, 2018).

[20] English translation: Bluegrass Music.

are indexed, a concentrated study on gender within the space is lacking. Early scholars note difficulties in having bluegrass seen as a legitimate area of study. Texts on bluegrass reflect this challenge as most are pedagogical in nature. Basic introductions to bluegrass which approach the genre from a historically and genealogically driven history are common, but not always approachable for individuals new to the genre. However, basic introductions, include *Bluegrass* by Bob Artis (1975) and Thomas Goldsmith's *The Bluegrass Reader (Music in American Life)* (2004). Goldsmith's text is a crucial collection combining firsthand accounts and scholarly reflections. The bluegrass "pathfinder" or research guide compiled at Appalachian State University (updated by Rebecca B. Jones in 2009) has one hundred and thirty-six resources cited as being directly concerned with bluegrass music. Not that surprisingly, not one source was directly concerned solely with the female perspective.

The lack of attention to women's stories changed with the publication of Murphy Henry's book, *Pretty Good for a Girl*. Henry continues to work within the current patriarchal structure of the genre, but does so in order to place women largely in competition or in comparison to men through her analysis, highlighting the persistence of women's roles in the bluegrass. Murphey's close attention to various trade publications strengthens her historical overview of women's prominent roles on stage within the genre.[21] Broadening Murphey's research and analysis I look beyond the stage to marginalized and under-represented spaces at festivals.

Concerning the socio-economics and political discourses of the genre, Robert Cantwell continues to be an unmatched inspiration. *When We Were Good: The Folk Revival*

[21] It is worth noting that Henry thoroughly addresses Haney's efforts to include women in his festival programming and print endeavors. For example, the Buffalo Gals (reportedly re-named by Haney) were featured on the cover of *Muleskinner News* (Vol. 6, No. 11) in November 1975, and invited to perform at Haney's 1974 Newgrass Music Festival (Henry, 207-215).

(1996) and *Bluegrass breakdown: The Making of the Old Southern Sound* (1984) serve as entry points for theoretical connections between traditional studies of Appalachian music and literary theory. Cantwell, while accused of some problematic assumptions (the sexuality of the mandolin, a mis-understanding of internal communal dynamics, to name a few), opens doors to more playful and (possibly more) illuminating ways to engage with the complexity of economics, symbolism, and economics pertaining to the bluegrass genre. His approach, rather than historical, is deconstructive. While Cantwell engages with gender in *Bluegrass Breakdown*, his novel gendering of bluegrass instruments is disconnected from the economic, labor, and affective gendered experiences of the space; my work speaks to this gap. Finally, placing bluegrass within the larger context of popular music, country music readers, most notably Jocelyn Neal's country music text book, *Country Music: A Cultural and Stylistic History*, has been an approachable guide to listening and creating a historical and artistic context for different moments in the genre of bluegrass. I build on Neal's historical narrative practices in this dissertation. I have treated trade publications as internal narrations and worked with them alongside scholarly texts. According to Rosenberg, the "infrastructure" of the genre had to be created by the immediate community (341:1985).

**Bluegrass Festivals**

Festivals at large, meaning before and beyond bluegrass festivals, have been extensively studied through folklore, history, and religious studies. Studies of festivals often begin with the work of Roger Abrahams, but do not take into account the different nature and context of bluegrass festivals. Festivals themselves serve as archives, producing their own narrative, disconnected from folk movements and conventions.

Fiddler's conventions, which seemingly have a connection to bluegrass festivals, have received more extensive study as they are largely connected to specialized disciplines and can easily be argued as folk or "non-commercial." While these terms become intermingled within Appalachian histories, they are *not* interchangeable within the bluegrass lexicon. Most importantly, the distinction and definition of bluegrass festival I am using focuses on the divisions and narrative ontologies established after 1965 and Carlton Haney's establishment of "Bluegrass Festivals." The work of David Whisnant (elaborated on in later chapters) has been crucial in recognizing and naming the power of political narratives constructed through culture. However, Whisnant's study is unquestionably focused on folk and old-time music, and studying fiddlers' conventions and festivals. Even while there is some overlap and blurring practices and ritualistic aspects connecting conventions and festivals, particularly from etic viewpoints, this project is directed towards the bluegrass narrative constructed in 1965[22].

For the purposes of this project bluegrass festivals will be defined as multi day, single genre events marketed as "bluegrass." This is different from "folk festivals" which are the only types of festivals referenced in the index to David Whisnant's text *All That is Native and Fine*. Regardless, I apply Whisnant's theory of politics of culture, while methodologically aligning with Rosenberg and Cantwell, understanding that bluegrass has been commercial from the beginning and requires different methodological approaches.

[22] While I address folk festivals and fiddler's conventions and early fiddler's conventions labeled "festivals" I acknowledge that not all of Whisnant's work and assumptions about fiddler's conventions are translatable to bluegrass festivals. Recognizing that the comparisons between fiddler's conventions and post-1965 festivals is not found relevant by bluegrass scholars, I include them in this study to emphasize the political power of cultural events.

Bluegrass festivals emerged in 1965, and literature about their emergence and impact has largely been trade publications, produced for the community, by the community. Currently, academic interrogations of bluegrass festivals are few, and much of this project is providing new knowledge for future researchers in this area of study by researching community-created trade publications. However, recent music and history scholarship focused on regional arts has produced at least two key texts regarding bluegrass festivals: Thomas Adler's *Bean Blossom: The Brown County Jamboree* and *Bill Monroe's Bluegrass Festivals and Lonesome Melodies: The Lives and Music of the Stanley Brothers* by David Johnson. I rely on both Adler and Johnson for historical context and narratives within the dissertation.

**Conclusion**

Using the foundational literatures outlined here, I present my data and methods of analysis in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I distill the stories, archival documents, and observations gathered to present the dominant narrative of how festivals (specifically, Fincastle) began. I highlight the story of Carlton Haney while reflecting on the dominant narrative he produced (known as "the Story). I analyze data through the lens of heterotopias and carefully decode "the Story" of bluegrass music. This data is presented as a history-driven account to distill the many documents collected, stories gathered, and events observed. This chapter preserves the legacy of Carlton Haney and provides foundations for future scholars and studies.

In Chapter 5, I pivot, shifting my gaze from the stage and dominant history to the margins of the festival space. To conduct a gendered and place-based analysis, as Reichert Powell suggests of place, traditional music pedagogy and scholarship would gain insight by

considering more carefully a "way of describing the relationship among a broad set of places for a particular purpose . . . not defined by any single definition but emerge[ing] from the dynamic, historical relationship of these acts of definition" (65). Through festivals, this project enters conversations concerning the process and impact of stages and "the Story." In doing so, I reveal gendered readings of the genre and festivals in new ways.

While this project crosses cultural, political, and social relationships, it hinges on the question of how stories are produced. My methods of analyzing archives, conducting qualitative, interview-based scholarship, arts-based productions, and theoretical excursions into questions of place all serve to answer the question: What is the power of stories and spaces to create and frame realities?

**BRIDGE: Houstonfest: A Thick Description of a Festival**

The following is an example of thick description. I have provided it within the dissertation to present (an example of) the methodological questions which arise in the festival space as I conduct research. This section also reminds readers of the emphasis on relationships between place, space, embodiment, and the hierarchical built nature of the festivals I studied.

*The aim of thick description is to draw large conclusions from small, but very densely textured facts" (Geertz, 28)*

On June 10, 2016, it was hot and I was headed to Galax, Virginia in my 1995 Cutlass Ciera without air conditioning. I was lucky that day. Someone had bought an extra ticket and had instructed the ticket booth to "give it away". As I pulled up to the gate, I reached for my cash but was surprisingly waved on, with a man in an orange vest saying "it's been covered." Houstonfest is held in the same location as the Galax Fiddlers Convention; a large field with cement, covered stadium seating on one side, a shelter with air conditioning on the other side of the field and a stage in the middle. The ground is dusty when it's not muddy and the air is filled with grease from food vendors.

As I walked onto the grounds I was pulled to the stage by something very different than traditional bluegrass. Dori Freeman was covering Townes Van Zandt's song, "Fare Thee Well, Miss Carousel," with her father, Scott Freeman, accompanying her on mandolin. I was struck by her somber voice in the distance, but when I drew closer, I was more interested in the performativity at play. Freeman's presentation of herself with vibrant tattoos and short hair was in stark contrast with another local performer, Martha Spencer, who I noticed in a

skirt and cowboy boots. The different ways femininity was performed were not lost on me, as the festival space has largely produced my own practices of self-presentation and grew increasingly apparent as the day wore on.

On the youth stage, I was struck by the "girl" and "boy" bands which seemed to form naturally. My attention to gender is multifaceted, as the embodied female experience at festival grounds is deeply embedded in the festival structure itself. Being a female in such a field site unquestionably impacted my methodological permissions and decisions. By methodological permissions, I mean the allowances I have as a member of the community that others may not, compounded with the spaces, conversations, and situations women enter into within this particular field. For example, as a partner and sister I have often been welcomed into green rooms (hospitality suites) which are marked "performers only." I enter into volunteer spaces, personal spaces, spaces of childcare as a female, seen as a caregiver, as these sites are stereotypically gendered. Further, I have been welcomed into spaces of production more readily than most would be able to do. I attribute this to the fact that I am not a performer; I am not a competitor. Very few times have I performed in front of others; however, I have found the studio to be a welcoming space. I have permission to be there, largely due to social, cultural or institutional capital. There are many spaces I cannot enter, as I have stepped back from the bluegrass scene to write. At the 2017 IBMA festival, my parents and I were not allowed into a suite to watch my brother perform. Those allowed into the suite where the concert was held, and those controlling admittance into the suite (by standing in the door way allowing bodies to enter or keeping bodies out), were those who had offered large financial support to the association or band, or would potentially invest in the

performers. There was little room to spare. There are levels of power, layers of access, and socially rich spaces rendered invisible by spatial and social festival formations.[23]

After watching the national anthem sung by a woman in a fully extended fire truck lift above the crowd, the headliner, Lonesome River Band, took the stage. Their shows embody what bluegrassers consider "drive": a syncopated, heavy on the down beat, "driving" rhythm. I thought about the ways the performance of "drive" on stage is gendered and political. By performing on top of the beat—both through movement of the body, facial gestures, and notation—the urgency to produce and consume, akin to the psychosomatic materialization of capitalism, is embodied through sound and movement.

Walking through the dusty rows of seated, squatting, and standing fans, I recognized a small group of women gathered in a circle. They were seated to the right of the stage, in chairs used as a display for a vendor. The women's full attention was not given to the performance, as they were talking in a circle, focused on one another rather than the stage. Ignoring the stage while conducting fieldwork felt subversive, irreverent. However, familiar with one of the women, I walked over and I was welcomed into the circle. Sitting on the ground, listening, I found the others had played music with my father. They took photos of me to share with friends and family, having last seen me when I was a toddler. With inside jokes and nicknames, the ladies shared personal stories of when they were on tour—who had given them encouragement, who had hired them, who had paid them well. They were not necessarily talking to me, but talking to one another. I was simply seated beside them. Some of the women had spouses on stage, some had taken jobs connected to the music industry, but the women gathered were not actively performing. It would have been easy to have assumed

[23] The permissions granted (or not) by my presence or being within the field sites did not always act in accordance with the definitions of the methods I committed to practicing.

the stage, rather than the vendor tents, provided answers to the questions I didn't realize I was asking.

In *Reassemblage*, Trinh T Minh-Ha presents the idea of her role as a filmmaker and anthropologist as working "not to speak about, just speak nearby" (*Reassemblage* 1982). My observations revealed patterns of new knowledge found at the margins, confirming the power of my feminist theoretical framework. By employing a feminist methodological approach, not only do I attempt to speak nearby, but I call into question what nearby *means* when studying festivals.

## Chapter 3: Methodologies

*Criticality is the seeing of the window and the frame and the smudges on the glass, as well as the landscape, cityscape, or human scape outside the window. Criticality is the seeing of our own seeing, accounting for our own position stance, perspective, history, infrastructure, substructure.*

*Criticality is not an option.*

--"A Manifesto for Discomfortable Writing" by Jen Hofer and Jon Plucker.

### Introduction

The conceptual and embodied pluralities of studying bluegrass festivals in multiple spaces provokes the use of feminist methods. While such exploratory approaches are often heralded as the achievements of multi/inter/trans/a-disciplinary scholarship, I reflect on the form and function of this (and similar) research with questions. Here, such a project removes one—at times—from the empirical research site to consider the many constellations of thought at play in this process and how the *concepts and methods*—while well intentioned—produce normality's, rendering parts of the whole invisible or unrecognized. To be precise, when methodological practices continue to serve fixed disciplinary notions, research fails to reach its full potential. I have recognized these spaces in my own work by introducing "bridges" to the dissertation format and yet, the disciplinary formations of my audience often legitimize analysis which reinforces exceptionalism. Locating these spaces between knowledge and knowledge production (methods), I am attuned to the methodological gaps

we must fill when doing interdisciplinary work, using my feminist-methods approach to studying traditional music scenes as an example from which to learn.

Theoretically, festivals are a place, a text, and a time, and an experience in themselves with archives, images, food ways and economic exchanges. A study of festivals crosses the disciplinary fields of music, folklore, anthropology, sociology, geography, history, political theory, and cultural studies. Each of these fields of study have different disciplinary processes. Because my work and conceptual paradigms are between well-known disciplines, I work with a combination of dynamic qualitative methods. I utilize combinations of archival, reflexive interviews, ethnographic, participant observation, and survey methods for this project. Such a combination is required to explore the temporal expanse of my research site. Stories about the Fincastle bluegrass festival (collected between the years of 2014 and 2017) could not adequately provide the social context needed to fully understand the event. Thus, the need to supplement these stories with typically traditional qualitative and experimental methods.

The ideology behind methodological process and practice varies between disciplines. For me, understanding the role of myself, my body, my person, in the space, as well as the function and ethics of my work, insists upon feminist foundations. I am interested in utilizing a conceptual approach which has not been widely employed when studying bluegrass music, to ask: What if there's more to this story? What are we to make of the different understandings of "value" between researchers and communities? Some of these insights cannot be spoken and must be understood through other processes. This is where my project, methodology and framework, demand reflexivity and dialogical engagement through a feminist methods approach.

Because my research is qualitative in nature, it is reflective of bluegrass music itself; grounded in stories. The criticality is to ask how the stories are told, what they tell, who is telling, who is listening, who isn't sharing, and when they are told. Denzin and Lincoln present qualitative research as a traditionally interdisciplinary practice, "a complex, interconnected family of terms, concepts, and assumptions surrounding the term qualitative research" (3). In short, they define qualitative methods as addressing the world as a text through which researchers understand the meanings people bring to their settings, relationships, etc. (Denzin and Lincoln 3). The qualitative researcher has a hybrid job—serving a similar role as quilt maker, treating stories as threads which allow for new understandings. Qualitative researchers cross disciplines and borders, as Denzin and Lincoln write; "they move from the personal to the political, the local to the historical and the cultural" (5).

**Chapter Overview**

In this chapter I present an overview of the methods I use, specifically, ethnographic, oral history, and archival—all within the realm, of qualitative methods. My methods center on decentering dominant narratives, and I begin by making a case for feminist methods. I then connect my chosen methodologies with the purpose of the project. I provide overviews of my chosen methods: fieldwork, ethnography, oral history, queer oral history, and archival before presenting my data and samples. My data is derived from archival sources, interviewee information, survey questions and process, field sites, the process of re-creating a space to study through the 2015 recreation, and trade publications. I address collection

technologies and the ethics of capturing data before practicing my methods by reflecting on feminist methodologies and issues of the self or the researcher.

**A Case for Feminist Methods**

This dissertation uses qualitative (open ended data collection) methods (such as interviews), as well as quantitative analysis' surveys, and archival research. I utilize combinations of archival, reflexive interviews, ethnographic, participant observations, and survey methods for this project. Such a combination is required to explore the temporal expanse of my research site, as became evident to me through the process of tracing the history of Carlton Haney's influence. Stories about Fincastle (collected between the years of 2014 and 2017) could not adequately provide the social context needed to fully understand the marketing, planning, and social positioning of the bluegrass festival in Fincastle in 1965.

In the sections following, I explain the details of each process. Here, however, I briefly explore why these particular innovative methods are imperative for this particular project, clarifying the unique particularities of my research sites. This chapter concludes by returning to explore my feminist framework in greater depth. Further, I address the impact and issues of the researcher as an active participant in an investigation. For example, Deborah Thompson is a geographer and old time musician. Like myself, she occupies both the world of musical practice and the world of academia. Thompson explains her methodological view concerning how she sought out and identified female performers in the Appalachian music scene, particularly within her focus on the experiences and limitations of the female experience in the Appalachian music scene, writing;

> The folk revival and feminist movement of the late 20th century has combined to increase the percentage of female instrumentalists, but much of Appalachian vernacular music is encouraged in spaces dominated by males, which makes it more difficult for females to participate. Barbershops, much more than beauty shops, are the sites of informal jam sessions. Bars and other sites, formal or informal, where music is played and alcohol is served may be sites of danger for women. Female musicians continue to encounter barriers even in places as seemingly neutral as music stores.

Methodologically, the challenges for female performers are also present for female researchers. And yet, Thompson, Cecelia Conway, Jennie Gubner, Ruth Stone, Ali Neff, Mellonee Burnam, and Jocelyn Neal, among many others, continue to enter typically traditional musical communities to conduct advanced research and learning.

Thompson states that uncovering the information on female musicians requires extra effort. Women are often seen as backup musicians or present themselves as wives, and Thompson comes to the conclusion that "[v]alorizing certain kinds of music over others can lead to re-inscribing power relations and continuing gender imbalances" (Thompson 74). Here, I am interested in utilizing a conceptual approach which asks: How would the women at festivals describe the story and their positions on or off stage? What if the value systems between the interviewee and interviewer are different? For instance, some women in the traditional music circles are celebrated performers (and have won multiple awards and contests), but would rather be a "good wife" than bask in the limelight. I recognize that there are larger discussions concerning the different understandings of value between researchers and communities, including the assumption of lack of agency regarding conservative or

oppressive gender practices. I also understand that some women within the community may be offended to know that their supportive roles can be viewed by researchers as oppressed. This difference in self-perception and the researchers' gaze must be addressed through reflective methodology. This is one area where my project methodologically intervenes through self-reflexive engagement.

Methodological choices often fail to explore the borderland between disciplines. Methods for researching traditional music(s) often fail to utilize the same level of criticality as questions demand. Attention to and interest in the need for more critical methodological engagement is an outcome of my dissertation. What I have found working within traditional music communities is that, like bluegrass music itself, methods can be grounded in stories: the delivery being the texts to deconstruct: how they are told, what they tell, who is telling, who is listening, and when they are told. Methods provide the maps for our inquiries: My exploration of histories through multiple remembrances, are compounded, to become the story this project tells; a story from the margins to the center, to borrow a phrase from bell hooks (1984).

## Connecting Project Methodology and Project Purpose

As this dissertation is not just a history of bluegrass festivals, but a critical interrogation of the ways bluegrass history has been narrated and produced through the repeated performance of the genre's Monroe-centric lineage at festivals, namely through the Story, a multidimensional approach is needed. The different methods I use in this study are reflective of the form and function of the conceptual framework structuring the study. In order to complete a feminist project which provides a service to those it documents, I have

used methods that are qualitative, (interview and oral histories), surveys, ethnographic participant observations, and archival work.[24] As Jen Hofer and John Plucker write in the opening quote, "[c]riticality is the seeing of the window and the frame and the smudges on the glass, as well as the landscape, cityscape, or human scape outside the window. Criticality is the seeing of our own seeing, accounting for our own position stance, perspective, history, infrastructure, substructure." I agree with Hofer and Plucker that "[c]riticality is not an option" (not optional) but a structural practice when the self, space, sound and theoretical interrogations of festivals collide through analysis.

I am working with the understanding that group solidarity via the imagined community (again, to use Benedict Anderson's concept) forms through the liminal space of the festival. While festivals often do have set locations, the groups attending the festivals are mobile, traveling to weekend events. This emphasis on mobility and pluralities becomes an act of feminist and decolonial scholarship, as "feminist strategies offer different and equally necessary critiques of different kinds of geography" (Rose). Festivals are nothing short of a "different kind[s] of geography" (Rose). I propose this includes geographies not yet imagined.

I examine transcriptions, set lists, and my experiences coordinating the 50th anniversary re-creation of the Fincastle story to better understand the social impact of Fincastle, subsequent gatherings, and similar cultural phenomena. Because I am interpreting archival documents and footage while simultaneously recreating and deconstructing a historical event through memories, stories often result in incomplete or contradicting details.

[24] During the process of gathering data, I received handwritten letters and other forms of volunteered information. Those, while referenced in passing are not included, but rather treated as observations, as I did not have IRB approval for the unsolicited artifacts.

This is important, not in its quantifiable accuracy or inaccuracy, but because by examining the ways details are remembered, I am able to better grasp what those events have meant to the person sharing.

The work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith presents colonialism as a force of cultural control. This force operates to shift the imaginative futures of a people by re-creating their shared history (Tuhiwai Smith 1). Decolonial methods work to right this pattern by revealing hidden narratives; "re-righting" and rewriting positions in history (Tuhiwai Smith, 28). In this sense, my methodologies are decolonial. However, the term "decolonial" is not being used to suggest the white working class and/or white women impacted by this act are metaphorically or literally a colonized population. I am using the term only to address methodological processes of deconstructing previous studies and dominant narratives.

**Methods: Fieldwork**

Festivals are incredibly challenging and rewarding fieldwork sites due to the immediacy of their embodied nature (Collins). They are hot, tiring, and often unpredictable. The festivals I attended ranged from so small that there were only two public restrooms, to so large that walking from one stage to another could easily take fifteen minutes. There is also a familiarity to the space. Dorothy Noyes writes that "the first stages of fieldwork are a trajectory through a social network, from the margins toward the center. Initially we are often sent to "brokers," those accustomed to dealing with outsiders and representing the inside to them…" (Qtd. Feintuch, 13). In my situation, this is not the case. I am uniquely situated within the community I am studying; the daughter and sister to performers, friends with performers, with a long history of attending festivals.  The bluegrass community has watched

me grow up, and provided a structure for me to grow up in. And yet, I was consciously aware of the festival as a site of fieldwork once this project began. This is only one difficulty of never "leaving" the field.

The terms home and field are not mutually exclusive, and the lines between the two are not distinct (Caputo, 29). There is also a sense of needing to legitimize my work, when working "at home." Gupta and Ferguson write:

> After all, if 'the field' is most appropriately a place that is 'not home,' then some places will necessarily be more 'not home' than others, and hence more appropriate, more 'field like.' All ethnographic research is thus done 'in the field,' but some fields are more equal than others – specifically those that are understood to be distant, exotic, and strange. (13)

The ethical considerations of disrupting the delineation between home and the field in this study, are best articulated as trust. By trust I am referring to the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee, as well as a trust in the researcher to work ethically with the shared stories.

I also recognize a third party involved in the methods process beyond the researcher and the field; the reader, consumer, and/or colleague. The interpretation of the reader (just like the listener) will play an important role in the text, and the researcher must constantly work to make sure the text is presented in a way that allows for an honest translation. The actual practice of translating what happens in the field in a way that can be interpreted as honestly as possible by members of a larger community is difficult. In *The Folklore Text*, Elizabeth Fine clarifies three important audience relationships which influence the way a text is created. 1) the various types of audiences reading the text, 2) the text maker as an audience

of the text, and 3) the text maker as audience to the live performance (Fine, 9). Due to the participatory nature of my research I "conceptualize the relevance of local happenings so that they relate to analytic issues, but simultaneously… remain sensitive to how this reframing might distort the meaning of member categories" (Emerson, 174).

**Method: Ethnography**

Ethnography is both a method and a methodology; historically, a fully immersive practice—one enters and lives in the field, learns the language and comes to understand "the field" from within (Jones 17). Full participation is sought when doing ethnographic work. Rather than gaze at the other culture, the researcher is called to participate in it. Julie Scott Jones writes that ethnographers commit to the following principles: "a desire to accurately provide a "thick description of a social world," "…seek ways to 'understand' a social world through immersion (long or short term)," and stress the importance of ethics, representation, 'voice,' power and inclusion (26). In addition, I understand one must question the position of the researcher. Is the researcher acting as a ventriloquist, privileging voice(s), or performing an activism? By utilizing a postcolonial framework within my ethnographic methods, I work to amplify decentered voices and make a just action (Madison, 6) through the practice of ethnography.

Ethnography encourages me to consider precautions I should take in studying my own community. For example, Hammerly and Atkinson (1996) write: "Without that [intellectual] distance, without such analytic space, the ethnography can be little more than the autobiographical account of a personal conversion. This would be an interesting and valuable document, but not an ethnographic study" (115). Brayboy and Dehyle find such a

radical stance problematic and understand the conflicts an ethnographer faces to be based on the fact that most of the methods for studying marginalized groups have been created within the academy (166). Rather than claim objectivity or distance, we must "address the issues in a manner that shows integrity and an awareness" (Brayboy and Dehyle, 166). My experiences have confirmed that "[t]he interview is an active text, a site where meaning is created and performed" (Denzin, "The Reflexive Interview" 25). This has required a reflexivity on my part, as the researcher, recognizing needs, relationships, and anxieties during the interview process.

*Critical* ethnography is a method which supports the reflexive practice needed when the relationships between the researcher and the topic and/or field site are as complex as mine have been. For example, at some points, my fieldwork and analytical practice become so deeply understood *through* my experiences and insider knowledge that is seems to fit what some call autoethnography. While I appreciate embodied understandings of theoretical concepts and cultural events, I sought to perform critical ethnography rather than autoethnography for this project. This choice was made largely because it is not my story I am telling, but rather Carlton Haney's story and the stories which have helped me define bluegrass festivals. My experiences *today* have helped identify the impact of the first bluegrass festivals.

By reflectively combining historical data, experiences, and interviewee accounts, I worked to facilitate the "meeting of multiple sides in an encounter with and among the Other(s), one in which there is negotiation and dialogue toward substantial and viable meanings that make a difference in the Other's world" (Madison 9). Because of my close relationship with my topic, the notion of the Other must be disrupted, hence the need for

feminist methods. This relationship and awareness of self within the festival space required consistent dialogic considerations while conducting interviews and observations. This often-required reflexive interview techniques—shifting from semi-structured questions to oral histories, which are discussed below.

**Method: Oral History**

While some interviews were done in group settings, individual interviews followed the practices of oral history. For interviewees who may feel their contributions or engagement with the festival space was less than noteworthy, the use of oral history methods was crucial in creating a structure of sharing that went beyond the festival and allowed the full story of the individuals' experience to be recorded. With oral history, telling a story becomes a listening process. For this reason, creative nonfiction[25] can be very helpful as the ability to recognize the potential of the senses, to see stories in the mundane and unveil secret, hidden, and "unimportant" places— these are key to generating field notes and observational skills with decentering potential. Some of the most powerful work done within and for the Appalachian region has been in the form of oral histories (and works of creative

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[25] Creative nonfiction (CNF) is defined as a work "focused on story, meaning it has a narrative plot with an inciting moment, rising action, climax and denouement, just like fiction. However, nonfiction only works if the story is cont.) based in truth, an accurate retelling of the author's life experiences. The pieces can vary greatly in length, just as fiction can; anything from a book-length autobiography to a 500-word food blog post can fall within the genre. Additionally, the genre borrows some aspects, in terms of voice, from poetry; poets generally look for truth and write about the realities they see. While there are many exceptions to this, such as the persona poem, the nonfiction genre depends on the writer's ability to render their voice in a realistic fashion, just as poetry so often does. Writer Richard Terrill, in comparing the two forms, writes that the voice in creative nonfiction aims "to engage the empathy" of the reader; that, much like a poet, the writer uses "personal candor" to draw the reader in" (https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/1007/01/)

nonfiction), for instance, Appalshop's documentary projects, particularly Elizabeth Barrett's work, notably, *Stranger with a Camera*. Barrett's film introduces the audience to her positionality within her community as she watches tensions rise regarding the ethics of documentation, encouraging the viewer to question the potential dangers of misrepresentation.

Oral histories present narratives, but there are many different ways of capturing the stories people share (Chase, 652). Life histories are most commonly narratives about a particular person. Many of the questions I ask in interviews for this study fall under the realm of life history questions because they are concerning the narrator's positionality. This is opposed to "oral history," which Susan Chase writes, is used by historians to "describe interviews in which the focus is not on historical events themselves—historians' traditional interest—but rather on the meaning that events hold for those who lived through them (652). In some ways, the bridges in my dissertation mimic "personal narrative" a term is often used to describe self-written personal accounts in contrast to "testimonio" which is considered a personal narrative written for political purposes, as used by bell hooks, Gloria Anzuldua, and other feminist writers.

Oral historians, Carrie and Michael Cline, see oral historians as midwives, "birthing stories" from bodies (voices) that are not their own (Cline). During a visit to Virginia Tech's campus, they shared that they do not prepare for interviews, but rather ask the same question "[t]ell me about your people" (Cline), a phrase which others found to be problematic. However, because the Clines' work is largely done in the southern Appalachian region, while hesitant to generalize shared language throughout the region, I would assume they have not had any issues using such a vernacularly signifying phrase in southern Appalachia. Frederic

Charles Schaffer's "Ordinary Language Interviewing" employs similar techniques of "birthing" or simply capturing oral histories.

I am influenced by the work of William Ferris (UNC Chapel Hill) who also uses storytelling and life histories to present people and places as interpreters of culture. Simply reading the acknowledgments of this most recent publication (*The Storied South*) reveals his deeply imbedded relational methodology, using film and photography to capture the voices and images of the storytellers he works with. Like Ferris, I am interested in the stories people tell and in cultivating lifelong relationships with those who offer their stories to me. In fact, I had already established relationships with many of the individuals I interviewed. Careful to avoid presenting stereotypes, essentializations, generalizations, or sensational stories, I sought out ways to "queer" oral histories by highlighting the potential to discern history in a different way, illuminate existing questions, or reconfigure linear narratives. These are the possibilities I find exciting with regards to oral history.

**Method: Queer Oral History**

According to Linda Shopes, oral history is traditionally understood as "a self-conscious, disciplined conversation between two people about some aspect of the past considered by them to be of historical significance and intentionally recorded for the record" (Np). Queer oral history, the disturbance of typically traditional oral history, has been increasingly practiced in recent years. Through my research for the Virginia Tech LGBT Oral History Project, I encountered queer oral history, which can be described as the flipside of dominant historical narratives. I use queer oral history methods by employing a

phenomenological approach when interpreting interviews, seeing each history as a part of the whole narrative, but recognizing that the stories, terms, and memories cannot be generalized.

Boyd introduces queer oral history as a questioning of normative oral history practices, writing:

> The use of oral history methods stems back to the field's social history moorings, where historians of the dispossessed found themselves lacking print sources and turned to live historical actors for information about the recent past. In practicing the craft, however, U.S. gay, lesbian, and queer historians have been influenced by feminist ethnographers, whose methodology attempts to clarify the social, economic, and ideological differences that exist between researchers and their so-called subjects. Feminist researchers try to empower (rather than exploit) historical narrators by trusting their voices, positioning narrators as historical experts, and interpreting narrators' voices alongside the narrators' interpretations of their own memories, many gay, lesbian, and queer historians have followed suit. . . . ? (Boyd, 178)

My use of queer oral history allowed the methodological form of the project to enrich the theoretical frame by connecting the possibilities and power of place and affording me to question both. I also began to question traditional processes. Specifically, my use of queer oral history within the process of collecting and archiving oral histories is conducive to creating a "space" within dominant narratives for non-dominant rendering of history to emerge. This is not simply a stand in for "challenging the dominant narrative" but asks, "do oral histories provide reliable representations of the past" and "what kind of truths do oral history methods reveal" (Boyd, 187). Such alternative methodological practices wherein I question the method itself, urges researchers (including myself) to question the capability to

create new modes of understanding rather than continuing dominant narratives. A methodological process informed by queer oral history allowed me to go beyond singular modes of story collection or narrations to capture the nonlinear aspects of the festival experience.

The use of queer oral history methods allows me to question notions of a need for a single dominant narrative within my methods and analysis. While the bluegrass community does reveal a desire (at least in 1965) for a singular narrative which took the form of a sacred father figure through the elevation of Bill Monroe and open the line of inquiry to "point beyond itself" and reject a singular narrative (Adorno, 293).

**Method: Archival**

My archival research was twofold—collecting and examining. I assisted in the collection of the Charles Haney Collection at ASU while I examined collections housed in Berea College's Appalachian Sound Archives; seeing both sides of the archival process, the collection and the curation.

While a Fellow in the Berea College Appalachian Sound Archives, in 2015-2016, my focus shifted as I entered the archives, while continuing to conduct participant observations and fieldwork. I was interested in the different ways old time and bluegrass communities gather—spatially, culturally, and sonically. I entered the collection hoping to listen to the "Mac Wiseman Renfro Valley Bluegrass Festival Collection" and the "Celebration of Traditional Music Collection." Both of these recording collections provided an interesting foil to my genre-specific project as I unpacked the typically traditional aspects of bluegrass and bluegrass festival culture. In the archives, I closely read the following collections; The

McLain Family Collection, Mac Wiseman's 1973 Festival (audio), 1960s and 1970s issues of *Sing Out* (print), *Muleskinner News* (print)[26], and surveyed *Bluegrass Unlimited* (print). I elaborate on the materials I examined in a later section.

Additionally, I was able to carefully read Deborah Thompson's transcripts from the Celebration of Traditional Music. My final week in the archive was spent completing a one-hundred and twenty-six -page transcription of the first bluegrass festival held in Kentucky: Mac Wiseman's 1971 Bluegrass Festival in Renfro Valley[27]. The task of transcribing Mac Wiseman's 1973 festival was massive. It was rewarding to hear Larry Rice and Doyle Lawson exchange jokes, listen to the differences between Fred Bartenstein's stage presences in 1973 compared to 2015, and hear the ways in which Paul "Moon" Mullins reminded the crowd of the festival rules (particularly those regarding use of the gendered restrooms and public intoxication).

[26] The specific issues of *Muleskinner News* are addressed in Chapter 5.
[27] Currently unpublished, available by request.

Figure 1. “Trade Publications” Photo of archival materials in Berea College Sound Archive. Photo by Jordan Laney. [Used with permission]

My time in the archives was spaced out as short trips over the course of a semester and two-week long summer trips. I stayed with friends in nearby Lexington or at an Airbnb during these visits. This process—chopped and uneven—has proven to be quite beneficial. Between visits to the archives, my movement through festivals, conducting interviews, maintaining relationships with the bluegrass community, and even traveling to festivals in Europe, continually informed my relationship with the texts. I found myself consistently questioning the meaning of the materials to different groups, in different contexts, in different times.

During my listening process in the archives, some parts of the Mac Wiseman festival were more carefully transcribed than others. I chose to focus on carefully transcribing the

"between song banter" and in doing so have found many moments of intrigue (or perhaps clarity) in fitting together questions of gender, performance, and race while transcribing the 1973 event. By compiling findings from the archives with observations and interviews into an online timeline, I worked to construct a (closely) accurate historical account of bluegrass festival history and then supplement and enrich such a linear account with otherwise unheard and unsought-out stories and events, such as the inner-workings of festival economies and campsites.

Upon entering the archives, the scope of my project was admittedly broad. There were three guiding factors in my search: festivals, gender (and comments directed off stage), and the genre of bluegrass. This quickly shifted as I realized my browsing was dictated by an interest that didn't necessarily align with current archival systems. My hopes of revealing alternative histories to enrich the dominant narrative (and provide additional spaces for marginalized voices) required a different type of search, and a self-reflective and critical gaze. My exploration of histories through multiple stories, compounded, became *the* story this project tells; a story from the margins to the center.

The material and its possibilities were beyond the scope of a single project and I quickly learned that I had to be much more selective in the archives than while in the field. This led me to consider what archives are *not*, resulting in many questions about what can we learn from archival collections via their omissions. While we cannot possibly know what is omitted in full, as it has been completely erased, we can compare alternative histories. What do we consider "everything" and how can that be expanded? How am I consciously reflecting on the blind spots within my inclusive intentions? These questions about self-positioning and institutional methods were more fully realized through a feminist lens.

**Data: Interviewees**

The individuals who graciously allowed me to enter their homes and conduct formal interviews are listed below. My process for seeking interviews was largely purposeful and utilized snowball sampling. Snowball sampling, (also known as chain sampling, chain-referral sampling, and/or referral sampling), is the process of using one's social and cultural connections to seek out potential informants or research participants. I used available listerves and acquaintances to seek out attendees of the first Fincastle festival and individuals who knew Carlton Haney. By snowball method, I mean following up on suggestions of those contacted through purposeful sampling. As a 2013 graduate of the International Bluegrass Music Association's Leadership Bluegrass Program[28], I started my sample relying on fellow program graduates and other associational contacts. Fred Bartenstein was instrumental in connecting me to Phil Zimmerman who organized interviews in New Hampshire. My small sample included members of Bill Monroe's 1965 band, attendees of the first festival, Carlton Haney's family members, and bluegrass festival organizers. Individuals formally interviewed in alphabetical order by last name are as follows:

[28] "Leadership Bluegrass is the IBMA's annual intensive professional development program. Launched in 2000, Leadership Bluegrass boasts over four hundred graduates who share a professional network spanning every aspect of our music industry" (

| | |
|---|---|
| Arkin, Steve | 1/17/2015 |
| Bartenstein, Fred | 6/17/2015 |
| Craig, Peter | 1/17/2015 |
| Gorman, Skip | 1/17/2015 |
| Haney, Charles | 7/30/2014 |
| Howard, David | 1/17/2015 |
| Johnson, Becky | 9/9/2014 |
| Kiphuth, David | 1/17/2015 |
| Lowinger, Gene | 1/18/2015 |
| Marschall, Laurence | 1/17/2015 |
| Menius, Art | 9/9/2014 |
| Phillips, Stacy | 1/17/2015 |
| Rosenthal, Phil | 1/17/2015 |
| Shenkin, Peter | 1/17/2015 |
| White, Robert “Quail” | 7/30/2014 |
| Wilkins, Bonnie Haney | 6/17/2015 |
| Zimmerman, Phil | 1/17/2015 |
| Rotterdam , Informal | 6/16/2016 |
| Switzerland, Informal | 6/1/2016 |
| Arkin, Steve | 1/17/2015 |

In these interviews, I utilized oral history methodologies. Interviews were recorded, stored and analyzed via a phenomenological approach. Interviews both ask questions to gather information regarding Carlton Haney’s life and the impact of the Fincastle festival, and personal reasons for attending festivals. I noted common experiences and stories about Haney and his vision for the first festival, as well as references to women.

