Encyclopedia of American Folk Art

GERARD C. WERTKIN, Editor

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Spencerian Birds; Lillian Hamm and her Students (dates for Lillian Hamm unknown); United States; c. 1850–1900. Watercolor on paper. 19½×18¼ in. © Collection American Folk Art Museum, New York, 1883.29.4.

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GERARD C.WERTKIN, EDITOR
LEE KOGAN, ASSOCIATE EDITOR

In association with the American Folk Art Museum

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COVER ART

Top Left:

Cow Jump Over the Mone (1978). Nellie Mae Rowe (1900–1982); Vinings, Cobb County, Georgia. Colored pencil, crayon, and pencil on paper; 19½×25¼ inches. Collection American Folk Art Museum, New York. Gift of Judith Alexander, 1997.10.1.

Bottom Left:

Bed rug (1803). Attributed to Deborah Leland Fairbanks (1739–1791) and unidentified family member; Littleton, Grafton County, New Hampshire. Wool; 101×96 inches. Collection American Folk Art Museum, New York. Promised gift of Cyril Irwin Nelson in honor of Joel and Kate Kopp, P1.1995.12.

Top Right:

Slipware Charger With Combed Decoration (c. 1800–1840).

Artist unidentified; Southeastern Pennsylvania. Glazed red earthenware; 2 ×15½ inches diameter. Collection American Folk Art Museum, New York. Promised gift of Ralph Esmerian, P1.2001.112.

Bottom Right:

Tigere (1977). Felipe Benito Archuleta (1910–1991); Tesuque, Santa Fe County, New Mexico. Paint and gesso on cottonwood with straw; 32½×71×17 inches. Collection American Folk Art Museum, New York. Gift of George H. Meyer, 2000.17.1.

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CONTENTS

LIST OF ENTRIES

C

M

P

S

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Editor

Gerard C.Wertkin has been director of the American Folk Art Museum in New York City since 1991, having previously served as assistant director of that institution for eleven years. He is an adjunct associate professor of art and art education at New York University where he teaches courses in the history of American folk art, religious traditions in American folk art, and the material culture of American communal groups. Recognized as an authority on the art and culture of the Shakers, he is the author of *The Four Seasons of Shaker Life* and *Millennial Dreams: Vision and Prophecy in American Folk Art.* His essays have been published in many books and catalogs and he is a regular contributor to the journal, *Folk Art.* In 1996, Wertkin received the Annual Award of Distinction of the Folk Art Society of America.

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Lee Kogan is director of the American Folk Art Museum's Folk Art Institute and curator of special projects for the museum's Contemporary Center. She is an adjunct assistant professor of art and art education at New York University where she teaches courses in American folk painting and contemporary self-taught artists. Kogan contributes articles regularly to *Folk Art, Raw Vision, Folk Art Messenger,* and *Alabama Folklife,* and has written several books on American folk art, including studies of Nellie Mae Rowe and Jacob Kass.

Contributors

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Brooke Davis Anderson has been director and curator of The Contemporary Center of the American Folk Art Museum in New York since 1999, following seven years as director of the Diggs Gallery at Winston-Salem State University in North Carolina, where she also held an appointment as assistant professor of art. At the American Folk Art Museum Anderson has organized several exhibitions, including "Darger: The Henry Darger Collection of the American Folk Art Museum." She holds an M.A. degree in American folk art studies from New York University.

Paul Arnett, an art historian, has been co-curator of The Arnett Collection in Atlanta for fourteen years. A recognized authority on the work of Southern vernacular artists, he served as co-editor of *Souls Grown Deep: African American Vernacular Art of the South* and was a contributor to *The Quilts of Gee's Bend,* among other publications.

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Lois Avigad earned an M.A. degree in American folk art studies at New York University and has published essays in several publications, including *Folk Art.* She is preparing a biography and *catalogue raisonné* of the work of the artist Ruth Henshaw Bascom.

