

Pranking and tall tale telling within Florida's old-time fiddling tradition

Gregory Hansen

Excerpted from:

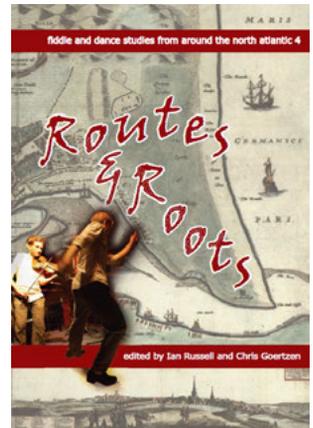
Routes and Roots

Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 4

Edited by Ian Russell and Chris Goertzen

First published in 2012 by The Elphinstone
Institute, University of Aberdeen, MacRobert
Building, King's College, Aberdeen, AB24 5UA

ISBN 0-9545682-7-3



About the author:

Gregory Hansen is Associate Professor of Folklore and English at Arkansas State University, where he also teaches in the Heritage Studies graduate program. He has completed public folklore projects for a number of organizations. In these projects, he has specialized in folklore and education programming. He recently published *A Florida Fiddler: The Life and Times of Richard Seaman*.

Copyright © 2012 the Elphinstone Institute and the contributors

While copyright in the volume as a whole is vested in the Elphinstone Institute, copyright in individual contributions remains with the contributors. The moral rights of the contributors to be identified as the authors of their work have been asserted in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.



5

Pranking and tall tale telling within Florida's old-time fiddling tradition

GREGORY HANSEN

Old-time fiddling is commonly associated with America's South. Although somewhat overlooked by music historians and folklorists, Florida, the southernmost of all the southeastern states, has a fiddling tradition that likely extends prior to the state's British period of 1763–1783. Many of the oldest tunes recorded in the state are related to Scottish, Scots-Irish, and Irish fiddling traditions, and scholars have documented a vibrant fiddling tradition that was part of the territorial period of 1821–1845 as well as the antebellum era of early statehood.¹ The major influence on the state's early fiddling tradition, however, is connected to migration from southern states during the Reconstruction era following the Civil War. Settlers from Georgia, Alabama, North and South Carolina, and other regions more noted for their fiddling tradition, migrated into the largely rural state as developers opened land for ranching, farming, fruit orchards, timbering, and other industries. Florida's population boom in the early twentieth century contributed to fiddling's popularity throughout the state. The relative lateness of these major influences on the state's musical tradition creates problems for ascertaining a unique style of Florida fiddling. The few old-time fiddlers who maintain the oldest tradition perform in a wide variety of styles, and all have been highly influenced by radio, recordings, and other mass media.

One musician who experienced one of the oldest documented fiddling traditions is Richard Keith Seaman. Born in 1904 in Kissimmee Park in Osceola County, Seaman first learned a core repertoire of old-time hoedown tunes by attending house parties in his rural community. Although he added to his repertoire of nearly 100 tunes through his life, the earliest tunes that he learned stretch back to the state's nineteenth century. He learned hoedown tunes such as 'Shear 'Em', 'Mississippi Sawyer', 'Flop-Eared Mule', 'Sally Gooden', 'Stoney Point', 'Old Hen Cackled', 'Soldier's Joy', and 'Danced All Night with a Bottle in my Hand' directly from older fiddlers rather than through mass media influences. After Seaman moved to Jacksonville in the 1920s, he added waltzes, western swing, hymns, blues, and sentimental parlour tunes to this core repertoire of hoedown tunes. His complete

eclectic repertoire is typical of many fiddlers, as research supports the idea that old-time square dance tunes and country waltzes often constitute less than half the total numbers of tunes in a fiddler's repertoire.² During a revival of his career in the late 1980s, Seaman emphasized the older tunes, performing regularly at public folklore events well into his late nineties. He was awarded the prestigious Florida Folk Heritage Award from the State of Florida in 2002. The Governor's Proclamation honoured his contributions to the state's folk culture, recognizing Richard Seaman as a master folk musician and storyteller.

An account of one of his performances shows how his stage patter entertains an audience largely unfamiliar with his music. He blends together descriptions and narratives to provide a context for understanding the tradition's place within his home community. A close analysis reveals that his fiddle tunes and his stories are connected to older European traditions of music and folktales. Along with displaying this continuity, his performance also reflects elements of America's social history



Figure 1 Square Dancing at the Florida Folk Festival, 2001

as well as the fiddler's own individual creativity. Central to understanding the playful way that Seaman blends music and story to craft an engaging stage persona – at the age of 87 – are two folkloric genres that, at first, may seem disconnected to his view of fiddling: namely, the tall tale and the practical joke. Whereas Seaman's interpretation of the fiddle tune within the context of the dance emphasizes the music as a resource for creating and sustaining social cohesion, the practical joke disrupts the usual social order. Likewise, the tall tale also seemingly inverts social norms. Seaman affirms the importance of truth-telling and keeping one's word within the social life of the little community, but his tall tales are predicated on lying. A performance that may first appear to be a highly distorted, even romanticized,

vision of life in Kissimmee actually reveals an intriguing portrait of fiddling that eloquently expresses deeper ideas about connecting music with story in performance as the fiddler's artistry resolves tensions between work and play as well as truth-telling and lying.



Figure 2 Richard Seaman receives a Florida Folk Heritage Award at the Florida Folk Festival, 2001

The Performance

The 1992 Florida Folk Festival in White Springs is part of a long line of festivals held at the Stephen Foster Folk Cultural Center State Park. Initiated by members of the Florida Federation of Music Clubs in 1953, the festival is one of the longest running statewide festivals in America.³ Richard Seaman first performed at the festival in 1989, and he continued to perform on stage until 2002 (see Figures 1 and 2). This performance was held in the amphitheatre on a sunny Saturday afternoon in May. The park's main stage is situated along the banks of the Suwannee River at the base of a gently sloping hill, on a clipped lawn shaded by live oaks draped with Spanish moss.⁴

The Richard Seaman Band steps onto the stage to set up their instruments, and the master of ceremonies introduces their act:

You're in for a treat now. This tall fellow in the black hat here is Richard Seaman, and I understand he's been known to tell a story or two from time to time. This could be one of those times. And he's accompanied by Jack Piccalo – he plays fine guitar – and also by Frank Farley on bass at this moment. Now I understand that Richard learned his stuff in Kissimmee. He used to play home square dances, and he was taught by a lot of fiddle players when he

was a younger fellow about how to do what he does. So there's really a history and romance that goes back a hundred years with Richard.