**Data: Survey**

In addition to the individual interviews, I sought out stories from non-performing attendees, gathering over 45 survey results using a Google form, from individuals who attend and work at bluegrass festivals. I shared the call for respondents through familiar social media channels: Facebook groups, the Leadership Bluegrass Listserv, and directly contacted individuals whom I thought would fit the intended call. These responses will most likely be used in future research as they are beyond the finalized scope of this dissertation.

Questions included in the survey were designed to ask about relationships—social and economic in relation to festivals[29]. The quickness with which individuals responded was surprising. The fact that people responded so quickly (and honestly) to my call for surveys reveals trust in my project and a broad understanding that the collection of such stories is indeed important. The weight of this trust is not lost to me, as I try to utilize the stories and memories of others as accessibly and productively as possible. Unfortunately, gender was not collected in the survey, making gendered analysis difficult. The survey gathered data concerning the first and most recent festivals individuals worked at and addressed the ways in which workers and volunteers are compensated. In short, the survey sought to identify areas where labor was recognized and how individuals are compensated. My findings from these surveys was synthesized and used to inform the maps included in later chapters.

**Data: Field Sites**

My oral histories and interviews were collected in a variety of settings: Greyhound buses traveling from Raleigh, North Carolina, to Valrico, Florida; groups of pickers coming

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[29] See Appendix 5 for Survey Questionnaire.

together during a snowstorm in New Hampshire; around kitchen tables, campfires, in hallways and in laid back recliners while holding beloved family cats.

I entered this particular process hoping to see the festival grounds through the lens of the person sharing their story. The difficulties in such exchanges is that bluegrass has a tradition of fan-made historiographies. Because of this, those sharing stories anticipated an interest on my part in collecting "facts" about the stage. So often bluegrass scholars project their attention solely to the stage; the set lists, chord progressions, and band changes. This move away from the stage is new, and my questions undoubtedly must have seemed misdirected at times. My questions are found in the appendix and present an interest in Carlton Haney, the festival grounds, and as my project matured, self-identification specifically with regard to gender. I often had to listen between the words, watching pauses, uncomfortable laughter, and sometimes tears. I had to pay close attention to what was shared and when, and reflect on what I understood from these hesitancies in the following chapters.

Figure 2. “Camp Collection Site” Photo of Robert “Quail” White at the Camp Springs Festival Collection Site. Photo by Jordan Laney. [Used with permission]

Listed below are the eight events I went to with IRB approval[30] with the intention of observing practicing and participating in festival culture. At these events, I often took photos or recordings[31]. I attended these festivals because they were within driving distance of Virginia Tech, or were close in proximity to other educational activities, as was the case for the Willisau festival in Switzerland.

[30] See Appendix 2 for all IRB approval forms associated with this project.
[31] Few of these recordings are shared; however, the field recording I collected at the 2014 IBMA Convention has been widely redistributed (at no cost) within the bluegrass community and is referred to as “The Intergalactic Space Jam.” The configuration reformed to record an instrumental album titled *A Collection of Instrumentals*. See: https://bluegrasstoday.com/section-house-a-collection-of-instrumentals-2/

Research Sites in Chronological Order

| **Festival**[32] | **Date** | **Location** |
|---|---|---|
| Merlefest | 2012* | Wilkesboro, NC |
| International Bluegrass Music Association Annual Convention | 2013* | Nashville, TN |
| Houstonfest | 2014 | Galax, VA |
| Bristol Rhythm and Roots | 2014 | Bristol, VA |
| International Bluegrass Music Association Annual Convention | 2015 | Raleigh, NC |
| Houstonfest | 2015 | Galax, VA |
| Tazewell Fiddlers Convention | 2015 | Tazewell, VA |
| Appalachian State University Fiddlers Convention | 2015 | Boone, NC |
| Houstonfest | 2016 | Galax, VA |
| Willisau Bluegrass Festival | 2016 | Willisau, Switzerland |
| International Bluegrass Music Association Annual Convention | 2017 | Raleigh, NC |

[32] Note, these events fall outside of the temporal scope of my IRB approval; however, they were used as participatory observations for my master's thesis and subsequently inform this project. During this time, I also attended approximately fifteen additional musical events which generated by field notes and observations. These events included recording sessions at Mountain Fever Records recording studio in Willis, VA, private in-home jams in North Carolina, southwest Virginia, and east Tennessee. Additionally, I attended Floyd Country Store jams and dance events, community fairs and festivals throughout eastern Kentucky, east Tennessee, southwest Virginia, and western North Carolina, as well as numerous concerts billed as bluegrass, Americana, folk, or alternative country.

**Data: Re-creating a Space to Study**

I not only studied the liminal spaces of the festival grounds, but also studied a space, a unique time and place, which I actively constructed, a process which informs the question, "How did (and do) bluegrass festivals provide the capacity for the production of gender norms?" Or, to use the terminology of the research questions, what stories do bluegrass festivals tell about gender? How can a re-telling of those stories alter possibilities and futures for marginalized performers? In Chapter 5, I provide an overview of my active participation as an organizer and coordinator of the 2015 recreation of the 1965 bluegrass Fincastle festival, which was performed at the International Bluegrass Music Association gathering in Raleigh, North Carolina. Additionally, the experience of coordinating this event deeply impacted my methodological positioning, both literally and metaphorically. My role was to create the script using archival materials from 1965, organize performers to perform the songs, create a historical context (largely possible through the efforts of Fred Bartenstein), and publicize and direct the event. While this is a non-traditional method for studying a historic event, I used my qualitative training, taking notes during the process and reflecting afterwards, documenting the day as much as possible.

Figure 3. Fincastle 50th Anniversary Re-enactment Publicity poster/flyer created and distributed by the International Bluegrass Music Museum, 2015. [Fair Use]

**Data: Trade Publications**

Many of the images I analyze in this dissertation come from a publication started by Carlton Haney, titled *Muleskinner News.* I was particularly interested in *Muleskinner News* as it re-produced the Story told at the first festival. Currently, only Gary Reid (historian and performer), Fred Bartenstein, and Northwestern University have indexed their collections.

In the chart below are archived issues I was able to locate through the library system. From my understanding these are all "library use only" and could not be checked out. No copies were digitized. Searching topologically through *Muleskinner News* was challenging,

as there were a variety of ways issues are listed and generally a lack of context for the issues in collections.

*Muleskinner News* Collections

The information below is directly gathered from "location" specific websites—dates, terms, etc. reflect the language of the available archival data.

| Location | Summary of Holdings | Notes |
|---|---|---|
| Appalachian State University | Bound: v.1 no.1, Aug. 1969; v.1 no. 4-6 1970; v.2 no. 1, no.4-6 1971; v.2 no.7 1972; v.3, no.3 1972; v.3 no.3-10, May-Dec. 1972; v.4 no.1-8, Jan.-Aug. 1973; v.4 no.9-11 1973; v.5 no.2-12 1974; v.6 no.1 1975; v.6 no.3 1975; v.6 no.5-10 1975 | This does not include remains or remnants of *Muleskinner News* included as part of the Carlton and Charles Haney Collection. |
| UNC Chapel Hill | Southern Folklife Collection<br>Library has: v. 1 1-5 (1969-1970) v. 2-3 1 (1971-1972) v. 3-4 3 (1972-1973) v. 4 5 (1973) v. 4-5 7-6 (1973-1974) v. 5-8 8-3 (1974-1977) v. 1973 Apr. v. 1 1 (1987) | (v.3 no.3 is incorrectly published as v.2 no. 3) |
| UVA Wise | v.6 (1976) [Incomplete]<br>v.7 (1976/77) [Incomplete]<br>v.8 (1977/78) [Incomplete] | |
| Berea*****<br>Hutchins Library Special Collections | v.1, no.1 - v.2, no.1 (1969:Aug. - 1971:Feb.)<br>v.2, no.4 - v.6, no.10 (1971:Jul. - 1976:Jan.)<br>v.6, no.11 - v.8, no.3 (1976 - 1977) | |
| Library of Congress Performing Arts Reading Room | illus. 29 cm. | Specific issues are not provided |
| Middle Tennessee State University | Volume no. 1 - 2 (1969-1970) Volume no. 3 - 4 (1972-1973) Volume no. 5 - 6 (1974-1975) Issue no. 2 (1976) (7) Issue no. 3 (1976) (7) Issue no. 4 (1976) (7)Issue no. 5 (1976) (7) Issue no. 6 (1976) (7) Issue no. 7 (1976) (7) Issue no. 8 (1976) (7) | Library Use Only |
| Indiana University | v.1,no.1; v.1,no.3-v.1,no.5; v.2,no.4; v.2,no.6; | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Wells Library Folklore Collection | v.3,no.1; v.4,no.1; v.4,no.4-v.4,no.6; v.4,no.8-v.4,no.12; v.5,no.2-v.5,no.8; v.5,no.10-v.6,no.10; v.6,no.12 (1969-1975) | |
| New York Public Library | (Aug. 1973- 1977) | Unspecified if this is a complete collection. |
| University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign | V.1-4, v.3-4 c.1, v. 1-2 c.1 | |
| Northwestern University Special Collections | v.5:no.5 (1974:May),v.5:no.7 (1974:July)-v.5:no.12 (1974:Dec.), v.6:no.1 (1975:Jan./Feb.)-v.6:no.4 (1975:Apr.) | Vol. 6, no. 4 (Apr. 1975) also called "yearbook" and has title: American Heritage '75 fiddle convention guide. Library copy from the Faith Petric archive, now a part of the McCormick Library of Special Collections. One issue a year published as: Blue grass summer, <1972-1974> |
| University of Wisconsin Madison | "No brief publication data available" | |
| University of Nebraska Lincoln | v.6 1975-76 (MISSING ISSUES: no.4,5 1975) v.7-8 1976-78 (MISSING ISSUES: v.7 no.10-12) | |

I was able to view three collections, those of Berea College, Gary Reid, and Phil Zimmerman, and closely examine two: the Berea Collection and Gary Reid's personal collection. In addition to library collections, many bluegrass enthusiasts have partially complete personal collections. I found these to be particularly helpful.

I had traveled to Phil Zimmerman's home in New Hampshire to conduct interviews and was unaware of his collection. I was able to briefly look at his collection and discuss changes in format between publication sizes with him. This was my first physical, material interaction with the publication, however I did not conduct an analysis at this time.

When applying to the Berea Appalachian Sound Archives Fellowship, I wanted simply to learn more about Carlton Haney. I requested looked through *Muleskinner News*, noting discussions about festivals and festival locations. I was initially interested in the physical construction of the festival space and looked for maps of festival grounds. At Berea, v.1, no.1 - v.2, no.1 (1969:Aug. - 1971:Feb.), v.2, no.4 - v.6, no.10 (1971:Jul. - 1976:Jan.), and v.6, no.11 - v.8, no.3 (1976 - 1977) were available to me, however I had committed to transcribing Mac Wiseman's festival recordings and had a limited time in Kentucky. My fellowship at Berea was the first time I got to sit with these materials, carefully flip through them and compare them to other similar music publications such as *Sing Out*. Once I began to focus on women and gender within the festival grounds, I used returning visits to note articles about or by women. These are elaborated on in Chapter 5.

Research feedback from Barbara Ellen Smith challenged me to revisit *Muleskinner News* to better define my sample. Unable to return to Kentucky, I learned of historian Gary Reid's private collection. I traveled to his home outside Roanoke, once, during winter break. While there, I requested to view issues from 1972 and 1973, as these were the years I was able to most carefully analyze at Berea.

**Collection Technologies and Ethics of Capturing (Data)**

Being a member of the bluegrass community long before I decided to study festivals, my positions had largely been determined prior to the onset of the study. Relationships (familial, romantic, professional, and platonic) have often allowed me entrance into spaces I am not necessarily qualified to enter. With this privilege, I have been careful not to overstep the confidence of narrators, as recording professional musicians can be tricky. For musicians, income and future employment depends on the sounds they produce—often sounds which have been edited to establish the best possible version. Thus, field recordings and recorded interviews are a strange perversion of a familiar process within the music community. With the rise of constant self-presentation via social media, this has grown to be less of an issue with younger performers. Performers commonly called upon by scholars and researchers are also familiar with the process. However, in a "jam" heavy genre, care and attention to the reputation of the artist is needed, particularly with regards to the recording of shows and interviews.

I learned to conduct interviews and collect field recordings on an RCA personal recorder and cassette player (RP3503). For this project, I used various technologies: while traveling, I would often use my phone as back up; I at least once used an iPad, but most often I relied on the compact Olympus digital voice recorder (WS-600S). For Charles Haney's interview, I checked out audio recording equipment from the university's (via "Innovation Space") to supplement the Olympus recorder. While at jams and in concert settings, I found the Olympus to be the less intrusive of recording instruments. I worked to blend into the environment as best as possible. This often meant standing outside the jam (circle) while my recording device was in the middle, or standing close to the stage. More often, I was

recording interviews, where the device would be on the table, between the interviewee and myself.

My position as a sibling, daughter, partner, organizer, and sometimes laborer in the bluegrass community, as well as an understanding of the recording process, has instilled a deep interest in how and why we gather data in the field, particularly audio data. There are very serious conversations to be had about the reasons we choose the equipment and form of documentation we do—for instance, why take paper notes versus typed during interviews, why collect audio versus film recording, why record at all? The methods in which individuals collect sound and stories varies greatly. For example, Sidney Roberts, a participant in early Appalachian song collecting, is said to have declared, "Record EVERYthing . . . don't select, don't omit, don't concentrate on any single style. We know so little. Record EVERYTHING!" (Filene, 142). Roberts's inclusive gathering practice leads me to question fieldwork methodology; what can we learn from archival collection via their commissions? What can we learn by shifting the camera, zooming out, and aiming away from the stage? While we cannot possibly know what is omitted in full, as it has been erased from documented history, we can compare alternative histories and through our own collecting create/capture/seek new lines of vision and soundscapes. These questions embody my efforts to integrate political and feminist theory into my methodological considerations.

**In Reflection: Feminist Methodologies and Issues of the Self**

This study reflects its methodology, just as the methodology has sought to be attuned, sensitive to different histories and possibilities. The challenges have often been issues of the

self—of insider knowledge, knowing without asking, and translating between my dual positions as scholar and community member.

> *Someone who didn't know how to ask wouldn't know*
>
> *how to listen. And he coulda listened to them the way you*
>
> *been listening to us right now. Think about it: ain't nobody*
>
> *really talking to you . . . Really listen this time; the only*
>
> *voice is your own. But you done just heard about the*
>
> *legend of*
>
> *Saphira Wade . . . You done heard it in the way*
>
> *we know it, sitting on our porches and shelling June peas . . . taking apart the engine*
>
> *of*
>
> *a car – you one heard it without*
>
> *a single living soul really saying a word (Gloria Naylor)*[33]

Often, I am working to translate and capture answers to questions hidden in the way I "know" bluegrass festival grounds. This difficulty mimics the conceptual challenges of a feminist project in a sonically defined space, particularly when my conceptual frame intends to alter the metaphorical gaze of dominant (his)stories. Rather than focus on what has been object/subject to the gaze of disciplinary (historical) power, I am interested in what dominant narratives have failed to identify or isolate—but narratives lived experience *can* identify and understand. This epistemological interest is largely inspired and made possible by the work

[33] Qtd. in Denzin, Norman K. "The reflexive interview and a performative social science." Qualitative research 1.1 (2001): 23-46.

of political theorist Nancy Love, whose work and teachings first introduced me to the power of music to permeate walls and borders, or, the ability to work beyond the sovereign gaze. Love writes, "…after politics there is still resistance. The gaze focuses on active subjects, not inert objects. Observations and opinion, its vehicles, do not lead individuals immediately or inexorably to virtue. There are places to 'slip through their net' and ways to 'revolt against the gaze'" (89). In this reading, feminism links metaphorical vision to position (Love, 92). Hence, my dedication to understanding the position of the self within a feminist study.

My desire to apply a feminist lens to the "work" of the dominant bluegrass narrative, and make many of the contributions of women visible has been to intentionally open dialogue, methodological practices, and conversations concerning the ways in which festivals render women unseen, the policing or governing of female bodies, and misrepresentation of feminine labor. To examine these issues, I approach oral narratives as ethnological data (Bauman-Briggs, 231). In reflection, the ways in which my own gaze is redirected from the core to the margins has been a pivotal part of this research process.

While it is not without criticism, there are a number of reasons why feminist methodologies are the conceptual and methodological frame for this study. First, feminist researchers try to empower (rather than exploit) historical narrators by trusting their voices, positioning narrators as historical experts, and interpreting narrators' voices alongside the narrator's' interpretations of their own memories (Boyd). With that said, I also question the power structures and institutional systems which "empower" narrators. To this end, I also deconstruct and challenge the stories shared by my narrators, including myself. Additionally, reciprocity is a core strategy for feminist researchers, based on the belief that researchers and participants are equal. Reciprocity is connected to reflectivity, the call to be continually

reflective about power and positionality (Hausman, 374). Because of my position within the community it is difficult for me to see the power dynamics in the space any other way—nor would I want to.

An additional feminist methodological framework which has informed my methodological choices is feminist historiographies. Barbara Ellen Smith writes, "[L]ess frequently explored but equally important is the entire landscape of culture, family, and community life, where all the constraints, tensions, and intrigues of gender were central to all human activities and relationships" (qtd. in Beaver, 8). Through my methodology, reflected in the methods I use, is an active undoing of the narrow exclusivity of how the "landscape of [bluegrass] culture, family, and community life" has rendered women invisible (Beaver, 8). In order to pay close attention to gender and race in the festival scene, I must direct my gaze *away* from the stage, into the fields where Bonnie Haney played all night. I must observe behind Kathleen Haney's concession stand counter to see who is being served out of the hidden pony keg and who isn't allowed—my conversations with Bonnie Haney, coupled with my observations allowed me to begin to see this hidden process. I must also recognize the negotiations which allow me to stand *near* the stage, and have allowed me to, for as long as I can remember.

**Conclusion: Making and Re-making a History**

Analyzing my data through a feminist framework I was able to better understand the festival's social impact. In Chapter 4, using the methods presented here, I present my findings concerning the history of Carlton Haney and the Fincastle festival in order to better

examine the social impacts of bluegrass festivals. In Chapter 5, I question the (exclusionary) genealogies created by the genre's staged history.

In the end, this is a project and methodological exploration of stories: how they are shared, with whom, by whom, where and when. As Ntozake Shange writes, "[s]ometimes our work is talking. Sometimes our work is simply being, experiencing feelings and thoughts we've put so far away we have no words for them. Then, the silence and our breathing allow these feelings to find the shapes and sounds of the words we need" (1995:106).

**BRIDGE: Vibrations**

*Vibrations, created by instruments create sound. When instruments are tuned in certain ways, we hear specific (recognizable) notes. These notes build to create "music".*

Traditional culture is not simply validated or recognized through stereotypes but through awards and professionalization. Particularly, the Grammy's play an important role in furthering the careers of bluegrass performers while validating to bluegrass fans that there is something distinct about bluegrass—different from folk, country, or Americana. In 1989 Bill Monroe won the first Grammy in the bluegrass category, but the year most memorable to modern bluegrass fans is unquestionably 2002.

I remember the 2002 *Oh Brother* Grammy performance. I remember where I was sitting on the floor watching in my parents' living room. I remember the way my father sat up with such vigor when Dan Tyminski was announced a winner that his recliner snapped into place as he said "Get 'em Dan!" and lifted his arms into the air. I remember watching Ralph Stanley sing a song that I knew. More importantly, I remember realizing at that moment that what I was watching was important to my father, and associated with who I was, and perhaps more importantly, where I was. I share this anecdote because it allows me to demonstrate the ways in which we come to know ourselves through media, music, and technology. There was a sense of belonging and pride shared by my father that I had never witnessed before. This relationship between the stage (our television screen) and what I came to learn was my own "traditional culture" was as intimate as any festival stage. Further, the moment and the anecdote reveals the function of awards as a legitimizing force within popular and traditional culture.

It is also important to note that as soon as the segment ended, the emcee, Jon Stewart announced, “If you don’t have that soundtrack, go get it!” before pretending to blow on a moonshine jug (or “play” the jug). Even the most celebratory affair—an album with record sales which generated millions of dollars, had chart-topping singles, and won three Grammys (Album of the Year 2002, Best Male Country Performance (Ralph Stanley), and Best Country Collaboration with Vocals (“I am a man of constant sorrow”)— the show relied on tired and worn stereotypes to “entertain” and relate to the masses. The moonshine jug was an expected transaction. No one in my living room laughed. The joke did not resonate. Dan Tyminski’s voice did. It was rare, in 2002, to see something or hear something I was attuned to on television.

## Chapter 4: Analysis and Findings: Envisioning Fincastle and Elevating Bill Monroe

### Introduction

Early in the summer of 2015, I was picked up by Fred Bartenstein in Christiansburg, Virginia. Together we rode to Raleigh, North Carolina, where we boarded a southbound Amtrak headed for Valrico, Florida, where we would spend a few days with Carlton Haney's daughter, Bonnie Haney, at her home. We sat side by side as the train traveled through South Carolina and Georgia, making our way to Florida. I listened as Fred talked about bluegrass and country music with each passing mile. The tactics of notetaking and recording became difficult when morning and night blurred together, babies cried in the seat next to me, and the shifting ecology outside our window took conversations elsewhere. Once we got to Florida, Bonnie Haney welcomed us into her home.

Sitting around the kitchen table she generously shared food and stories of growing up as the daughter of Carlton Haney, running through festival grounds late at night and receiving gifts from Bill Monroe. Such experiences revealed my investments in this project; personal, familial, relational, and political. This trip was followed by two visits to Carlton's previous office in Reidsville, NC where I assisted Appalachian State University in gathering and cataloging years of correspondence, and more. It was during the first trip to Reidsville with Robert "Quail" White of the New Deal String Band that I met Charles Haney and made my first visit to the original festival grounds and stage at Camp Springs.

Figure 4. The Camp Springs Festival Stage as it appeared the summer of 2015, overgrown with the roof deteriorating. Robert "Quail" White can be seen walking on the stage. Photo by Jordan Laney. [Used with permission]

The conversations in the car, riding to the overgrown Camp Springs festival site in Reidsville, North Carolina with Charles Haney, talking with Bonnie about her experiences on festival grounds and in her mother's kitchen, which is warmly referred to as "Kathleen's Kitchen" by narrators, all began to outline a story about Haney and the importance of his festivals. My ride south watching the landscape change outside my window as Fred Bartenstein shared years of festival experiences-- these moments and more shifted my direction away from the stage with regard to this project. These experiences, however, speak

to cultural, political, economic, and social issues when placed in the known historical context. Using archival materials, ethnographic data, and participant observations, this chapter serves to construct the dominant narrative history of bluegrass festivals as it was created by "the Story" at the first festival. To re-construct this history, I focus on the life and impact of Carlton Haney.

### Chapter Overview and Purpose

In this chapter, I present the historical data I gathered concerning Carlton Haney and his formative role in creating the first bluegrass festival. While this chapter reads as a historical overview of the history of bluegrass festivals, much of the material presented here was unearthed and collected as a result of this project's data collecting and archival processes. Synthesizing the data I collected, I created a historiography which noted previously unnoticed social impacts of bluegrass festivals, particularly the Fincastle Festival (1965), and the legacy of Carlton Haney.

The chapter begins with a section titled "Establishing the Background Story" where I walk the reader through the data collecting process and the findings that resulted through that process. I then present those findings, first as they relate to Carlton Haney (in "Carlton Haney: Early Years," "Carlton Haney Meets Bill Monroe," and "From Package Shows to Festivals", respectively) and I then present findings and analysis that pertains to Fincastle. In the section "Envisioning Fincastle" I present Haney's vision for the festival and then provide two reflections, one from Peter Craig, and one from Mary Greenman Green in the section titled "Synthesizing Stories from Fincastle." My attention, in chronological order, returns to the impact of the festival and Ralph Rinzler's role before addressing Carlton Haney's later

years. I then analyze Fincastle's influence and influences (within the genre), and address the Story as a rehistoricization which acts as an erasure of female bodies and bodies of color. I conclude by discussing identity formation and affirmation within the genre as a result of the Story, and suggest the 1965 festival served as a "re-birth" of bluegrass. This Story is crucial to understanding Haney's importance in the genre's history as well as the internal history of the genre. I broaden my line of inquiry to address how festivals can have social impacts, which I examine through a feminist lens in Chapter 5.

**Establishing the Background Story**

In 2013, I received a phone call from Fred Hay, the librarian of the W. L. Eury Appalachian Collection at Appalachian State University (ASU). Through the networking of Robert "Quail" White[34], Charles Haney and Bonnie Haney (Carlton Haney's brother and daughter) had agreed to donate Carlton Haney's papers and miscellaneous items to the Appalachian State University archives. My work as a Masters student at ASU concentrated on bluegrass music and the faculty was aware that I continued to be actively engaged in bluegrass scholarship. In this capacity, I was invited to assist in the process of assessing and collecting the artifacts, which involved several trips to Charles' home in Reidsville, North Carolina.[35] My ability to travel to Reidsville allowed me to meet Charles and see different stages of unearthing, collecting, and cataloging Carlton Haney's life.

[34] Robert A. "Quail" White is the New Deal String Band bassist and Appalachian Studies supporter. White is referred to as Quail in some transcripts and discussions.

[35] I am deeply indebted to Fred Bartenstein and Quail, who assisted me with transportation, housing, information and support as needed.

My first trip to the Haney residence was with Quail on July 30th, 2014. We conducted an interview with Charles Haney and went to visit Camp Springs (the well-known location of Carlton's festivals after Fincastle and Berryville[36]). I was able to see the site of his childhood home, visit the gas station where he found out about the Camp Springs property, and see the Camp Springs stage as it remains today. To contextualize the location of the Camp Springs location, it became the premiere festival, *Carlton Haney's* festival, and was Haney's transition out of Roanoke. Further, this experience allowed me to conceptualize Carlton and Charles' upbringing in a North Carolina mill town. While this may seem insignificant, the socio-economic motivations of the Haney's are important to understanding the factors which separate bluegrass festivals from folk festivals and fiddler's conventions.

Camp Springs, the second and most widely experienced venue established by Haney, has been most popularly documented in the film *Bluegrass, Country Soul (1971).* The film served and serves as a bridge between fans of today and the early festival scene. There are few filmed accounts of early festivals produced with such quality, and the popularity of the film has served to create a fusion between Camp Springs and festivals, meaning that when one discusses early festivals, they often envision Camp Springs. Through the film there is a shared knowledge of festivals and the festival space, placing Camp Springs in a particularly important place in the minds of multiple generations of performers. For instance, when I traveled with Quail to the now dilapidated and overgrown Camp Springs site, I knew, through my internalized sense of the place from multiple viewings of the film, where the stage would be in relation to the woods, pond, concessions, etc. Evidence of attachment to this place is found in online communities today. Most prominently, active Facebook groups

[36] Berryville, another well-known festival, is located in Northern Virginia, was used twice for the Labor Day weekend festival and subsequently for Haney's Fourth of July weekend festival.

dedicated to the site share photographs from Camp Springs and often tell stories of weekends spent listening to music by the pond.

Quail and I assessed the two-story garage full of items which had been donated to Appalachian State University. The space that was once Carlton Haney and Fred Bartenstein's headquarters was now packed with debris. Unopened letters, insulation, sleeping bags, and notes of plans for future festivals were scattered in waves across the floor. It was impossible to enter the space without stepping on copies of *Muleskinner News*, the publication Bartenstein and Haney had worked to produce.[37] When we returned to retrieve the collection,

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[37] Below is an elaboration on *Muleskinner News'* history, provided by Fred Bartenstein:

Subject: CORRECTION Letter to the Editor
Date: November 1, 2014 9:16:51 PM EDT

My only excuse for being so late in reading the August issue is that Gary Reid and I were putting the finishing touches on The Bluegrass Hall of Fame: Inductee Biographies, 1991-2014, to be published by the International Bluegrass Music Museum and Holland Brown Books early next year.

Bill Nowlin's wonderful "Bluegrass Bits & Pieces" trivia quiz in that issue asked "Who was the first editor of Muleskinner News?" The answer said "Fred Bartenstein was the first and only editor." That's not quite correct.

The late Kathy Kaplan, New York City-based radio personality and bluegrass scholar, edited the first issue, Volume 1, Number 1, dated August, 1969, for publisher Carlton Haney. She wrote the editorial and record reviews. I wrote everything else, including the program for the first Labor Day Bluegrass Festival at Camp Springs, and produced the magazine for publication. That was the first of six summers I worked for Carlton Haney and lived on the North Carolina festival grounds. Included was a coupon announcing Carlton and Kathy's plan to publish six bimonthly issues per year at an annual subscription price of $5.00. When the festival ended, I drove to Massachusetts and began my freshman year of college.

Months went by and nothing further was heard from Muleskinner News. I felt bad about this and took it upon myself to produce Volume 1, Number 2, dated February, 1970. I served as editor and recruited a staff of contributing editors, including Kathy Kaplan, Bill Vernon, Peggy (Mrs. Tex) Logan, and "Ranger" Doug Green. Volume 1, Number 3 came out in May-June, 1970 and then we published on a regular bimonthly schedule. In February of 1971, we began mailing a much shorter Muleskinner Newsletter in the in-between months, until the second jumbo Blue Grass Summer annual edition came out in May of 1972. For the remainder of my term as editor, Muleskinner News published on a monthly basis.

My last issue was Volume 6, Number 1, dated January, 1975. Having graduated college, I moved to Dayton, Ohio, that month to begin a career in public and nonprofit management. The next eight issues carried Carlton Haney's name as editor and publisher. There were no issues in October, November or December of 1975. Bill Vernon was listed as editor from Volume 6, Number 10 (January, 1976), through Volume 7, Number 1 (July,

Appalachian State sent a team of students and librarians to collect and box the materials, which were then cleaned and categorized. Wearing masks, goggles, gloves and bug spray, we boxed and bagged anything that looked salvageable. The collection is now available to the public at Appalachian State University.

The way that Carlton's papers were layered, organized, and scattered stays with me as I process the memories that individuals share. The ways memories are naturally displaced and realigned with our current interpretations of situations are calculated into my efforts to reorganize this collection of memories and data into something we, the current public, can understand and apply on micro and macro levels. The ethical and methodological questions which materialized through this process speak to the urgency of interpretations of spaces[38]. To clarify, this chapter is my attempt to capture the pieces collected: Carlton's early life, his infatuation and relationship with Bill Monroe, the production of package shows, and finally the creation of the Fincastle festival.

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1976). My collection ends with that edition, but I seem to recall that Bill Vernon and Carlton parted ways around then, after which Carlton's daughter Bonnie may have served as editor, merging her Grassound magazine (aimed at a younger demographic) with Muleskinner News. In Bluegrass: A History, Neil Rosenberg writes, "Changed to a newspaper format, it soldiered on into 1978 as Music Country." BU readers probably have collections that can pinpoint the later history of the magazine.

Sincerely, Fred Bartenstein

[38] The results of my excursions to Reidsville with Appalachian State University's Special Collections team can be found in the finding aid prepared by Trevor McKenzie and David H. McRae. The collection is housed in the Appalachian State University Special Collections and is open to the public. The collections features materials from 1947-2011, spans in 36.75 linear feet (23 manuscripts, 2 half sized boxes, 7 record boxes, 4 flat boxes, 8 small boxes, 1 small disc box). The collection includes: financial records, materials on the production and publicity of music festivals, contracts with performers, editorial and subscription information (*Muleskinner News*, Grassound, and Music Country), and reel to reel recordings of festivals in North Carolina and Virginia. The collection was donated by Charles Haney and Carlton's daughter, Bonnie. (The full finding aid for the collection can be found here: http://appcollgrant.library.appstate.edu/2015/08/carlton-haney-life-and-legacy-bluegrass-and-country-music).

### Carlton Haney: Early Years

Carlton Haney was born in Rockingham County, North Carolina, in 1928 (Bartenstein, *Bluegrass Museum*). Rockingham Country borders Virginia, a far stretch from Appalachia's borders, but close to the once-tobacco towns of Winston Salem and Durham. There, Carlton grew up with his only sibling, a younger brother Charles, whom I interviewed. Charles' cadence and accent uncannily reminded me of videos I had watched of Carlton. I was also not anticipating his eagerness and earnest hope in this project as a way to "tell Carlton's story." I reached for early memories—what was childhood like for the brothers? Charles remembers that their childhood involved interests in music and entrepreneurial efforts. In our conversations Charles simply referred to this as an interest in "making money." Music was something the Haney brothers found thriving in the Reidsville area. Charles shared, "There was a musician here named Walter Craddock, played the mandolin. Wayne Perry played the guitar. Dwight Hicks, Bobby's older brother, played the guitar. And I learned… tried to, you know" (Haney, Charles. *Personal Interview*).

This exchange served a number of purposes. It placed the Haney brothers in contact with Bobby Hicks (well-known fiddler). It also positioned Reidsville as an active hub of early (pre) bluegrass music. More importantly, it confirmed my previous assumptions about Carlton's musical abilities. He was interested and invested in the genre, but, like his brother, not a noteworthy performer. In my conversation with Charles, I tried to learn more about the Haney Brothers' early musical and business influences. My conversations with the eighty-nine-year-old often required someone else to repeat the questions, as the pitch of my voice was too high for him to hear. Many of my questions also required a translation or rephrasing, like the following:

**Jordan-** What kind of music did you play?

**Charles-** I played guitar.

**Jordan-** Country?

**Charles-** Yeah, country and just rhythm guitar. Carlton didn't play anything. He tried but he couldn't or he didn't try hard enough. I don't know. He was double hard-headed. [Laughter] He was. You can ask the Bass boy.[39]

The confusion in this exchange (the use of terms like "bluegrass" and "country") reflects my questions concerning Carlton Haney's relationship to the genre, meaning, how the time in which Fincastle emerged strengthened and solidify the categorization of bluegrass as a genre. In the interview, my question, trying to address Charles and Carlton Haney's stylistic influences, was not understood by Charles. Charles interpreted my "music" as an instrument. This conversation highlights the generational differences when discussing musical genres. Bluegrass would not have been a widely used term when the brothers were growing up. In fact, they were part of the creation of the genre. The production of the genre as a concept was to happen later, and was largely formalized by the cultural production of Haney's festivals. However, as shown in Fred Bartenstein's interview with Haney, and published in Goldsmith's *Bluegrass Reader*, for Haney, bluegrass and country are two distinct genres. Bluegrass is dependent upon Monroe and his particular rhythm and timing:

**Fred:** So, in your opinion bluegrass started with "Muleskinner Blues?"

**Carlton**: Yeah, he put it in a different key from Jimmie Rogers and that was what made bluegrass, was singing songs in a different key than what country was done in, in a higher key, and then you could do harmony and by his voice being unusually

[39] It is my understanding that Charles was referring to John Manness of the Bass Mountain Boys when stating "Bass Boy".

high he had to have a high lead singer to blend with him and that's what created bluegrass music. Of course it was in Bill Monroe['s] time. (Goldsmith 187)

The difference between early bluegrass and country music, for Carlton Haney, was Bill Monroe. Haney's interest in Monroe becomes a crucial part of the first festival and the narrative of the genre Haney would produce there, which informs the misrepresented history of the genre my findings question.

**Carlton Haney Meets Bill Monroe**

Carlton met Bill Monroe's daughter, Melissa, in the early 1950s, at which time it is reported they became romantically involved (Adler 61). Most stories trace this relationship to Carlton meeting the then-teenage Melissa at musician friend Clyde Moody's house, where she had been sent by her father to escape the attentions of his band member, Jimmy Martin. Perhaps to keep an eye on Haney, or perhaps to keep Haney away from his daughter, Bill Monroe gave Carlton a job as an advance man for the band, hanging advertising posters in towns where the Blue Grass Boys would play. Later, Haney booked shows for Monroe. There are conflicting accounts about exactly how long Carlton worked for Monroe, but most stories agree that it was Melissa Monroe who brought Bill and Carlton together[40].

Bluegrass historian Thomas Adler writes that in September of 1953 Monroe came to play a show at Walnut Cove, North Carolina, where Haney met Monroe (61). That November, Monroe called Haney and asked him to work for him in Nashville. Carlton moved to Nashville soon after Christmas and began working for Monroe (Adler, 61). The

[40] Thomas Adler confirms stories of Carlton and Melissa dating, and through her he met her father who soon hired him (61).

move to Nashville is crucial for understanding Carlton's training and intentions. Nashville, even in 1954, was an economic center for country music with the growth of superstars such as Patsy Cline, Johnny Cash, and Kitty Wells. Carlton's tactics were shaped by Nashville rather than scholarship, placing him in a starkly different position than the aforementioned folklorists and convention organizers.

**From Package Shows to Festivals**

The materials found in Carlton's abandoned office showcased his enormous impact in the initial surge of "package shows" featuring country music artists. These package shows provided crucial experiences which would later inform the direction of Haney's bluegrass festivals. Art Menius has shared that Haney got the idea for booking multi act or package shows from a local drive-in theatre owner who booked shows which occurred before the films began to play.

Adler writes, confirming Carlton Haney's interest in providing multi-act, or package shows, that "Haney brought in more Opry acts and arranged with WIBC to once again broadcast Jamboree shows" over the radio (61). The experience of booking shows combined with his loyalty to Monroe made Haney eager to work at Bean Blossom, Monroe's music park in Indiana (61-62). Not only did Haney feature and discover local talent, but Haney worked to put Bean Blossom "on the map"[41]. However, Haney's "audacious ideas didn't please Monroe's older brother Birch, the resident manager [of Bean Blossom]. In September (1954), Haney was sent home to Reidsville in a car with bald tires, with little to show for his efforts" (Bartenstein, 2015, 83). Haney worked with a number of well-known country music

[41] A detailed account of his work at Bean Blossom can be found in Adler's text.

artists through his radio and package show endeavors, including Porter Wagoneer, Loretta Lynn, Merle Haggard[42], Conway Twitty, and the Osborne Brothers (Bartenstein, 2015, 85).

The relationship between Carlton and George Jones is significant because it holds a particular place in the mythology of Carlton within the genre. Carlton is recounted unfavorably in Jones' autobiography, *I Lived to tell it All,* in which Jones writes, "Carlton Haney is a fat man with big yellow teeth and a thick Southern accent. He never called me George. He called me 'Geoawge.' It took him forever to say anything, and he always seemed to get three syllables out of one" (148). Jones writes,

> Melba remembers that she and I were part of a package show promoted by Carlton Haney, a big country concert promoter during the 1960s and 1970s. Country stars used to work hard to please him so he would use them on additional shows. Carlton indirectly paid a lot of entertainers' bills in those days. A lot of acts actually feared him. Not me, not anytime, and especially not when I was drinking. (Jones 148)

Even while organizing and kicking off the first bluegrass festival, Haney remained active promoting country music package shows. According to *Billboard* magazine, Haney booked 104 country shows in 1967, and booked 130 coliseum dates in 27 cities in 1968 (49*, Billboard*, Jan 20, 1968). Haney's interest in connecting the audience and the performers relied on interactions between the various artists and a force which Haney called "vibrations."

Haney's dedication to understanding the connections between the audience and the performers was a marker of his career. The first festival reflected Haney's attention to the balance of the performers, for example, a mix of older and younger performers. Further, the

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[42] Haney introduces Haggard on two albums: *Okie from Muskogee* (1969) and *The Fightin Side of Me* (1970).

festival format provided an extension of the success Haney saw at his package shows. A *Billboard* article about Haney's hope for country music in 1968 read,

> Haney is a believer in strong, well-balanced packages… [Haney states;] "I can put the right six people together and fill any auditorium…They have to complement each other, get each other charged up. If the artists pick one another up, the people in the audience feel it. This eliminates the distance between the audience and the performer, and this is what country music is doing right now." (Jan 20, 1968, 49).

Haney saw this distance eliminated by songwriting as well as music. Haney actively booked and contributed to the repertoire of the duo, Don Reno and Red Smiley, and their band, The Tennessee Cut-Ups, between 1955 and 1965 (*Bluegrass Hall of Fame,* 83). Several of their recordings suggest his authorship or involvement[43]. Carlton was co-writer of Reno and Smiley's comedic, "Jimmy Caught the Dickens Pushing Ernest in the Tub," using puns to sing a ditty about country music stars Little Jimmy Dickens, Ernest Tubb, and others with whom Carlton would later enjoy business ties as a concert promoter[44] (*Bluegrass Hall of Fame,* 82). One of the most beloved stories within the bluegrass fan base concerning Carlton and Charles' contribution to songwriting includes Conway Twitty's hit, "Hello Darlin'." Both Carlton and Charles claimed credit for contributing to Conway Twitty's catalog. Carlton shared that Twitty gifted him two watches, one reading "Hello" and the other reading "Darlin'," as a gift of gratitude (Menius). His relationships across genres was seen in his package shows as well.

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[43] I write "suggest" involvement, as some of Haney's claims, or stories about Haney's claims, cannot be proven.

[44] In addition to Carlton's repertoire, Charles Haney's songwriting credits, observed by BMI, can be found here: http://repertoire.bmi.com/Catalog.aspx?detail=writerid&page=1&fromrow=1&torow=25&keyid=144887&subid=1

Haney personally selected the talent for his package shows, which he said always includes some "…old and new, including [b]luegrass, a female singer to compliment the male acts, and a good comedian. A promoter is ridiculous to try to draw a crowd without all these components" (46, *Billboard* Jan 20. 1968). Haney paid close attention to the relationship performers had with the space as well as one another. He also noted how certain artists responded to each other and how the crowd in turn responded to the different groups:

> I know what particular artist, for example, can get George Jones charged up, and I know how others work together. This is the way I build my packages. They have to create some electricity themselves in order to carry the charge of the written song over that stage into the audience (46, *Billboard* Jan 20. 1968).

Haney was correct. The audience was indeed key to the emotional connection people shared at his festivals and the solidification of the genre.

**Envisioning Fincastle**

In 1964, Carlton and Charles rented a coliseum in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, marking the beginning of their "package" show legacy. This purchase led to an eight year series of country "shindig" shows orchestrated by the Haney brothers, which were reportedly held in thirty seven cities (*The Encyclopedia of Country Music*, 227). In my interview, Charles recalls that these big shows also took place at what would become the site of the Roanoke/Fincastle[45] Festival in 1965:

[45] In the dissertation, I refer to the 1965 festival as "Fincastle" as it is written about as such. However, in marketing the event, Carlton Haney would often use "Roanoke Festival" on flyers and other promotional materials.

> **Charles-** The first time I saw George Jones was in a cow pasture on the other side of Roanoke… What's the name of that little place?
>
> **Quail-** Fincastle
>
> **Charles-** Yeah, Fincastle. And Carlton said, "Can you come up here tomorrow? Well, George Jones is up here, I got him out there in that cow pasture." [Laughing] I said, yeah [I can come up]. And I drove all the way to Roanoke, Fincastle, with my wife. (Haney, personal interview)

The following year, Carlton hosted the first multi-day bluegrass festival at the same site.

A popular video exists of Carlton Haney and Jimmy Martin. They are being interviewed at an IBMA gathering. Martin struggles to gain camera time; however, Haney is captured here as if on a mission as he tells a doting audience of his inspiration to start a festival and the "magic" of Monroe. Haney states that when Monroe kicked off the song "Live and Let Live" during a backstage jam session (sung by Martin and Monroe), the power of Monroe's timing was revealed. Haney declares it was during that kick off, to the standard tune, in the back of the Grand Ole Opry, that he had the idea to plan a bluegrass festival. Haney shares with the audience,

> God kill me if that ain't the truth. And I went to Monroe, and said 'I'm gonna get all of the Bluegrass Boys in a field and play for three days.' And he said 'what for?' I said the people will come. And he said, 'They won't come to a school house…' (Boner)

Haney, however, was confident that if he brought together the Bluegrass Boys (in a field) people would come. He wanted to see people play "in time" with Bill Monroe. Listening to this exchange, I hear the word "field." That term is striking. I interpret the use of the specific

term field to indicate that location is also of great importance. Further, a rural location was of great importance to Haney's vision.

The geographic location of the festival, held at Cantrell's Horse Farm in Fincastle, Virginia reflects the precarious life of performers. Efforts to understand why Fincastle was the location of the first multiday festival rather than an already established music venue evokes multiple responses. I have also considered that the answer may be as simple as it's a location between popular performance venues, close to home for a number of performers. Thanks to Reno and Smiley, and later the Shenandoah Cut-Ups,[46] an established bluegrass scene and musical community was also prevalent in the Roanoke area by 1965, ensuring a fan base. Further, Fincastle is a geographically central location between Galax and northern Virginia where the folk scene was booming. Fred Bartenstein shared that the "simplest explanation is that Carlton Haney lived in nearby Hollins, Virginia at the time and had been promoting country shows at Cantrell's horse farm as the 'WHYE Country Music Park'" (Bartenstein, Personal Correspondence 1/7/2018).

In *Lonesome Melodies: the Lives and Music of the Stanley Brothers,* David Johnson writes that Haney settled on Cantrell's horse farm because it was "close to the center of his business rather than accessible to a potential audience" (216). Johnson asserts this was a mistake as the site was nearly 230 miles from Washington DC, which was the heart of the folk revival emerging at the time, and even further from the growing folk scenes in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. This is Johnson's reasoning for the low attendance in 1965 and 1966. Despite this, my observations have revealed Fincastle festivals have become

[46] Shenandoah Cut-Ups were an evolution of Red Smiley's band, the Bluegrass Cut-Ups, which was in existence in 1965 (Bartenstein "personal correspondence").

culturally significant markers in the creation of bluegrass mythology and temporality. Meaning, the festivals mark a very clear "beginning" to a particular moment in bluegrass and hold a sacred space in the community's collective history. Fincastle serves as the first festival dedicated to the bluegrass fan base. It was the first (in many cases) meeting between fans and multiple performers, as the personal vignettes reveal later in the chapter.

The importance of Fincastle's history as a sacred space, the mythical Garden of Eden to some devout fans, leads me to question the cultural influences which informed the structure of festivals, in addition to Carlton Haney's vision. There are many stories about how the first festival came to be.

Haney shared that he was watching Monroe warm up with the band, wherein Monroe's specific timing controlled the sound produced (Boner, "Haney and Martin interview"). He referred to this sound as "vibrations" connecting the performers, the sound, and the audience (Bartenstein, 2015, 82). It was also shared with me in interviews that Haney was known for (questionably) connecting Monroe's sound with Pythagoras' musical theories. While there is little evidence to support this connection, Haney fully believed in the relationship between the Pythagorean tuning[47] and bluegrass music. After experiencing the power of hearing Monroe's timing in person, Haney began to invest more attention towards his interest in Monroe's legacy, an interest he shared with national folklorist Ralph Rinzler.

Haney's interest in a multi-day bluegrass festival is often cited as being heavily influenced by the Newport Folk Festival and Ralph Rinzler. For instance, Thomas Adler wrote:

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[47] Haney often referred to Pythagoras' theories concerning tuning and "the spheres" to explain the affectual and somatic impacts of bluegrass music, as well as Monroe's specific timing.

> The festival idea had simmered in Haney's mind for some time, based partly on input from Ralph Rinzler and the memory of earlier one-day multigroup bluegrass shows staged at Virginia country music parks. ... The first bluegrass festival was a critical success, though only a thousand or so fans attended. Those who came—notably a mixed crowd of "citybillies" and rural country folk –paid six dollars each for a weekend ticket, and there were reported problems with traffic, toilets, food concessions, and water supply. . . Familiar elements in the first bluegrass festival were music contests, reminiscent of fiddlers' [sic] conventions, and instrumental workshops which owed a direct debt to Rinzler's productions at the Newport Folk Festival. (Adler, 84)

Rinzler's assistance in planning and producing the first festival is evident in the structure of the festival events, but also in the creation of the Story shared on stage, during which Rinzler "reinforced [Monroe's] place as "the Father of Bluegrass" (Adler, 85).

Bluegrass banjoist, Steve Arkin recalls Carlton sharing his vision for a multi-day festival in 1964 while Monroe's bus was coincidentally stranded outside Don Reno's garage. The following is transcribed from a personal interview[48]:

> And so, Carlton decides to change the subject and he says 'Bill, I have to tell you about a dream I have. I have a dream of having a bluegrass festival last a weekend long. We'll have all the big bands there, all the big bands. That would be you, Osbornes, Stanley Brothers, Lester [Flatt] and Earl [Scruggs]. At that point Bill seized up.

[48] Full transcription found in the Appendix.

The tension Arkin notes in the final sentence refers to Monroe's hostility towards Flatt and Scruggs. In 1965, Flatt and Scruggs were entering homes across the nation through their morning Martha White flour commercials, *The Beverly Hillbillies* network TV show, and their own syndicated TV show, *The Flatt and Scruggs TV Show* ("The Flatt and Scruggs TV Show," Wohlwend). In short, Flatt and Scruggs were dominating the national bluegrass scene and in turn, "[b]y the early sixties, Monroe's role in this story was not widely known by the public" (Roach 11). Rather it was Flatt and Scruggs, through the promotional genius of Louise Scruggs (Earl Scruggs' wife). Louise Scruggs' careful placement of Flatt and Scruggs on national television allowed them to captivate American audiences as the embodiment of bluegrass music. Louise Scruggs' process, influence, and methods are a topic for future research. It is crucial, however, to note that due to her success, Monroe was not touring extensively and had not secured commercial partnerships like those Flatt and Scruggs had obtained.

Louise Scruggs is an important and often overlooked heroine within the bluegrass industry. However, she is not a central figure to my telling of Haney's story, as by the time Haney organized his festivals, Earl Scruggs and Monroe had parted ways and her involvement with Fincastle was minimal in my findings. It is crucial, within my gendered analysis, to note that Louise Scruggs was an example of extreme (and extremely unrecognized) success. Her story is an outlier and does not reflect the commonly shared experiences of women. Barry Mazor writes that Louise Scruggs was the:

> [the] first woman to be a full-time manager of a major act in the history of country music, she was so forceful, creative and effective in her behind-the-scenes job that Flatt & Scruggs became the best-known faces ever to come out of bluegrass. . .

> Louise developed music positioning and branding ideas by the end of the 1950s that virtually defined the territory to be dubbed 'Americana' decades later" … "Earl says of her, 'She envisioned the things that could be done, but hadn't yet been done, better than anybody I've ever seen' (Mazor, "Louise Scruggs").

As noted before, a comparative analysis between Carlton Haney and Louise Scruggs is a work that must be done. As Louise Scruggs was building the reputation of her husband, Haney was creating the story that rewrote much of Flatt and Scruggs fame to (re)focus attention on Monroe.

Haney presented a different story at Fincastle. The positioning of Monroe as the father of the genre despite his invisibility during Haney's initial coordinating efforts for the first bluegrass festival, was a political act. Did Haney assume or intend so at the time? From most accounts, I assume not. Rather, the re-positioning speaks to Haney's fascination with Monroe. This includes Haney's almost evangelical claims that Monroe's timing *is* bluegrass music (Boner). Analyzing *Muleskinner News* (a publication Haney directed), confirmed the notion that the bluegrass story and concept of bluegrass is presented as deeply connected to Monroe in an unquestionable and all-encompassing manner. This also creates a new history, a hierarchical history, which begins with Monroe. The reality of the 1960s bluegrass scene (as presented in the previous paragraph) tells a slightly different story. I argue that Haney's obsessive fascination with Monroe and Ralph Rinzler's appreciation for Monroe as an American folk icon, were forces in the duo's production of the multi-day bluegrass festival. They made Monroe the nexus of this festival and in turn shaped the genre's historical understanding of itself. "In Haney's narrative, Bill Monroe was central… even when he wasn't performing he remained on the stage" (Roach 11). Roach continues, "Haney

controlled the performance, choosing and introducing each song, stating his views on the significance of the songs in the development of bluegrass, introducing the band members, and describing their role in Monroe's band" (11). The role of the Story served to introduce a musical lineage which repositioned Monroe as the central and foundational figure within bluegrass. I use this term (the Story) with caution, as it is merely a story, which through staging became the dominant narrative shared within the community. I am working to question the prominence of this story, not so it can be replaced by another, but to open the bluegrass community's collective imagination to multiple stories of how bluegrass came to be (remembered). In the following section I synthesize two collected stories. These reflect Haney's vision for Fincastle and foreshadow my analysis of gender in the next chapter.

**Fincastle and Peter Craig**

Peter Craig played mandolin, guitar, bass and (a little) banjo with no musical training. His interest in the guitar was sparked by Joan Baez. Photographer and mandolinist, Phil Zimmermann, introduced Peter Craig to bluegrass in college. After returning from military service Craig played in an amateur band in Boston and San Francisco. According to Craig, "Fincastle is a little blurry at this distance - I remember seeing most of the big-name performers - Monroe, Stanleys [sic], Don Reno, Benny Martin, Peter Rowan with Monroe, and George Shuffler with the Stanleys [sic]. One big memory I have is playing both Monroe's mandolin and his guitar - just for a few seconds each." These were all bands Craig had seen perform during his college years.

While Craig did not know Carlton Haney personally, he wrote "Fincastle was a brilliant concept for a festival - recreate the history of bluegrass, mostly via Monroe's old

bands. Carlton was way ahead of his time in recognizing Monroe's contribution to American music" (Craig, *Personal Correspondence*). He continues:

> Festivals changed very quickly after Fincastle - they were invaded by rock-and-rollers, Dead fans, hippies - many of whom had no real interest in bluegrass. Festivals also got huge; Fincastle was tiny. To me, the cause of these changes was the popularization (and bastardization) of "roots" music via the Kingston Trio, Josh White, [Peter, Paul, and Mary], many others who borrowed openly from string band music, turned it into pop music. This popularization which happened after Fincastle, was only possible largely because of Fincastle. Once the boundaries and parameters of the genre had been set, the ability to grow and change was granted.

**Fincastle Reflections from Mary Greenman Green**

Mary Greenman Green, an attendee at the first festival, provided a retrospective reflection about her experience which she wrote for the 1973 *Muleskinner News* special edition on summer festivals (54-57). Titled "The First Festival," Green's article takes the reader through her memories, entering the festival which she describes as "like unexplored country." She notes that many came who had been to folk festivals, but others were there just to see Monroe. Her memories are relational. She shares stories from Fred Bartenstein, who was 15 years old at the 1965 festival. She includes memories from Rick Riman, who recalled the lack of built infrastructure and reflected that the "perennial festival refreshment stand offered pancakes, bacon and coffee early in the morning" (55).

Green includes the story of a girl named Esther, who traveled from Buffalo, NY to surprise her boyfriend who never showed up (55). Hershel Freeman was struck, in his shared

recollections, of the social stratification which appeared as “collegiate citybillies, purposefully clad in Levis, flannels and boots, vainly seeking to out-pick and out-talk their peers, busily selecting the ideal spot to tape the show. They formed a cliquish, energetic community curious in their intensity and single-mindedness” (55). This elite group, armed with recorders and anthropological methods were the first to document the genre, creating, perhaps unintentionally, an elite divide concerning the ability to self-narrate.

Interestingly, Green noted the presence of Ralph Rinzler, whom she recalled was “congratulating Carlton Haney but saying it had been just luck, a fluke that it could never be done again” (57). This idea of Fincastle being a “once in a lifetime” event has continued. In some ways, it marks the ontological beginning of the genre—a rebirth which those who were placed to most heavily invest in the genre—college students, folklorists, business people, and locals as well as performers—were able to witness, preserve and perpetuate.

**Recognizing Ralph Rinzler**

Folklorist Ralph Rinzler’s work producing the Story (the aforementioned historical narrative) at Fincastle is no small feat. Many recall Rinzler furiously writing notes backstage and handing them to Haney who had command of the microphone. Cantwell also contended that for Rinzler (and readers can gather, for Cantwell as well) Monroe’s achievement was more “than merely technical or synthetic; Monroe had been empowered by a conviction as profound as religious belief,” drawing people to him and his music (*Bluegrass Breakdown* 64). Cantwell writes:

> By introducing Monroe into the mainstream of the folk music revival… Rinzler was able to rescue Monroe and to free him from the intense sense of rivalry with other

> bluegrass bands which had impeded his own growth. Most importantly, Rinzler helped to awaken Monroe to his own centrality in a culturally resonant popular movement which by the middle of the 1970s had generated scores of summer bluegrass festivals, dozens of new professional bands, and hundreds of amateur bluegrass musicians, as well as thousands of enthusiasts who formed a vast new market (*Bluegrass Breakdown* 66).

In the end, the Fincastle Festival, Rinzler, Haney, and Bartenstein, coupled with the folk and counter-culture movements of the sixties and seventies, developed a solidified shared history concerning the genre. This history was supported and continued to become the dominant discourse through communal spaces such as festival workshops, festivals, and print publications. Only recently have scholars and enthusiasts began to conceptualize the impact of Fincastle on bluegrass and vice versa. My findings about these various pressures and impacts are expanded in the following chapter.

**Carlton Haney's Later Years**

Understanding the "magic" of the bluegrass genre was of key importance to Haney. His work provided a historic and cultural blueprint for the genre through publications and presentations. Haney told *Billboard* in 1970 that he "Undertook a seven-year study of bluegrass music, to learn everything I could about it. I know every musician who plays it, I know every instrument, and I know what is being played on every record. I know if Jimmy Martin is playing Don Reno's instrument, and I know that Bill Monroe taught all of them everything they know" (*Billboard*, Dec 5, 1970, 42). He said that Monroe's system could not be taught by others, even if they learned it directly from the originator (Dec. 5, 1970, 42).

In 1973 Carlton encountered issues with the musicians' union; most notably Jerry Lee Lewis made strong claims against Carlton (Pugh 126). Controversy followed Carlton as he descended from the bluegrass scene, particularly his lack of attention to promoting shows and inability to pay performers.[49] Art Menius met Carlton in 1984—during his decline from influence in the music industry (Menius). Art Menius shares that Carlton had two major projects in the final years of his career: a book about music theory relying on Pythagoras' mathematical concepts, and a book on the music of Bill Monroe (Menius). Surprisingly, Haney was chosen as the subject of a *Hustler* magazine article. The article indicates that Haney may have undertaken writing a third book about his interest in chiropractic medicine[50] (Pugh 54). Haney transitioned out of the music industry and ran The Bluegrass Two Market in Reidsville, North Carolina, until his death in 2011 (Backlog Blog). His daughter Bonnie shared in personal interviews that Carlton was careful never to assume the literacy of his shoppers and to welcome all customers regardless of race or ethnicity (Bonnie Haney). The stories told about Haney are symbolic of his mark on the genre. Haney recreated, or at least created the space(s), for a definitive historical narrative of the genre to be created. Doug Hutchens writes on his personal blog:

> In his later years, he did a lot of thinking of how and why things happen, rather than making things happen as he had in his early days. Due to this many just [sic] sort of 'wrote him off' as having lost it, I guess that is not uncommon when we hear information beyond our comprehension. He spoke of Pythagoras, being in rhythm with the rotation of the earth and its place in the Universe, he studied the notes of the

[49] See also: *It's in the Book, Bob!* By Bob Eubanks, Matthew Scott Hansen.
[50] I have yet to find evidence of plans for such a book in the archives.

instruments, the vibrations, pitches, I wish I had all of what he said recorded. (http://doughutchens.blogspot.com/2011/03/carlton-haney.html)

Very little of what Haney actually said has been recorded. Statements from stage—performance—have been archived. Remembered conversations have been transcribed, but Haney's thoughts on the music and its legacy have required and undergone a distillation process, a sifting through of layers and stories.

Mentioning the name "Carlton Haney" in music circles today evokes a range of responses. Many resent that he didn't pay well, if at all. Others laugh and offer stories about late night phone calls and Haney's philosophical musings. Those who were close to Haney share mixed feelings related to his late-life descent into obscurity. Perhaps these are feelings of regret, wishing more had been done to care for him. Or, perhaps, individuals were confused by his spiral out of the music business. Regardless of their personal relationship with Carlton, individuals often remember their first festival experiences.

**Analysis: Fincastle's Influence and Influences**

When identifying important influences for creating the first festival, I recognize the emphasis on place-based musical traditions and connections to "old time" music and fiddler's conventions, as established by disciplinary traditions of Appalachian and Southern studies. However, having researched Haney's experiences, I find that Nashville and commercial country music largely guided Haney's festival vision. Regardless, it is important to note that regional string band music festivals and folklorists had an important role in the "staging of culture" within the region, but my specific focus on Haney's festivals leads me to interrogate Haney's particular influences, namely Ralph Rinzler, folk festivals, and booking practices of

popular/mainstream country music venues. Fincastle in 1965 was a watershed event which served as catalyst for the creation of the genre among enthusiasts. Leading up to Fincastle, the first multi-day bluegrass festival, there were other consistent and common way of gathering for bluegrass performers and connected audience members. Neil Rosenberg (1985) explains that bluegrass musicians were creating a genre while preserving the traditional ideals of “the family”:

> The country show as it developed in the thirties did not ‘evolve’ directly from any single earlier form. The show is best thought of as the dramatic equivalent of an idealized ‘get together.’ The total ensemble was symbolic of a small community or an extended family; to this day shows like ‘Hee Haw,’ the WWVA ‘World’s Jamboree,’ and the Opry allow and even encourage performers to appear casually onstage; most shows of the thirties featured everyone onstage whether they were performing or not. They constituted an audience within an audience, a kind of framing device, which suggested that the audience was viewing an old-time corn-shucking or evening of parlor entertainment. They emphasized the communal aspects of the show, projecting a feeling of onstage group solidarity (57).

Rosenberg’s analysis of the country show provides a clear understanding of the roots of Haney’s festivals. Further, Rosenberg’s suggestion of “reframing” speaks to the previously mentioned process of rehistoricization. Haney integrated these ideas into Fincastle with an unprecedented concentration, not only through the Story, but also by the gathering of people into one space for multiple days.

Fincastle's gathering of a socio-economically diverse group, continues in current festivals[51]. Because of the geographic, cultural, economic, political, and religious, disparity of the bluegrass fan base, Owen Gardner sees the bluegrass community as a *portable community*, writing:

> Participants in portable communities create space for intimate and inclusive *gemeinschaft* social interaction that they find lacking in their daily lives. Participants create these communities as an alternative to geographically rooted neighborhoods and participate with varying levels of commitment… They surface in multiple locales

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[51] To support that statement, I provide the following demographic breakdown provided by the IBMA, based on research conducted by Simmons Market Researchers:

> Bluegrass music has withstood the test of time and it continues to attract an enthusiastic fan base. Look at these key statistics* from leading consumer research firm Experian Simmons: 18.7 million bluegrass consumers in the U.S., 51% male / 49% female, 56% between the ages of 25-54, 30% have a minimum of a college degree, 76% earn more than $30,000 per year, 61% are married, 87% are registered to vote, 4.26% of bluegrass consumers have a Spanish/Hispanic or Latino origin, The largest percentage of bluegrass consumers reside in the South (42 percent). There are about as many bluegrass consumers in the Midwest (22%) as in the West (21%); the Northeast has the lowest percentage (15%)., 77% listen to music for entertainment / #1 Leisure Activity, 18% play a musical instrument / 84% more likely, 36% have attended a live show in the last year / 29% more likely Bluegrass consumers are generally happy, involved, quality-conscious, and socially active – and, of course, they share a passion for music: 67% say "I'm very happy with my life as it is", 68% say "How I spend time is more important than money", 67% say "It's worth paying extra for quality goods", 77% say "I'm willing to volunteer my time for a good cause", 71% say "Music is an important part of my life" All of these facts are encouraging for advertisers who want to reach bluegrass fans. As you can see, over half of bluegrass consumers are ages 25 through 54, and more than three-quarters of them earn over $30,000 annually. This represents an audience that is interested in and capable of purchasing bluegrass-related products and services. Not surprisingly, over 75 percent of this audience says "listening to music for entertainment" is their top leisure activity, and 65 percent of bluegrass fans have recently attended or are more likely to attend a live show. (https://cdn.bluegrasstoday.com/wp-content/uploads/pdf/Bluegrass_Today_Special_Report.2012.v1.1.pdf)

As I noted in my Master's Thesis: The myth of the bluegrass community and the actuality of group demographics is where the available literature collides. Cantwell suggests, "This music [bluegrass] belongs no longer to a region…. But to an economic class, the industrial working class" (7). Conceptually, bluegrass mimics the community of the working man—a community formed through festivals, online membership, and local venues. However, the actual demographics of the fan base reveal they are a well-educated, higher-income group, positing the questions of what conclusions can be drawn (if any) about this part of the bluegrass identity" (Laney, 27).

> but take on a strikingly similar form and logic that is instantly familiar to members. With relative ease, members can connect and bond with others without having formal contacts or institutional relationships to establish initial entrée into the setting (3).

By the late 1960s, festivals were tools for the solidification of the genre's genealogy and created a trajectory and method for framing the genre. In Bill Malone's *Country Music USA,* he writes of the "first bluegrass festival in Berryville" referring to a one day gathering held before Haney's event (328). Later in that same passage, Malone quotes Mayne Smith, stating that the reason for the first festival led by Ralph Rinzler and Carlton Haney, was to honor Bill Monroe (328). Such conflicting accounts have led to minor confusion regarding the first bluegrass festival. However, it is widely understood that the first multi-day-single-genre-festival which used the *term* festival was Carlton Haney's 1965 event.

Luray, Virginia, deeply influenced the musical landscape in which Fincastle would emerge. In 1961 in Luray, Bill Clifton produced a series of "All Day Bluegrass Festivals," another point of confusion for some. It is important to note that Carlton Haney was in the audience in Luray. Of the 2200 members in attendance at Luray (1961)[52] none were more observant of the socio-cultural impact than Carlton Haney (Rosenberg 180). It is Haney's festival which became a mythical construction in the fan's understanding of the genre.[53] This was evident in the on-stage exchange between Carlton Haney and Mac Wiseman that I transcribed while in Berea's archives:

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[52] Fred Bartenstein clarifies that there was only one Luray event by Clifton, and it has been established that a similar event was promoted the year before, in 1960, by DJ Don Owens and property owner John U. Miller at Watermelon Park in Berryville, VA. Jim Rooney attended and discusses the event at length in his 2014 University of Illinois Press Biography*, In It for the Long Run* (Fred Bartenstein, personal correspondence).

[53] The most recent publication on Haney's importance in a trade publication was published by Art Menius and features an overview of Carlton's life and influences (see: https://artmenius.files.wordpress.com/2011/12/camp-springs-article-bgu-may-2015.pdf).

> Mack: [*applause*] I'm sincere, this man [Carlton Haney], promotes many other shows. I guess he's perhaps the biggest buyer of single buyer of package shows in our country today, and I mean the United States. But his first love is the bluegrass music. He treats it just that way. I've seen him… last night he came in and it wasn't even his own festival and I deeply appreciate that, Carlton, I appreciate it very much.
>
> Carlton**:** I want to see all the festivals work because I know people can enjoy it! It's the greatest music in the world and *it's just over that mountain, man, it's just over that mountain* if we can just get over there it will be the most powerful music in the world, but we're up on the side of it and you people can help us get over. And that's where we are. At the first festival, there was a boy from Clemson, South Carolina, went to college there and he wrote a little poem and a story and he did pictures and all in the *Clemson Chronicle*, but at the end he did a little four-line thing that said 'If you want the night clubs, go to the city, but if you want America's musical heritage, go to Fincastle, the bluegrass festival is just over that mountain.' So, y'all meet us over there and help us will ya. (Mac Wiseman 1971 Festival Recordings "The Story")

The letter from the Clemson student is a particularly important part of this exchange. First, the "college student status" offers a credibility and legitimacy to their claims, meaning these are educated, outsider observations about the community which affirm the internal notions of importance. Secondly, Haney uses prophetic language, insisting that bluegrass music is "just over that mountain." Haney continues to appeal to popular sensibilities, stating that "the

people" need to help reach the other side of the mountain, as if the genre is on the edge of something "big." Also, important to note is the unquestioned nationalism associated with the genre. Haney quotes the student's letter, "if you want America's musical heritage, go to Fincastle, the bluegrass festival" with pride, insisting that this is not *just* bluegrass, not *just* a gathering, but *America's musical heritage [emphasis added]*.

THIRD ANNUAL ROANOKE BLUEGRASS FESTIVAL at Berryville, Va., September 1, 2 & 3, 1967. From left: 1) Clyde Moody, Don Reno, Red Smiley, Mac Wiseman. 2) Ralph Stanley. 3) Bill Monroe, Red Smiley, Tater Tate, Kenny Baker, Don Reno. 4) Carlton Haney, Bill Monroe. Photos by Edwin G. Huffman.

Figure 5. Image of Carlton Haney found in *Muleskinner News*, Berea College Appalachian Sound Archives. Photo taken by Jordan Laney. [Used with permission]

**Analysis: The Story as Rehistoricization**

Carlton's influence and prominence within the rise of festivals was clearly seen to those attending festivals or purchasing *Muleskinner News*[54].[55] The importance of "the Story" for the genre has been examined by Ron Roach most recently in "'The Story of Bluegrass:' Carlton Haney, Bill Monroe, and Redemption Drama in the First Bluegrass Festivals." His analysis supports my notion that the story is a re-writing of *the history* of bluegrass music, beginning with Bill Monroe. According to Roach, "Haney controlled the performance, choosing and introducing each song, stating his views on the significance of the songs in the development of bluegrass, introducing the band members, and describing their role in Monroe's band" (11). Roach argued that the "Story" has not been fully explored as a rhetorical strategy. I continue to build upon Roach's initial work in Chapter 5.

Ron Roach's article in the *Journal of Appalachian Studies* utilizes literary theory to elaborate on the importance of the Story as Carlton utilized it at the first festival. I build upon Roach's analysis by contributing a feminist analysis (as provided in Chapter 5). Namely, I assert that the Story serves to rehistoricize and legitimize the genre for each following generation. As Bhavari and Haraway (1994) have observed:

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[55] On one back cover (v.1.n.6 November/December 1970) is a listing of Haney's festivals which includes: 4th annual fourth of July weekend blue grass music festival to be held July 2, 3, 4, 1971 at Watermelon Park, Berryville, VA, 7th Annual Labor Day Weekend Blue Grass Festival to be held Sept. 3,4,5, 1971 at Camp Springs, NC; Bill Monroe's 5th Annual Blue Grass Music Festival to be held June 17, 18, 19, 20, 1971 Brown County Jamboree Park Bean Blossom, Indiana, Callaway, MD. Summer bluegrass festival promoted with J. Irving Knott, Berryville, Gettysburg, promoted with John Miller, and Camp Springs, promoted alone. And on the back cover an ad for "Carlton's FIRST New Grass Music Festival Easter Weekend at Camp Springs featuring New Grass Revival, Seldom Scene, Smokey Ridge Boys, Blue Grass Experience, Country Gentlemen, Second Generation, High Country Boys, and Blue Grass Gentlemen". It is advertised that Haney is also working on festivals in Berryville with John Miller, and in Amelia, VA, presumably alone.

> “We repeatedly rehistoricize ourselves by telling a story; we relocate ourselves in the present historical moment by reconfiguring our identities relationally, understanding that identity is always a relational category and that there is no such thing as a subject who pre-exists the encounters that construct that subject. Identity is an effect of those encounters--identity is that set of effects which develop from the collision of histories. It is not an abstraction. It’s an extraordinarily complex kind of sedimentation, and we historicize our identities all the time through elaborate story-telling practices.... And those stories telling practices themselves are ways of trying to interrogate, get at, the kinds of encounters, historical moments, [and] the kinds of key moments of transition for us-both individually and collectively (Bhavnani and Haraway 1994).

The Story presented historical moments while reconfiguring identities and relations. This resulted in the validation of an imagined community, the desire to conserve Bill Monroe’s prominent status within the folk world, and, during the 1960s and 1970s, the legitimizing of a community for those who felt the folk movement was too politically radical. Perhaps above all, for Haney, the transmission process between the music and the performers and the exchanges and transactions were relational. This resulted in a patriarchal genealogy which is addressed in chapter 5.

My argument that the Story rehistoricized the genre is supported through the history of bluegrass scholarship. In 1964, Mayne Smith, a graduate student approaching bluegrass from a folkloric perspective published his thesis—the first ever about bluegrass music. In this study Smith identified the “sound of bluegrass” as having distinguishing traits:

1. It is primarily an instrumental music consisting of musicians who play non-electrified stringed instruments, with the five-string banjo, fiddle, guitar, mandolin, and stand up string bass as the standard ensemble.

2. Vocal harmonization may be as many as four parts expressed in duets, trios, or quartets.

3. The defining criterion is the five-string banjo played in lead capacity, emphasizing melodic over rhythmic aspects, and using the three-finger roll, or "Scruggs Style," named after Earl Scruggs, a native of western North Carolina.

Crucial to note is that Smith's definition made no mention of Bill Monroe.

**Analysis: Staging as Erasing**

The genre's history largely leans on this carefully curated performance, the Story, as its foundation. Monroe's patriarchal positioning as the foundation of the genre in this genealogical telling can arguably be seen as an appropriation of black culture and traditions. This is perhaps best seen in the example of the banjo, an African instrument, which became an iconic "bluegrass instrument" once Earl Scruggs performed with Monroe.[56] Specifically, post Great Depression and pre-World War II, the banjo emerged with a driving yet lonesome and nostalgic sound performed by white men attempting economic mobility, as evidenced through their presentation of self as serious-equestrian-wear wielding professionals.[57] Monroe's insistence on his band's stage ensemble was in stark contrast to other "hillbilly" or

[56] Originally, the Banjar, as folklorist Cece Conway presents in her work, *African Banjo Echoes in Appalachia: Study Folk Traditions* (Publications of the American Folklore Society, 1995).
[57] I deconstruct performance and performativity in Chapter 6.

rural performers and performances of the time period. The band often wore equestrian gear, cowboy suits, or formal men's attire.

Monroe's complex mandolin technique and falsetto tenor singing set him apart from popular hillbilly performers; moreover, Monroe did not condone dressing the part of the hillbilly. Rather than wearing "hillbilly" garb, the Monroe insisted his band dressed like equestrians or horsemen, symbolically the aristocratic men of an earlier South wearing jodhpurs, riding boots, white shirts, and western hats, famously tilted to the side. To him such a costume signified wealth and upper class mobility. Monroe understood how crucial commercial appeal was to his success, equally valuing artistry and industry. His resistance to the hillbilly portrayal of entertainers from the south instilled a pride in his band, and roused an enthusiastic following.