She pauses a moment and checks with the sound crew to see if all of the microphones for the fiddle, guitar, and string bass are properly set. The emcee then asks, 'You about ready, Jack?' He nods, and she continues, 'Okay, Frank, Jack, and Richard. How about a nice, warm welcome for them to our stage!'

Seaman opens the set:

Well, it's mighty nice to be back here. We wasn't here last year. I guess it was because we was too lazy to get out here. I don't know. I never make excuses, but that's the best I could think of. In other words, we just forgot to put our name in the pot, so we didn't get no peas. But we're here today.

We're going to try to play a few old-time fiddle tunes that was popular way back in the first of the century. Maybe some of you've heard them and some of you haven't. But the old fiddle tunes was played many years ago, in our part of the country, where we would go to a square dance and get out there and dance all night long. And some of us didn't know but one or two tunes to play, but that's what they had to dance by. If they'd get tired of one tune, we'd play the other one.

When I first started learning to play the fiddle, I didn't know much about it. It was one that was in the house where I was born and raised. So when I first started playing, my mother said, 'Look here son, I can't stand that'. She said, 'I can't stand that. That's too much.'

So she wouldn't let me play in the house. She made me go out there and practice, sitting on a stump out in the field. And I went out there to play and to try to play. She finally told me the better that I played, the closer I could get to the house. It was five years before I ever played a tune in the house. Even that was risky!

One of the old tunes we used to play, man, years ago for a square dance was called 'Mississippi Sawyer', and we'd like to try to play that for you today. It goes something like this.

'This was one of these tunes to dance by', Seaman explains after his band completes the tune. He then continues his stage patter by providing a context for the tune:

Here at the old country dances, we'd have to go to somebody's house, if they'd let us. And about two-thirds of the way through the evening, someone would have a few drinks, and the dance would get right lively. You was lucky if you didn't kick the plaster off the wall. Another little tune we played was called 'Soldier's Joy'.

After the band finishes the hoedown tune, Seaman acknowledges the audience's appreciation for the music, 'When you applaud for us, it's like making love to an old maid: you can't overdo it'. He continues, possibly not recognizing that

the meaning of *making love* has shifted since he used the term in his courting days so many years ago.

I'd like to introduce these boys that are helping me out so well here. This gentleman on the right, he's a fine guitar player and a master on the five-string banjo. I'd like you to make welcome Mr Jack Piccalo. Look-it here girls, look-it here. He's handsome, and he's single! Yes, sir, he's looking around though. He's got his eye out. He's looking around. He's looking around for a rich widow. If there's any rich widows out there, the line forms on the left: Mr Frank Farley.

He paid me a quarter to say that!

Here's another old one, called 'The Flop-Eared Mule'. We had a few of them around home to work with. Some of them are ornery as the Devil, especially the white ones. This song is called 'The Flop-Eared Mule'.

They play this square dance tune which has an honoured place within his core repertoire. The tune was especially popular when Seaman played it for schoolchildren in the Duval County Folklife in Education Program. The song's imitation of the mule's bray is an especially popular feature. Seaman continues to develop his stage patter and begins telling his tall tales:

I was raised on a farm down below Kissimmee. Many years ago, it was quite unlike it is today. We had to do everything we did by hand. We didn't have farm tools like front-end loaders or tractors and so forth, and most of it was done by hand.

My sister had a farm down there. It was really the richest soil in that farm of any place I ever saw. That ground was so rich that when we planted corn, we had to plant it on the run because every time you dropped a kernel of corn, and went to kick the dirt over it with your foot, that soil was so rich that that kernel of corn would sprout and run up your britches' leg before you got away from it. So you had to plant it on the run.

And then, when that corn was fully grown, why, the moon had to detour by the way of Georgia to get over it. That's how tall it was.

Let's play 'Westphalia Waltz', Jack Piccalo suggests to Seaman. They play the old-time waltz. Although waltzes were rarely performed at the house parties he attended, Seaman remembers learning to play waltzes early in his career. At the waltz's conclusion, he tells another tale:

On the farm that my sister had that had such rich soil, she grew some watermelons down there one day, or one season. And she had a little trouble with them. The vines grew so fast and so far until the vines wore the watermelons out, dragging them across the ground, they grew so fast.

But anyhow, she saved a couple of them. So we took a horse and wagon and went down there to take them up to the house. And we had some trouble

getting it on the wagon because it was so big. We didn't have enough neighbours around there to pick it up.

So finally we got enough people around there, around that watermelon, and picked it up. And finally we manned it up on that wagon. And we had a mule hooked to that wagon, and about time we got it up there, it rolled off, busted up, and drowned the mules!

So the other one, we didn't take any chances on that. We rolled it up to the house. And we put it up on a couple of sawhorses, and we screwed in a faucet in it, you see. And we had watermelon juice for two weeks. If that wasn't the truth, I wouldn't have told it.

This is a little tune called 'Up Jumped the Devil'.

The band plays the tune. This tune changes key in the B-part, and the lively hoedown tune is sometimes known by the alternative name, 'Up Jumped Trouble'. Seaman typically referred to it by this name when performing for children's audiences. He shifts the mood of the folk festival performance by introducing a slower tune, 'Thank you. There's a waltz that I like to play called "The Waltz You Saved for Me."' When the band finishes the tune, Seaman tells another story:

I went back to my sister's farm one time after I had left there. I went back to see her one time. I noticed that she was upset when I got there. I said, 'Sis, what's the matter with you?'

She said, 'Well, you know that old abandoned well down there in the field?'

I said, 'Yeah'.

She said, 'My prize milk cow just fell in there. That old cow is in that well, and we don't know how to get her out'. And they was all worried, walking around there, wringing their hand and shedding a tear or two about the old milk cow.

She said, 'That's the best milk cow in the county – everybody knows that and I hate to lose her'. So I went down there, and I looked in the well. And, sure enough, the cow was in the well.

I told her I didn't think that there was anything to worry about. I'd get that old cow out of the well for her.

So, I went to the house, and I got a ladder. And I crawled down the well. And I started milking that old cow, and I milked her, kept right on milking. She was the best milk cow in the county, and that's the truth.

I milked that old cow for an hour or more and kept right on a-milking. And I, finally, I floated that old cow right out of the well. There wasn't a thing to it – just as simple as that.

After they complete the hoedown 'Maple Sugar', Seaman concludes the performance in the hot Florida sun, 'Thank you very much. It's been a pleasure to play for you'.