Music scholar Kip Lornell argues that Monroe should be included in the category of "folk musicians" within the folk music revival. Monroe's claim to authenticity being that he "grew up within the musical culture, not to mention the racial and regional communities that spawned gospel, blues and bluegrass…" (Lornell 242). As Lornell implies, the controversies concerning racialized and discriminatory performances during the 1930s were made more complex with the emergence of Monroe. Monroe was not the first white performer to perform rural music for primarily white audiences using music gathered from African American performers. This was similarly done during the same time period (1930s) in the country music genre by the Carter Family, who used Lesley Riddle, an African American guitar player, to enter into communities and collect songs (Pecknold, 1).

Cantwell notes that from the onset (1945), the bluegrass genre was "extraordinarily 'progressive,'" and its "evolution into a traditional form on the folk level testifies among

other things to its novelty and originality" (1982:100). My analysis asks "'Extraordinarily progressive' for whom?" Agreeing with Cantwell, I posit that the answer is in the audience insomuch that bluegrass is reflective and mimetic. I present that in its mimesis, bluegrass is Appalachian, meaning that the performative presentation of the *concept of bluegrass* reflects social constructs and, in return, (re)shapes a fantasy-infused reality, legitimized through internal historical practices.

In *Bluegrass Breakdown,* Cantwell provides the following excerpt from Ralph Rinzler's 1963 article, "Bill Monroe: The Daddy of Bluegrass Music":

> At this point it is an easy task to evaluate the contribution of Bill Monroe. It was the combination of musical traditions, both the Anglo-Scots and the Negro, meeting as they did in that area of Kentucky, which enabled Monroe to blend these two powerful strains in his own instrumental and vocal style. In his choice of instrumental treatment and repertoire, it was Monroe who set the trend to play traditional songs on traditional instruments, and he did this at a time when the trend in commercial country music among performers of his generation was directly opposed to him… Monroe pioneered mandolin virtuosity and forged the driving rhythms and tempos characteristic of his music from the time of his first recording with Charlie in 1936. . .. Bill Monroe is still the most dynamic and subtle singer in the field of bluegrass music, exhibiting a vocal style which could only have developed from a background of rich and varied musical styles. (*Bluegrass Breakdown* 63-64)

Here, Cantwell reveals Rinzler's staging of Monroe and understanding of the genre, including the mentioning of African American influences without participation of African American performers. While strides have been made to recognize the African American roots

of the genre, accessibility (or the lack thereof) to the bluegrass stage for African Americans remains to be addressed, even today.

**Analysis: Identity Formation and Affirmation**

While festival attendees can attest to the impact festivals make on their individual lives, the claim that mobile spaces have an influence on identity construction is an argument which demands contextualization. How can fleeting temporal and physical sites impact visitors? How do those who gather identify before, during and after their engagement with the space? I argue that these questions regarding the impact of festivals are fruitfully explored through theories of heterotopic space and imagined communities. I am not suggesting that personal identities are altered after attending a festival, but that structures outside festivals do not necessarily maintain inside the festival. This happens through heterotopic possibilities, the performance of the self through personal narratives, and common narratives, (for example, the Story). Further, the liminality[58] of the space may result in erasures from "the narrative" (the Story) and experiences of both of female impacts and the reliance of African American traditions within the performance. For example, fiddler Arnold Shultz is often mentioned by Monroe who claims to have learned from Shultz, however, Shultz and other African American performers were not present on the 1965 stage and have *largely* not been present on bluegrass festival stages since 1965. This

[58] Victor Turner is credited for the concept of liminality, however, his concept of liminoid is perhaps a process better descriptor of festivals than liminal, as they are optional and playful. "Liminoid phenomena, on the other hand, are often parts of social critiques or even revolutionary manifestoes-books, plays, paintings, films, etc., exposing the injustices, inefficiencies, and immoralities of the mainstream economic and political structures and organizations" (Turner 86).

misrepresentation of the culture of the Appalachian Mountains continues to promote Eurocentric connections made by early festival promoters as mentioned in previous chapters.

**Analysis: A "Re-Birth" of Bluegrass**

While at Berea College's Appalachian Sound Archives, I transcribed and carefully listened to onstage exchanges at the 1973 Renfro Valley Bluegrass Festival.[59] These exchanges are often overlooked by scholars and internal historians who favor documenting set lists. The following excerpt is transcribed from the final tape and reveals how the audience is being introduced to the *concept* of bluegrass music; a (re)birth of the genre into a new genealogy. The excerpt showcases a discussion between Fred Bartenstein, Mac Wiseman, and Carlton Haney.

**Track 9**

**Fred Bartenstein [FB]**: Is there anything we can do about the sound in the speaker over there? It's distorting, busting up over there.

**FB**: Wet wires?

**FB**: Okay, ladies and gentlemen, we'd like to, well… you've been hearing fine music all afternoon, fine music and rain. And right now, we're gonna have some talking about bluegrass music and the meaning of bluegrass music festivals and the man

[59] Mac Wiseman 1971 Festival Recordings: RP OR 11-026-06-B4, 11-026-06-B-T4, (Labeled as having "The Story," housed in Berea College's Appalachian Sound Archive)

who's going to lead things off is the gentleman who made this weekend possible, Mr. Mac Wiseman.

*[Applause]*

**Mac Wiseman [MW]**: Thank you, thank you, Fred, thank you, very much. Friends, this is just a brief comment about the festivals, regarding the festivals. We thought you might find it of interest if we brought the gentleman out who *really started* the festivals some six or seven years ago and he'll clarify that and give you an exact date. I was on the first one but I think it was about six or seven years ago. Carlton Haney has long been associated with *our kind* of music, has been one *of our* greatest supporters, has really analyzed it and put it on a scientific basis as much so as it could possibly be done. He's gone into many, many markets, spot checked, really worked and approached it from a scientific angle in every way I really think. We'd like to call him out right now to have you meet him for several reasons because I think he could add to what I am saying here and give you some definite answers to some questions that you might have in mind. At the same time, I want to publicly thank him for the wonderful support he's given me and the guidance and advice he's given me in trying to set up *our first festival* here at Renfro Valley. I've worked as many of the festivals as any other artist—I'm pleased to say that, I don't say it boastfully—but even then, *there's a lot more to it than going out and pickin' and singin'* when you get ready to set one up and gear one and let the people know so they can come and enjoy it and put it on the basis where they can finally enjoy it when they get here. So, if you will,

> I'd like you to spend the next few minutes and listen to a feller I think is a walking book of knowledge regarding *our music*. Mr. Carlton Haney…

The emphasis of *our* or *our music* in this exchange is telling; it reinforces a be-longing within the community that is as exclusive as it is inclusive. The inclusive "our" were overwhelmingly white at this gathering. Performers were overwhelmingly male.[60] The collective "our" in this space is not inclusive, but rather actively distancing and self-identifying.

> *[Clapping]*
>
> **Carlton Haney [CH]**: Thank you, Mack. The first thing I would like to say is, "I'm getting a lot of credit that I enjoy, but the first thing that I would like to say is that the young *man* that's been emceeing the show here, Fred Bartenstein, has done as much for bluegrass music as any *man* today. *He's* one of the reasons that the bluegrass music is growing in the popularity it is. I couldn't do anything without *him*. In fact, if something happens to any of us, Fred will be *the man to carry it on. He* right now is *the most important man* in bluegrass music. *The artists are important men.*

Carlton Haney's short statement introducing Fred Bartenstein reinforces the idea of bluegrass and the festival space as a masculine and patriarchal force. Haney uses the terms to "men" or "man" eight times, as the emphasis reveals. "The artists are important men" is a particularly

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[60] There were some women I noted in both the audience and performing. I had to assume audience gender based on cheering, stage banter, and comments from the stage to the audience.

telling statement with regards to the genre's imaginary potentials and limitations. Women were at the festival, as made evident by Paul "Moon" Mullins' reminders of gendered restrooms. \

Further, a close listening of the transcriptions reveals women *were* sometimes performing either as solo artists or alongside men. However, the idea that "the artists are important men" should not be ignored, as such sentiments fashioned the imaginative futures of the genre, connecting and limiting artistry to maleness—an attribute bluegrass trade organizations and performers presently work to dismantle. Further, as revealed in the analysis of the 2015 re-creation of the Story, early (1960s, 1970s) constructions of the genre set the boundaries and conditions for the genre to thrive. This unfortunately meant limiting the imagination of what the genre can be, as were materialized by Bonnie Haney's sentiments of surprise when viewing the stage of women performers re-enacting the 1965 Fincastle Story.

> **CH**: In 1947, I was backstage at the Grand Ole Opry and I asked Jimmy Martin and John Reno and some of the guys who had worked with Bill Monroe to do some of the old songs. And they started a couple of the songs a few times and Bill stopped 'em and them he started it *and I heard something that I had never heard before* and I got the idea that if I could get the people—Mack Wiseman, Jimmy Martin, Don Reno – and the people that had worked with Bill Monroe on stage together and do bluegrass the way they did it years ago that people would like it. So, I worked seven years. I told only two people what we gonna try to do. *And in 1965 I rented a horse farm out in Roanoke Virginia and … I had 1100 people for the three days and I had eight groups*. And all of them had worked with Bill Monroe. *And we recreated some of the*

*old bluegrass sounds*. And then in three years I moved the festival to Berryville, Virginia and the first group that I hired to be in a festival that was not an alumnus of the Bill Monroe music was the Country Gentleman from Washington DC. I thought that they in their own way had originated something. They had gotten away from the strict bluegrass. *So, we hired them and that started the innovation of groups that were not strictly Monroe alumni. And that was the idea of the festivals.* Last year there was 15 festivals. This year there's 45. Next year there'll be 60 and *it'll grow all over America* but simply because the entertainers—the ones that worked with Bill and are still doin' that and other things and the groups like the Country Gentleman, the Bluegrass Alliance, Del McCoury and the groups that are doin' their own thing. JD Crow who worked with Jimmy Martin, he has one of the best groups that you could put on stage. All those *boys.*

And now we have a *new sound* in bluegrass *as well as the old sound* and there's something happening in the music that's gonna make it the most popular music in 2 or 3 years in America. The festivals and the fact that the artists spend a lifetime learning to play these instruments. I was talking with Bobby Smith with The Shiloh Boys a while ago and I ask[d] him, because I've been askin' people, *"What is bluegrass music?" And he gave me the best answer that I've heard: It's the soul of a man.* It's *his soul* expressed through an instrument *or through his singing* and *it's an honest music*. And all these musicians are great that perform on the stage here. This festival being the first year, as an infant, you've got to feed it and make it grow. And next year I understand they're gonna clean out all these trees over here and build a stage over in the trees where there will be shade and this festival will grow to be as

big as any festival because bluegrass music is named for the state of Kentucky. Bill Monroe named his group, Blue Grass Boys and it's called "bluegrass music" because it's different from string music or country music. So the state of Kentucky should be proud of this festival and should help it grow to be one of the biggest festivals to where there will be 10 or 15 thousand people here each year *and I want to thank you people for helping Mac* and by coming and by telling other people that this festival is going to grow. The Renfro Valley festival will be one of the big ones.

As an emcee or host, Haney uses the stage to constantly re-create and re-inform those gathered about the history of the genre. He shares the history of the conception of festivals, as well as justification for including "new" groups. Importantly, he uses the term "recreate" with regards to his intentions for the first festival. I also emphasize Haney's definition of bluegrass music. Here, the genre is understood as "the soul of man" expressed through his instrument or singing. This constant performance of both self-creation and self-presentation was an important part of my observations. In the excerpt below, Carlton shifts from entertainer to educator, giving directions to the audience gathered before him.

[7:00]

**[CH]** 'Cause he [Mac Wiseman] brought entertainers that he could have done the festival without— a lot of the entertainers that he had, but he wanted good music and a good festival. So *you people can help make it grow* and *have you something to be proud of* each year and *come hear the music* and I want to thank you for being so nice to me, all the people that come to my festivals. We'll have one Labor Day weekend in

North Carolina and the first year we're gonna have the bluegrass music awards show on Sunday night. Country music has theirs, gospel music has theirs, the movie industry and the television industry, so *we* gonna start and have the first bluegrass music awards show on Sunday night at the North Carolina bluegrass festival each year and I hope some of ya can come and thank you for supporting Mac and all the great groups and the groups like Lester Flatt and all the groups that are *helping to carry the music on, they need your help.* We made a mention here this week that Lester and Bill's album is the first bluegrass album to make the charts, ever. It's in all the trade papers this week as one of the top 50 albums, and it's the first one. *And it's important for you to go out and if you enjoy it go out and buy the album and support these guys.*

[END transcription]

This transcription (only three of 126 pages) is included not only to provide archival evidence, but to exhibit the discourse common at early festivals. Haney's festival was held eight years prior to Mac Wiseman's festival and the process of creating and distancing the space-time relations of Fincastle and bluegrass in order to present a historical and cultural institution is already at play, as seen through the selected dialogue.

The Story was slated to serve as a "grand finale" to the first festival, a narrative performance retelling the history of bluegrass using Bill Monroe as the central figure. This is considered, in literature to date, one of the most important contributions of Haney's envisioned festival. In conclusion, I focus on what the Story taught the audience of dedicated

bluegrass fans who would go on to write about the genre, produce music, and some even plan their own festivals and events.

Through "the Story," Rinzler and Haney created history about the genre's "founding" figure, Bill Monroe. Monroe fills the high centres-monarch's role in Anderson's understanding of an imagined community.[61] He serves, through the repetition of the Story, as a single, patriarchal figure, upon whom the entire genre relies. Fincastle created this message. Without Fincastle and the particular group gathered in that space—folklorist, college students, amateur and professional performers—the power of this message may have never gone beyond Rinzler and Haney. The collective institutional, cultural, and social capital allowed for intense and rapid repetition of the Story.

When interviewing the renowned old time and bluegrass banjoist Steve Arkin amidst a reunion of attendees at the first bluegrass festival who gathered in Phil Zimmerman's home in Connecticut, many different personal stories emerged through which the narrator *placed* themselves at or near Fincastle. In many of the interviews I've conducted, the storytellers are the stars of their own tales, adding an element of what I refer to as self-creation[62]. Such self-creation through narration is a powerful tool, particularly within bluegrass where the differentiation between storytellers is vast. It is the ability to queer one's identity, to realize oneself within the space allowed and created by festivals. For banjoist Bill Clifton, that was changing his name, creating and coming into a rural identity and persona. For Arkin, his

[61] Anderson proposes that an imagined nation includes: fundamental cultural conceptions, the belief that society was naturally organized around and under high centres-monarchs who were persons apart from other human beings, a conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable, the origins of the world and of men essentially identical, and a linking fraternity, power, and time meaningfully together (Anderson 36).

[62] For this reason, I refer to those who share stories as "narrators" rather than informants or subjects in the study.

ability to become a Blue Grass Boy was a shift in his frame of narration. For Haney, the ability to actualize the importance of Monroe through the story and solidify the "magic" of the community and music through the shared space allowed him to create the space around him.

Returning to Arkin's story, as I was transcribing, it was difficult to ignore his striking phrasing choices. He mentions at one point the "writing off" of Bill Monroe by Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, and I interpreted this as if the narrative were understood as an actual written text. As Arkin explained:

> They [other performers] make it sound like they invented this music and they [Bill Monroe and the Bluegrass Boys] had no part in it and he never existed. It was if he was written off... The *hieroglyphics, they erased all the hieroglyphics about his existence*....

Arkin places the story of Fincastle within the social context of Monroe's legacy. His own story—that of a "northern" performer is also striking. Arkin (along with many others who shared with me) not only saw the largest collective of live bluegrass acts they had ever seen, but saw "the South" for the first time in the summer of '65, again emphasizing that the physical location was important. The realities, memories, and imaginaries of Fincastle and later Camp Springs are often different than the stories conveyed.

**Conclusion: Speaking Historically**

In this chapter, I arrange the various aspects of Carlton Haney's life I captured: Carlton's early life, his infatuation and relationship with Bill Monroe, the production of package shows, and finally the creation of the Fincastle festival. There is a largely

unquestioned *history* of bluegrass within both scholarly and trade circles which is deeply rooted in *the Story*, a story which has left the stage and permeates almost all liner notes, museums, and textbooks since 1965. Archived through print media, t-shirt slogans, songs, and liner notes, the Story presents Monroe as the father of the genre; a man who learned from an African-American neighbor, Arnold Shultz. However, Monroe's life and the genealogy of his band, The Blue Grass Boys, overshadows those previous narratives, erasing the impact of black performers.

Figure 6. "Arnold Shultz" Image found on Mark O'Connor's blog: http://markoconnorblog.blogspot.com/2014/04/the-history-of-bluegrass-music-by-mark.html (3/9/18) [Fair Use]

When Carlton asked Carter Stanley to share words about Bill Monroe (as the entire "Story" was largely a dedication to his life), Stanley replied by saying "you just needed to be a man, that's all he asks of you" (Martin, "Transcript").[63] Juan Carlos Bautista wrote:

> *We must speak of cowardice which is the way to understand the air here.*
>
> *We must speak of fear.*
>
> *That is,*
>
> *we must speak of history.*

The story being told isn't so much the story of bluegrass, but the story of overcoming poverty, and overcoming a troubled childhood. It is a story of possibilities and limitations. For rural white men, these possibilities included a community with a shared history, a rugged agrarian aesthetic, and fleeting success outside of the rapid shifts from farms to industrialization, parallel to the ability of performers to "make a living" playing music in the 1930s and 1940s. For college students and folk enthusiasts, the aesthetic appeal is reportedly strong; even without familial ties to the music, the perceived closeness of something folkloric, "traditional," and "authentic" stood in stark contrast to the *Billboard* hits of the 1960s (interviews). Rinzler's strategic repositioning of Monroe as the Father and beginning of the genre deepened the sound's rural roots though a historical narrative. Today, notions of a Bill Monroe-centric genre attached to patriarchal lineages and masculine practices continue to dominate the genre.

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[63] See Appendix 3 for the full transcription.

## Chapter 5: Recognizing the (Gendered) Power of Festival Spaces

*To pay attention is not merely further to elucidate pre-existing data, it is to bring about a new articulation of them by taking them as figures. They are performed only as horizons, they constitute in reality new regions in the total world… Thus, attention is… the active constitution of a new object which makes explicit and articulate what was until them presented as no more than an indeterminate horizon.*

--Merleau-Ponty (Qtd. in Csordas, 30)

*In traditional societies, festivals, carnivals, and other symbolic enactments regularly recirculate the cultural message, rearticulating the imaginary to the actual structures of social life and to the familiar forms of authority and power*

--Robert Cantwell, *Ethnomimesis,* 246

Depending on where one is positioned while taking in the festival scene, the framing of women as workers, performers, and attendees, can vary greatly. Not only does the framing of women vary, but the production of gender within the festival grounds shifts as one moves through different spaces. The "work" of the dominant bluegrass narrative, a story of Bill Monroe, who traveled with his band The Bluegrass Boys, and in doing so birthed a genre, makes many of the musical and economic contributions of women invisible. My efforts here are not to reveal the inequalities of representation within the genre at large, but rather to address the ways in which festival spaces render women as unseen and misrepresent their labor and influence. Further, it is not just women: African Americans have been erased and

removed from the history of the genre and largely from the festival space itself. Due to the ways in which gender is produced visibly within the space, I emphasis images in this chapters. By focusing on the productions of the festival space, I enter into discussions of what Judith Butler calls “allocating recognizability,” or compliance to become recognizable (Butler, *Performativity*, IV).

While Chapters 2-4 introduced the traditional festival narrative and revealed new information regarding the inception of bluegrass festival, this chapter questions the genre’s ontology from different positionalities. This process leads to an examination of the lasting impacts and residual implications of the traditional genealogical narrative of the space. Geoff Eley writes, that to “explore the subjugation of women is also to explore the fraternity of men” (Calhoun 311). In that sense, this chapter explores the intersections between the production of space and the production of gender.

In this chapter I first share the methodological process of searching for gaps, exclusions, and oversights, which largely impacted my findings. This is done specifically by analyzing spaces *beyond* the stage. Noting that the challenges to the feminist methods I employ are not so distant from the challenges of feminine spaces within the festival grounds. I begin this process by examining ways women’s labor and contributions have been overlooked in the section titled “Towards Recognition of Genealogical Power.” I then introduce the reader to my findings related to embodiment and gender within the festival space (“Moving through the Festival Space”) and present my “Notes on Creating and Interpreting the 50th Anniversary Re-creation.” These notes serve as an exploration of methodology and projects which reveal the imagined or the possible through arts spaces, specifically through the re-telling of history. I address women’s labor (“Concession Stands

and Beyond: Unrecognized Labor and Influence") and analyze the roles and lack of representation within print media ("(Im)Printing Women into the Space") as well as in listening/archival research processes ("Listening for Women"). In the final sections of this chapter I address the relationship between space and gender, conceptual challenges, and performativity.

## Towards Recognition of Genealogical Power

Through the ethnographic process described in Chapter 3, I argue for recognition of the ways in which women's labor and contributions have been overlooked. The seeking out of often invisible narratives required an adoption of a feminist mode of articulation, meaning my gaze was redirected from the center to the margins. This reflects the power structures (centered) in bell hooks' book, *Feminist Theory: From Margins to Center*, in which the positionality of feminism is explored. Questioning power in this dissertation has taken the form of questioning genealogies as well as physical spaces, and in turn, questioning the historical notions which manifest in the space.

Butler's assessment of performativity allows for a clear understanding of how "gender is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gendered stylization of the body" (*Gender Trouble* xv). To address the stylization of bodies in the festival space, I analyze multiple on-stage exchanges between performers and images. I am interested in rituals and manifestations of gender outside of the cultural norms of the bluegrass community's dominant gaze. By "searching for the women" in the archives, at

festivals, and in stories, my process and findings have led me to make the argument that women often create (feminine) spaces and provide labored support to the genre.[64].

While studies have been done to highlight the influence and impact of women in the genre –for example the highlighting of Ralph Stanley's mother's influence and in Murphy Henry's historical account *Pretty Good For a Girl*— the story, *the ontology*, the birth of the genre, continues to be accredited to a single father, Bill Monroe. From there, sons' begat sons, despite the fact that Monroe's own biological daughter toured and performed with the band and that women were hired to take the place of their spouses on stage during wars (Wilma Lee Cooper). Notably, Monroe's mistress, Bessie Lee Mauldin, joined the band as a bass player for numerous performances. Unlike others who toured with Monroe, Mauldin has not yet been inducted into the Bluegrass Music Hall of Fame.

Performed gendered binaries, often through perceived or promoted familial connections, have been mandated through the stories we tell about ourselves within the festival space. To create a historiography of women, meaning, a feminist historiography of women within festivals and the bluegrass narrative, not simply a feminist understanding of the story as it is, I evoke Mary Anglin who notes, "it is important to explore records for silences and erasures… examining the narratives that are regarded as authoritative . . . searching for the ways that they reflect dominant interpretations and the social hierarchies … (4)." Bill Malone (2002) discusses women's musical contributions to bluegrass music by stating, "women certainly played banjos, fiddles, and other instruments at home...but few men were eager to compete against ladies in any kind of public arena, and the women were encouraged to keep their talents noncompetitive and at home" (p. 22). My research reveals

[64] There is a case for the ways women have supported the *artistic direction* of the genre, however, that is not within the scope of this chapter.

similar understandings—within the patriarchal lineage and structure of the genre, roles of men were prioritized and more eagerly recognized.

Few bluegrass musicians have successfully "crossed over" into mainstream country music. Notably, Ricky Skaggs and to a lesser extent Rhonda Vincent have successfully jumped genres. Alison Kraus, however, is almost a household name. Her fame is beyond country or bluegrass music and may obscure the realities of gender differences within the genre. With an active DIY or home recording scene within the genre, counting "female performers" would be nearly impossible. Fred Bartenstein's analysis (provided in the next section) was the most thorough data set of performer's available, and yet his set required one record their music.[65] My project questions the staging of bluegrass, therefore looking at publicly recognized artists seemed a fitting data set.

The IBMA began presenting annual awards in 1990. An award from the IBMA is the highest recognition one can receive within the genre. I looked at all award winners (data publicly available on the IBAM website), counting each year as a separate entry, rather than each performer, I averaged the total percentage of female performers.[66] This allowed the percentage of winners to be based on individuals who were recognized rather than years of

[65] Fred wrote of his methods:

> For the purposes of this research project, artists whose biographical data were included were those who:
> 1. played – or sang accompanied by any combination of the following string instruments: fiddle (violin), acoustic guitar, banjo, mandolin, Dobro/resonator guitar, and acoustic or electric bass
> 2. were professionally compensated for their live and recorded performances
> 3. performed in styles that could be recognized within the (considerably lengthened) shadows of artists whose music was first categorized as bluegrass
> 4. contributed before 1955 to a common repertoire that has since been played by bluegrass musicians, or after 1955 – when the term "bluegrass" came into common use – would have been considered to be bluegrass musicians by the genre's other artists, knowledgeable producers, wholesalers, retailers and devotees of the genre, and
> 5. Made recordings which were distributed nationally.

See: http://www.fredbartenstein.com/bgPerspective.html

[66] Benjamin Chambers assisted me in imputing the raw data into an excel sheet and calculating percentages.

recognition. My findings are presented in the chart below. Notably, I was surprised at the high percentage of female winners for instrumental performer of the year in the bass category. However, the number can be misleading, as Missy Raines has been the sole recipient of this award. Also, the first female to win in the guitar category won in 2017, following the first female mandolin winner in 2016.

| Award | Female Awards | Total Years awarded | Total Winners | % of Female Winners | Notes |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bluegrass Broadcaster of the Year | 5 | 28 | 28 | 18% | |
| Bluegrass Songwriter of the Year (established 2012) | 2 | 6 | 6 | 33% | Smaller sample size |
| Instrumental Performers of the Year, Banjo | 5 | 28 | 30 | 17% | Two ties |
| Instrumental Performers of the Year, Bass | 7 | 28 | 28 | 25% | All by one woman |
| Instrumental Performers of the Year, Dobro | 0 | 28 | 28 | 0% | Four total winners |
| Instrumental Performers of the Year, Fiddle | 1 | 28 | 28 | 4% | |
| Instrumental Performers of the Year, Guitar | 1 | 28 | 28 | 4% | |
| Instrumental Performers of the Year, Mandolin | 2 | 28 | 28 | 7% | |
| Print Media Person of the Year | 4 | 28 | 30 | 13% | Two pairs |

"Female IBMA Award Winners, 1990-2018"
Source: International Bluegrass Music Association Awards list.

To be clear, I am not arguing that the bluegrass community is intentionally sexist, but that the commercial, nationalist, and patriarchal structures to which it is bound have historically

rendered the attainment of visibility and recognition by the dominant narrative challenging for white women and people of color. Systemic and structural sexism manifests as the removal and erasure of space, ground, or resources for women. I am understanding this attribute as a heterotopic function of festivals.

Similarly, as noted in the literature review and previous discussions of Bill Monroe's legacy, the appropriation and exploitation of African American performers and arts was a common practice within the bluegrass community, made acceptable through brief acknowledgments from the stage. I do not consider this a significant or sufficient acknowledgment. Further, it is important to note that it was never African American performers on the stage sharing the history of the exchange, but white (typically male) performers stating that they had learned the song from an African American. The mimetic process of black and white music(s) becoming one was narrated for mass exposure through white bodies. By mimetic process I am referring to cultural reproduction, and specifically evoking the term as it has been used by Robert Cantwell in his book *Ethnomimesis*. By doing so, the genre (like so many other regional genres) came to be understood as "white" music, even while Monroe was understood to be the bearer of the white consciousness of black experience and artistic/aesthetic within a white culture. This trend of white deliveries of racially diverse stories has been challenged most recently by Rhiannon Giddens' International Bluegrass Music Association keynote address in 2017 (Giddens *Keynote*). Giddens calls for the bluegrass community to reconsider their genealogy and address the removal of people of color, specifically African Americans, from the genre's legacy.

As noted in the methods chapter, Barbara Ellen Smith calls feminist scholars and practitioners to "elaborate how women engaged in socially necessary activities . . .

embedded, indeed hidden, within a gendered division of labor that allocated different tasks and status to women and men" (7). My understanding of and embodiment within the space, as a female, is unique, as the male gaze has typically directed attention to the stage. However, my line of work is familiar, as it was women who produced and published many of the early texts on festivals. These texts, published in trade journals, were not prioritized by the academy. Geographer Deborah Thompson reminds scholars that uncovering the information on female musicians requires extra effort. Women are often seen as "backup musicians" (those supporting the lead or "star" performer) by the audience or dominant gaze. Other women may present themselves as wives to male performers and the audience. Thompson comes to the conclusion that "[v]alorizing certain kinds of music over others can lead to re-inscribing power relations and continuing gender imbalances" (Thompson 74).

**Moving Through the Festival Space**

*Bluegrass Country Soul* (a documentary film featuring Camp Springs, NC in 1971) highlights the festival atmosphere, moving away from the stage. *Bluegrass Country Soul* was filmed at a Camp Springs bluegrass festival that Haney organized following the end of Fincastle's two year reign. As the film moves through the space, we see the different positionalities of bodies—at picnic tables, in the audience, on stage. We see women offering food and drink as well as sitting in the crowd. Like Fincastle, Camp Springs has a mythical, magical place in many bluegrass performers' and fans' memories.

One of the most striking scenes from the film is when the Washington, D.C. based band, The Country Gentlemen, finish practicing and walk through the crowd to the stage.

The cameras follow them through a scene of fans gathered around cars. A dog wanders through the background. The band members, in matching salmon shirts tucked into white pants, complete with black leather belts, march through the crowd, beginning on the fringes and moving inward towards the stage. Carrying their instruments without cases, they stop at campsites and picnic tables, chatting with audience members who are seen preparing meals. As one commenter on the YouTube clip points out, it appears that a festival attendee opens their cooler to offer Charlie Waller a drink as he walks by (*Bluegrass Country Soul*: 58). A young Doyle Lawson actually carries his mandolin as if on display, in front of his chest, while holding a mandolin case in the other hand. As they near the backstage, children have gathered around them. Bill Emerson says to a bystander, “I’ll catch you later,” with a smile. As Charlie Waller sings the first few lines to *Matterhorn,* the cameras span the festival from the viewpoint of the stage; fans reach as far as the eye can see as trees create a boundary around the space. As the map below reveals, different areas within the festival grounds serve different roles. To be clear, Fincastle was the first bluegrass festival, Camp Springs, an area and festival also discussed, was a major festival for Carlton Haney, and Felts Park pictured below, is the home of the Galax Fiddler’s Convention and Houstonfest. Fincastle and Camp Springs have not been active festival sites for many years (1966 and 1986, respectively). In the map below, I am applying—albeit, generalizing—the information gathered through archives and fieldwork and applying to a place called Felts Park which I was actually able to experience.

The map featured below presents my experiences at Houstonfest, mapped onto the festival’s home, Felts Park, in Galax, Virginia. The mainstage (the small housing structure with blue arrows directing out towards a larger structure (a covered audience area) is

noticeably not central to the festival arena. I noted women jamming in the areas marked "jamming" closest to the bottom of the image, which was also the location of the restrooms. I also noted, as mentioned in this study, that women gathered at the vender areas.

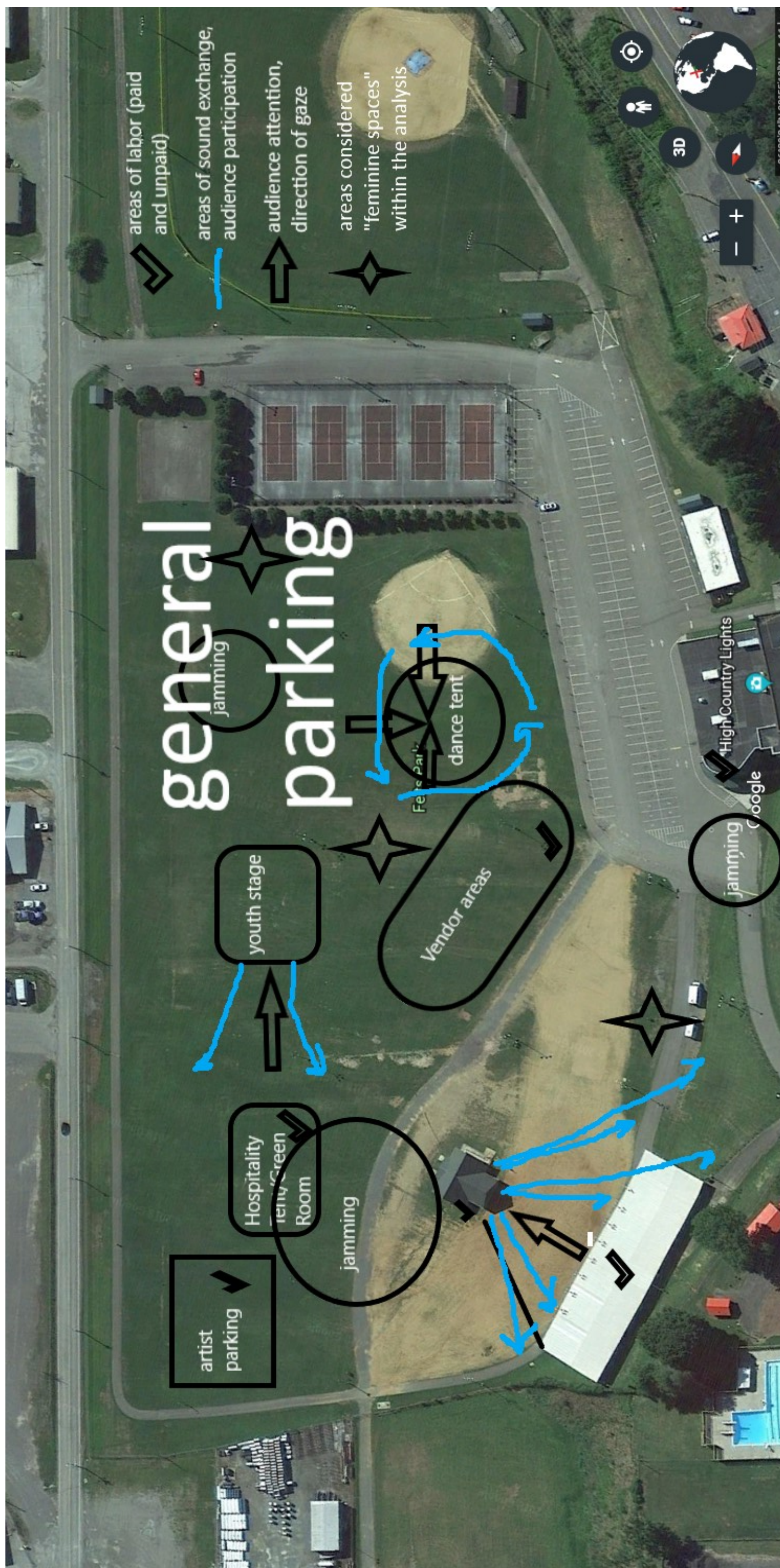


Figure 7. "Festival Map" created by Jordan Laney using Felts Park screenshot via Google Maps and edited using Picasso. [Fair Use]

## Locating Women: a Methodological and Substantive Point

It is becoming more widely understood by the general bluegrass audience that women lack adequate representation within the dominant narrative of the genre. This is supported through my presentation of the "genealogies" of bluegrass which Fred Bartenstein refers to as "bluegrass generations." In these generations, spanning from 1927-1998, Bartenstein maps the genre-- specifically, 680 musicians with 15 data elements for each-- much like a large family tree, connecting band mates and relationships as much as style. The findings[67] reveal six major categories: ancestors, pioneers, builders, innovators, conservers, and explorers. Bartenstein organizes these generations by years and by dominant elements of their music. In addition to the chart below, noting 75women represented in this sample, Bartenstein notes that zero African Americans or Hispanic performers were represented in the sample of 680.

The 75 women "counted" in Bartenstein's analysis were performers.[68] This leads me to address my challenges in locating women. As I tried to find information about the concession stands, it seemed very little had been recorded, as methodological practice is to record what is on stage, rather than what surrounds it.

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[67] Available through his public website, http://www.fredbartenstein.com/bluegen.html

[68] The information Bartenstein was interested in, included the following demographic information:

1. Name (last, first, "nickname")
2. Birth year
3. Death year
4. Birth state
5. Gender
6. Year of first commercial recording
7. Year of last commercial recording
8. Primary instrument
9. Primary vocal part
10. Ever a member of Bill Monroe & the Blue Grass Boys?
11. Ever a bandleader?
12. Primary recording genre other than bluegrass

Bluegrass, much like the Appalachian region, has a reality and an imagined or constructed manifestation. This (social, cultural, and political) construct is often created by histories gathered and created within its parameters, resulting in historical inaccuracies such as the systematic erasure of people of color from the history books, as well as the erasure of women.

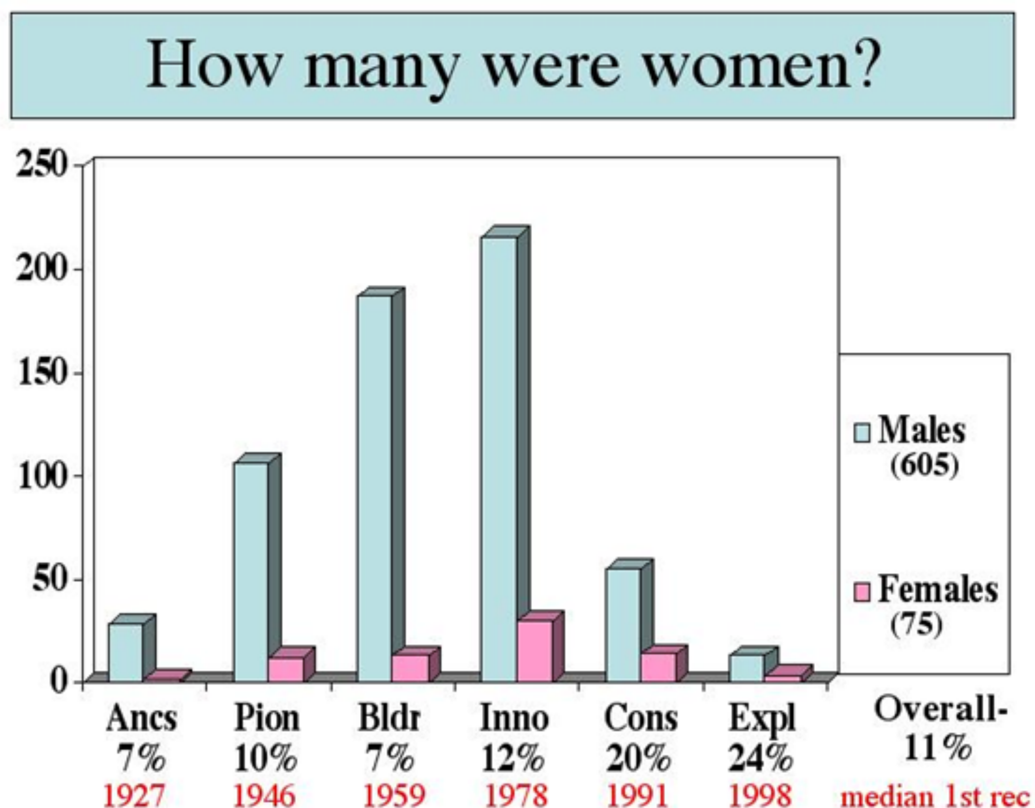


Figure . "How Many Were Women" performer statistics, as presented by Fred Bartenstein, found via his educational website, [Fair Use]

Bartenstein's chart (above) is reflective of the current methodologies used to collect data and understand dominant narratives. Recognized bodies, counted bodies, are performing bodies. Due to the genre's limitations for women, this does not include many important individuals

or their labor. Seeking alternative methodological approaches concerning women or featuring feminist stances, it became clear to me that traditional lines of questioning, dominant disciplinary practices of "counting" performers and creating linear timelines would not suffice.

Some stories from and about women came to me as word got out about my project: handwritten letters arrived; people began to share stories, and I was able to meet Bonnie Haney, Carlton's daughter. Many stories, however, remain hidden, to be revealed as feminist scholarship and methodologies are more readily adopted within the field of study.

**Notes on Creating and Interpreting the 50th Anniversary Re-creation**

*You must re-create reality because reality runs away; reality denies reality. You must first interpret it, or re-create it.... When I make a documentary, I try to give the realism an artificial aspect... I find that the aesthetic of a document comes from the artificial aspect of the document ... It has to be more beautiful than realism, and therefore it has to be composed… to give it another sense.* (Franju, qtd. Min-Ha, 99)

In the summer of 2015, I received an email from the International Bluegrass Music Association inquiring about my interest in organizing an 'edutainment' panel on the 50th anniversary of the Fincastle festival. My acceptance of this task would, unbeknownst to me at the time, shift my understanding of the power of the stage and the Story (see chapter one). I was honored, but a bit apprehensive due to the lack of guidelines-- the space, time limitations and scope of the performance were largely up to me to define. After a series of emails between organizational leadership, Fred Bartenstein and myself, Fred and I agreed on

a recreation of the 1965 "Story" of Bluegrass Music,[69] as it was immensely powerful in defining the genre. My job was largely to organize the way the production would proceed, who would perform, how transitions would be orchestrated, and what the band configurations would be. Josie Hoggard (stage manager for internationally heralded banjoists, Bela Fleck and Abigail Washburn) agreed to assist me the day of the event. Fred Bartenstein's decades of experience stage directing and emceeing was immensely valuable, as he agreed to do both for the event.

As an ethnographic practitioner, I interpret my experience planning the 2015 recreation as data, collected to inform the bluegrass audience. It also allowed for a space to recreate the bluegrass narrative—a story which impacts regional studies and association assumptions. Here, I work to reflectively deconstruct the space I created through a feminist lens.

The Story, transcribed by musician Steven Martin of North Carolina, with assistance from Fred Bartenstein,[70] served as the blueprint for the re-creation. During the summer of 2015, I called performers and intentionally worked to include popular acts who would gather a crowd, as well as many college programs as could attend. I was intentional about recognizing the generational divide between performers and the community, and hoped to bridge that divide through a collaborative project and public performance, allowing each group to learn from and teach the other. I also sought out female performers. This was a conscious decision, as women were not found in the 1965 production. I sought out performers who would sound like the original recording, or who were well versed in the specific musical elements of the 1965 festival. I also worked to maintain a mix of progressive

[69] Referred to as "the Story" throughout the dissertation.
[70] See Appendix 3 for the full transcription

and conservative musicians. An additional level of planning was to recreate the sound of the first festival as closely as possible. For this reason, I was delighted that highly awarded vocalist Don Rigsby could recreate the performance made famous by the Stanley Brothers. Additionally, it was appropriate that vocalist Audie Blaylock could perform Jimmy Martin's songs, as Blaylock had directly learned from Martin. The "day-of" set list and itinerary which was provided to all performers is found as Appendix 4.

An unexpected surprise in organizing the event was the intergenerational experiences. I recruited bands from known Bluegrass County and Old time music college programs, including: East Tennessee State University, Morehead State, Dennison College, and Hyden College to perform during the re-creation event. These groups listened to a recording of the 1965 festival. The bands recreated their assigned songs as closely as possible, note for note, break for break, hoping to harken the essence of the 1965 festival. The sponsors IBMA and IBMM had generously created commemorative posters and flyers which were strategically placed throughout the conference for publicity (pictured below).

Figure 9. Fincastle 50th Anniversary Re-enactment Publicity poster/flyer created and distributed by the International Bluegrass Music Museum. [Fair Use]

On the day of the event, individuals who had been at the first festival in Fincastle traveled to Raleigh, North Carolina to attend the re-creation. They were asked at various times to share their stories from the audience while we transitioned bands on stage. Reporters came, as well as a representative from the Appalachian State University Eury Collection, which houses Carlton and Charles Haney's collection. A number of artifacts from the collection were on display. The event was standing room only, with performers standing in the back to exit if they needed to be on a stage elsewhere.

I stood beside the stage. My job was to make sure bands were lined up, performers were in the correct tuning and ready to perform on cue. This space on the side of the stage is where I envisioned Rinzler and Haney residing. From this view I was careful to watch the audience's reaction, the movement of the performers, and sound quality. I had gathered

photos from the International Bluegrass Music Museum into a PowerPoint which played in a continuous loop on massive screens on each side of the stage, creating a visual connection between 2015 and 1965. The show began with the lights off and Carlton Haney's voice as he introduced Monroe's version of "Muleskinner Blues," the tune which he believed "started it all," as Fred Bartenstein was careful to articulate. The highly awarded and well-known performer, Sam Bush, had agreed to play the part of Monroe during this song. His reverence for the early festivals was contagious and the opportunity to play with him was unquestionably powerful for the young college performers.

My participation in the event was dichotomic, at once creating, recording, and observing.

The process of re-creating the Story illuminated the interwoven relationship between methods and findings, epistemology and ontology, doing and seeing. Participatory methods allowed me to act as a maker of history and momentarily, relate to Haney in a different way, as I performed tasks in 2015 (at the recreation) he pioneered in 1965.

Figure 10. “The Price Sisters” photo by Grace Ellen Van’t Hof, permission to use photo given to Jordan Laney on May 30th, 2018. [Used with permission]

**Re-telling History**

It was not until we were in the middle of the production that I realized the impact of my intention to include women in the re-creation event. I was concerned I had overstepped the powers of my position as a coordinator, straying from the known and expected story of bluegrass music, the Story, to present a story of possibilities, revealing the internal bias of the genre and our continued racial and gendered mis/representations. These anxieties, however, subsided when Bonnie Haney, Carlton’s daughter, spoke. Bonnie had traveled from Valrico, Florida to Raleigh, NC to see her father’s legacy remembered and honored. I watched her closely during the presentation, as her approval was of the utmost importance to me. When

she stood to speak, her time was tearfully dedicated to how moving it was to see women on stage throughout the re-creation. She shared that it was her father, Carlton Haney's hope, to have more female performers in the genre; however, it was something which did not happen during his lifetime and rarely in her own. It was as if, through the altered positionality of female bodies, Bonnie Haney had "remembered what she had forgotten" in a visceral way (Denzin "Reflexive interview" 42).

Figure 11. "Bonnie Haney" photo by Grace Ellen Van't Hof, permission to use photo given to Jordan Laney on May 30th, 2018. [Used with permission]

The impact of having women on stage throughout the entirety of the performance was not only powerful to Bonnie Haney, but evoked emotional responses from female performers who reacted strongly: some crying, others somber. I noticed as they watched one another on

stage, and gave particular appreciation to Ruth McLain who had performed as a bass player for decades with her family. Ruth McLain is the embodiment of the unrecognized yet necessary bass player. She quietly and persistently occupied the stage allowing countless young women to follow her. Most in attendance grew up either learning from or watching Ruth perform; to share the stage with her and see her occupy a space in the re-creation of "the Story" was an emotional moment for other women in the room.

Perhaps the most important part of the process of participatory ethnographic research has been reflecting on my embodiment and the feminist changes to understood histories my scholarship and work within the genre has made. Specifically illuminating for me, was the realization of my own influence and positionality as a woman, and the ways that influence and positionality had created very small shifts within the choice of performers, and in return, impacted the female performers and audience members gathered. It was at this moment I realized the risk I had taken by insisting upon female performers. I realized that by changing the script, by placing women on stage, I was realigning our stories of ourselves. It was also Bonnie Haney, who shifted my interest towards her mother and the legacy of Kathleen Haney, who ran "Kathleen's Kitchen," the name of the concession stand at Camp Springs, and piqued my interest in additional fringe or periphery spaces. In future work I hope to more fully address the impact of concessions stands and the economic impacts of women within the festival space, but beyond the stage. Preliminarily findings are below.

Figure 12. “Bonnie Haney Speaking” photo by Grace Ellen Van’t Hof, permission to use photo given to Jordan Laney on May 30th, 2018. [Used with permission]

**Concession Stands and Beyond: Unrecognized Labor and Influence**

In addition to ethnographic practices, oral histories, and participant observations, I used archives to research the labor and influence of women. As I worked through the Berea College archives, I was struck by the lack of female voices in the recordings juxtaposed against the letters and publication boards which were dependent upon female authors.

As I continued through early *Bluegrass Unlimited* publications it became clear that women were consistently active in the production of trade publications. Many were listed as members of the editorial staff, others provided images, letters, and content for the publications. Women also appeared as leaders of fan clubs. I closely read *Muleskinner News* (1972-1974). Overwhelmingly, these publications were dominated by images of and stories

about male performers. Of the *Muleskinner News* production team, I noted three are women, and four are men. Again, this is a project and methodological exploration of stories: how they are shared, with whom, by whom, where and when. The story being examined is not just the Story of bluegrass music, but the subsequent worlds such a history created. This world was formalized through trade publications, some of the first places to represent women within the genre.

It is important to note *Muleskinner News* was Carlton Haney's publication. As I read and analyzed *Muleskinner News*, I worked to record depictions of women. Other issues largely featured male performers. If I found a particular issue that highlighted women, I noted it. October 1972 Vol. 3, No. 8 *Muleskinner News* highlighted the winners of the "Bluegrass Award Winners," sponsored by *Muleskinner News*, with a cover photo of all winners on the cover. One female was featured, Wendy Thatcher, who won the "First Featured Female Vocalist" at the "Blue Grass Music Awards" held at Camp Springs. This separate category for recognizing women, did not re-appear in 1973. On page 10 of the same publication, in an article on WCYB radio by Joe Wilson, the image below can be found. It is labeled as "Jack Cassady, Ralph Mayo and the Southern Mountain Boys back up an unknown duet" (Wilson 10).

**L to R: Chubby Anthony, Ralph Stanley, George Shuffler, Carter Sanley**

a period of two or three years (Mayo stayed longer than most musicians); but among the best musicians with Mayo were Church and blind guitarist Jack Cassidy. Cassidy provided a piercing tenor lead and joined Mayo in tasteful duets. Mayo took the lead at times and had a pleasing voice of unusual timbre, especially in gospel singing. The group was always paced by a driving banjo; and Mayo's droning fiddle lent an archaic flavor that was very appealing to me. Although Mayo recorded a few cuts with the Stanley Brothers and also made a few 78's using the Southern Mountain Boys name, I've yet to hear a recording that captured this band at its best.

Bonnie Lou and Buster Moore had a long run at the station with Lloyd Bell. Buster played mandolin and frailed the banjo as he does today; and the group toured with the "cowboy" act of Homer Harris for a part of their stay. Bonnie Lou, Buster and Lloyd were a trio throughout their WCYB stay and had an old-time flavor. They didn't add steel guitar and other electric instruments until they moved to WJHL-TV in Johnson City, Tennessee in the early fifties.

A few novelty acts toured at times with WCYB musicians. "Suicide" Jones toured ball parks and other outdoor shows with Mayo's group. The "suicide" act consisted of Jones climbing into a plywood "coffin" and placing a stick of dynamite a few inches from his head and detonating the charge. For these festivities "Suicide" very judiciously donned a football helmet and placed a thick sheet of steel between his head and the charge. Mayo also carried a "hell driver" automobile act with him at one point.

But of all the novel acts that passed by the WCYB microphones, bass-player "Lindy" Clear of Hansonville, Virginia had one of the most unique. "Lindy's" forte was rural sound effects and his ability to vocally re-create complex sequences of sound was amazing. He reproduced the starting of a wheezy Model T from the first spin of the crank and futile hiss of the motor through several false starts until he finally sent the weary farmer backfiring and spluttering over a hill. His "dog meeting a dog" contained all of the growls, sniffings and explorations of two tough mutts meeting for the first time and the inevitable dogfight that followed. His ear-splitting mule bray punctured many instrumentals; and even a long-legged jarhead calling for some hay had to be in good voice and enthusiastic in order to match it.

On the air WCYB musicians sold feed for farm animals, rat poison, flour, soft drinks, laxatives, headache powders, chewing tobacco, snuff, fertilizer, insecticides, menstrual tension remedies, baking powder, "overhalls", used cars, chain saws, farm tools, and – you name it. Recently a friend asked what song was most associated with Charlie Monroe: I remembered his Wildroot Cream Oil jingle first and "Rose Connolly" second. This is just an example of how effective some of the radio selling was.

**Jack Cassady, Ralph Mayo and the Southern Mountain Boys back up an unknown duet.**

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Figure 13. "Unnamed Female Duet" Scanned page of *Muleskinner News* with attention to the image of the female duet in the bottom right corner. [Fair Use]

Even when a female duet was featured, the male performers backing them up were named, while the women were not. Continuing looking for women in print publications (which legitimized and created the print capital for the genre during pre-internet years), I

look to the November 1972 issue of *Muleskinner News* which features the Lewis Family on the cover, with the three women standing central stage in floor length floral gowns: Miggie, Polly, and Janis. The Lewis Family, a traveling gospel-bluegrass group performed gender by the most traditional and conservative standards, performing familial roles in modest dress, "with the men dressed in matching suits and the women in matching dresses, many of which were hand sewn by 'Mom' Lewis" (Reid "The Lewis Family"). This use of names, relationships, and dress, communicated who was to "be" a female on stage, and others followed this style, meaning while women were present, they were most often portrayed as wives, sisters, and daughters, as exemplified by the Lewis Family and their performance of conservative, Christian values through modest dress, familial relations, and gospel sets. As this issue, November 1972 (Vol. 3 No. 9), features the Lewis Family, it also includes a large number of images of the daughters, Miggie, Polly, and Janis. They were featured, both on stage and off through labels "Mom (Lewis)" and "sister" to contrast them with men, "Pop (Lewis)" and the brothers, in the family.

The Lewis Family exemplifies the roles that off-stage labor plays in creating a successful band. According to Gary Reid's article on the Family for the *Bluegrass Music Museum*, The Lewis Family was "[o]ne of the first bluegrass bands to utilize television on a regular basis; their program was eventually syndicated to 25 markets" in addition to being "[o]ne of the first bluegrass bands to effectively market merchandise to fans at personal appearances" and "[o]ne of the first bluegrass bands to utilize custom bus coaches to travel to performances (Reid "The Lewis Family"). The use of the merchandise table and offstage spaces was a trademark for the Lewis family. Reid writes:

> One thing that bluegrass fans and entertainers noticed immediately was the group's savvy salesmanship. Unlike most bands of the time, who might have sold two or three albums from a folding card table, the Lewis Family came prepared for business. They had an array of custom-made display racks to display the mass of merchandise (albums, songbooks, photos, etc.) that they brought with them. The selling area was usually mobbed as soon as the group finished their sets on stage. It's a safe bet that the group grossed as much or more from merchandise sales as they did from performance fees.

One can infer that the women in the family were instrumental in the financial success of the band, laboring in often unrecognized spaces, off stage. The image (below) illustrates the support roles filled by the women of the Lewis Family.

...recently signed with ... agency in Nashville, ... several other Blue ... including Lester Flatt, ... the Shenandoah Cut-Ups, ... They have also ... their second three-year ... Canaan records, a label ... their albums in a ... They have six albums ... Canaan, and another 15 on ... label they were on ...

... Family pick out the ... numbers and emphasize Blue ... for their thirty minute ... Regular concerts, lasting ... hours, include more ... gospel material and in... Polly's piano accompaniment. ... it's a family operation all the ... Mom still making the stage ... the girls and running the ... at festivals. The family has ... include eleven grandchildren, ... from six months to 14 years of ... Wallace's wife keeps six children ... their parents are on the road: three ... Polly and her husband's two, ... and Earl's baby. Little Roy ... who live at home with Mom ... and collect Model-A Fords and ... other clocks are often accused of ... their brothers and sisters how to ... children.

... jazz lost its audience when the ... started standing in a corner ... to each other, and there's a ... among certain rock and folk ... today to turn their backs to the ... and "do their own thing." A ... part of Blue Grass's appeal is a ... by the performer to communicate

the usual gospel group in which the singers all raise their hands in unison during the finale of each song. It is enough for them simply to master their instruments and infuse their performance with spirit, musicianship and good taste.

Recently, Talmadge has had to stop touring with the group to devote more time to his automobile dealership, but he still joins in on recordings, his fiddle and mandolin adding a dimension that is sorely missed in personal appearances. At Blue Grass festivals where just banjo, guitar and bass are used as accompaniment, Little Roy becomes a human tornado as he attempts to carry the instrumental burden usually divided among three lead musicians. It is not unusual to see him lose his balance, hitting the vocal mike, on the way around from a break on the banjo mike. The youngest Lewis has demonstrated that he can not only keep up with the best of the

Continued page 13



Figure 14. Scanned page of *Muleskinner News* with attention to the image of The Lewis Family Merchandise Table. [Fair Use]

**(Im)Printing Women into the Space**

In this section I particularly highlight findings which illustrated the ways women were imprinted into the space via print media, particularly trade publications. In Vol. 3, No. 5 (July 1972), the letter is from the "editor's assistant" Rosalyn Davis, who describes herself as a "Yankee gal," as if to signal her mis-placement within the space. Davis also appears as an administrative assistant (in June, 1972). In this issue, Fred Bartenstein is listed as editor. Associate editors include; Bill Vernon, Peggy Logan, Doug Green, and Maria Gajda. Mailing Assistant is listed as David Moore. A black and white photo of Mac Wiseman graces the cover, as the feature article is "Mac Wiseman – Remembering" an article created from interviews with Doug Greene. Noting that three of the seven members of the production team were female, I searched through the publication for additional traces of female representation within the issue. A woman did appear in a photo on page eleven, as an audience shot of Christel and Carmen Jean Henderson at a bluegrass festival in Lawty, Florida accompanying an article titled "From Lachen to Lavonia" (Henderson 10-12). Christel Henderson's husband Tom Henderson took the photos—a photographer who I noted gave great attention to audience members. Interestingly, the photo was of the article's author (Christel Henderson). Not performers, they were, rather, photographing and narrating themselves into the space.

Additional publications or observations worth noting which highlight women's roles in the genre include *Muleskinner News*, March 1973, V.4, N. 3. This edition includes a number of photographs featuring women in various capacities as writers, performers, audience members, etc. While the May 1973 issue is longer (34 pages), it returns to a male dominated model, including only one photo of a female; a photo of the Stoneman's (11) in which Ronnie Stoneman (banjo) is featured with her family in a candid shot. Alan Whitman's

photographic essay in June 1973 Vol. 4 No. 6 moves towards gender inclusivity with many audience and fan shots and this publication notes Carlton Haney as the publisher (an important shift in the larger history of the publication). Women are visibly depicted as fans, members of the audience and sometimes as sellers of merchandise, or supporting performers. The 1973 *Bluegrass Awards*, a special issue of *Muleskinner News* (Vol.4 No. 9) features a four page photo spread of musicians. Not one woman is featured in photos in this edition. Ruth McLain is the only female nominated for an award (out of 72 total nominees, bands as well as performers) (p. 6-9).[71]

The December 1973 *Muleskinner News* (VOL NO) features what I found to be one of the most fascinating images in the archives; women are celebratory, front and center. It is posted on page 9 in an article about Charlie Waller. Waller is also featured in the photo and it is labeled "Victory party following Blue Grass Awards presentation at Camp Springs, 1973.)

[71] As I searched for images of women, I would often get excited, believing I had found an image of a female performer only to find out it was a male performer dressed as a female for a comedic effect. The issue of drag and gender-bending presentations within the festival space is something I anticipate writing about in the future.

Tom Hen

*Victory party following Blue Grass Awards presentation at Camp Springs, 1973*

are that way. Yates sings I think three songs but he can sing a whole lot more, but he's kind of in a rut there. He's got to get out and cut something else. But it is a big help, like we play a half hour

*songs that you do?*

I do. Yes. Because music is an emotional thing. If you can't sing a song from the heart, you haven't sung it. To somebody that don't listen to me – I don't want

Figure . “Festival Party” Scanned page of *Muleskinner News* with attention to the unnamed women central to the photograph [Fair Use]

The article is by Tom Henderson who I assume took the photographs, as his audience-centered photographs accompanied his wife’s article mentioned earlier. I wanted to know more about the women featured, and what was so inviting about their campsite. I was curious about their relationships with the performers. However, no additional context—names of the women, their roles, etc.—were included with the striking photo. While women are centered in the photo it is not apparent if they were wives, girlfriends, performers, or general audience members.

**Listening for Women**

In the Berea archives, while transcribing Mac Wiseman's 1973 Bluegrass Festival, I found myself listening for women—mentions of women, women's voices, or ways in which women were erased. Listening for women hidden in the layers of sound proved fruitful, as the microphones had recorded stage banter, exchanges with the audience and cheering, alongside the show. Wiseman hosted workshops in which the conversations focused on a relationship or an exchange between musicians and their fathers (as well as fans), playing off and encouraging the stereotype of a music being "in one's blood" or an inherited trait. Musical talent and the bluegrass genre are presented formally and informally as a lineage which is, more often than not, traced paternally. This cultural phenomenon and widely unquestioned implicit bias towards assumed patriarchal roots within the genre is showcased in the following excerpt from the Saturday afternoon workshops.

Here one can see the *production* of gender on stage, legitimized through genealogical practices named and maintained by early curators and writers within the genre, namely, educated (elite) males. The following excerpt is from a fiddle workshop at Mac Wiseman's 1973 festival in Renfro Valley, Kentucky. Here, Fred Bartenstein questions Paul Warren on stage:

**Track 2:**

> **Fred B:** And now a sound that's familiar to everyone, he's been playing with Lester Flatt. [First] Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, and now Lester Flatt for many years and he's what you call a double-stop hoedown fiddler or

something like that, Paul Warren! Paul, what 'cha gonna tear off with this morning?

**Paul Warren:** I think I'll do one called Indian Creek.

**Fred:** Indian Creek, that's an unusual one.

["Indian Creek" is performed.]

**Track 3:**

**Paul Warren:** We'll get in the ear of C and try to do an old PD [public domain] thing called the "Tennessee Waggoner."

["Tennessee Waggoner" is performed.]

**Track 4:**

**Fred:** Paul, tell us how you got started playing fiddle. Was your daddy a fiddler?

**Paul**: Well, that's about the story, just like all the rest of 'em [laugh] my daddy was no different. You know my dad did play the fiddle and that's where I got inspired to try to learn to play you know so I got to pickin' up his fiddle every few days, every so often and…

**Fred**: did he want you to be a fiddler or did you just sneak in there and…

**Paul**: No as a matter of fact, he didn't want me to get the fiddle out you know he was afraid I'd break it or something you know tear it up and I'd slip it out during the day when he was gone.

**Fred:** How old were you when you started playing?

**Paul:** I was about 13

> **Fred:** About 13 years old, ah, and who were some of the fiddlers, fiddlers always follow each other and listen to each other play, probably more than any other instrument... and who were some of the fiddlers that influenced you back when you were starting to play…
>
> **Paul:** Well, of course I was listening to everybody that I could, actually old Fiddlin' Arthur Smith from down at Dixon, Tennessee. He's not living' now but I liked his fiddling' an awful lot…

In this exchange, Fred Bartenstein begins to understand the performer's musical and personal history, by asking Warren about his father. There is no mention of or interest in Warren's mother, who easily could have taught Warren to play; however, Warren is not surprised by this line of questioning.

Rather, Warren supports Fred's notion in his response, "Well, that's about the story, just like all the rest of 'em [laugh] my daddy was no different…" (Wiseman, Track 4). Analyzing this exchange reveals an assumption and common understanding that *most* fiddlers learned from their fathers and most fathers played the fiddle. Recent work by Phil Jamison and Cece Conway, and work in the Berea archives by Deborah Thompson and folk musician and scholar, Anna Roberts-Gevalt all reveal that the story is much more complicated. Because of their work, it is understood that artistic and folk traditions *are* in fact passed down from mothers (disrupting Monroe's patriarchal Story) and outside the

family, as they were historically collected from African American artists[72]. We have yet, however, to replace the myth of Monroe as the father of the genre.

## Feminine Spaces

Tools such as GIS, allow scholars new ways of seeing. Moving through a space and collecting memories of spaces also allow for new understandings of a particular place and time. Spatial history, according to White, is not about "producing illustrations or maps to communicate things that you have discovered by other means." Rather, it is a way of creating new evidence, highlighting new questions; "It is a means of doing research; it generates questions that might otherwise go unasked, it reveals historical relations that might otherwise go unnoticed, and it undermines, or substantiates, stories upon which we build our own versions of the past" (36). The map I created below is a largely generalizable representation of social, cultural, political, and economic exchanges which happen at festivals. It is not representative of any one experience or location but rather spatially synthesizes the relationships I noticed throughout the dissertation.

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[72] See: Jamison, Phil. *Hoedowns, reels, and frolics: Roots and branches of Southern Appalachian dance*. University of Illinois Press, 2015.
Conway, Cecelia. *African banjo echoes in Appalachia: A study of folk traditions*. Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1995.
Thompson, Deborah J. "Searching for silenced voices in Appalachian music." *GeoJournal* 65.1-2 (2006): 67-78.
Roberts-Gevalt, Anna. http://annarobertsgevalt.com/in_her_first_heaven

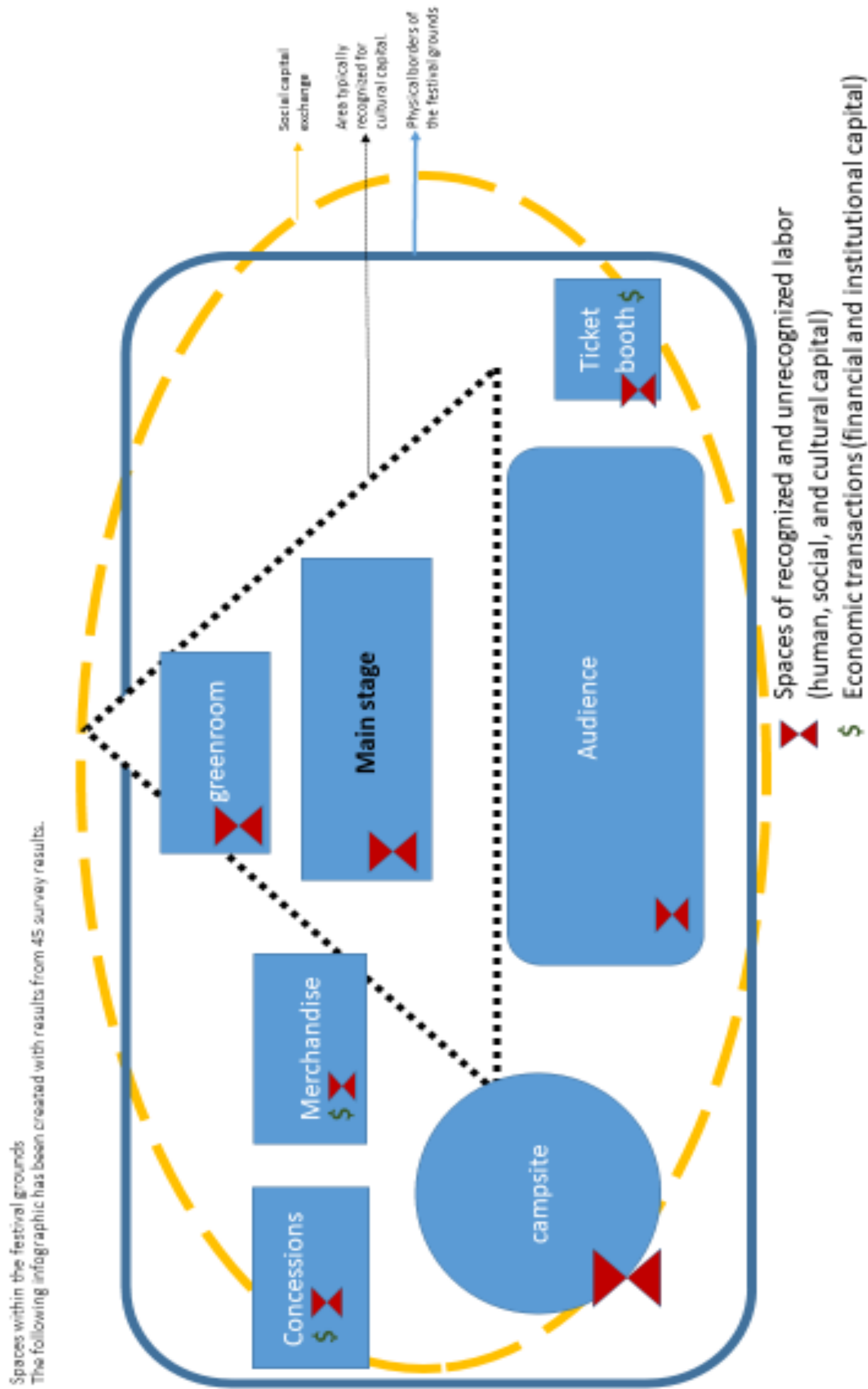


Figure . "Festival Spaces" map created by Jordan Laney using PowerPoint. [Used with permission]

Mapping the often-unrecognized capital and labor of festivals reveals feminine *space*, an important aspect to understanding the process of staging culture and cultural politics. Within a patriarchal system, men have a status of hierarchical power. Even while festival spaces allow for a "flipping" of economic hierarchies with regard to class (upholding heterotopic concepts) gendered norms are largely upheld. Within these spaces, alternatives do appear, as Gottdiener and Budd wrote, "…the subordinate social status of women also produces environments where females have power" (27). They share that the shift to middle class made "the domestic kitchen in the single family suburban home the new environmental domain of women" (28). For example, it is traditional spatial theory to understand that spaces commonly dominated by women, or spaces where women hold substantial (recognized) power to be understood as "domestic" spaces such as include cars (which are used largely by women to transport families), kitchens, stores, and virtual spaces of consumption; areas which target women, and child care facilities which typically rely on female labor (28). "These spatial distinctions play a significant role in the continued socialization of young people into separate gender roles that reproduce society's gender bias" (Gottdiener and Budd, 28). The maps of festival grounds I have included in this chapter highlight my insights from the archival data, observed experiences, survey results, and participatory knowledge of the space. In recognizing and reflecting upon spaces where I found women to be in recognized power, it became clear that the festival space, shifting with the whims of the market, is also producing gender(s).

**Recognizing Processes of Spatial Gendering**

During participatory observations at Galax and Houstonfest, both held at the same location, Felts Park, Virginia, I noticed clear areas of gendered separation: women sitting in one circle while males stood in another and performed, women sitting to the side of the stage while men performed, and wives, individuals cooking or staying in the camping areas (often both male *and* female fans), while (the majority of) males performed. Please note that there are always exceptions to this; women do perform and males do enter into these other spaces, however there is a clear system of norms observed. These distinctions were first noticed in the now defunct Old Fort Mountain Music (OFMM) where I conducted earlier fieldwork for a different project (2008-2012). At OFMM my observations of the concessions stand and the power held by the women who ran it deeply impacted me—these women not only controlled social capital (often seen through gossip), financial capital of the space (through concessions). For example, to sign up to perform on stage at OFMM, one had to visit the concession stand and speak to the woman in charge.

I also gathered first-hand accounts during my dissertation research of festival spaces from men and women. For example, as interest in the 50th anniversary of Fincastle re-enactment grew in 2015, my efforts to reach out to first attendees ensued. Some individuals shared their personal narratives through letters and emails which are now part of the international Bluegrass Music Museums collection. Anne Johnson was one of the individuals to share memories. She offered a handwritten letter wherein she recalled her trip to Fincastle in 1965. Johnson's notions about the genre and rurality of it are apparent, even today; "I just couldn't get enough of all the different authentic regional music(s) available on LP records and performances by real rural country musicians that were white, Black, and Native

American" (Johnson, "Letter"). Johnson was traveling to Fincastle from New York City, where the folk scene was undeniably more diverse. Interestingly, she saw Fincastle as a country gathering for country people. She writes:

> "Fincastle—what a gathering of great musicians playing to celebrate Bluegrass for their own crowd of country people. Families brought their picnic baskets and were having a great time… I went with a group of city Bluegrass musicians who drove down for this southern experience. When we got there, I realized I hadn't given this any forethought—I was wearing shorts and hadn't brought a dress. All the country women there wore dresses (2).

Also revealed in this excerpt from Johnson's letter, is how the festival space pressures a particular performance of gender. Johnson continues to share that she always felt welcomed, even on Sunday when "shorts really were not appropriate" (2). Johnson notes that she "made a point of sitting to the side of the crowd, not in the front nor in the middle" to respect the gendered norms (2).

Figure 17. “Sherry Boyd” Image of a taken at Lil’ John’s Mountain Music festival, June 2011.. Photo by Jordan Laney. [Used with permission]

During my fieldwork, I also noted a common, prominent role of women as the emcee. I did not note this prominence in field recordings (from 1965 and 1973), however, I did not conduct research to specify the emergence of the female emcees prominence within the festival scene. Emcees introduce performers and in such have power over the “framing” of a band. Emcees work to “make a warm welcome” for the band by energizing the crowd. I watched both Sherry Boyd and Cindy Baucom stand in the space between the audience and

the band, making introductions, and in a sense, maintaining order. The role of the emcee is brief. The emcee exists between audience and performer, a border separating audience from performer.

In addition to the “between” areas held by the emcee, the (literal) margins and “jamming spaces” of festivals grounds are additional areas where I noticed women occupy space differently. While traditional historical narratives or the stages’ presentation would lead one to assume that women are not active performers, I noticed that some women jammed, often together. This is not, however, generalizable, as I also watched as women sat in one circle talking and men stood in another jamming within the same camping space. The image below features two female artists who’ve drawn a crowd at Houstonfest. The image below is referred to in my commentary concerning the first map.

Figure 18. “Women Jamming” Image of Courtney Rorrer and Jesse Keen (guitar) taken at Houstonfest in Galax, Virginia, June 2016. Photo by Jordan Laney. [Used with permission]

Claiming and recognizing feminine space within venues, home jams, and festivals is radical in that bluegrass has been constructed by and for masculine comradery and a masculine gaze, reflecting patriarchal desires within hetero-normative systems.

This finding is supported in a number of ways, through staged recognition and narratives of the space written by women. I will first address narratives written by women through subversively comedic articles and editorials featured in early *Muleskinner News* and *Bluegrass Unlimited* publications. Illustrations and tongue in cheek “stories” featured comedic ways to survive festivals written by women, for women, also indicating that women were reading and to an extent producing the narratives. For example, a special trade publication, *Bluegrass Summer: A Muleskinner News Extra*, of which I have seen issues for

summers 1971-74 in archival collections, provided particularly insightful materials to analyze. The 1974 edition, which overwhelmingly represents men in photos and featured articles, includes a comedic commentary on being a "bluegrass widow" which appears near the very end of the 67-page publication[73]. The illustrated "Plight of the Bluegrass Widow," by Connie Walker, offers suggestions on how to survive festival season as a "temporary" widow, as one continues to care for children, feed her spouse, and endure what Walker describes as the unearthly screeching of "Rubeeeee" for the 7th or 8th time.[74] Murphey Henry's monthly column is one of the few consistent female commentaries today. Her monthly "introduction" to *Bluegrass Unlimited* often uses a nostalgic tone as she speaks from an earnest (motherly) perspective. Her piece features personal happenings within the community (births, deaths, marriages, band changes, etc.) which encourages public/private, masculine/feminine divides.