Tunes, Tales, and Pranks in Context

Seaman had a sharp wit and a playful personality. He crafted delightful performances by recognizing that even a short set of twenty minutes would be difficult to fill only with square dance tunes. The highly rhythmic dance tunes are built on repetition, but even his subtle variations would not hold the attention of a contemporary audience who is sitting down at a folk festival rather than up dancing in a house party. The context of playing tunes for a dance party in which neighbours knew each other and recognized familiar tunes within central Florida's core repertoire had changed drastically by the end of the twentieth century. When he revived his career, Seaman recognized that he could use the tall tales that he learned in his youth to accompany his performance of fiddle tunes.⁵ He also recognized that he had to use engaging stage patter to connect to his audience, thereby acting as a cultural interpreter of his own tradition. His seemingly simple presentation of fiddle tunes and tall tales belies a subtle complexity that becomes clearer when we examine salient aspects of this presentation through the lens of performance theory.

Folklorists using performance theory focus on the central idea that 'folklore is folklore when it is performed'.⁶ The tunes and tales exist as memories and creative resources for artistic expression, but their performance is the basis for researchers to understand how musicians and storytellers employ an understanding of communicative competence to express themselves artistically and effectively within a social setting.⁷ Researchers articulate elements of competence by ascertaining a range of artistic resources and then examining interconnections between these elements to adduce the individual motives and the cultural themes that emerge within a communicative event.⁸ In this performance, key elements of Seaman's communicative competence include his musical repertoire, knowledge of tall tales, ability to use formulaic phrases and keying devices within his stage patter, and a variety of other artistic resources that allow him to establish and maintain his role as a performer. Our understanding of this ability to craft an engaging performance becomes enriched when we consider how Seaman's own views about music, storytelling, and history animate his self-presentation.⁹ In the dynamic relationships between performance and competence, Seaman's performance reveals a subtle sense of establishing and giving voice to his own role as a traditional artist who paints a portrait of the context for his music through his vivid word pictures.

In this portrait, the performance is a representation of fiddling within the context of Florida folklife. His vision becomes clearer in excerpts from formal interviews. They show how he offers his view of fiddling within the specific context of the house party, or frolic, the local name for Florida's square dance tradition:

In the old-time dancing, sometimes there wouldn't be enough for two sets. Sometimes there would be more. They would get out there and call their own dances. That would be four couple, eight people. They would have all different calls and a little different names for their sets. I never did know all of them.¹⁰



Figure 3 Cartoon by Richard Seaman Depicting Square Dancers

Enclosed within a cartoon that he drew are the words to a patter call that Seaman first heard in Kissimmee, in the early years of the twentieth century (see Figure 3):

Back your ears and go hog wild,
Swing your partner cowboy style,
With your left foot down,
You cut a figure-eight when you come round.
First couple out and swing.
Go down the centre and split the ring,
The lady go 'gee' – the gent go 'haw'.
Swing on the corner, then swing your partner,
Run away eight when you get straight.

Seaman further describes the dance:

Some of the dances were real nice if you could get somebody who knew how to call the dance. Most everybody would try, but there wasn't professional square dance callers like we have today. Most of it was just simple callers who would get up there and would call out the set to the best of his ability. And we'd try to do it – whatever he'd call. It was just whatever come up. That's where the fun was. You could just sort of make your own fun, and if you didn't follow that caller, why, it was no harm done. It just kept on going anyhow.

They didn't pay no attention to the musicians, once they got started. They was too interested in what they were doing. They had established the tempo, and they would keep going. Just as long as they could hear some music in the background, they weren't caring much what you played. Just so you played.¹¹

Seaman first attended the dances as a farm boy. He enjoyed the dancing, but his main interest was in the fiddling. His idea that the dancing, rather than the fiddling, was more important to the dancers is supported by his argument that many fiddlers in the area had small repertoires, sometimes consisting of only one or two tunes. He also recalls that fiddlers who couldn't keep time were sometimes replaced by a musician who could tap out the square dancing rhythms with broom handles on the hardwood floor. Although dancing was as the centre of the event, rather than hot fiddling, he recollects that the fiddler played an important role in the community. A more generalized view of the fiddler's role within Kissimmee Park's little community emerges when he describes the social context of the dance:

It brought people together for more of a friendship. They were laughing and talking and cutting the fool. It'd give them a chance, really, to associate with the neighbours. That was the main thing, I guess. It would give the community a chance to meet, talk, and associate with each other.

Same way with a picnic. They'd generally have a picnic down at the lake. And somebody would take a seine and go out and seine some fish. And they'd have a fish fry, and everybody would bring something. The ladies would bring pies and cakes and whatever they had. They'd sit all out there, and they'd fry them fish and go to eating. And everybody would just be having a big time. They did it just to get together and be together.¹²

In his stage patter and during formal interviews, Seaman was highly reflective in his accounts of the dances. In his view of the fiddler's place within the community, he emphasizes the theme that the fiddler was more of a participant within the dance rather than a star performer set apart from the audience on a silver stage. He learned his tunes within this social context by playing in a community that enjoyed the dance rather than preparing tunes to perform for a crowd of spectators. His narrative skills provide a cinematic representation of life in Kissimmee, and he provides a close-up view in describing the fiddler's contributions to the dance. Neighbours would seine the fish, fry up the catch, bake the cakes and cookies, and stir up the fruit punch. It was the fiddler's task to supply the music. His description of the fiddler's musical offering is further developed in formal interviews, but the sense of the musician as a contributor to a community's social life emerges in more abstract form in Seaman's stage patter at folk festivals and other performances that he made decades after the house parties had died out by the end of the 1940s. He viewed his home community as a neighbourly place. His numerous stories and descriptions of life in Kissimmee Park emphasize the importance of an ethic of neighbourliness as both an economic and social necessity within a harsh environment. He breaks away from the mythic

frontier image of the pioneer as a hardy, self-sufficient individual, offering instead a view of life that centred on mutual cooperation, trust, and social responsibility in a system he called *neighbourly survival*.¹³