### Conceptual Challenges

My choice of attributing the term "feminine spaces" is not without issue. I acknowledge and in other conversations may align with the criticisms of gendering space(s), however, within the study of bluegrass festivals, I am presenting a *new* phenomenon. This requires basic, binary distinctions as presented within this project. By naming it, I open paths to deconstruct it.

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[73] Today, humor columns or sections have been "formalized" into pieces mostly covered by Chris Jones (of the Band Chris Jones and the Night Drivers) in which he jokes about bluegrass band names, song content, festivals, and the like. His (usually weekly) humor column is a fixture in the online trade publication, *Bluegrass Today*.
[74] Referring to the popular song "Ruby Are You Mad at Your Man" written by Cynthia May Carver (also known as Cousin Emmy) (Chadbourne). The song became popular on bluegrass stages after it was successfully covered by The Osborne Brothers.

Feminine spaces do not simply reinforce the gendered hierarchical norms outside the festival grounds, but they also open possibilities to systems of survival and capital unseen by the dominant gaze or traditional historical account. As Douglas Reichert Powell has argued in his scholarship as a critical regionalist, "[T]he functions of critical regionalist cultural scholarship ideally should be not only to criticize but also to plan, to envision. . . more just and equitable landscapes" (25). Within the spaces I have previously described, I see festivals performing a multitude of functions at once. I see the continuation of gendered hierarchy in lineages, generational "placing" of performers in relation to Monroe and stage performances, but I also see hidden grids of power within feminine spaces beyond the dominant presence of the stage. These "hidden grids" offer possibilities of a different landscape—a landscape of care, social reciprocity, and quiet survival. I see this through the historical accounts of volunteers[75] and the alternative social spaces created by campsites, concession stands, and even tape tables, where the gaze is not on the stage. My analysis reveals these spaces allowed for alternative power structures and often required varying types of gendered performance and performativity. Both are explored below.

**Performing Gender/Gendered Performance**

The ways in which the festival space produces gender relies on a combination of performativity and performance. While it is not the goal of this project to recognize and analyze the performative aspects on stage–that is another project—the impact of staged discourse is indeed important as it impacts and reflects larger group dynamics.

[75] To be clear, not all volunteers are women. Not all misrecognized labor is feminine or performed by women.

While women are also unprecedentedly recognized on stage as performers in recent years, women have found or created other ways of interacting and being part of the festival. It is not unusual, in current years, to find fliers or Facebook groups formed for the purpose of gathering together shoppers (largely women) at large festivals and conventions. Such gatherings happen around multi-level marketing (MLM) or other similar sales organizations such as pop up "shops" in hotel rooms. I also witnessed as women left the festival during the day to go to the movies and shop while their spouses and partners performed on stage or sat in the audience.

Music scholar Nadine Hubbs, in her analysis of the "working class female predicament," writes, "We might see working-class womanhood… in terms of a potentially even exchange; on good days you are the very emblem of respectability; on bad days by the same token, you are a killjoy drag. But that schema operates only in working-class contexts" (126). Bluegrass, unlike the country music genre Hubbs was analyzing, aligns with working class via its imagined geographies, nuanced aesthetics, lyrics, and self-presentation. Further, bluegrass rarely, if ever, offers the "killjoy drag" version of the femininity presented by some country acts noted by Hubbs. Rather, the typical on-stage demeanor of female performers is within dominant norms (binary gender construction, conservative political content, and hyper-feminine self-presentation). Female emcees, as mentioned previously, often formally present this version of femininity. For example, Cindy Baucom who almost always performs in a dress, with full make up and often high heels, is pictured below. A highly successful radio personality, Baucom is an active emcee familiar to most bluegrass fans.

In "'Recycled Trash; Gender and Authenticity in Country Music Autobiography," Pamela Fox writes that Dolly Parton (a country performer, not specifically bluegrass, but

undeniably influential to female bluegrass performers) produces herself in a way to create spectacle, understanding that "a spectacle, even an abject one, is better than being erased/ignored/silenced altogether" (21). This radical difference in performance and options can be seen in the bluegrass festival circuit, but more often, women on stage perform according to communal norms, "manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gender stylization of the body" (Butler *Gender Trouble* xv).

Figure 19. “Cindy Baucom” Image of Cindy Baucom walking offstage taken at the Red, White, and Bluegrass Festival in Morganton, NC, 2014. Photo by Jordan Laney. [Used with permission]

For example, this includes performing alongside family members, presenting middle class norms of conservative dress (as noted in Hubbs 126), and entering the stage space—but

more importantly they perform in feminine spaces *off stage*--through roles that needed to be filled. As my survey results[76] and observations revealed, working at merchandise tables, watching children, working in hospitality, and the like were not only ways to fill a role in the festival, but also served to produce connections and networks beyond the stage. A specific type of "woman" was also produced through this filling of roles. This supported Deborah Thompson's findings that "when a woman such as eastern Kentuckian Clela Alfrey does play an instrument, it is often to back up a male lead instrumentalist, such as her fiddler husband, Virgil Alfrey, rather than being the lead musician" (Thompson, 74). "Playing a role" also happens on and off stage, through hyper-feminized dress, jokes, band introduction, and communicative exchanges.

There is a gendered performativity through the sound and stage presence of men as well—this is something worthy of additional research. As previously noted, bluegrass performances are often positively described as "in the pocket" or containing "drive" with an element of aggressive rhythm and stage presence referred to as "mashing." These emic terms are difficult to translate outside of the fan base without relying heavily on gendered descriptions. Sammy Shelor insists that it is not necessarily playing hard but "where you are placing the notes around the beats" and Shelor shares that Terry Baucom describes drive as "a state of mind" (Shelor). In order to achieve drive, the band must think the same way about the beat with the band acting together as a drum kit (Shelor). While women can indeed create an aggressively driving sound, "drive" has gathered attention largely from male audiences and was observed as being most widely used in all-male jam sessions, typically surrounded by all male audiences.

[76] Survey results are located as appendix E.

The gendered environment of bluegrass has changed drastically. The emergence of college bluegrass programs and the growth of the festival scene (across genres) has increased awareness of the uneven representation of women on the stage, as well as issues of accessibility. The IBMA inducted Hazel Dickens and Alice Gerrard into the bluegrass hall of fame in 2017. That same year, Molly Tuttle, "virtuoso multi-instrumentalist and award-winning songwriter," became the first female to win the coveted guitar player of the year award (Tuttle "About").

To demonstrate how gender stereotypes persist, specifically through print publications, I look to the most recent review of the Society for the Preservation of Bluegrass Music Association (SPBGMA), *Bluegrass Today,* which published the following:

> Without a doubt, the music continues to be first rate, with hordes of talented young people roaming the halls, jamming in the lobby, and in every little cubbyhole they could find. Among the many positive results of having so many young women interested in bluegrass these days is watching the social drama of the teenaged pickers checking each other out and making friends in the hallways. (Lawless)

Having read the statement "[a]mong the many positive results of having so many young women interested in bluegrass these days…" I expected a nod towards new material, alternative band configurations, changing directions in songwriting. But instead, a gendered stereotype of social drama was introduced. This is how we discourage female involvement. This is how gender stereotypes are produced through print publications.

**Conclusion: Going Round the World**

Fincastle served as a microcosm of superimposed meanings. For Bill Monroe, it was the unexpected reestablishment of his career. For the genre at large, it placed Monroe again as the central agent of creativity. For young pickers from the northeast, it was the first venture into the American South (one that met many stereotypical expectations) while offering an opening, a space for them to "fit in" and embrace the music as their own. Fred Bartenstein reflected on festivals saying he felt like he was in multiple lives or temporalities, a student one day, and knee deep in festival organizing with Haney the next (Bartenstein interview). Festivals, while allowing for multiple sensations of temporalities and socially productive spaces, were *not* utopian or spaces of perfection, as one may think. Festivals were not (and are not) solely inclusive. Rather, they are heterotopic spaces where some typical structures are shifted to allow for sensations of upward mobility by rural (typically white, male) performers.

Future projects should move to rebuild a history, more fully inclusive of marginalized participants' roles in the genre and resulting narratives about the region. By "searching for the women," my process and findings have led me to make the argument that women often create (feminine) spaces and provide economic support to the genre through unrecognized labor. The process has also informed my findings in that it has allowed me to better understand how women navigate the landscape; reflectively in my own personal experiences, historically through archival evidence, and politically within the current moment. The familiar song by the Coon Creek Girls, "Banjo Pickin' Girl," later picked up by Abigail Washburn, provides the chorus, "goin' 'round this world, baby mine Goin' 'round this world I'm a banjo-pickin' girl I'm goin' 'round this world, baby mine…," words often interpreted

as the anthem of a gallivanting banjo wielding globetrotter. Within the scope of this research and line of questioning, I prefer to think of the world being sung about on a smaller scale; the world on this female performer or community member's scale, or my scale. This presents a world where the only mode of navigation is *around* as the current landscape does not present a path *through*, as spaces afforded by the structural conditions of bluegrass haven't traditionally allowed females to belong on their own terms; rather, the stories, performance, and dominant gaze all emphasize and enlarge the male, patriarchal perspective. Going '*round* the world is often the only way of navigating systems which do not recognize labor or value abilities of those beyond the template provided by the bluegrass Story.[77]

[77] This is in no way inclusive of all the various additional ways sites of cultural and political exchange should be studied. Attention to global political systems, cultural diplomacy, postcolonial, and more focused studies on race are needed. Naming the dichotomic social structures at play and invisible powers which result are simply entry points.

**BRIDGE: Intonation**

*: The rise and fall of the voice, the accuracy of pitch; specific relationships to each other.*

Tone is a term heard over and over at jams and bluegrass gatherings. Instruments are measured by their tone. Voices and instrumentalists are charged with producing tones similar and yet distinct. We fail to remember that what we are really seeking is almost always a relationship that allows for a connection and a capacity for growth.

Recognizing connections and reconciling them within the bounds of this particular project's scope has been a challenge of finding and utilizing the appropriate voice. I have realized my voice, my pitch, and my intonation have been shaped by the relationships I have had with the places I have worked to harmonize with and in:  homes, classrooms, authoritatively retelling the story, and listening to others. This has impacted the ways I "research" and "listen." I recognized this difference while visiting Carlton Haney's daughter, Bonnie, in Florida.

We were sitting around the kitchen table, Bonnie, Fred (Bartenstein), and myself. Fred left to take a call or fetch something from his car. As soon as the door was closed, with the recorder still running, Bonnie said, "I wanted to show you something" and rose from the table. The tone of our conversation shifted. She took me to her daughter's room where she shared paintings her daughter had made and family photos. We talked about her daughter's artistic talent and a lost dress Bill Monroe had given Bonnie as a small child. As soon as we heard Fred return, Bonnie led me back to the kitchen table where the interview picked up again. Was this because I knew how to speak at kitchen tables? Or because I seemed more comfortable hearing about a daughters' artwork as a daughter myself? What tones do we

listen for in interviews? Does a shift in tone signal a shift in the process? Does the recorder only capture certain pitches?

## Chapter 6: Conclusion: Notes on Listening

*Any measurement must take into account the position of the observer. There is no such thing as measurement absolute, there is only measurement relative. Relative to what, is an important part of the question.*

- Jeanette Winterson, *Gut Symmetries (1997, 9–10)*

Entering this project, I held the working hypothesis that bluegrass festivals serve as heterotopic sites—areas with the potential of "flipping" normative hierarchical power structures. I anticipated that viewing festivals through a heterotopic frame allows and enables the performative production of patriarchal desires while relying on feminist imaginaries. My pursuit of this hypothesis has proven fruitful for pedagogical, methodological, and gendered studies of traditional music, by adding to the traditional canon, interpreting existing archives, introducing new methodological perspectives, and questioning dominant narratives. Some works build foundational knowledge(s), others deconstruct; here, I worked to re-imagine and re-create in order to articulate different futures—this required I both build and deconstruct.

My findings—which were often found through and within the research process-- produce methodological interventions and a new historical perspective to the bluegrass community by introducing the possibility of contextualizing the genre beyond its male dominated genealogy. By methodological interventions, I mean new approaches to the methods used to study bluegrass. For example, utilizing feminist methodology and qualitative methods to understand the patriarchal genre is an intervention which dramatically shifts the current knowledge(s) about the genre, offers a new way to study the genre, and provides a new historic perspective. Presenting new ways to understand the performance

within these spaces (festivals) facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the politics of culture as well as the larger subject of performing and staging place-based identities.

Throughout this project, I have sought to address questions of relationships between place and platforms, exclusions and constructions of the genre through the Story, the exclusionary processes of early festivals, and the possibilities of alternative narratives and methodologies—admittedly an ambitious research agenda. The foundational work needed in order to address these issues in an approachable way for those outside the community required tedious processes of unweaving internally and informally known narratives, terms, and practices in order to translate and transcribe them into externally recognized and formally known languages and disciplinary formations. This work of unweaving required a realization that the process of collective and individual *coming into being* is in direct relationship to the ways we navigate spaces and the stories we tell about ourselves and to ourselves. I attempted to both deconstruct and reconfigure the narrative construction of the genre's history and in doing so, its socio-cultural impact.

**Overview: Findings and Significance**

To review, the first chapter of this project provided foundational knowledge and background information needed to proceed to a more in depth analysis of festivals. My literature review addressed theoretical texts concerning heterotopias, imagined communities, performativity, and the politics of culture, as well as traditional bluegrass texts. I also worked to include non-traditional literatures such as trade publications. There is a clear need for additional bluegrass scholarship, particularly from feminist and race studies perspectives.

My methodologies are perhaps one of the largest contributions of this project, as I use multiple methods to construct a historical story, including assisting in producing an archival collection (at Appalachian State University), and then utilizing a live performance (at IBMA, 2015) as both a field site and a place where feminist imaginaries can manifest and be realized. Interviews, close archival readings, observations, and ethnographic processes were not only my methods, but through (feminist) reflections, these methodological practices provided findings in themselves about *how to investigate* between disciplines.

Chapters 4 and 5 presented my analysis and findings. First, I analyzed the data I collected about Carlton Haney and his vision for Fincastle. I then addressed Haney's vision for the elevation of Bill Monroe within the genre and the subsequent production of a bluegrass genealogy which only recognizes men. To that end, I continued my analysis and found that women have been part of the genre and have been critical to festivals, but have been largely written out of the genre's history or have encountered barriers to gaining recognition. Scholarship which only values the staged performance continues to maintain the dominant (patriarchal) narrative, thus continuing the erasure and misrepresentation of female labor.

**Recommendations**

Within the musical community, there are more interviews to do and additional stories to tell. I did not capture Carlton Haney in his philosophical fullness. That is a different project. When I started this project in 2014, I am sure some expected to see their words printed sooner than the dissertation process has allowed. While gathering stories, key narrators have died, taking their memories and phrases with them.

I encourage future scholars to address the shifting roles of technology not only in recording, but with regards to engaging with festival spaces. Quantitative studies on the economic possibilities of bluegrass as labor are necessary, as the genre works to "professionalize" and go global. With attention to globalization, my research took me to festivals and musical gatherings in Switzerland and Amsterdam. While those events were beyond the scope of this project (and I hope to engage with them in the future), the "glocal" imagined geography of regional music(s) on international levels is of the utmost importance to future work. Lee Bidgood and Katherine Ledford have begun such projects (via ethnomusicology and mountain studies, respectively). Performers such as Abigail Washburn (China), Bela Fleck (Africa) as well as numerous Japanese bluegrass bands are moving across national borders, but the cultural exchanges—both productive and potentially harmful—have yet to be fully realized. Perhaps most compelling is the ever-present need to think beyond place as a locator, to more pointedly considering place as a producer in future scholarship.

This dissertation urges practitioners and scholars alike, to rethink the possibilities of the festival space and consider not only what bluegrass is but what bluegrass does. This work urges scholars to question methods, to understand how topics and theories work together to shape methodology. In my dissertation, this question has presented itself as, "how did studying bluegrass through feminist theory and theories of space and place cause/move/motivate me to perform my research, to embody the field site, and to understand how these factors impact my findings?"

In answering this question, it has also come to my attention that during my field work over the past four years—in an increasingly hostile political climate—nationalism, patriotism

(widely defined), and violent party politics have grown in visibility at festivals. From camp sites being decorated in more readily available confederate flag table cloths, flags and tapestries, to the hyper exchange of political views on social media, the materiality of the festival space has the potential to heighten insider/outsider dichotomies. The rhetoric, song content, and materiality of the genre deserve additional scholarly attention as they have the ability to reproduce false dichotomies in archives and formalized settings where narratives and voices are legitimized. Last but not least, it is time for Bessie Lee Mauldin and numerous other female performers and women within the genre to be recognized and rightfully welcomed into the Bluegrass Music Hall of Fame. I encourage researchers and hope my work helps to facilitate the recognition of women's labor.

**Future Research**

This project began with an understanding that there is much more to learn from and about the bluegrass community. It was solidified with a phone call requesting my assistance in the archiving of Carlton Haney's possessions. I have walked through the doors that have opened to find new information, deeper connections, and sometimes new questions.

There is no lack of inspiration for future projects growing from this dissertation. My challenges with searching trade publications opened my eyes to the need to digitize, or at least index, these publications. Future scholars would greatly benefit from such efforts. To elaborate further on the limitations of creating an archive (through performance recreation and materials) while simultaneously studying it, difficulty in accessing Muleskinner News serves as an example. To clarify *Muleskinner News* began in 1969 and ran until 1978. Bartenstein stepped down as editor in (January) 1975 and it slowly fizzled out, totally, by

1978. While I did not intend for *Muleskinner News* to be a focal point of the study, the lack of access beyond archives should certainly be addressed. I hope to apply for digitization grants which would allow future researchers access to the publication in its fullness.

Mentions of "Kathleen's Kitchen," a concession stand at Camp Springs, piqued my interest in additional fringe or periphery spaces. Despite my best efforts locating information on concessions, a common response was that individuals did not remember specifics about concession stands. I hope to continue looking for people who worked as food vendors to gain additional perspectives concerning Fincastle and other early bluegrass festivals. This would also allow me to more fully address the impact of concessions stands and the economic impacts of women within the festival space and beyond the stage. This includes additional work placing women as emcees within the historical context of the genre.

I removed a chapter that aimed to explore the commodification of bluegrass. The IBMA's 2019 annual conference theme, "Branding Bluegrass," lends itself to a deeper analysis not only regarding commodification, but the impact of rural to urban venue shifts and changes occurring due to neoliberalism. Beyond bluegrass festivals I anticipate fruitful research concerning alternative economies which rise in response to the neoliberalization of the festival space (for example: house parties, benefits, and online concerts). Finally, regarding gender, the occupational nature of the genre is of great importance and will be a focus of future research, as will the musical performance of "drive," which I introduced in this dissertation but merits a much deeper study.

More broadly, I foresee my future research continuing to ask: What do our methods mean beyond the academy? What methods already exist beyond our academic and institutional paradigms to do the work between disciplines? What if no language or paradigm

was defined as dominant or offered privilege? What forms would our texts take? What are the real possibilities of doing interdisciplinary research beyond the structures of governed and privileged institutional disciplines— interdisciplinary studies included? To name these spaces is to *govern* these spaces, something I am not eager to do. And that is how I have attempted to do such work at festival grounds. Due to the challenges, findings, and experiences during this process, I am certain that future research, about bluegrass or another cultural phenomenon, will concern how culture is institutionalized, and for whom, how we construct ourselves and others, and the spaces and sounds which allow us to do so.

**Moving Forward**

*Upon close examination, trajectories can unfold endlessly, and this paper suggests only a few. This is the frustration of an atlas; it can never be complete. But then that allows for the slippage, the human creation of reality through typographic representations of topography. Each reading of reality, with its unique compass setting and moment on the clock, energizes a new morning of creation.*

–Denise Low

Reflectively, this has been a project of listening and translating and imagining beyond the story presented. I recently hosted a musician on their way from Nashville to a gig up north. I told the musician what I was writing about. The questions which have risen in an academic setting were obsolete. The theoretical foundations were easily translatable—those who have experienced marginalization, working class anxieties, and exchanges with an audience, grasp the nuances of the study. The conversation started by qualitative or

community vested research must work on multiple levels. It must explain in textual form, the history of the genre and its phenomenon.

For those, like myself, whose work reaches outside of the academy, the researcher must recognize the labor of interviewee's bodies and bodies of work, as vessels of translation and transformation. As I have learned by studying the power of stories, the way the story is told is important—but the way we listen is perhaps equally important. The parts of this project that have allowed me to listen—whether to the stories of 1965 attendees, sitting across the table from Bonnie Haney, or chatting with a friend on their way to a gig— have allowed me to re-tell stories that are not my own, leaving traces of myself in the process. Through these exchanges, I have been reminded of the power and possibilities for conversations between researchers and practitioners.

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## Appendix 1: Interview Questions

## GENERAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Personal History

1. Name, date of birth
2. Please share your personal musical history; what you play, how you began, bands you've performed with, etc.

For those who attended Fincastle:

1. How did you learn about the festival?
   Do you remember the attendance or particular attendees?
2. Were their vendors?
3. Do you remember the line up? Your set list?
4. What were festivals like from the performer's perspective? What did your participation entail?
   a. (If you are comfortable sharing) what was compensation for the Fincastle festivals?
   b. There have been rumors of Carlton not paying performers, however he is a beloved figure—can you speak to this?
   c. What were the major obstacles for musicians at the early festivals?
   d. Do you recall any particular conflicts?

   Do you have a particular story about Carlton you would like to share?

   Was Fincastle your first time seeing live first generation bluegrass bands? If so, how did that compare previous understandings of the music?

General:

1. Did you know Carlton Haney? If so, how did you meet?
2. How would you describe your relationship with him?
3. Were early festivals led by Carlton different than others? If so, how?
4. Do you feel festivals have changed since Fincastle/Camp Springs? IF so, how? What do you feel is the cause of these changes?
5. What were your most memorable moments at Festivals? Performances, after-hours jams, meals, fellowship, etc.

Location:
Date:
Time:
People involved:

**QUESTIONS FOR BONNIE HANEY**

Personal History

1. Name, date of birth
2. What are your earliest memories of music?

a. Did you attend Fiddler's Conventions as a child?

3. Could you describe your grandparents and parents?
4. Do you mind elaborating on Carlton and Charles' relationship? How were they similar and different?

For those who attended Haney-led Festivals:

1. How did you learn about the festival? When did it become a topic of conversation in your household?

   a. Earliest memories of the festivals or your dad's career?

   b. Do you remember the attendance or particular attendees? Who did you look up to as a young girl at Festivals?

   c. Did you ever go on trips with your dad in Nashville? What did he do? Who did he meet with? There is little about him in Nashville?

   d. I'm talking to a lot of people who aren't totally sure about your father's Country music business… could you tell me about that?
   e. How many cities?
   f. How many shows?
   g. Financial partners?
   h. Charles' role (Loretta Lynn?)
   i. Keith Fowler's role?

   j. Song writing?

   k. What did he do in Country Music (that you are aware of) beyond songwriting and concert promotion?

   l. What stood out to you about your father as a child?

2. Share a little about your mother's business? (Let's visit Ma Collins Stand!)

Kathleen's kitchen—who worked there? What was your role? How was it organized?

   a. Collins market,
   b. bluegrass market

c. Charles' hotdog stand

3. What were festivals like from your perspective? What did your participation entail? Were you paid?

a. What were your most memorable moments at Festivals? Performances, after-hours jams, meals, fellowship, etc.
b. Do you remember meeting Bill Monroe?
c. How do you understand your father's relationship with Bill Monroe?
d. Do you feel festivals have changed since Fincastle/Camp Springs? If so, how? What do you feel is the cause of these changes?
e. Do you think he applied what he learned in CM to his bluegrass productions? (Coliseum show/bluegrass/indoor/Roanoke/64)
f. Do you recall any particular conflicts at your father's festivals or conflicts between him and performers?

Do you believe you had an influence on your father's marketing choices/band choices?

General:

1. How would you describe your relationship with him?

2. Were early festivals led by Carlton different than others? If so, how?

3. Who would you say were his closest friends?

4. Tell me about Herbert Allen…

5. Don Reno??? RED. TV show. Kenny Allen?

John's wife—salt and pepper collection

6. Big part of friendship

7. Are you comfortable speaking about your father's romantic relationships after your mother? June?

8. Not knowing Carlton… (to make sense of mis-information, and Fred shares that I can trust your perspective…) how would you tell the Carlton Haney story?

9. How do you think Carlton would want to be remembered?

**Appendix 2: IRB Consent Form**

**VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY**

**Informed Consent for Participants**

**in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects**

# Title of Project: The Carlton Haney Collection Project


| **Investigator(s):** | **Jordan L. Laney** | |
|---|---|---|
| | Name | E-mail / Phone number |
| | Emily Satterwhite | |
| | Name | E-mail / Phone number |


**Purpose of this Research Project:**

Carlton Haney's ideas led to the creation and implementation of the first multi-day bluegrass festival. Haney passed away in 2011, and recently his personal collection of materials have been donated to the Appalachian State University Special Collections and Archives.

The purpose of these interviews--with performers, family members, and early festival organizers--is to create a more coherent narrative concerning the collection and a more thorough history of Haney's influence and of bluegrass music festivals in general. We hope to create resources (transcripts, pathfinders) for students using the Haney Collection (housed at Appalachian State University). These interviews may also result in an article highlighting the importance of this collection and celebrating Haney's achievements.

**Procedures:**

Should you agree to participate, I will be asking you a series of semi-structured questions regarding Carlton Haney and the festivals he envisioned. Information from these interviews (or survey answers) will be used in one (or possibly two) publications. These interviews will be audio recorded (unless done through an online survey). I anticipate interviews lasting 30 minutes to an hour, however if you wish to continue after an hour, that is fine.

**Risks and Confidentiality:**

Because this project is for the purposes of a research collection and historical clarification, your interviews, including your name will be disclosed in any publications resulting from this project and/or within the ASU archives. If you agree to be audio and video recorded, those recordings will be archived in the Appalachian State University Special Collections for others to view, such as researchers, students, fans, or scholars. The risk of individuals having differing accounts of the festivals and bluegrass events may result in conflicting narratives, however, that is common with such projects.

**Benefits and Compensation:**

No promise or guarantee of personal benefit has been or will be made to encourage you to participate. There is no compensation for this project. The interviewee's name may be in publications and archives, offering personal gratification.

**Freedom to Withdraw**

It is important for you to know that you are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty. You are free not to answer any questions that you choose or respond to what is being asked of you without penalty.

**Questions or Concerns**

Should you have any questions about this study, you may contact one of the research investigators whose contact information is included at the beginning of this document.

Should you have any questions or concerns about the study's conduct or your rights as a research subject, or need to report a research-related injury or event, you may contact the VT IRB Chair, Dr. David M. Moore at moored@vt.edu or (540) 231-4991.

**Consent**

I have read the Consent Form and conditions of this project. I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent:

Yes_____ No____ I consent to being audio or video recorded during the interview.

Yes_____ No____ I consent to my answers being used in the research project.

Yes_____ No____ I would like to review and edit the transcript prior to its use.

Yes ____ No____ I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and I understand it. I have been encouraged to ask questions and I have received answers to my questions.

_______________________________________________ Date__________

Interviewee signature

_______________________________________________

Interviewee printed name

*Thank you!*

-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

**Appendix 3: "The Story" transcribed by Steve Martin for the 2015 re-enactment.**

**Dim the lights, begin footage from IBCM.**
Fincastle, September 5, 1965
HOUSE BAND ENTERS
Assume that Blue Grass Boys are all on stage unless there is a guest on their instrument: Bill Monroe (mandolin), Gene Lowinger (fiddle), Lamar Grier (banjo), Peter Rowan (guitar), and James Monroe (bass). Ralph Rinzler is also present but in a non-speaking role, helping to coordinate musicians backstage and repertoire. (FB)

1- Intro: Carlton Haney - first song recorded in Bluegrass timing
2- "Muleskinner Blues" (Clyde Moody is on guitar)
3- "In The Pines" (Featuring Clyde Moody in duet vocal with Bill Monroe)
4- Carlton intros Clyde Moody and how he used finger picks
5- "Six White Horses" (Clyde Moody solo vocal, as recorded with Blue Grass Boys in Atlanta, GA, 1940)
6- Carlton speaks of how that song created a different timing/rhythm
7- "I Wonder If You Feel the Way I Do" (Clyde Moody verses, Monroe duet on tags)
8- Carlton - Then came the banjo - talks about Stringbean, first BG Boy Banjo picker, but Stringbean is not present)
9- "Rocky Road Blues" (Bill Monroe solo, Clyde Moody still on guitar)
10-Carlton - talks about Chubby Wise, who came in and changed the style of fiddle, but Wise is not present)
11-"Footprints in the Snow" (Bill Monroe solo)
12-Carlton - talks about Waltz timing
13-"Blue Moon of Kentucky" (Bill Monroe solo)
14-Carlton - Bluegrass rhythm established - talks about Lester Flatt/Earl Scruggs, but they are not in attendance)
15-"Bluegrass Breakdown" (instrumental)
16-Carlton - Clyde leaves stage and crowd applauds - Stanley Bros. come on stage, but not as part of story
17-Carlton - introduces Jim Eanes - Jim was next after Lester as a guitar player
18-"I Wonder Where You Are Tonight" (Jim Eanes verses, duet with Bill on choruses)
19-Carlton - Jim wrote a song called "Baby Blue Eyes" - note** not on a recording with Bill Monroe
20-"Baby Blue Eyes" (solo by Jim Eanes)
21-Carlton - intros Mac Wiseman (guitar), Benny Martin (fiddle) and Don Reno (banjo)

***Bryan McDowell will be playing fiddle during Benny Martin's parts***

22-"Orange Blossom Special" (fiddle instrumental)
23-"Rawhide" (instrumental, Don stops at the end of his break and does a stomp dance; music got to him)
24-Carlton - talks about Mac Wiseman

25-“Sweetheart of Mine (Can't You Hear Me Calling)” (Mac Wiseman verses, duet with Bill on choruses)
26-“Traveling down This Lonesome Road” (same as 25)
27-Carlton - talks about trio singing - Don, Mac and Bill - High Lonesome sound
28-“I Hear a Sweet Voice Calling” (Don sings lead, Mac tenor, Bill high tenor)
29-Carlton - talks about quartet singing on the Opry - Benny sang Bass
30-“When He Reached Down His Hand for me” (quartet)
31-“When you’re Lonely” (Don Reno, lead on verses, duet with Bill on choruses)
32-Carlton - kids with Mac about Bill working them hard - Mac was heavier then and said it happened after Bill
33-Bill Monroe - thanks all the ones who have helped him - {laughs} says i just want to talk about the fiddlers
34-More kidding around - Carlton and Bill name banjo players - Don Reno makes joke about being 142 lbs before and left Bill at 134 lbs
35-Don talks about getting kids involved in picking music and Monroe says Bluegrass will never die
36-Carlton - takes back over show - felt it was getting away from what he was doing - has Mac sing “Six More Miles” ** recorded after leaving Monroe
37-“Six More Miles” (Mac Wiseman solo)
38-“Molly and Tenbrooks” (Bill Monroe solo)
39-Carlton - talks about Mac Wiseman's first solo on the Grand Ole Opry
40-“Four Walls Around Me” (Mac Wiseman solo)
41-Carlton - thanks Benny, Mac, and Don as they leave the stage - Also James Monroe for playing bass fiddle
42-Carlton - intros Jimmy Martin, guitar (Larry Richardson, banjo, comes on stage as well)
43-“Will You Be Loving another Man” (Martin verses, duet with Bill on choruses)
44-Carlton - intros Larry Richardson
45-“White House Blues” (Bill Monroe solo)
46-Carlton - talks about Red Taylor playing fiddle (not present) on Uncle Pen
47-“Uncle Pen” (Gene Lowinger plays fiddle) (distinct G-Run on guitar is used for first time)
48-Carlton - talks about Monroe using three fiddles (Red Taylor, Charlie Cline, Gordon Terry — none present) on “Georgia Rose”
49-“Georgia Rose” (Bill Monroe solo)
50-Carlton - talks about people leaving Monroe and making names for themselves (Mac, Don Reno, Larry Richardson, Flatt and Scruggs)
51-“Sally Ann” (instrumental)
52-“The Old Crossroads” (Monroe/Martin duet)
53-“Memories of Mother and Dad” (Monroe/Martin duet)
54-Carlton - asks Jimmy to tell about hard times with Bill

55-Jimmy - talks about his first week - it was winter and they were down in Arkansas - they had to take off their shoes to get the car out of the mud
56-Jimmy - jokes about Carlton always coming to watch them and Jimmy being kind of comical
57-Monroe - jumps in to say worst thing about both of them was they both tried to date his daughter - {crowd laughs}
58-Carlton - asks how did he lose the show again - talks about them being in Raleigh in long blue Cadillac and wrecking in a ditch with some of the Blue Grass Boys
59-Monroe - says back to the Bluegrass - {crowd laughs again} - talks about working the boys hard and making men out of them
60-"Mansions for Me" (talks about key — Jimmy wanted it in E - Monroe who had been singing for over an hour puts it in F) (Monroe/Martin duet)
61-Carlton - (Jimmy leaves the stage) talks about Jimmy leaving in 1955 going with Decca Records - Carlton became Bill Monroe's manager at that time
62-Carlton - (Benny Martin and Don Reno come back onstage) apologizes to the sidemen of the other bands - thanks them for their contribution
63-Carlton - talks about the pretty weather on that day - thankful Hurricane stayed away - **note** this would be Hurricane Betsy
63-Don Reno - announces the great success the first festival has been - announces he and Benny Martin have formed a music partnership that day
64-Carlton - talks about Carter Stanley, who comes on stage with guitar. Ralph Stanley plays banjo. George Shuffler plays bass.
65-"Cabin of Love" (Monroe/C. Stanley duet)
66-"Sugar Coated Love" (Monroe/C. Stanley duet)
67-Monroe - talks about the Stanley Bros. being the first band doing the same style music he was
68-Carlton - lets Ralph Stanley play an instrumental to show his distinct sound
69-"Hard Times" (banjo instrumental)
70-Carlton - talks about Ralph being the first one he heard (Choking) the banjo which is a sound made by bending the note
71-"Big Tilda" (banjo instrumental)
72-"Mansions for Me" (Monroe/C. Stanley duet)
73-Carlton - asks Carter to speak about Bill - Carter said you just needed to be a man that's all he asks of you
74-Ralph - speaks of first time seeing Bill was in Bristol, VA on the Farm and Fun Time show that they played as well - they were wearing riding pants still
75-Carlton - talks about the Monroe Brothers song that use to get applauds for so long on the Opry that they had to come back and didn't have enough time to finish before the Walright Theme came on

76-“What Would You Give (In Exchange For Your Soul)” (Monroe/C. Stanley duet)

77-Carlton - intros present day Bluegrass Boys - Lamar Grier (banjo), Peter Rowan (guitar), James Monroe (bass), Gene Lowinger (fiddle)

78-“Live and Let Live” (fades out at the end)

GROUP

## Appendix 4: 2015 IBMA Re-Enactment Set List

The International Bluegrass Music Museum presents
FINCASTLE 50th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION (DRAFT: 10/2/15)
World of Bluegrass, Raleigh, NC
Convention Center 305A/B (Green room: 306A)
Saturday, October 3, 2015, 11:00 am to 12:30 pm
Contact Jordan Laney ASAP with questions or issues, jlaney@vt.edu, 828-406-6514 (voice or text)
THE GREEN ROOM (306A) WILL BE OPEN FOR PERFORMERS AT 10AM.

11:00 OPENING REMARKS
Chris Joslin
Trevor McKenzie
Jordan Laney- recognize folks from 1965 in attendance
Fred Bartenstein- recognize Bonnie Haney Wilkins

**The Bluegrass Story**
Dim the lights, begin (audio) footage from IBMM. (Carlton "get quiet" audio clip)
Fincastle, September 5, 1965
STAGE BAND ENTERS:
Raymond McLain (mandolin), Becky Buller (fiddle), Dan Boner (guitar), Mark Schatz (bass), Charlie Cushman (banjo), Fred Bartenstein (emcee).
(Stage band will step back for other individual and group performers)

*Songs/tunes performed in 1965 from the early Blue Grass Boys era*
"Mule Skinner Blues" Stage band and ETSU fiddler Aynsley Porchak, with Sam Bush?
"In The Pines" and "Six White Horses" medley Morehead University Mountain Music Ambassadors
*Songs/tunes performed in 1965 from the "Classic Blue Grass Boys" repertoire*
"Blue Moon Of Kentucky" Dean Osborne (vocals, banjo) and Scott Napier (mandolin) with stage band
"Molly and Tenbrooks" Tanner Horton (guitar and vocals) with stage band

*Songs/tunes performed in 1965 by Jim Eanes and Bill Monroe:*
"I Wonder Where You Are Tonight" Denison University Bluegrass Ensemble
"Baby Blue Eyes" Steven Martin with stage band
*Songs/tunes performed in 1965 by Mac Wiseman, Benny Martin, Don Reno, Bill Monroe*
"Orange Blossom Special" (Bryan McDowell) with stage band
"Can't You Hear Me Callin'" Bryan McDowell (fiddle) w/ Denison University Bluegrass Ensemble
"Rawhide" Bryan McDowell (fiddle) with stage band. ALL MANDOLINS invited to the stage!
(Possible Mark Schatz dance solo, as Don Reno did in 1965) Ruth McLain on bass if needed.
"When He Reached Down His Hand For Me" (quartet) Morehead University Mountain Music Ambassadors

*Songs/tunes performed in 1965 by Jimmy Martin, Larry Richardson, Bill Monroe:*
"White House Blues" ETSU Pride Band
"Memories Of Mother And Dad" (Audie Blaylock, Becky Buller) with stage band
"Mansions For Me" OR "The Old Crossroads" (Audie Blaylock, Becky Buller) with stage band
*Songs/tunes performed in 1965 by Carter Stanley, Ralph Stanley, George Shuffler, Bill Monroe:*
"Sugar Coated Love" (Don Rigsby mandolin and vocals, Sierra Hull or Becky Buller) with stage band

**CLOSING**
"Live and Let Live" (all performers)

**Appendix 5: Survey Recruitment Letter and Demographic Results**

*NOTE: Surveys have not been edited and include original answers as provided by participants.*

June 25, 2017

Hello,

My name is Jordan Laney and I am a doctoral candidate at Virginia Tech. My dissertation is on bluegrass festivals and I am interested in learning more about the experiences of non-performers at festivals (or individuals who attend festivals where they are not on the official schedule). I am particularly interested in people who do not attend as solely performers or fans, but work at the festival or in the genre in some capacity.

If you are 18 years or older and attend bluegrass festivals with a spouse, a band, a vendor, or in another capacity, please take a few moments to answer the questions in this survey. Your responses will tell me more about the economics, relationships, and communities formed at festivals.

If you opt to complete all questions, this survey may take 15-20 minutes of your time. You may choose not to answer any portion of the survey and may end at any time.

Information that you provide via the survey is NOT anonymous. Your answers may become part of the dissertation project and subsequent publications. These publications may be public. If you are interested in sharing more, please feel free to contact me at the number below. Thank you so much for sharing your bluegrass festival experiences.

Please feel free to share this survey with interested parties.

Thank you so much for your time,

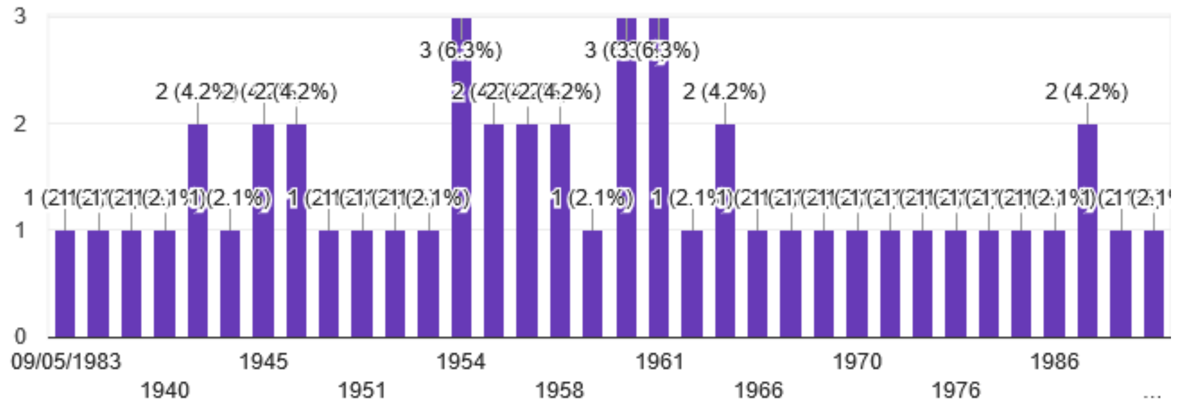
Jordan Laney

If you have any questions or concerns please feel free to contact faculty members Dr. Emily Satterwhite [redacted] or Jordan Laney [redacted]. Should you have any questions or concerns about the study's conduct, you may contact the VT IRB Chair, Dr. David Moore, at moored@vt.edu or 540-231-4991.

**Appendix 6: Online Survey Results (demographic data only)**

## Year of birth

48 responses

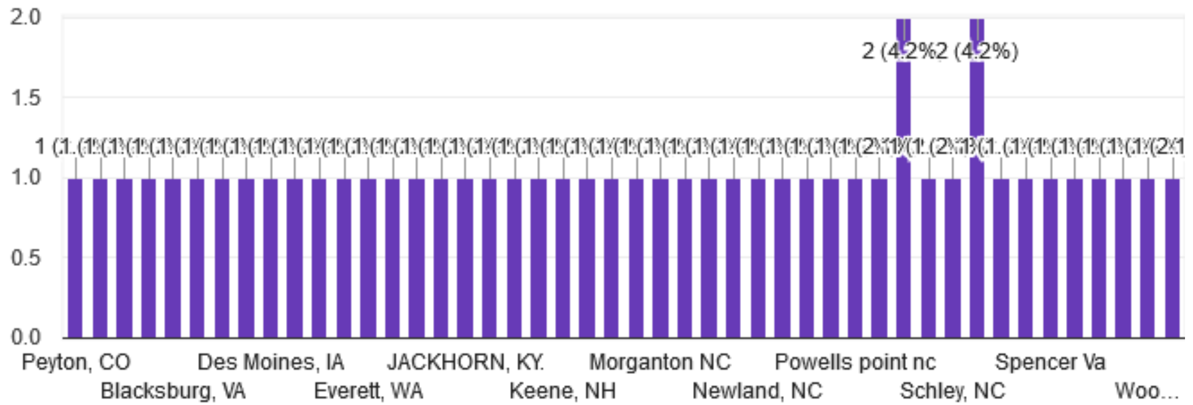



## Where were you born? (city and state)

48 responses

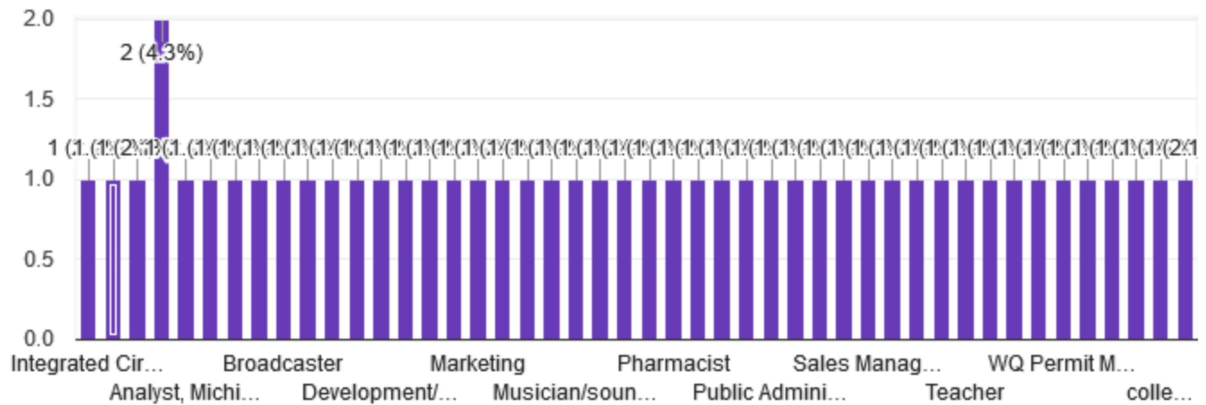
Where do you live now? (city and state)

48 responses




What is your current occupation (or former occupation, if retired)?

47 responses



How many festivals have you attended in your lifetime? (approx.)

49 responses

6 (12.2%)
5 (10.2%)
4 (8.2%)
3 (6.1%)
3 (6.1%)
2 (4.1%)
2 (4.1%)
2 (4.1%)

10
12
25
60
150
250
400 PLUS
70-100? Not sur...
Around 200...ne...
Probably aroun...

What was the name and year of the most recent bluegrass festival you attended?

49 responses

3 (6.1%)
2 (4.1%)

2016, Rhode I...
Arcadia, MD 2...
Charlotte (MI)...
Dominion Vall...
Houston Fest...
IBMA WOB, 2...
OSBORNE B...
Rockahok in L...
Rudyfest 2017
Strawberry Pa...
White's Beach...
Worl...

## Appendix 7: Shared Fincastle Narratives

BUCK'S STORY: [Shared via email]

1965......I was a student at NC State in Raleigh, and Al was at UNC in Chapel Hill. Sometime during that summer, we learned through the grapevine that there was going to be a festival featuring bluegrass music on Labor Day in Roanoke, VA. I really didn't know a lot about it other than the where and when, and that there were going to be a lot of professional bluegrass bands there. It was a long way to go, but it just seemed like something we had to do. After summer school and before fall classes had started, Al McCanless and I were in Salisbury, our home town. My mother gave us a ride down to where Interstate 85 came through town. She dropped us off and we stuck out our thumbs. Not really knowing what we would find, we hitch hiked from Salisbury to Roanoke just to check it out. I still did not own a real guitar and we traveled light. I don't think Al had really started to play the fiddle at that point either, so he was traveling light, too. We took nothing but the clothes on our backs. When we got to Roanoke, we couldn't find any sign of a festival. But somehow we knew there was a connection to the local radio station, WHYE. We located their downtown studio and found a little flyer taped to the door advertising the Roanoke Bluegrass Festival. From this we learned that the festival location was not actually in Roanoke, but was in a little area north of Roanoke called Fincastle, more specifically at a place called Cantrell's Horse Farm. We spent the night at the YMCA in Roanoke, I think it was like $2.00 for a room. We got up the next morning and hitchhiked the rest of the way to Fincastle. When we got there, it looked like very little was going on. There was a huge field with a little patch of trees away back from the road. As we got closer

we realized that we were at the right place. There was a little stage and a few musicians picking here and there, but it was nothing as big as the Union Grove and Galax Conventions we had been to before. The stage show had not started yet, so it really just looked like a few campers standing around killing time. Bob Isenhour had driven up from Clemson with friends and met us there. It was not long before the action heated up on stage. We soon found out that the trip was well worth it. Whereas Union Grove had been a total amateur experience, this weekend was total immersion into to the real world of hard core professional bluegrass. I remember being mesmerized by the musical acts that were paraded before us on a crude little homemade stage: Bill Monroe and the Blue Grass Boys (Peter Rowan, Lamar Greer, James Monroe and Gene Lowenger); The Stanley Brothers, Ralph and Carter; Don Reno and Red Smiley; Jimmy Martin and his band; others and combinations of all of these. Aside from being exposed to incredible performances from the people who were the best at this style of music, I guess what I really gained from all of that was the richness of the possibilities available in bluegrass. You had established bands making all this great music. Then you had people playing together from different bands forming impromptu groups and it sounded just about as good. I realized that it was a kind of universal music that enabled even perfect strangers to get together and sound just like they had played together for years. Of course the nuances of a practiced band set them apart from the "pick-up" bands, but nevertheless, it was all bluegrass. The man who organized all of this was Carlton Haney. Working out of North Carolina and Virginia, Carlton had been a fairly successful bluegrass and country music promoter for several years. He was very aware of the growing interest

in bluegrass among the by now established folk music crowd. Cantrell's farm had a barn where Carlton had been promoting a series of country music shows. He had always tried to include a bluegrass band at these shows, and at one time had promoted an all-day bluegrass show that featured multiple bands…but this was the first "festival" format anyone had attempted. Loosely based on the Newport Folk Festival model, it was a three day event complete with artist workshops: Don Reno, sitting on stage about fifteen feet away, talking about his banjo style. Unbelievable! As a central part of the program, Carlton focused on the career of Bill Monroe. He was a huge fan of Monroe. He had managed Monroe at one point and had even dated his daughter. He was one of the first people, if not the first (other than Bill himself), to single him out as the creator of this style of music. Part of his vision was to try and reunite the people who had played together on some of Monroe's classic early recordings but had now scattered and formed their own bands. And at Fincastle he was able to pull it off. The crowd at that first festival represented a wide variety of tastes. There were people who showed up because of the country music shows that Carlton had promoted there. They must have been disappointed when all they got was acoustic bluegrass. And there were people who were fans of bands on local radio and TV like The Stanley Brothers and Reno and Smiley. But the part of the crowd that included me and my friends came from this new fascination with bluegrass that had creeped in as an adjunct to the folk music boom. This was the music we played. At that time there were not many young people in the folk movement playing bluegrass. But the ones who did, were all at Fincastle. Considering the significance of the people who were there, both onstage and off, if a bomb had gone off at that festival, bluegrass music as

we know it would just about have disappeared from the face of the earth. Besides the performers, there were many future bluegrass pioneers in attendance. There were first generation, second generation and yet to come "Newgrass" innovators all there. But at the time it was just a heck of a good time with little attention paid to who was in the audience. These people came from all over the country though, and were really into bluegrass. It was a small but very enthusiastic and knowledgeable crowd. I remember Monroe kicking off "Rawhide" and then stopping and yelling to the crowd "What is it?"…. to which the crowd yelled back "Rawhide!!" Monroe must have loved that: a crowd that could play "Name That Bluegrass Tune" from just a couple of notes. A favorite the crowd kept calling for from the Stanley's was the relatively obscure (at that time) "The Fields Have Turned Brown". I doubt if Bill Monroe or any of the others had ever played for a more appreciative crowd before that weekend.

Al and I were totally unprepared for any camping situation and had to just make do. It got pretty chilly at night so we arranged some picnic tables in a circle and built a fire in the center. I slept in my clothes on a borrowed air mattress. When I woke up the next morning I discovered that an ember had popped out of the fire and onto my air mattress. I was lying on the cold, hard ground. I had been so tired from the excitement of the previous day that I had slept soundly through the night. I'm sure I must have been stiff from that experience, but with a new day dawning and the prospect of more of this festival thing in store, I doubt if I hardly noticed. We hit the ground running.

At this festival Carlton initiated his "Bluegrass Story" (which he pronounced "stow-rey"). This later became a fixture at all of his festivals. That was always the

agenda for the Sunday show. Placing the beginning of bluegrass as when Monroe's recorded "Mule Skinner Blues", he asked for a moment of complete silence from the crowd, after which Monroe and his Blue Grass Boys kicked off that song. It was a very dramatic moment. He was transporting the crowd to the "birth" of bluegrass, as he understood it. The only major band absent was Flatt and Scruggs, both of whom had played with Monroe in his early bands and were generally considered essential components of the original bluegrass sound. They were involved in a running feud with Monroe that dated all the way back to 1948 when they split off and formed their own band, The Foggy Mountain Boys.

In a way the atmosphere at that first festival was similar to the fiddler's conventions we had attended, but the performers were all on a much higher level. After all, these were the people who had written the songs and originated the music we were trying to emulate. It was like studying at the feet of the Masters, giving it a feel that encompassed both reverence and respect. But regardless of that, there was a great feeling of personal connection between the performers and the audience. It was like we were all in it together. Today's festivals tend to put the artists more on a pedestal. While much of that today is due to security concerns, there is still an unspoken gap between artist and audience that was not quite that developed back then. It is mind boggling to realize that all the bluegrass festivals that have come and gone since then have sprung from the seed that was planted on that weekend by Carlton Haney and his singular vision. It has led to a phenomenon that has propelled a style of music to heights that would otherwise been impossible. His bluegrass festival model is now repeated hundreds of times a year all over the country, making it

possible for innumerable musicians to advance the art, and innumerable enthusiasts to enjoy what they are doing. It is hard to imagine what bluegrass would be like without Carlton Haney.

After it was all over, Isenhour had a packed car, so McCanless and I really didn't have a ride out of there. We had to get back, as classes were starting up right after Labor Day. Somebody gave us a ride to the Roanoke bus station, where we caught the Greyhound to Greensboro. The bus was packed, too, so we rode the entire trip sitting on the floor in the aisle. When we got to Greensboro, McCanless, being the devout Catholic that he was, had to find a church so that he could attend Sunday Mass. I hung around the bus station waiting while he was off on his mission. I believe we hitchhiked back to school from there, McCanless peeling off for Chapel Hill, and me heading for Raleigh, both having had our lives changed forever.

**STEVE ARKIN INTERVIEW**

**Interview conducted and transcribed by Jordan Laney.**

**Steve:** This is, as far as I know the first inkling the outside world got of Carlton's festival and there's a preamble you'll have to suffer through. This had to do with being in the bluegrass boys and we were heading toward Frederick Park in Maryland. We sat out on our journey and the bus broke down and Monroe was despondent. He was really despondent. He really could have black [moods] and this is one of the blackest I'd seen and he wouldn't allow anybody off the bus. He would not allow it, he would block the way to the bus opening lever so that nobody could leave the bus 'cause he just wanted us to all sit there and wallow in despair. [Laughing] So, all night long we were all sitting there wallowing in the pit of this

slough of despond and in the morning I woke up first and I looked out the window from my bunk in the bus, staring at a sign that said “Don Reno’s Garage.” [Laughter] And I went, you know, I went to see if I could get off the bus and I couldn’t open the door, so I went and very very gently woke Bill up and said, “Bill I have some good news for you. We’re broken down in front of Don Reno’s garage.” Surely they can fix the bus and provide us you know if the bus has to stay here they can provide us with alternate means of transportation and he looked dubious about it but he did let me off the bus so I wandered off the bus into Don Reno’s garage which was completely empty and open to the elements and I just kept yelling “Don, Don” wandering through this cavernous thing where very few vehicles seemed to be actually serviced there. And finally I heard a voice and I said, “Is that you, Don?” And he said, “No, it’s me Carlton.” And I said, OH, who are you and he said, “I’m Carlton Haney.” And I said, “I’m Steve Arkin playing banjo with the bluegrass boys and we’re broken down, the bus is broken down right in front of your garage and we’ve got a gig in Frederick Maryland is there any way you could fix the bus?” And he says, “Don’s out of town, what’s wrong with it?” and I said “I don’t have a clue. Well, could we leave it here to be repaired and could you lend us a car?” And he says, “Well, I don’t have any cars to lend… well, I’ve got one maybe. You’re not gonna like it.” [Laughter]

But you know, so. It was a 1949 black Ford Sedan with no shocks whatsoever and an exhaust system on the brink of falling out. We just thought it was rattling around, we didn’t realize how on the brink of falling out it was until later. And uh, so we had to cram Ken, Marvin and Benny Williams... who was the road manager at that time, and Bill and Jimmy Monroe and me and Melissa Monroe and me and who have I left out… with all the instruments.

**Participant-**Oh my god, what did you do, tie the bass on top?

**Steve:** I don't if we tied the bass on top and Sandy Rothman, Sandy played the guitar at the time. We had to cram everybody in this and I wound up in the back seat and sitting the middle of the backseat next to me was Melissa Monroe ... and Bill [Monroe] designates Benny Williams who was a wild man to be the driver. So we're hurdling down the Lee Highway at over 100 miles an hour with zero shocks--

**Participant:** Lee Highway blues, huh? [Laughter]

**Steve:** It was *really* a white knuckle trip. And all the way, not twenty minutes in the trip Missy decided that she needed to do a pit stop and Bill forbade it. And she kept saying "Daddy, if you don't stop the car right now, I'm gonna do it right here!" and she was sitting next to me [laughter]. I was kind of worried about that. I don't think we brought our luggage, I don't think we even brought a change of clothes cause there was no room for that and I was terrified and he never did stop for her.

**-**How long was the trip?

**Steve:-**Well, you tell me. How long from... probably 4 hours you think from Fredrick to Roanoke?

**Participant-**Yeah maybe four or five...

**Participant-** That's dangerous to your health man...

**Steve:** So I... really it was terrifying.

**Participant--**Did she make it?

**Steve:** I don't remember exactly if she got dispensation from on high. But when we got to the park the heavens opened. It was like a monsoon, rainstorm. And we were supposed to play on a little stage we had no covering whatsoever...

**Participant-**holy cow. [Gasps].

**Steve:** … and Bill insisted that we get up on that stage. Bill with his Lloyd Loar and everybody with there in the pouring rain and of course there was not one single audient present and we had to play so we would get paid, not that we would get paid—but so that Bill would get paid! We had to actually play three full length sets like the proverbial tree in the proverbial forest with nobody there to hear it and we played the whole time with nobody there! Not a single person…

**Participant-**want to hear another one?

**Participant--**did you get many requests?

**Participant--**encores?!

[Laughter]

**Steve:** So anyway, we did that being completely drenched—I remember turning my banjo upside down and water pouring [oh, God, dang, geez] No canopy of any kind and so then we then set out and it was dark and we set out to get back to Roanoke and as we got ... We were going over one of the Blue Ridge Mountains into Roanoke Valley. Are those still the Blue Ridge there? Don't they merge with the Appalachian?

**Participant--**Smokey…?

**Participant--**South Mountains?

**Steve:** Whatever it is… As we're going over the mountain the entire exhaust fell out of the car and we were stuck again and Monroe reverted to his clough of discount and pit of despair and we were sitting in the car and we're just sitting and sitting and sitting while Monroe's steamed. And I say, "Bill, why don't we just flag down a car? Can we just go out and flag one down?" And he just got angry and wouldn't do anything so were still there on the side of

the road at night and cars were going by and so finally I said "Bill, look, I'll you've got to do is hold up your thumb and wave at somebody and maybe you have to do it to ten cars but somebody will stop to help us but finally after badgering him for an hour Bill sent Billy Monroe out to do this and Jimmy Monroe went out to the side road and stood like this. [Stands with hands by his sides, laughter] And I said hey, wave, stick out your thumb do SOMETHING. [Laugh] He did that and three cars went by while he did that and I tried to come up with a solution to the problem so I said, look why don't you do… find a farmhouse or one of the houses around here and somebody will let us make a phone call or know somebody we can call and I had to go through an hour of Bill thinking this was the end of life on earth as we knew it and refusing and finally he agreed and he sent me and Benny Williams out on the search and destroy mission to find a phone so we walked up the mountain because we thought we remembered seeing some houses back and about a mile or two we came to one farmhouse that had a light inside. So I started down the path and I noticed that Benny Williams is standing by the gate [laughter].

And you know, it's Freedom Summer, the summer of 1964 and I'm obviously a New Yorker and the last thing on earth I needed, but at least Benny was the real deal but he was just hanging back so I knocked on the door, the door opens and I'm looking down the barrel of a shotgun! And I start talking and he says "I don't want to hear a word you get off my property or you're gonna be dead meat" or something like that and Benny is laughing and laughing and laughing out by the gate.

Benny at that point was prepared to go back and wallow in the pit of despair with the rest of the band but I proposed trying at least one more house. And convinced Benny y that perhaps it would be better if the two of us approached the house at the same time. So we

found another house not that far up the hill and he did let us in and I said look we're two members of Bill Monroe and the bluegrass boys and we're broken down, the bus had broken down in Roanoke and now the car that they'd lent us has broken down further down the hill and we need to get somebody to take us back down there and I called and got Carlton. And Carlton got Ronnie Reno to come pick us up and Ronnie came with his 1962 red Pontiac…

**Participant-**Was he old enough to drive? [Laughing]

**Steve:-**Yes, he was old enough to drive. In his Red Pontiac convertible with a supercharged engine, 500 horsepower which he drove pedal to the medal all the way. Bill you know didn't want to get into that car with Ronnie so I was the one assigned to the task of getting into that car!

**Participant--**you started out saying this was going to be about festival [laughter]

**Steve:-**I'm getting to it!

**[Laughter]**

**Steve:** So we eventually wound up, we got everybody there in Carlton's cabin or trailer, I don't remember vividly what that was. It was the whole band plus Carlton and I think Mac McGahee and John palmer from The Tennessee Cut Ups were there. And we were watching the 1964 Republican Convention, we were watching Nelson-Rockefeller get booed and Bill and Carlton got into a big argument even though I found out later that Bill was a democrat he was nevertheless a Goldwater supporter as Carlton was an avid Johnson supporter and Bill kept saying "Carlton, I think that man Goldwater would be good for this country" and Carlton kept saying "You're crazy Bill he's gonna get rid of social security and that went on for a long time and we all endeavored to make peace between the two of them.

**Participant:** impossible…

**Steve:** And so Carlton decides to change the subject and he says "Bill I have to tell you about a dream I have" I have a dream of having a bluegrass festival last a weekend long. We'll have all the big bands there, all the big bands. That would be you, Osborne's Stanley Brothers Lester and Earl. At that point Bill seized up.

**Participant--**whoa, I noticed they were there at Fincastle

**Steve:-**He did have, he did have… this is a little flashback but I remember sitting in a diner and talking to Bill about some of the people who played with him and summed up the courage to ask about earl and he said, "He was a good boy, he was a fine picker, a fine picker but I'm glad that they… and I taught them some stuff too… "And then I said, well how do you feel about Lester and he just spat on the floor. He really had a vendetta in for Lester that eventually went away...

**Steve:-**they made up at Bean Blossom

**Jordan**: two quick questions, how did you happen, just happen to be broken down at Reno's?

**Steve:** Sure... absolute total coincidence.

**Jordan:** And I didn't know he had a garage? I know Haney was his manager at the time booking him.

**Participant-** Carlton Haney was Bill's son in law...

**Participant-** He dated...

**Steve:-**Oh he dated her!

[Laughter]

STOP! Stop everything!

**Steve**:-Melissa had a crush on me, she kept telling me I was just like Ralph Rinzler [laughter] I can't imagine anybody alive… I have no idea. You remember...

**Participant-** Was this before or after you shared this wet car seat with her...

**Steve**: [laughter]. So anyway, we had this whole question about this, them doing this, this "I had this vision of this festival" and everything and I think Bill eventually... although I think he did say "But not Lester and Earl." But he was so mad I think because they... if you read the liner notes to everything Flatt and Scruggs ever did there is no mention of Bill. They make it sound like they invented this music and they had no part in it and he never existed it was if he was written off... the hieroglyphics, they erased all the hieroglyphics about his existence.

**Jordan:** and you played a Haney festival with Monroe?

**Steve:** No. Cause the Haney festival took place in 65 this was in 64. The first Haney festivals at Cantrell's horse farm in Fincastle. And I went down with Winnie Winston and Jodie Steckler to that festival and the plan was that Jodie was gonna back me in the contest and Danny Hamberg I think was gonna back Winnie and this was the only other post-mortem on it this was the year the first festival happened.. website is still up on his memorial website that Monroe came up to me before the banjo contest and offered to play guitar to back me in the contest [laughter] I turned him down [Yes! Laughter. Ohhhh] and the reason I turned him down was that I thought about it after Winnie reminded me of that "why would I turn him down?" I've only heard two examples of his playing. One of them was 6 white horses and the other was mule skinner blues and on both of them, whatever key he's playing in he's playing out of the e position and his rhythm was really fuzzy and I wasn't sure I would be able to

play the banjo.. I mean think about this playing on six white horses. I didn't know if I would be able to play with that going on in the background.

**Jordan:** there's also a video of him playing electric guitar

**Participant-** that must have cut him to the quick to have you say "no."

**Steve:** I said no politely. I mean all that... he did say some really nice things about me. And Phil can tell you about something that nearly knocked my socks off on a separate occasion.

**CHARLES HANEY**

Interview conducted by Jordan Laney with Bob "Quail" White in Charles' home.

Transcribed by Jordan Laney.

**Charles:** When I met Fred, if you look out this door, across this street, there's a street that goes down to the railroad. That's where I first saw Fred.

**Quail:** Fred Bartenstein?

**Charles:** Yeah. Carlton and I lived up in this house I just showed here, that I'm remodeling and I later bought a house out on that other street going up there after I married and I don't keep papers strait I just put em in boxes I've got boxes back there I found this morning, did have no idea I had it, the deed to bluegrass park. And it's layin' on my table. That would be necessary to sell it you'd have to get a lawyer to recopy and all that.

**Quail:** I think it's be valuable for us to have a copy of that in the library just for part of the record.

**Quail:** Let's let Jordan start with the questions

Jordan: well… let's start at the beginning with how Carlton got interested in music.

**Charles:** What?

**Jordan:** When did Carlton start working in music?

**Charles:** oh ok. We started workin' in the music with … I can't remember it now. That lived down here.

**Quail:** oh.. the fiddle player.. Bobby hicks?! We started Bobby's younger than I am. Some. His brother was there, Dwight Hicks. Dwight, and I were going with the same girl that I married the first time [laughter]. And stayed married to her, gosh I don't know, 20 some years. And there was a musician here named Walter Craddick, played the mandolin. Wayne Perry played the guitar. Dwight Hicks, Bobby's older brother played the guitar. And I learned. Tried to you know. And every weekend, the house is gone now… I'll tell you about the house. The Salvation Army wanted to build on this end of it and my house was in the way and another one and another one. They come to us and I said well what did the other people tell you? And they said, well they gave us a good price and I said well I'm gonna beat that, you can have it!

**Quail:** Gave it to 'em.

**Charles:** [laughing] Gave it to 'em. One reason I did was because I was a member of the Salvation Army because I lived here, ya know. My mother she insisted we go to Sunday school and Church and she was hard shell Baptist is you know what I'm talking about.

**Quail:** I do

**Charles:** [laughing] a lot of people don't know. That's one of the oldest churches around. My mother's church has been re-done. We refigured it put heat in it and all and it's down the groom's road off 87 off to the left. And I learned a lot from that… how to live.

**Quail:** And did you all play?

**Charles:** Yeah. And on Weekends we play at that house there or the one we had out here… and play and learn from one another. Did I mention red Craddick? Walter Craddick? He was the main one…

**Quail:** His nickname was "Red"

**Charles:** Yeah. He was red headed. And his daughter works up here for Dr. Hawkins now in the office I think he's still living I saw him not to long ago I saw him up there and he was one of the clean cut guys. His mother and father had separated during WWI and he had to raise the family and there was a lot of that back in those days.

**Jordan:** What kind of music did you play?

**Charles:** I played guitar.

Country?

**Charles:** yeah, country and just rhythm guitar. Carlton didn't play anything. He tried but he couldn't or he didn't try hard enough I don't know. He was double hard headed. [laughter] he was. You can ask the Bass boy.

**Quail:** Fred Bartenstein?

**Charles:** Yeah, Bartenstein. He gave him a hard time.

**Quail:** Carlton gave Fred a hard time?

**Charles:** yeah! He gave everybody a hard time if you'd let him. I wouldn't let him give me no hard time 'cause … well I was telling you a while ago about the deed. I had to buy it.. I got the deed to it and have had it for 20 years. He ain't never had enough money… uh. Well, he's had money by the thousands. We'd do a show by the thousands, we'd do a show and you'd have ten thousand dollars you see, and he wouldn't pay em. Might as well tell it like it is.

And they put up with it. Country music put up with it and he controlled Nashville.[1]

**Quail:** Carlton?

**Charles:** Yes. The singers and players, the players liked him ‘cause he took up for them. The singers, they had to like him or they didn’t get no money! He ruled the thing! And he met a guy… I don’t know where he met him at but he lived in Winston Salem and he was in Tobacco owned tobacco warehouses and that helped him get started ‘cause he needed money and I can’t remember where the first show we put on was. And when it started we just spread it all the way to the end of Florida back this way to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and I did a little bit over in Canada one time. Just one time.

**Jordan:** So what would you do for him? What are some of the things that you had to do it you wanted to have a festival?

**Charles:** the things he wanted to do?

**Quail:** What are some of the things you had to do to have a start? If you wanted to have a estival what are some of the things you had to do to put it on…

**Charles:** OH… I think now, I think it was Carlton’s idea, didn’t have the money. Keith Fowler, tobacco man. And then he come to me I was workin’ in a hardware store. Saunder’s hardware and he said “I want you to quit your job and just handle the advertising for our shows cause we’re gonna make a big thing out of this.

**Quail:** What year was that, Charles?

**Charles:** just guessin’ ’54, ‘55. I can look on that deed and tell you when I bought the place. In the 50s.

**Quail**: So make sure, we’re getting this right. Keith Fowler came up with some of the money and Carlton had the idea and you were involved…

**Charles:** oh yea, Keith was a tobacco man. A gambler. I don't know if you want to put that in there or not [laughing]

**Quail:** But he liked Carlton's idea

**Charles:** yeah. He had done, you know, a girls singin' show. Wasn't country in Winston Salem Coliseum? Him and somebody and I think that's probably what gave Carlton the idea.

**Quail:** huh. Someone like the Andrews sisters or the Gilmore Sisters, some of the singing girl acts of the 1940s… you remember

**Charles:** yeah! The Andrews sisters might have been the ones he worked at the Winston Salem Coliseum.

**Quail:** but a female

He was a gambler too you know. He would quit. He killed his self.

-Fowler

**Charles:** yeah he killed himself.

We had quit when we couldn't do it I was staying at home he was stayin' at home his wife was giving him a hard time all through the thing I think he health started to go bad and he went to drinkin' and next thing I know I got word from his son that he'd killed his self.

**Quail**: Now tell me, who… Who were some of the first acts that Carlton and you and Fowler promoted and got on your shows?

**Charles:** The first time I saw George Jones was in a cow pasture on the other side of Roanoke… What's the name of that little place?

**Quail:** Fincastle

**Charles:** Yeah, Fincastle. And Carlton said can you come up here tomorrow? Well George Jones is up here, I got him out there in that cow pasture. [laughing] I said yeah. And I drove all the way to Roanoke, Fincastle with my wife.

**Quail:** Was George Jones the only performer in that show?

**Charles:** unless there was some of his sidekicks (George was alone). I know it rained we had it outdoors in the cow pasture and it rained and the little stage we had built and somebody, Carlton said, "There's a barn over there in the edge of the field, let's all go over there to the edge of the barn" [laughing] We all went over to that tobacco barn and crowded in it and George sung. First time.

**Quail:** first time you'd ever heard him

**Charles:** first time he'd sung for us

**Quail:** and Carlton produced or promoted that show, Carlton and Fowler?

**Charles:** Yeah… well, I don't think Fowler was in on that…

**Jordan:** Did you own the land in Fincastle?

**Charles:** No it belonged to a farmer and I can't remember if we done the second one or he kicked us out the first one but he seen we had a crowd of people you know. We put it in the paper. It wasn't a coliseum but it was a big crowd. We couldn't hardly get em in the barn. We… my wife was sitting beside me under a big oak tree and we started running for the barn and she said, I said there's his coat beside that tree and she said I'll get it and she reached down and got his coat, picked it up but the tail and 20 dollar bills just flung everywhere. That tell's Carlton.

**Quail:** he just had stuff in his pockets

**Charles:** he didn't care! He didn't take care… he didn't take care of his money

**Quail:** Well, did he pay jones for that concert?

**Charles:** huh?

**Charles:** Did he pay George Jones for that concert?

**Charles:** yeah, It wasn't much [laughing] prob 250.

**Quail:** Who are some of the other performer that he hired. Carlton who are some of the other people he hired and put on shows with besides George.

**Charles:** everybody in Nashville.

**Quail:** name a few

**Charles:** Bill Anderson, George Jones, Conway Twitty, I wrote two songs for Conway Twitty one was a number one.

**Quail**: What one

**Charles:** let me think of it… I believe it's to see an angel cry.

**Quail:** you wrote that

**Charles:** yeah. And it hit number 1!

**Quail:** that's a great song

Aww me. Nd Carlton wrote some songs,

**Quail:** I've heard that but I don't know…

**Jordan:** Yeah my dad, I told my dad I was gonna interview you and your brother's Carlton and he said "Oh, the songwriter"

**Charles:** Yeah I wrote two or three that they recorded but that was the only one that went number one. I still… I got money off of it last year.

**Quail**: you did?

**Charles:** yea. From the…

**Quail:** from the recording…

**Charles:** Yeah, you know what I'm talkin' about that plays on the radio all that's recorded and took and they send… I didn't get much I think it was $86 on that song.

**Quail**: That's not bad for a song that was written…

**Charles:** I got it every year, how many years has it been [chuckles]

**Jordan:** Who else did you write songs for?

**Charles:** I don't know of no big artists I wrote songs for except Conway. The reason I got Conway to do it was Carlton got Conway in the business. We was in Roanoke and started in his house and his wife was playing the radio and it was Conway Twitty in some other country and I can't think of the...western county. And it wasn't country music and Carlton said, My God, that man right there can sing country music and I'm gonna find him and he did find him. In Oklahoma. I can't remember now the town but he was playing and singing but not country and Carlton went and got him and said I want you to sing these song and that put Conway at number one.

**Quail:** I didn't know that

**Charles:** Oh it sure did.

**Quail:** I saw Conway and his bass player. He had other side men but his bass player… I saw him 3 or 4 times at festivals Carlton put on he came to Carlton's festivals pretty regular. Him and Carlton got to be just like brothers.

**Charles:** [crying].

**Quail:** when did Carlton meet Porter Wagner?

**Charles:** I don't know, Porter had a radio show on so you know, he got him early. Before the girl what's her name?

**Quail:** Dolly Parton

**Charles:** the other one lived in one of the southern states because I went down there. I went there to put a show on but it didn't have her on it. But… most of the artists liked Carlton because he took up for them in the office. You know. And the money. He didn't care nothing about money.

Quail: Carlton didn't?

**Charles:** no.

**Quail:** he did it for the love of the music

**Charles:** ummhum. He kept raising their prices till it got outrageous. You know in thousands and but they was drawing people. Take coliseum, Greensboro. They told us in Nashville don't play Greensboro NC it won't sale Country music we done tried it. He said, I'm gonna show em that it will sell country music. He said come on let's get us a date and you help me get this show together. That's the main thing is who you put on there. So I id went over there and we putt his show on. First thing Greensboro in a 9000 coliseum now it's a 16000 -18000. And it sold out and backed up as far as you could see people outside.

**Quail:** who was on that bill?

**Charles:** I can't remember but it sounds like Porter Wagner and the 1st girl he had down south. I done a show down there and went to her home after she left Porter. I think Country music you know, women like men and men like women. That may be…

Jordan: When did you get started in bluegrass?

**Charles:** playing with those boys. Red Craddick and he's still living. Was going with my double 1st cousin she lived u the street so me and him got to be like brothers me and red and he was the mandolin player and he knew these other boys, you know, country boys used to

they'd get together on weekends and play and pick on the front porch and red was a clean cut no drinkin' I think he did smoke his daughter now works for a doctor here, Dr. Hawkins.