At first glance, his representations of the fiddling and its accompanying dance tradition may seem like a highly romanticized view of Florida's history. Seaman's stories and descriptions may appear to reflect the nostalgia of an elderly man looking back on an idyllic childhood, and they may seem to resonate with the myth of the happier past that often enfolds the sentiments supporting stories of square dances, front porch music-making, and reminiscences about fiddlers in ones' family. The perspective that his memories are clouded by nostalgia, however, is more likely a view of the past that is distorted more by cynicism rather than clarified by a deeper understanding of Seaman's accounts of his own history. At the personal level, Seaman took an ambivalent view about the past. Communities were more cohesive one hundred years ago, he believes, because life was harder in the past. On an artistic level, he regards the fiddler's musical abilities as often below contemporary standards as the focus was more on the social elements of the dance rather than on displays of artistic virtuosity. Within the view of Seaman as a witness to history, it is clear that he refused to omit the negative elements of Florida's history as he told vivid stories about sensitive topics such as race relations, gender inequalities, and disparate economic opportunities. Even within the purview of academic scholarship, his characterization of the fiddle tune and square dance as forces for creating and sustaining healthy community life is resonant with conclusions drawn by scholars who have researched similar traditions.¹⁴ The position that Seaman takes is one variation of the view offered by scholars, namely that the fiddle tradition supports and is supported by an ethos that emphasized social connection rather than individual isolation – especially in relation to social norms that support musical performances.

Whereas scholars of fiddling have explored relationships between music-making and social cohesion, they have largely overlooked an element of the house party that appears to be the antithesis of smooth social interaction, the practical joke. Little has been written of a vibrant pranking tradition that was also part of the dance's social context. My first exposure to this element of Florida frolics emerged when Seaman depicted what the grounds outside of the house looked like during a dance:

Oh sometimes there'd be thirty or forty, I guess, in the little neighbourhood where we lived. And that would be a handful. When I was a kid, we didn't have automobiles. We had to walk or go in horse and wagon – or maybe ride the old mule if you had no other way to go and was just yourself.¹⁵

In response to my comment that I could picture what the horses and wagons outside of the house looked like, Seaman gave a slightly anthropomorphized view of the scene. 'It'd be all carted-out under the trees. Horses standing there, wishing

to God they could go home'. As we laughed, I quipped that maybe they were also wishing that they could go inside and dance. Our cartoonish interchange, in turn, sparked a memory of a prank that was pulled at the dances:

With buggy wheels, the back wheels are bigger than the front wheels. Most all people who drove horse and buggies around had a buggy wrench – what they would call a 'buggy wrench'. It fit the nuts to take the wheel off, and they'd have a little old box with a little top to it in the dashboard there to put your buggy wrench in that. In case something would happen, if a wheel come off or would get loose, you could tighten it up.

Well, the threads on the right side had right-hand threads. The wheels on the left side had left-hand threads. So the rotation of the wheel wouldn't roll the nut off. If it happened to hit the nut, it would tighten it.

You'd get someone to help you. Them little buggies wasn't heavy. He could pick up the rear wheel, and you'd loosen the nuts, And you'd take that nut off the little wheel and run it back there and stick it there on that axle and tighten it up. And then you'd put the big wheel up front and tighten it up. You'd put the wrench back in there and go on.

They'd come out there, and there'd be a little wheel and a big wheel and a big wheel and a little wheel.¹⁶

Following up this recollection with another story, Seaman revealed that other practical jokes were played at the dances:

Or, you'd take the horse out, turn him around, face him in, and then run the shafts through the holders on the backboard. You'd go out there in a hurry, and you'd danced all night and was tired. And you'd go out there and get in your buggy. And there was that damn horse looking at you.

The light-hearted tone of Seaman's narration suggests that he had been the prankster as well as the prankee. In his view, the practical jokes were carried out in a playful spirit, and it is likely that the victims of pranks gained help from community members to straighten out the disorder created by the practical joke. The actual artistry of creative manipulations of objects, precise timing, and the strategic planning involved in knowing who can be tricked are key elements of the practical joke.¹⁷ As folklorists have found, however, the enduring appeal of the prank also relates to how well it can be recounted in a story long after the prank's execution.¹⁸ In this respect, an effective prank is the fodder for a good story that will be remembered long after the actual event is forgotten. In Seaman's narrative, the actual incident has shifted away from serving as a direct account of a specific event to become part of the more abstract storytelling repertoire. In these stories a basic conundrum emerges that also is evident in his performance of fiddle tunes. Namely, why does he use stories about practical jokes to illustrate his point that the little community was more tightly stitched together back when he was a young man

in the 1910s? As writers such as Patricia Sawin have argued, there is ambivalence within the playing of a practical joke. She asserts that the joke is situated on a fine line between cleverness and cruelty and that the humour of the prank stems from creating discomfort in the prankee.¹⁹

Richard Tallman contrasts playful pranks with other pranks that are associated with spiteful behaviour. He refers to them as *malevolent pranks* and discusses how they have been used to humiliate and even terrorize victims.²⁰ There are accounts of malicious pranks within Florida's memory culture, most prominent are the *pranks* associated with the state's violent history of race relations and Ku Klux Klan activity. Seaman's accounts of racial violence in central Florida could even support the idea that some viewed Klan activity as simply a form of pranking.²¹ Within the playful context of the dance, however, Seaman's account of the pranks suggest that the jokes were seen as clever inversions of ordinary activities that create, maintain, and manipulate the social relationships forged in play. Because they were carried out in events that were framed as recreation, the pranks were likely literal enactments of what anthropologists term 'joking relationships'. In a joking relationship, individuals have created strong interpersonal connections that provide them with the freedom to violate the normal rules of behaviour and playfully explore the boundaries of their friendships. This negotiation involves rules for norm-making and norm-breaking, and the highly styled, even surreal quality of the well-played practical joke can reinforce close interpersonal relationships as the joke becomes a densely packed symbol that reinforces intra-group connections and establishes relationship centres for community members who define themselves as 'neighbours'. This element of cultural creativity remained a part of Seaman's life as he playfully engaged in teasing his friends, even drawing cartoons that caricatured a friend's dancing at a house party.

It is likely that some pranksters sometimes stepped over the line and offended their neighbours within the Kissimmee Park community one hundred years ago. It would also be difficult to prove that the literal and symbolic inversions of social life did, in fact, contribute to social cohesion. The abstract analysis does not fully resolve the puzzle posed in considering why Seaman used stories of pranks to express the friendly community spirit that he regarded as central to the square dance. This seemingly contradictory view of narrated events versus the reality of social life becomes even more evident when one considers that he is using the highly stylized genre of the tall tale to represent his view of life in Kissimmee Park. He is using the lie to tell the truth.

Seaman's tall tales have a long history in Florida. Specific tale types and motifs in his repertoire have been documented throughout the state within numerous communities.²² The stories are highly influenced from stories told in Anglo, Celtic, and Irish traditions as many are spun from traditional motifs and tale types rooted in folklore from the British Isles and other European sources.²³ A few of the tales are also part of the African-American tradition of storytelling that Zora Neale Hurston documented in the nearby village of Eatonville.²⁴ In folklorists' parlance, a tall

tale is a fictional prose narrative in which the teller attempts to 'present the most heightened exaggeration as the sober truth'.²⁵ Its form is relatively fixed, and the tall tale typically uses hyperbole, and occasionally understatement, for its comic effect. As do many raconteurs, Seaman told his tall tales in the first person. Unlike many other tellers of tall tales, he typically situated himself out of his original community by implicitly placing himself in Jacksonville, Florida, rather than in Kissimmee Park. As is evident in his performance at the Florida Folk Festival, he used the stories to frame his recollections about the past to present his own vision of the original context for his fiddle tunes. The stories are highly stylized fantasies, enriching his presentation of fiddle tunes.

Tall tales also are connected to pranks. A story about a successful prank may involve elaborately stretching the truth, thereby artistically using elements of the tall-tale style to punctuate the story's humour. A story about a prank follows a form similar to that of a tall tale. Both narratives begin with realistic descriptions of quotidian experience. An incident is introduced that establishes a problem. The problem is developed by inverted or highly embellished descriptions of social life, as the narrator spins the story often in a drawn-out, even laconic, style until the initial conflict reaches a climax. Both kinds of stories usually feature a denouement through which the usual social order is restored, or at least resolved, and life's continuity is reasserted as a scene for the telling of more incidents of experience. A final parallel connects the tall tale directly to the prank. Just as the prankster sets up a realistic trap for the prankee to step into, the teller of tall tales must first create a scene of vivid realism in order to trick the listener into believing the lie. When performed, the tall tale undergoes a transformation through a process of metaphrasis in which it shifts genres.²⁶ As Richard Bauman writes, the tall tale, itself, can be seen less as a narrative and more as a verbal practical joke when its telling becomes the focus of a narrative event.²⁷

A tall tale's significance as a verbal prank becomes richer when the stories are connected to Seaman's perspectives on social norms about truth-telling within his home community. Seaman noted that these stories were rarely called *lies* in Kissimmee Park although it was true that tellers of tall tales could playfully be called *liars*. He claimed never to have entered a liar's contest because he admitted that he was afraid he would win. When introduced as a teller of tall tales by presenters at folk festival, Seaman often playfully interjected that the master of ceremonies would make a liar out of him, directly affirming the cultural sanctions against prevarication. He frequently used formulaic phrases, such as 'and that's the truth, if I ever told it', to frame the stories ironically as fiction. He also was a master at using a restrained, even droll tone of narration, to subtly establish his stories as tall tales. Through these and other devices, he clearly resolved the Liar's Paradox, for these framing devices create distinctions between lying as a social taboo versus the artful stretching of the truth. His storytelling aesthetics, thus, were centred on using ironic distance to creatively and convincingly establish the explicit quality of the stories as lies, thereby absolving himself from being cast as a serious liar. Within

this resolution of the paradox, more importantly, Seaman was affirming the value of telling the truth as a personal communicative norm.

The value placed on veracity in word and deed shifted from the individual to the social level when Seaman was asked about the importance of telling the truth in Kissimmee. In a formal interview, he referenced a proverbial saying, 'Your word was your bond' to emphasize the importance of the spoken word.²⁸ Seaman added, 'If you said you were going to do something, then you did it', to show that truthful speech not only meant speaking honestly, but it also set a standard for social engagement. Blending word with deed, Seaman asserted that one's words also seal social commitments within the family and the wider community. In this way of speaking, the use of words sets a high ideal about accepting one's social responsibilities to one's neighbours. Because he frames the lie clearly and honestly as fiction, Seaman reminds listeners of the importance of keeping one's word. His tall tales emerge as explorations of the rich nuances of telling the truth. The stories are vehicles for conveying values that support the system of neighbourly survival as it is practiced in daily life and acted out in the square dance.

Telling a tall tale and playing a prank support a common cultural theme. The tales and the tricks provide community members with reminders that ordinary social life can be easily disturbed through careless speech and irresponsible deeds. The playful inversions told in the tall tales and acted out in the pranks have potentially serious consequences if they become actual violations of important social norms. The passage of time prevents us from fully discovering how the music, tales, and pranks were received within the Kissimmee Park community, so we must trust the raconteur's knowledge and memory of the history. We can, however, gain a direct understanding of the fiddler's own experience by reading the stories for symbolic clues into his vision of the role of the fiddler in Florida's musical history. Telling his tales and playing his tunes at the end of the twentieth century, Seaman transported his listeners back to the beginning of the century.

The image of the fiddler revealed in his stories is an ambivalent one. As Seaman has told us, the fiddler often was a valued member of a community. His or her musical offering brought people together as the fiddler's gift helped to establish a centre for neighbours to gather around within the square dance. On the other hand, the fiddler could sometimes be seen as a shady character.²⁹ At the least, fiddle playing tempted workers away from taking care of their daily chores, as Seaman noted. His father quipped, 'Once a man learned to fiddle, he wasn't worth a damn'. The fiddler may be charged with promoting the idea of celebrating frivolous entertainment over completing serious work, the fiddler might also tempt the faithful away from their straight and narrow paths by encouraging indulgence in the pleasures of dancing, feasting, and drinking moonshine whiskey. In his stories, the fiddler's image is even akin to the trickster figure who commonly shows up in myths, legends, and folktales – a figure known for playing pranks and telling lies.³⁰ Seaman was well aware of the diabolical qualities associated with fiddling:

There was an old lady that lived down home there that wouldn't let her husband bring the fiddle in the house. She said the fiddle was kin to the Devil, and she wouldn't let him. He had to leave it in the barn. He couldn't bring it in the house.

That was superstitious. The old people had their superstitious ways, and that was hers. She thought it was sinful, but that's the only one I know of. I've heard of different ones claiming that they would hide the fiddle if the preacher came around and stuff like that. Some of them thought that fiddle music was harmful.³¹

These negative connotations are evident in the association of fiddling with Old Scratch and in the fiddle's nickname. Although Seaman hadn't heard the fiddle referred to as the *Devil's box*, he did recognize that the dances had rough reputations, and his second wife, Annie Seaman, remembered that her father refused to let her attend dances because of the drinking and threats of violence. Dancing to the tune of a fiddle was forbidden in many families because it was unChristian, their recollections affirm.