**Charles:** Yeah, the 1st bluegrass festival. The first big get together is this one I's telling you about in Virginia other side of Roanoke and that was out in a cow pasture.

**Jordan:** and it was just one day

**Charles:** yeah. All of 'em was just one day

No, no.. I'm wrong they were 3 days after we got out in the outside out of the coliseum. All coliseum days was just one night.

**Jordan:** Do you remember the first festival here?

**Charles:** I'm bound to member it I had to buy the land to put it on

**Jordan:** so he saw the land and said that's where I want to have it

**Charles:** no. He said …..and I was riding one day and I rode down by the park—have you been there?

Jordan: uhm-um (no)

**Charles:** well it's about 8 miles, 7 or 8 miles from here

**Quail:** we thought we'd go out there after we talked some [repeat] If you'd like to.

**Charles:** Ok. Well. I was. I don't know what I was doing riding around but there was a lady out there Mrs. Hall who owned this store out there right as you turned into the park. Her family run a gas station right here… and I knew here and she had a store out there in the country where you turn and I rode by there one day on Sunday and I seen Mrs. Hall outside her store and stopped to speak to her. She said "what are you doing down here?" And it just popped in my head: I'm looking for a place to have a country store out doors and she said,

I've got it waiting for you. [laughs] I said really she said yeah, see Mr. Smith that runs the lumber farm in Reidsville had the prettiest farm you've ever seen right down the road here.

**Quail:** What was his name?

...

**Charles:** I knowed him you know I knew his children he had a set of boys… I said show me where it's at and she got in my car…because he had government food and stuff on it and they took it off they ain't gonna do that no more and he's gonna sell it

Somebody told me 17,000 dollars and I said well I'm gonna take Carlton. Carlton said "That would be ideal that would be one outdoor park but where are you going to get the money" I said I don't know I'm gonna borry it he said you can't I said well I'm gonna try so I went to house where I borrowed a little money.. Bought 15 for them. I've got nine on this street.

And I went down there I said Mr. Smith Mrs. Hall says you want to sell your farm he said yeah you want to buy it he said yeah I said you want

So I went to Mrs. Roach at Reidsville... and loan I built a nice brick road out there off 87 for 10,000 they told me I couldn't do that I did it done all the electric all the plumbing myself and got it built for 10200.

My ex-wife lives in it now. That's what I got for taking a bullet.

**Quail:** Let's come back to that I want to hear the rest of the story about borrowing the money for the park.

Naw, Mrs. Roach wouldn't let me borrow the money either.

Insurance place. Not the one I go she told me to go there because they made government loans on farms. I went and filled the thing out and it went through just like that.

**Quail:** for 17,000…

**Charles**: 17,000 yeah.

**Jordan:** Then you and Carlton bought the park

**Charles:** he never. At times he did luck up and borrow a little money he never paid it back. The truths the truth. He just went through it. He was known for it in Nashville all the artists to beat it all they would come and work for him again and him still owing them for last time. That's just how much they liked him. Couldn't nobody else put on shows like me and Carlton and Keith [Fowler] did. We put em on all over. All the way from out of Florida to Philadelphia.

**Quail:** tell me this, when did you decide to focus on bluegrass like you did?

**Charles:** Well, I might be of but the best I can tell you is me and the boy that come with you, Fred Bartenstein's brother… he wasn't but about 11 or 12 when his daddy bought him that first fiddle and Fred we told him said get your daddy to buy something. He come back with a fiddle and I didn't know what he paid just a few dollars and in no time he could play.
He can't win no contest like that and he come in second (:36)

**Quail:** When did Carlton get involved with Monroe?

**Charles**: Early Square dancing in Danville and Carlton was an excellent square dancer and Monroe said I want you to teach me to dance like that and it went from there. And Carlton got hooked up with the radio station. I don't know if it was in Roanoke or up there somewhere anyway to tell you the truth back then Monroe wasn't big. Wasn't nobody big in country music but it wasn't long until Monroe was bringin' and Carlton was putting them everywhere.

How long did Carlton work with Monroe?

**Charles:** he worked with Monroe before he ever had a festival and Carlton and Monroe both were hard headed.

**Quail**: Did they ever fall out?

**Charles:** I remember one time they fell out but the fell back in you know how friends do. Monroe learned enough not from Carlton but from that kind of show there wasn't nothing like that put on if you wanted to see Country music you had to go to Nashville. I got a picture of me and Carlton in Nashville from the 1st time we went to Nashville and we'd never seen a big show we went to see the Grand Ole Opry…

**Quail:** what year was that...about?

**Charles:** I was about 15, 16 years old…

**Quail**: It was after WW2?

**Charles:** I ain't sure now… WW2 ended in 45. But it wasn't no ways near comparing it to what we're comparing it to. That far back it was just country music and square dancing. Monroe didn't dream about the Money he made, none of them did it just happened.

**Charles:** Reno…

**Charles:** met in Roanoke. .. he met John Palmer [bass] and the fiddle player.

**Quail:** Randy McGahee and Tater Tate.

**Charles:** See they all lived in Roanoke. Carlton done an early morning show on the TV station for I don't know how long a year or two and it was big they called it the early morning show and people like me would get up this early to watch it. An hour show on TV . . . Palmer, Reno and Smiley and Monroe? Yeah I think he did. That early

morning show got to be a big thing… My daddy liked country music my grandpa liked country music wasn't nothing else to listen to.

**Jordan:** I was just wondering, what took Carlton to Nashville?

**Charles:** He and I, he worked right here going down this hill in a battery plant making Sears and Roebuck batteries and you know what kind of guy he is he ended up manager of the battery plant. You know why [laughing] he talked it. He had a pretty good head on him. I forgot what I was tellin' now.

**Jordan:** how he got to Nashville

Oh he bout a 50 some model Cadillac brand new two tone green and he had to borrow to do he was big stuff then, managing the battery plant and next thing I knew he said you want to go to the grand ole opry and I said yeah he said well let's get things ready I'm goin' in my Cadillac and we went to the Grand Ole Opry and I've got somewhere here, pictures of me standing outside the Grand Ole Opry while we were in Nashville.

**Quail:** You showed me that picture earlier

**Charles:** yeah and

**Quail:** it's you and Carlton and who else

**Charles:** a McGahee boy who lives on this street. Wasn't no players in the bunch I played guitar a little bit never was too good on that. I bought a special guitar that martin made, I bought one of them.

**Quail:** a herringbone? A d-28

**Charles:** something like that I kept it years and years and years. This guy in Burlington his son plays country…Trucker… he used to come up a whole lot cause his son had a

band in Burlington and he come up here one day and he said that band is doing good I want to get him a ad-14 but I'm not sure you know anyone that's got one for sale

**Quail:** d-45

**Charles:** yeah right I know a guy but he wants too much money for it I said 1200 and he said my stars who's got it I said a guy named … I went and got it he said I'll bring your money tomorrow…

**Jordan:** When did he start working in Nashville…

**Charles:** when did I?

**Jordan:** Well… you or Carlton?

**Charles**: When he left Grove Union. The battery plant… but he didn't start the shows because it hadn't come in his head. Nothing but the Grand Ole Opry school houses and that's all they was to it so Carlton worked for Monroe who else in bluegrass?

**Charles:** yeah he did work for Flatt and Scruggs (when they were with Monroe) 47-48,

**Quail**: Carlton never worked for Flatt and Scruggs

**Charles:** a little wasn't no hard feelings.

**Quail:** what about Mac Wiseman

**Charles:** yeah we worked with Mac Wiseman on a lot of shows

**Jordan:** Jimmy Martin yeah!

**Charles:** [laughing] Jimmy Martin had a girlfriend that lived one block down and he was something

**Quail:** how do you mean

**Charles:** anything. Didn't nobody like him…

**Quail:** This may be silly but why did people not get along with him

**Charles:** it was his way or no way and Carlton was a little like that on the business end not the music end and when he done shows it was my way or no way and he was rough and the thing about it , we had so many shows we had three a week everywhere all over the eastern part of the US and they had to work for us if they worked for country music that's all there is too it and you learned a whole lot I learned who to handle those managers down there. You do it our way or they don't play but any business is that way you got to run it where it'll do the best and I've run 3 or 4.

(:56)

**Charles:** I said I want to open a little hot dog stand and he said well open it and I said I ain't got the money and he said get what you need I opened it and it was a service station and I happened to think of them hotdogs I'm going to put hot dogs in here that will sell this town out and she said you're gonna run your mouth.

(:60)

[Story about wife, barn station wagon, following him cheating…and I said, "good God Darnese, you've shot me". And she said good God Charles, who shot you…]

***

**Charles:** He [Carlton] got the bug of country music from me and that gentleman that was with you [Fred B], Red Craddick, Dwight Hicks, on weekends that's all we done you know was played. Some of em did all of us we had a girlfriend the big house I bought it and lived in it… we'd go out there every weekend and play music.

**Quail:** So in 1963… how did he decide to do just a bluegrass show?

**Charles:** square dancing they tied together like two brothers. Square dancing and bluegrass music. You ain't gonna have a square dance if you don't have bluegrass music.

Do you square dance

**Jordan:** I do

**Charles:** well it's different from other music you know it gets in your bones but Carlton was excellent at it he was short that's how Monroe picked him up in Danville, he was showing off.

**Quail:** Jim and Jesse?

**Charles:** what?

**Quail:** [repeat]

**Charles:** Ah! Jim and Jesse

[meet mark]

**Charles:** Jim and Jesse. We didn't play them as much. Not as much but they were on some shows.

What about the Osborne Bros. where did he meet them

**Charles:** yeah we went everywhere with them all the way to texas, Louisiana, south and north too, all the way to Philadelphia. Sonny was just good to work with.

Quail: did Sonny do most of the managing for them of Carlton

**Charles:** well all of 'em.. for some reason listened to what he said he did have a knack for putting something together

[Cindy enters the home, Charles' nurse and neighbor.]

**Charles:** she's my nurse, my step daughter, my ex-girlfriend's daughter. I'm 82 years old and that's all I got right there. I ain't kiddin' you. If it wasn't for that girl right there I'd be in a grave or nursing home. I don't care how much money you've got. I don't care how much this… You've got to have somebody help you through life…. And I've done got to the point

I just can't do it by myself and live by myself. She lived down on the other end and that was her husband. There he is. He paints and spray paints and mows big yards like school yards.

****

[1:14]

**Jordan:** So did Carlton, did y'all ever work with Loretta Lynn?

**Charles:** Who?

**Jordan:** Loretta Lynn

**Charles:** [voice change] Lord yeah… [begins crying]. I believe she loved me.

**Jordan:** I believe she loved me.

**Charles:** So ya'll were close?

**Charles:** yeah.

**Jordan:** I didn't know that.

**Quail:** where did you 1st meet

[talks with Mark]

**Charles:** cause she for some reason I can't figure this out. We'd go on a show and she'd get me over there and tell me all her troubles. And Mooney was bad.

**Quail:** But she stayed with him for years and years and years.

**Charles:** well she couldn't leave. See, she used her head. If she'd left Mooney it would've broke up… she couldn't a stood it and she loved her children. You got children? Then you know what it is to really love children and she loved her children more than anything in the world. She was a peach. One of the best, I'll tell you that.

**Quail:** So she played y'all shows or you arranged her shows a lot at that time

**Charles:** Yeah I took her and I put her in Reidsville high school I sure did and sold it out I put somebody with 'em.

[Cindy talks, Charles talks to granddaughters]

**Charles:** I played her in school houses and we played in the big shows she was one of the biggest starts her and Dolly Parton and

**Jordan:** Patsy Cline

**Charles:** she was a big star but she wasn't in the same school as Loretta

**Jordan:** And that was in the 60s

**Charles:** yeah…

[Discusses Loretta's big songs]

**Charles:** She had a rough life.

**Quail:** well she had you as a good friend it sounds like

**Charles:** we was good friends. I don't know why she come to me with her troubles about Mooney and Cry on my shoulder [laughs].

**Quail:** Well it will get next to a fellow

**Charles:** Well yeah, she was just home country you know and I liked dates with a school house or something just for the fun of it and she'd do it just for me cause she ain't gonna play Reidsville high school just for me [laughing] but I sold it out you know. One of the Wilburn brothers gave her a hard time.

**Quail:** I don't know that story

**Charles:** I don't know about I either. I stayed away from that.

**Quail**: Let's get back to the bluegrass festivals… Fincastle in '64, '65 then Camp Spring…

**Charles:** That's right. I found that place down there and went to that… loaned through government

**Quail:** Berryville… when's the idea for that come around?

**Charles:** that was Carlton's deal and I can't remember all of it. See he lived in Roanoke… Carlton Palmer, Hicks, Bartenstein…

[[[Gets lost.]]]

Watermelon Park—yeah that come from Carlton but John Miller. Carlton went up there and John was doing something else and Carlton wanted to put a show up there and …

"You won't ever have newcomers if you don't have old comers… vice versa?"

[saved: ws600011]

**Appendix 8: Reid and Bartenstein *Muleskinner News* Indexes**

Index: Gary Reid's Personal Collection, indexed by Gary Reid, shared with permission.

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| Martin, Jimmy | Decca-75226 Singing All Day And… | Bill Vernon | September 1970 |
| Martin, Mac | RR-232 Just Like Old Times | Bill Vernon | September 1970 |
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| Scruggs, Earl | Columbia-45326 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | September 1971 |
| Scruggs, Earl | Columbia-45413 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | September 1971 |
| Flatt, Lester | Nugget-104 The One And Only | Bill Vernon | September 1971 |
| Carter Family | CAL-2473 Lonesome Pine Special | Bill Vernon | September 1971 |
| Jim & Jesse | ST-770 Freight Train | Bill Vernon | September 1971 |
| | Bluegrass Country Soul film | | October 1971 |
| | First Annual Blue Grass Awards | | October 1971 |
| Stanley, Ralph | Photo at Blue Grass Awards | | October 1971 |
| Whitley, Keith | Photo at Blue Grass Awards | | October 1971 |
| Cline, Curly Ray | Photo at Blue Grass Awards | | October 1971 |
| McCoury, Del | & the Dixie Pals | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |

| Edwards, John | John Edwards Memorial Foundation | Scott Hambly | October 1971 |
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| Chrisco, Mrs. J. D. | Blue Grass Volunteer | Billy R. Greene | October 1971 |
| Stanley, Ralph | SLP-1503  Something Old Something New | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Watson, Doc | VSD-6576  Ballads From Deep Gap | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Bluegrass 45 | SLP-1502  The Bluegrass 45 | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Taylor, Earl | RR-242  Earl Taylor & Jim McCall | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Story, Carl | Pine Tree-505  Neath The Tree Of Life | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Whitaker, Lilimai | RR-238  Jesus Has Called Me | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Martin, Mac | RR-237  Backtrackin' | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Waldron, Cliff | SLP-1505  Just A Closer Walk With Thee | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Smith, Carl | Col-30548  Sings Bluegrass | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Stanley Brothers | Wango EP-107  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Reno & Harrell | Wango EP-107  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Moody, Clyde | Wango EP-107  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Stanley Brothers | Wango EP-108  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Reno & Harrell | Wango EP-108  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Moody, Clyde | Wango EP-108  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Stanley Brothers | Wango EP-110  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Reno & Harrell | Wango EP-110  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Flatt, Lester | RCA 74-0541  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Brown, Sullivan & Co. | Seq-1424  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Necessary, Frank | Jalyn-359  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Hamilton, Frank | ULC-1003  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| Jones Brothers | ULC-1003  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1971 |
| II Generation | Cover photo | | December 1971 |
| Scruggs, Earl | The Legend And The Man | Louise Scruggs | January 1972 |
| | Photo essay – Florida festival | Tom Henderson | January 1972 |
| Landers, Jake | Blue Grass Songwriter | Fred Bartenstein | January 1972 |
| Reno & Smiley | Wango-111  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Mainer, Wade | Sacred Songs Of Mother And Home | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Seckler, Curly | Co-732  Sings Again | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Country Cooking | Rou-0006  Country Cooking | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Osborne Brothers | Decca-75321  Country Roads | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Val, Joe | Rou-0003  One Morning In May | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Jenkins, Snuffy | Rou-0005  33 Years Of Pickin' & Pluckin' | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |

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| Sherrill, Pappy | Rou-0005 33 Years Of Pickin' & Pluckin' | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| High Country | WB-1937 High Country | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Dixiemen | TRC-1004 Sing Gospel | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Whitley & Skaggs | SLP-1504 Second Generation Bluegrass | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Sparks, Larry | Pine Tree-507 New Gospel Songs | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Jim & Wesley | Latco-300 The Natural Sound Of… | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Reno & Smiley | Rome-1011 Together Again | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Poor Richard's Almanac | AH-40125S Poor Richard's Almanac | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Flatt, Lester | RCA 74-0589 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Flatt & Wiseman | RCA 74-0576 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Kentucky Slim | Slim-159 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Nitty Gritty Dirt Band | UA-50849 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Country Gentlemen | Rebel-314 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Scruggs, Earl | Col-45503 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Oliver | UA-50814 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| King, Clinton | Rebel-292 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Thomas, Tony | Prairie-1004 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | January 1972 |
| Smiley, Red | Obituary | | February 1972 |
| Stanley, Ralph | Muleskinner News Visits Ralph Stanley | Fred Bartenstein | March 1972 |
| Stanley, Ralph | The Ralph Stanley Story | Fred Bartenstein | March 1972 |
| | Bluegrass Music In Maine | Tom Star | March 1972 |
| Flatt, Lester | LSP-4633 Kentucky Ridgerunner | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |
| Stanley, Ralph | MB-108 Sing Michigan Bluegrass | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |
| Hartford, John | WB-1916 Aero plane | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |
| Country Gentlemen | SLP-1506 Award Winning | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |
| Williams, Jimmy | MB-107 God Brings Bluegrass Back… | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |
| Ellis, Red | MB-107 God Brings Bluegrass Back… | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |
| Voices Of Bluegrass | Reb-903 Hung Up On Bluegrass | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |
| Block, Allan | MS-1 Allan Block & Ralph Lee Smith | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |
| Smith, Ralph Lee | MS-1 Allan Block & Ralph Lee Smith | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |
| Lewis Family | CAS-9700 The Colorful Lewis Family | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |

| Wilson Brothers | PT-506 We'll Work Till Jesus Comes | Bill Vernon | March 1972 |
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| Country Gentlemen | Cover photo – ca. 1958 | | June 1972 |
| Country Gentlemen | On Tour In Japan | Bill Vernon | June 1972 |
| Rector, Red | Thirty Years Of The Mandolin | Doug Green | June 1972 |
| Stanley, Ralph | SLP-1508 album review | Fred Bartenstein | June 1972 |
| Watson, Doc | PYS-5703 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1972 |
| Various artists | Union Grove SS-5 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1972 |
| Carpenter, Bill | Jessup MB-105 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1972 |
| Shenandoah Cut-Ups | Rev-904 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1972 |
| Lewis Family | CAS-9707 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1972 |
| Morris, Leon | Jessup MB-113 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1972 |
| Winn, George | MRC LP-1171 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1972 |
| Cline, Curly Ray | SLP-1509 album review | Fred Bartenstein | June 1972 |
| Bluegrass 45 | SLP-1507 album review | Fred Bartenstein | June 1972 |
| Owens, Buck | Cap ST-795 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1972 |
| Wiseman, Mac | Cover photo | | July 1972 |
| Wiseman, Mac | Remembering | Doug Green | July 1972 |
| Henderson, Christel | From Lachen To Lavonia | Christel Henderson | July 1972 |
| Flatt, Lester | RCA LSP-4688 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Wiseman, Mac | RCA LSP-4688 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Seldom Scene | SLP-1511 album review | Fred Bartenstein | July 1972 |
| Scruggs, Earl | Col KC-31354 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Green, Doug | State Fair SF-801 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Waldron, Cliff | SLP-1510 album review | Fred Bartenstein | July 1972 |
| Carter Family | CAS-2554 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Strange Creek Singers | Arhoolie-4004 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Moore, Charlie | Vetco LP-3011 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Jim & Jesse | Hilltop-202 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Jim & Jesse | Prize-498-04 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Seeger, Mike | Mercury SRM 1-627 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Collins, Randall | API-1015 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Isaacs, Joe | Pine Tree PTSLP-510 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Ramsey, Leroy | Pine Tree PTSLP-510 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Flatt, Lester | RCA 74-0680 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Martin, Jimmy | Decca 32934 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Osborne Brothers | Decca 32942 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Monroe, Bill | Decca 32966 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |

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| Wiseman, Mac | RCA 74-0639 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Moore, Charlie | Wango-203 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | July 1972 |
| Flatt, Lester | Cover photo | | August 1972 |
| Flatt, Lester | A Conversation With Lester Flatt | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Bluegrass 45 | Gentlemen Of Japan | Fred Bartenstein | August 1972 |
| WWVA | Bluegrass on WWVA | Mac Martin | August 1972 |
| Monroe, Bill | Decca DL7-5348 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Osborne Brothers | Decca DL7-5356 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| IInd Generation | Rome-1117 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Martin, Jimmy | Decca DL7-5343 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Baker, Kenny | Co-736 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Wakefield, Frank | Rou-0007 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Oswald, Brother | Rou-0013 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| White, Buck | Co-735 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Fuzzy Mountain String | Rou-0010 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Various artists | Co-522 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| It's A Crying Time | Red Clay RC-101 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Mainer, Wade | OH-90002 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| High Country | Warner Bros. BS-2608 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Grant, Bill | KMB-101 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Bell, Delia | KMB-101 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1972 |
| Baker, Kenny | Country Jazz Fiddler | Maria Gajda | September 1972 |
| WCYB | Bristol's WCYB – Early Bluegrass Turf | Joe Wilson | September 1972 |
| Five String Breakdown | Dusty Miller | Wayne Shrubsall | September 1972 |
| Auldridge, Mike | Takoma D-1033 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Cravens, Red | Rou-0015 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Bray Brothers | Rou-0015 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Brown, Ed | Sequatchie NR-1933 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Sullivan, Fred | Sequatchie NR-1933 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| North Carolina Ramblers | Biograph BLP-6005 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Bluegrass Ramblers | Dane-5002 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |

| Burke, John | Jalyn JLP-137 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
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| Bradford, Harold | Look-19701 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Carter Family | CMH-107 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Reeves, Goebel | CMH-101 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Snow, Hank | CMH-102 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Snow, Hank | CMH-103 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Snow, Hank | CMH-104 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Snow, Hank | CMH-105 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Reed, Blind Alfred | Rou-1001 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| RFD Boys | Jessup MB-126 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Various Artists | Vetco LP-103 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Southern Michigan | Pine Tree PTSLP-509 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1972 |
| Lewis Family | Cover photo | | November 1972 |
| Lewis Family | Gospel Grass | Ed Davis | November 1972 |
| Sparks, Larry | On The Road | Tom Teepen | November 1972 |
| Five String Breakdown | Rawhide | Wayne Shrubsall | November 1972 |
| Stover, Don | Rou-0014 album review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Country Gazette | United Artists-5596 album review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Bottle Hill | Biograph RC-6006 album review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Kessinger, Clark | Co-733 album review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Creek, Kyle | Mountain-301 album review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Patterson, Bobby | Mountain-301 album review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Camp Creek Boys | Mountain-301 album review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |

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| Jenkins, Snuffy | Arhoolie-5011 album review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Osborne Brothers | Decca-32979 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| IInd Generation | Rome-1114 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Crowe, J. D. | Lemco-321 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Goins Brothers | Jessup-122 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Bluegrass Alliance | Plantation-90 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Necessary, Frank | Jalyn-359 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Sparks, Larry | Pine Tree-107 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Bluegrass Country Boys | Impel 72-006 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Kentucky Slim | Slim-160 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| Flatt, Lester | RCA 74-0796 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | November 1972 |
| New Grass Revival | Cover photo | | December 1972 |
| New Grass Revival | A Conversation With | Fred Bartenstein | December 1972 |
| DJ Convention | Recollections Of A DJ Convention | Doug Green | December 1972 |
| Stringbean | Stringbean Tells All | Doug Green | December 1972 |
| Five String Breakdown | Breaking It Down | Wayne Shrubsall | December 1972 |
| Berkeley Farms | FA-2436 album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| Pine Hill Ramblers | Revonah-501 album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| Carter Family | JEMF-101 album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| McKinney, Tom | Tune-1006 album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| Pony Express | SLP-1513 album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| Stanley Brothers | SLP-1512 album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| Various Artists | White Springs Bluegrass Fest album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |

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| Necessary, Frank | OH-90010  album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| Old Hat Band | Voyager VRLP-307S  album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| Mud Acres | Rou-3001  album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| Kahn, Kathy | Voyager VRLP-305S  album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| Miller Brothers | OH-90005  album review | Bill Vernon | December 1972 |
| Monroe, Charlie | Cover photo | | January 1973 |
| Monroe, Charlie | Charlie Monroe Story – Part One | Doug Green | January 1973 |
| Green, Joe | Big Joe Green | Tex Logan | January 1973 |
| Tokyo | Bluegrass Festival – Tokyo Style | Nobuharu Komoriya | January 1973 |
| Five String Breakdown | Bully Of The Town | Wayne Shrubsall | January 1973 |
| Flatt, Lester | RCA LSP-4789  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| Stanley, Ralph | SLP-1514  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| Lewis, Little Roy | CAS-9722  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| Hartford, John | Warner Bros. BS-2651  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| Nitty Gritty Dirt Band | United Artists  UA-98-1  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| Derrick, Vernon | Rev-906  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| Lundy, Ted | GHP-909  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| Louisiana Honeydrippers | Arhoolie-5010  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| Russell Family | Co-734  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| McIntyre, Vernon | Vetco LP-3012  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| Green, Doug | OH-90012  album review | Bill Vernon | January 1973 |
| Allen, Red | Cover photo | Carl Fleischhauer | February 1973 |
| Allengrass | Allen Grass:  A Family Affair | Tom Henderson | February 1973 |
| Monroe, Charlie | Charlie Monroe – Part Two | Doug Green | February 1973 |
| Five String Breakdown | Sailor's Hornpipe | Wayne Shrubsall | February 1973 |
| Scruggs, Earl | Columbia KC-31758  album review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| Cline, Curly Ray | SLP-1515  album review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| Yarbrough, Rual | OH-90009  album review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| Bryan, James | OH-90009  album review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| Moody, Clyde | OH-90013  album review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| Stover, Don | OH-90011  album review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| Rosenbaum, Art | Meadowlands MS-2  album review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| Murphy, Al | Meadowlands MS-2  album review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| Osborne Brothers | Decca-33208  45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |

| Reno & Harrell | Starday-952 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
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| Seldom Scene | Rebel-321 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| New Grass Revival | Starday-965 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| R. F. D. Boys | R. F. D. 20841 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| Hamilton, Frank | United Low-1003 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| King, Clinton | Revonah- album review | Bill Vernon | February 1973 |
| Seldom Sceen | Front cover photo | | March 1973 |
| Seldom Scene | Part-time Professionals | Bill Vernon | March 1973 |
| Monroe, Charlie | The Charlie Monroe Story - Part 3 | Doug Green | March 1973 |
| Five String Breakdown | Flat Rock | Wayne Shrubsall | March 1973 |
| New Grass Revival | Starday 482-498 album review | Bill Vernon | March 1973 |
| Wiseman, Mac | RCA LSP-4845 album review | Bill Vernon | March 1973 |
| Reno & Smiley | King 485-498 album review | Bill Vernon | March 1973 |
| McCoury, Del | Rou-0019 album review | Bill Vernon | March 1973 |
| Seldom Scene | SLP-1520 album review | Bill Vernon | March 1973 |
| Weissburg, Eric | Warner Brothers BS-2683 album review | Bill Vernon | March 1973 |
| Mandel, Steve | Warner Brothers BS-2683 album review | Bill Vernon | March 1973 |
| Monroe, Bill | MCA-40006 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | March 1973 |
| Monroe, James | MCA-40006 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | March 1973 |
| Clements, Vassar | Front cover photo | | May 1973 |
| Stanley, Ralph | In The Studio | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Stoneman, Scott | Memorial To A Bluegrass Fiddler | Jack Tottle | May 1973 |
| Clements, Vassar | A Musician's Musician | Tex Logan | May 1973 |
| Five String Breakdown | I'll Be All Right Tomorrow | Wayne Shrubsall | May 1973 |
| Country Gentlemen | Vanguar 79331 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Monroe, Bill | MCA-310 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Monroe, James | MCA-310 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Miller, Wendy | OH-90037 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Lilly, Mike | OH-90037 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Country Gentlemen | SLP-1521 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Sparks, Larry | Starday 480-498 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Waldron, Cliff | SLP-1518 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Flatt, Lester | RCA 74-0922 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Wiseman, Mac | RCA 74-0922 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Bluegrass 45 | SLP-1516 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Howard, Clint | Rou-0009 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Price, Fred | Rou-0009 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |

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| Ledford String Band | Rou-0008 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Music Of The Ozarks | National Geographic 703 album review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Eanes, Jim | Folly 001 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | May 1973 |
| Reno, Don | Front cover photo | | June 1973 |
| Jayne, Mitch | Front cover photo | | June 1973 |
| New Grass Festival | Photo essay | Alan Whitman | June 1973 |
| Reno, Don | Don Reno Story - Part 1 | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Dillards | Observations: The Dillards, Music And Blue Grass | Mitch Jayne | June 1973 |
| Five String Breakdown | Doug's Tune | Wayne Shrubsall | June 1973 |
| Osborne Brothers | MCA-311 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Flatt, Lester | RCA APL1-0131 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Story, Carl | Jessup MB-116 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Watson, Doc & Merle | Poppy LAO22-F album review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Feller, Dick | United Artists 50984 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Dillar, Doug | 20 Century Fox T-409 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Jordan, Vic | API-1027 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Wood, A. L. | SLP-1519 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Jackson, Carl | Capitol ST-1116 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| McMillan, Roy | SLP-1517 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Isaacs, Joe | OH-90015 album review | Bill Vernon | June 1973 |
| Osborne Brothers | Front cover photo | | July 1973 |
| Fiction | Old Beecher's Gone, Too | Charles K. Brumley | July 1973 |
| Moore, Charlie | It's An Honest Music | Tom Henderson | July 1973 |
| Osborne Brothers | Breaking Ground | Jack Tottle | July 1973 |
| Osborne Brothers | How Many Here Like Baseball? | Tom Teepen | July 1973 |
| Five-String Breakdown | Joshua | Wayne Shrubsall | July 1973 |
| Five-String Breakdown | Bill Cheatham | Wayne Shrubsall | July 1973 |
| Stanley, Ralph | SLP-1522 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Lewis Family | CAS-9730 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Stanley, Ralph | King Bluegrass KB-522 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Moore, Charlie | Vetco LP-3013 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Allen, Red | King Bluegrass KB-523 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |

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| Allen Brothers | King Bluegrass KB-523 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Allen, Red | Lemco-612 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Allen Brothers | Lemco-612 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Goins Brothers | Jessup MB-121 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Old Home String Band | Rou-4504 45 rpm EP review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Eanes, Jim | Folly SF-001 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Various Artists | Co-525 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Highwoods Stringband | Rou-0023 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Jackson, Aunt Molly | Rou-1002 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Riddle, Almeda | Rou-0017 album review | Bill Vernon | July 1973 |
| Galax | Front cover photo | | August 1973 |
| Reno, Don | Front cover photo | | August 1973 |
| Hartford, John | Front cover photo | | August 1973 |
| Crary, Dan | Front cover photo | | August 1973 |
| Hicks, Jack | Front cover photo | | August 1973 |
| Ga lax | Fiddler's Convention Photoessay | E. B. Boatner | August 1973 |
| Reno, Don | Don Reno Story - Part 2 | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| Hartford, John | I Haven't Been Right Since | Doug Green | August 1973 |
| Guitar Master Class | Grey Eagle | Dan Crary | August 1973 |
| Five-String Breakdown | Buck's Run | Wayne Shrubsall | August 1973 |
| North Carolina | North Carolina Blue Grass News | Bill Price | August 1973 |
| Scruggs, Earl | Columbia C-32268 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| Yarbrough, Rual | OH-90019 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| Bluegrass Tarhells | Royal S 12022173427 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| Crisp, Rufus | Folkways FA-2342 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| Meadows, Ralph "Joe" | Jessup MB-137 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| Country Gentlemen | Folkways FTS-31031 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| Outdoor Plumbing Co | OPC-10001 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| Goins Brothers | Jessup MB-139 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| McGinnis, Roy | Jessup MB-127 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| Sullivan Family | LP DS-332-1172 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| Williams, Jimmy | Jessup MB-132 album review | Bill Vernon | August 1973 |
| White, Clarence | Clarence White Dead At 29 | Jack Tottle | September 1973 |

| Raw Materials | Raw Materials | Charles K. Brumley | September 1973 |
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| Reno, Don | Don Reno Story - Part 3 | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| Forrester, Howdy | Big Howdy! | Tex Logan | September 1973 |
| Five-String Breakdown | Bear Creek Hop | Wayne Shrubsall | September 1973 |
| Guitar Master Class | Forked Deer | Dan Crary | September 1973 |
| Reno & Harrell | Starday 481 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| Clements, Vassar | Rou-0016 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| McLain Family | Country Life CLR-2 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| McPeake, Curtis | Power MOE-210 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| Martin, Jimmy | MCA Coral CB-20010 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| McMillian, Roy | SLP-1523 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| Osborne Brothers | MCA Coral CB-20003 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| Shenandoah Cut-Ups | Revonah R-908 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| Smith, Arthur | Monument Z-32259 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| McReynolds, Jesse | API-1030 album review | Bill Vernon | September 1973 |
| 1973 Blue Grass Awards | 1973 Blue Grass Awards | | October 1973 |
| Crary, Dan | What Ever Happened To Dan Crary? | S. L. Mossman | October 1973 |
| Let's Play Banjo | Book review | Hub Nitchie | October 1973 |
| Five-string Banjo | Dill Pickles | Wayne Shrubsall | October 1973 |
| Guitar Master Class | Lady's Fancy | Dan Crary | October 1973 |
| North Carolina | North Carolina News | Bill Price | October 1973 |
| Osborne, Sonny | Vetco album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Osborne, Sonny | Vetco album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Osborne, Sonny | Vetco album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Iron Mountain String | Folkways FA-2473 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Forrester, Howdy | Stoneway STY-127 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |

| Lundy, Ted | Rou-0020 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
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| Dixie Gentlemen | OH-90020 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Smith, Bobby | Music City Workshop WRS-7303 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Flatt & Scruggs | Columbia KG-31964 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Stanley Brothers | Co-738 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Stanley Brothers | Co-739 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Carter Family | RCA Camden ACL1-0047 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Skillet Lickers | Co-526 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Tanner, Gid | Rou-1005 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Bluegrass Alliance | Bridges BG-2701 album review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Story, Carl | Puritan 1001 45 rpm EP review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Moore, Charlie | Starday-966 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Sunnysiders | OH-5004 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Campbell, Sid | K & B 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Christie, Lou | Three Brothers-400 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Miller Brothers | OH-5018 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Blaylock, Bill | JED-217 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Mt. Airy | Thimble-005 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
| Country Bluegrass Boys | Impel 72-006 45 rpm review | Bill Vernon | October 1973 |
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Muleskinner News issues published during Fred Bartenstein's tenure as editor.

(Provided by Fred Bartenstein)

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Issues published during
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as editor.

VOLUME I

#1 (8/69) Bill Monroe cover story (buckskin suit picture), George Gruhn on instruments, program to first Reidsville festival with artist bios. 24 pp.

#2 (2/70) 1950's Jimmy Martin cover with Paul Williams, J.D. Crowe and Johnny Dacus; Bluegrass Alliance; Uncle Jim O'Neal; reports on 1969 festivals. 24 pp.

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VOLUME II

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VOLUME III

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VOLUME IV

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VOLUME V

#1 (1/74) Jimmy Martin cover, Muleskinner News Visits the Sunny Mountain Ranch, Two Blue Grass Fables by Charles Brumley, Monroe Doctrine interview, Roy Lewis "Little Roy's Banjo" tab, Dan Crary's "The Gold Rush" guitar tab. 28 pp.

#2 (2/74) McClure Festival cover, Bobby Thompson and Buddy Spicher interview, The Don Reno Story (Part 5: Don Reno Today), 1973 festivals photo feature, Rhythm Guitar Corner (Part 1: Keeping Time), J. D. Crowe's "Black Jack" banjo tab. 28 pp.

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#7 (7/74) Country Gazette cover story, "Why Not Tonight" (fiction) by Jewell Cardwell Fields, Vic Jordan's "Snowflake Reel" banjo tab, Dan Crary's "Sally Ann" banjo tab, Rhythm Guitar Corner (Part 5: A Survey of Styles II). 40 pp.

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#9 (9/74) Mastertone banjo cover story, "An Open Letter to Alice and Hazel" by Ron Thomasson, Gordon Terry interview, Wayne Shrubsall's "Bill Cheatham" and "Sail Away Ladies" banjo tabs, "God Bless Banjo Pickers" photo feature, Banding Together (Part 2: Getting Control Over Your Instruments), Rhythm Guitar Corner (Part 7: Working With a Group). 32 pp.

#10 (10/74) Seldom Scene cover, 1974 Blue Grass Awards, The Dobro Guitar by Tut Taylor, Rhythm Guitar Corner (Part 8: Precautions), Banding Together (Part 3: Vocal Chords), Bill Runkle's "I'm Lonely Tonight" and "Big Ball In Boston" banjo tabs. 36 pp.

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## VOLUME VI

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