Seaman was a strong believer, but his religious beliefs were sincere, honest, and did not descend into religious arrogance. His view of the fiddler as a trickster is less a commentary on the social tension between opposing religious groups and more a commentary on the psychological tension that envelops the idea of fiddling in Florida. Viewing negative associations with fiddling and superstition, Seaman implicitly contrasts false belief with true faith. Another story also reveals a critique of sanctimonious religious sentiment:

One day, a preacher was driving from his home to his church, one early Sunday morning. And he happened to look in his rear view mirror of his car – that there was an old drunk driving right behind him. Well, that irritated the preacher, so he decided he didn't like it. So he decided he would speed up a bit and leave him.

So the drunk man, he speeded up too and followed right behind him – right behind the preacher. And that irritated the preacher a little more. So the preacher got driving faster. The drunk kept right in behind him, weaving back and forth back there.

It made the preacher real mad. So he floor-boarded it – floor-boarded that car, and tore out to get away from him. And while he was looking up in the rear view mirror to see what the drunk was doing, he failed to see a sharp curve in the road. He couldn't make that curve, so he went off the road, through the ditch, off through the woods, and he hit a stump and turned his car upside down. Both wheels – straight up.

So the old drunk jumped out and run over there – got down on his knees, looked out at the car. He said, 'Are you all right sir?'

The preacher says, 'Yes, I'm all right, I've got the Good Lord riding with me'.

And the drunk said, 'You'd better let him drive with me because the way you're driving, you're liable to kill him'.³²

In the content and tone of these stories, Seaman displayed an impatience with a religious sensibility that would sanction fiddling and dancing as immoral activities. This view is complicit with other accounts in which Seaman recalls that the general ambivalence about fiddling was tilted toward a positive view of the musical tradition. The positive aspects of playing music and dancing with neighbours outweighed the potential for dances to slide into evenings of debauchery.

The dances could break down into drunken melees as he explains that the dances sometimes ended late at night when fights broke out between would-be suitors interested in the same woman. He recalls how the dances were also associated with the consumption of illicit alcohol and violence, 'About ten or eleven o'clock, they'd all have a drink, and they'd get more stomped. And then you'd have a scrape or two out there, and that made it more interesting.'³³ He also recounts that the violence was heightened as the house parties met their demise in the late 1930s:

After later years, when they had roads in there, people began to have cars. More youngster began to be able to buy old junk cars. They'd come from further away because they came in cars, and that sort of messed up some of the dances because some of the toughs would come from town and come out looking for trouble. And they generally found it, too.³⁴

This account provides a final resource for understanding why the ambivalent tension about fiddling is central to Seaman's tall tales and accounts of the pranks. As a nonagenarian, he recognized that many in the audience were likely to associate the rural fiddler with the rough reputation of frolics within Florida's 'cracker culture'.³⁵ He acknowledges that the frolic has a sordid reputation within the historical memory of contemporary Floridians, but he explains the violence was caused largely by outsiders who intruded into a tightly knit community. In accounts about house parties in other areas, outsiders came into rural dances and often caused trouble by looking to turn a frolic into a fight.³⁶ This memory of the dance remains salient within the popular image of the country dance. Importantly, he attributes the main perpetrators of violence to town kids and young people coming from the cities into a country dance.

When we consider that he is performing primarily for residents of an urbanized Florida, the subtle creativity of his stage persona comes into clear relief. Honestly acknowledging the common perception of dances as rough, he reminds his listeners to also recognize the simple beauty of the dance and the fiddler's contributions to the community. His performance is not a re-enactment of a forgotten past as stage in a living history event. Rather, his performance is a literal enactment of a living tradition that he has sustained throughout a century that has seen vast changes within the social context of musical performance.

RULES OF FIDDLERS' CONTEST

1. Each Fiddler allowed one accompanist or can play without any accompanying instrument.
2. Two numbers must be played—both not to total over Three Minutes. Fiddler will be given signal at 2 Minute and 50 Second point.
3. No trick fiddling, must use regulation bow, and no singing. Fiddlers will be judged strictly on their fiddlin' ability.
4. Must play old time music, nothing modern.

RULES FOR HOG CALLERS

1. No instrument can be used in making calls.
2. Volume, Originality of Call, and Musical tone will be counted.
3. Can give more than one kind of call, but must not take over one minute for call.

<p style="text-align: center;">B. W. HELMEY</p> <p>BUILDING FOR LEASE OR RENT CORNER OF BEAVER & McDUFF</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PHONE 7-5176</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">TRY DASHER'S</p> <p>SUMMER SAUSAGE IT'S DIFFERENT Call Your Nearest Grocer or Butcher</p> <hr/> <p>COMPLETE HOME FURNISHINGS Back in Our Old Home</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JACKSONVILLE FURNITURE CO.</p> <p>835 West Adams St. Phone 5-1215</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">W. J. ROBERTS, PROP. GENERAL MERCHANDISING</p> <p style="text-align: center;">WONDER STORE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PRICES TO SUIT LABOR PHONE 2-9111</p>
--	---

<p style="text-align: center;">MODEL LAUNDRY</p> <p>1465 KINGS AVE.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Quality and Service</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PHONES 5-2290—5-2291</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">THIS SPACE DONATED BY A FRIEND OF FIDDLERS</p>
---	---

Figure 4 Rules of Old Time Fiddlers' Contest, Jacksonville, 15 May 1930

Seaman's role as a fiddler shifted throughout his life. His earliest performances were at the frolics held in rural farmsteads. After he moved to Jacksonville in the 1920s, he continued to perform for dances, but he also performed in fiddle contests (see Figures 4, 5, and 6), on a radio program called *Uncle Josie's Farm*, and in new venues with string bands. By the 1940s, these venues included night clubs and country music shows. When his family band, the South Land Trail Riders, broke up by the end of the 1950s, he put his fiddle away and stopped playing. He kept his interest in music, however, throughout his life and began attending the Florida Folk Festival

PRIZES

FIDDLERS		HOG CALLERS	
First Prize	\$50.00	First Prize	\$15.00
Second Prize	\$35.00	Second Prize	\$10.00
Third Prize	\$5.00	Third to Eighth, Each	\$ 2.50
Fourth Prize	\$5.00		
Fifth Prize	\$10.00		
Sixth to Tenth, Each	\$ 5.00		

JUDGES

Taylor J. Harris, Mayor of South Jacksonville.
 Martin J. Williams, Mayor of Jacksonville Beach.
 Henry W. Roberts, President of Local Musicians Union 444.

**THE
 GOLDEN SIGN OF ELGIN**
 —and the—
GOLDEN RULE

is always found in the store of the Ethical Jeweler and there you can buy
 with confidence.

THIS STORE IS AN AUTHORIZED ELGIN DEALER

Join Our Grow A Diamond Club
Duval Jewelry Co.
 INC.

<p>113 Main Street</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">VOTE FOR LONNIE HOWELL</p> <p style="text-align: center;">For Re-election as COUNTY SOLICITOR "Good Service Should Be Rewarded"</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">JOHN G. TESTON</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2941 LACKAWANNA AVE.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">GENERAL MERCHANDISE MEAT MARKET</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Prices to Suit Conditions</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Lynch Building</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">BECKNER'S FILLING STATION</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2900 WEST BEAVER STREET TEXAS OIL AND GAS</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">OPEN DAY AND NIGHT</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">A. SAGER, INC.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">THE BEST IN USED CARS 12 YEARS SERVING JACKSONVILLE'S NEEDS IN DEPENDABLE TRANSPORTATION 529 WEST ADAMS ST. Phone 5-7065</p>
--	---

Figure 5 Prizes for Old Time Fiddlers' Contest, Jacksonville, 15 May 1930

in White Springs as his music became part of the folk music revival. Eventually, Jack Piccalo encouraged him to pick up his instrument once again, and folklorists found new places for him to play within educational programmes and folk festivals. These public programmes provided new contexts for his old-time tunes, and the folklorists' mediation of the programmes influenced his style of self-presentation and his ideas about the music. This performance demonstrates how he took some of the interests and interpretive approaches of folklorists and transformed them into

OLD TIME FIDDLERS' CONTEST
SQUARE DANCE
HOG CALLERS' CONTEST

DUVAL COUNTY ARMORY :: THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1930

FIDDLERS AND ORDER IN WHICH THEY WILL APPEAR

1. SHORTY EDWARDS, Jacksonville, Fla.	14. E. O. PURCELL, Pensacola, Fla.
2. ALBERT SALONA, St. Augustine, Fla.	15. MITCH HALLBROOK, Jacksonville, Fla.
3. M. B. DRURY, Jacksonville, Fla.	16. N. B. BROCK, Jacksonville, Fla.
4. JACK PITTS, Jacksonville, Fla.	17. MAX LEWIS, Jacksonville, Fla.
5. BROWARD GREEN, Lake City, Fla.	18. J. F. BENSON, Jacksonville, Fla.
6. EDGAR BRIGHTWELL, Jacksonville, Fla.	19. J. L. B. HUDGEN, Ocala, Fla.
7. C. F. MILTON, White Springs, Fla.	20. R. K. SEAMAN, Jacksonville, Fla.
8. H. S. KIRKWOOD, Jacksonville, Fla.	21. MCKINLEY CRISWELL, Gainesville, Fla.
9. TOM ACOSTA, Jacksonville, Fla.	22. J. M. MORROW, Palatka, Fla.
10. Z. S. BRADDOCK, Sanderson, Fla.	23. F. PAPPY, St. Augustine, Fla.
11. R. T. POWERS, St. Augustine, Fla.	24. F. L. MCKENDREE, Jacksonville, Fla.
12. SAILOR MARKEL, Jacksonville, Fla.	25. GLEN OSBORNE, Jacksonville, Fla.
13. A. D. KAISER, Palatka, Fla.	26. W. B. STOUGHTON, Jacksonville, Fla.

HOG CALLERS

F. RAYMOND OSTEEN, Jacksonville, Fla.
MARVIN OSTEEN, Jacksonville, Fla.
J. R. PRINGLE, Crawford, Fla.
W. H. GRIFFIN, Jacksonville, Fla.
LEWIS OSTEEN, Jacksonville, Fla.
J. J. MANNING, Maxwell, Fla.
J. J. PARRISH, Jacksonville, Fla.
CLEAT BROOKS, Jacksonville, Fla.

Figure 6 Contestants for Old Time Fiddlers' Contest, Jacksonville, 15 May 1930

elements of his stage patter. Influenced by folklorists to play his tunes and tell his tales on stage, Seaman transformed the stories into a vast resource for creating a context for his experiences as a fiddler.

To relate a sense of this context, Seaman drew from his vast resources and experiences as a performer and honed a character who played tunes and told tales at public folklore events. He drew from a repertoire of over thirty tall tales and one hundred fiddle tunes to cast himself as a witness to elements of Florida's social

history that have all but disappeared. In the festival performance, he carefully sets up a context for his music by situating his fiddle tunes in the community where he first learned them. He then transforms some of the folklorist's insistent questions into stage patter that he can use in his act. In response to the common folkloric question 'Who did you learn from?', Seaman shifts the more pedantic answer into a creative account of how he mastered a challenging instrument. By placing himself out on a stump in this story, Seaman told himself into Florida's tall tale tradition. Telling tales about sitting on stumps to practice, planting corn in rich soil, and rescuing cows from wells provides the fiddler with artistic resources to articulate relevant aspects of the significant past. Within this commemoration, their symbolic resonance parallels the appeal of the old ballads that remain resonant because they embody central values within a community's history.³⁷ Seaman's tall tales encapsulate the commonplace experiences of everyday life as they toy with the requisite values that are essential to living a neighbourly life as a Florida fiddler.

Blending the true artistry of his fiddling with the whimsical fantasy of the tall tale, Seaman's performance, itself, embodies elements of the practical joke. Just as his telling of tall tales includes clues for learning to separate the truth from the lie, his performance alerts his audience to the need to be a discerning listener. Recognizing that he cannot portray a complete representation of over ninety years of experience, Seaman uses his artistry to spark the imagination of his listeners into an engagement with his past.

Notes

¹ Wiley L. Housewright, *A History of Music and Dance in Florida: 1565–1865* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991), p. 294.

² Erynn Marshall, *Music in the Air Somewhere: The Shifting Borders of West Virginia's Fiddle and Song Traditions* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006), p. 180.

³ Gregory Hansen, 'In Memoriam: An Interview with J. Russell Reaver (1915–2002)', *Folklore Forum*, 35 (2004), 10–12.

⁴ This performance's transcription is from a video recording made on 23 May 1992 in White Springs, Florida. A section of this performance is included in Gregory Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler: The Life and Times of Richard Seaman* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), pp. 182–85.

⁵ The blending of tall tales into stage patter is evident in other fiddlers' performances, as Chris Goertzen notes in his analysis of the Mississippi State Fiddlers and Liars Contest, see Chris Goertzen, *Southern Fiddlers and Fiddle Contests* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2008), p. 58.

⁶ Roger D. Abrahams, 'Personal Power and Social Restraint in a Definition of Folklore', *Journal of American Folklore*, 84 (1977), 16–30 (p. 28).

⁷ Richard Bauman, 'Introduction: Story, Performance, and Event', in *Story, Performance, and Event: Contextual Studies of Oral Narrative*, by Richard Bauman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 3; Henry Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone: History and Culture of an Ulster Community* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), pp. 111 and 112; and Dell Hymes, 'Breakthrough into Performance', in *'In Vain I Tried to Tell You': Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*, by Dell Hymes (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), pp. 79–86.

⁸ Richard Bauman, 'Verbal Art as Performance', *American Anthropologist*, 77 (1975), 290–311 (p. 299). Kenneth Burke's rhetorical theory is a major influence on performance-centred approaches. Burke's

HANSEN *Pranking and tall tale telling within Florida's old-time fiddling tradition*

Dramatism and Development (Barre, MA: Clark University Press, 1972) is a good introduction to his key ideas.

⁹ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959; repr. edn, London: Penguin, 1990), p. 32.

¹⁰ Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 22.

¹¹ Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 23.

¹² Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 31.

¹³ Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 29.

¹⁴ Drew Beisswenger, *Fiddling Way Out Yonder: The Life and Music of Melvin Wine* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), p. 18; Joyce Cauthen, *With Fiddle and Well-Rosined Bow: A History of Old-Time Fiddling in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989), pp. 155–59; Wayne Erbsen, *Log Cabin Pioneers: Stories, Songs, and Sayings* (Asheville, NC: Native Ground Music, 2001), p. 58; Glassie, *Passing the Time*, pp. 148–50; Matthew Guntharp, *Learning the Fiddler's Ways* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), pp. 37 and 38; Kenner C. Karchner, *Frontier Fiddler: The Life of an Arizona Pioneer*, ed. by Larry V. Shumway (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990), pp. 234–36; Philip Martin, *Farmhouse Fiddlers: Music and Dance Traditions in the Rural Midwest* (Mount Horeb, WI: Midwest Traditions, 1994), pp. 43–60; Gerald Milnes, *Play of a Fiddle: Traditional Music, Dance, and Folklore of West Virginia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), pp. 113–18; and Jeff Todd Titon, *Old-Time Kentucky Fiddle Tunes* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), pp. 8–11.

¹⁵ Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 24.

¹⁶ Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, pp. 24 and 25.

¹⁷ Moira Smith, 'The Art of the Practical Joke', unpublished paper read at the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in Boise, Idaho, 2009, p. 2.

¹⁸ James P. Leary, 'The Boondocks Monster at Camp Wapehani', *Indiana Folklore*, 6 (1973), 174–90 (p. 181).

¹⁹ Patricia Sawin, *Listening for a Life: A Dialogic Ethnography of Bessie Eldreth Through Her Songs and Stories* (Logan: University of Logan Press, 2004), p. 136.

²⁰ Richard Tallman, 'A Generic Approach to the Practical Joke', *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 38 (1974), 259–74 (p. 264).

²¹ Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, pp. 170–72.

²² Kristin G. Congdon, *Uncle Monday and Other Tales* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), pp. 78–80; Stetson Kennedy, *Palmetto Country* (Tallahassee: Florida A & M University Press, 1942/1982), p. 25; Russell J. Reaver, *Florida Folktales* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1987), pp. 77–87.

²³ The stories are from Florida's oral tradition. Various motifs include (Baughman) Motif X1532: *Rich soil produces remarkable crop*; X1455: *Lies about corn*; X1411.1: *Large watermelon*; (Aarne-Thompson) D2156/2: *Miraculous increasing of milk from one cow*; and (Aarne-Thompson) *Tale Type 1960D: The great vegetable*. Additional tall tales from Seaman's repertoire and other variations of these stories from other performances can be found in Congdon, *Uncle Monday and Other Tales*, Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, and Gregory Hansen, 'The Relevance of "Authentic Tradition" in Studying an Oldtime Fiddler from Florida', *Southern Folklore*, 53 (1996), 67–89.

²⁴ Zora Neale Hurston, *Mules and Men* (New York: Harper and Row, 1935/1990), pp. 99–102.

²⁵ William M. Clements, 'Introduction', in *Arkansas Folklore Sourcebook*, ed. by W. K. McNeil and William M. Clements (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1992), pp. 1–30 (p. 17).

²⁶ Hymes, p. 87. *Metaphrasis* is a term used in performance theory to describe the creative transformation of genre. Typically it is used to describe verbal forms, such as the legend that can be transformed into another genre such as the joke, but it also can be applied to ways that musical genres also can shift into new forms.

²⁷ Bauman, *Story, Performance, Event*, pp. 20 and 36.

²⁸ Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 56.

Routes & Roots: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 4

²⁹ The tension between the fiddler as a central contributor to community life versus the fiddler as an outsider is explored in a number of books and articles. Ken Perlman's interpretation of the fiddler's role in Prince Edward Island, for example, shows that negative images of fiddlers were a prominent element in the image of their ethos, despite the reality that historically most fiddlers were productive members of their communities. See Ken Perlman, 'The Devil's Instrument Revisited: Prince Edward Island as a Case Study', in *Crossing Over: Fiddle and Dance Studies from around the North Atlantic 3*, ed. by Ian Russell and Anna Kearney Guigne (Aberdeen: Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, in association with the Department of Folklore, MMaP and the School of Music, Memorial University, Newfoundland, 2010), pp. 228–38.

³⁰ Paul Radin, *The Trickster: A Study in Native American Mythology* (New York: Schocken Books, 1956), p. ix; Carl G. Jung, 'On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure', trans. by R. F. C. Hull in *The Trickster*, pp. 184–88; and Barre Toelken, *The Anguish of Snails: Native American Folklore in the West* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003), p. 139.

³¹ Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, pp. 26–28.

³² Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, pp. 81 and 82.

³³ Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 47.

³⁴ Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 25.

³⁵ A commonly cited reference for the negative associations about Florida's dances within 'cracker communities' is the writing of George M. Barbour, see George M. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* (New York: D. Appleton, 1882), pp. 54–55. See also Hansen, *A Florida Fiddler*, p. 18.

³⁶ Milnes, pp. 119–21.

³⁷ Glassie, p. 688.