John Beardsley, an independent curator, is senior lecturer in landscape architecture at Harvard University Graduate School of Design. The recipient of fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation, the Graham Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Arts, he was co-curator of "Black Folk Art in America, 1930–1980" and "Hispanic Art in the United States: Thirty Contemporary Painters and Sculptors." An authority on the idiosyncratic environments of visionary artists, he is the author of *Gardens of Revelation: Environments by Visionary Artists* and *Earthworks and Beyond: Contemporary Art in the Landscape.*

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Avis Berman, who heads the oral history program of the Archives of American Art in New York, is an independent writer and critic in the arts. She has published many books and essays, including *Rebels on Eighth Street: Juliana Force and the Whitney Museum of American Art* and is a contributor to *Elie Nadelman: Classic Folk.*

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Jenifer P.Borum has an M.A. degree in art history and criticism from the State University of New York at Stony Brook and is a Ph.D. candidate in art history at The Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York, where the working title of her dissertation topic is "Concerning the Spiritual in Art: The Significance of Self-Taught Visionary Artists and Their Work." She frequently contributes articles and reviews on folk art topics to *Folk Art and Raw Vision.* She has taught courses on folk art at SUNY Stony Brook and the Folk Art Institute of the American Folk Art Museum in New York.

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William F.Brooks Jr. is an independent scholar and a research and curatorial consultant in the field of American folk art. He received his master's degree in American folk art studies from New York University. He is the former executive director of the Frog Hollow Vermont State Craft Center and his research has assisted Intuit: the Center for Intuitive and Outsider Art in Chicago, El Museo del Barrio (New York), the American Folk Art Museum, the National Gallery of Art, and the Shelburne Museum.

David H.Brown is visiting fellow at Harvard University at the Afro-American Studies Center and an expert on Santería, a subject on which he has published many books and essays. The holder of a Ph.D. degree, Brown is the author of *Santería Enthroned: Art, Ritual and Innovation in an Afro-Cuban Religion.*

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Mia Fineman has a Ph.D. in art history from Yale University and is a research associate in the department of photographs at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. She is author of *Other Pictures, Anonymous Photographs from the Collection of Thomas Walther* and curator of the exhibition of the same title at the Metropolitan Museum organized in 2000.

Tobin Fraley is an expert on carousel art. He owned and operated a restoration company for carousel figures and has written many books on the topic including *The Carousel Animal* and *The Great American Carousel.*

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Jane Kallir, an art historian, has served as curator of exhibitions at museums in the United States and abroad, including "Egon Schiele" at the National Gallery of Art and "Masters of Naïve Art," which traveled to four museums in Japan. Among her numerous publications are *Grandma Moses: The Artist Behind the Myth* and *The Folk Art Tradition: Naïve Painting in Europe and the United States.*

Helen Kellogg, an independent scholar, compiled information that identified the husband-and-wife team of Samuel Addison Shute and Ruth Whittier Shute as the artists of an important group of New England watercolor portraits. She was a contributor to *American Folk Painters of Three Centuries* and *American Radiance: The Ralph Esmerian Gift to the American Folk Art Museum.*

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George H.Meyer is a collector of American folk art, particularly walking sticks, figural pottery, and other three-dimensional folk art. He is a long-standing trustee of the American Folk Art Museum and president of the American Folk Art Society. In addition to lecturing and writing articles on folk art topics, Meyer has written two books: *Folk Artists Biographical Index and American Folk Art Canes: Personal Sculpture.*

Richard Miller is former associate curator and curator of sculpture and decorative arts at The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum and is a lecturer on various topics relating to folk art. He has contributed to catalogs on the folk art collections of the New York State Historical Association (Cooperstown, New York) and the National Gallery of Art. He is a contributor to *The Encyclopedia of New England Culture* and writes articles on American folk and decorative arts regularly for *The Magazine Antiques* and *American Furniture.*

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Charlotte Emans Moore earned an M.A. degree in folk art studies from New York University and is completing her Ph.D. in the American and New England studies program at Boston University. An expert in American folk portraiture, she was co-author of *Folk Art's Many Faces: Portraits in the New York State Historical Association* and *A Window into Collecting: The Edward Duff Balken Collection at Princeton,* among other publications.

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Carmella Padilla, an independent writer, has been published extensively in the field of Hispanic art and culture in northern New Mexico. From 1991 to 1997, she was a member of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society's board of directors. The Historical Society of New Mexico has awarded her its Ralph Emerson Twitchell Award for significant contributions to history. Among her publications are *Conexiones: Connections in Spanish Colonial Art; Spanish New Mexico: The Spanish Colonial Arts Society Collection;* and *Cuando Hablan Los Santos: Contemporary Santero Traditions from Northern New Mexico.*

Tom Patterson is an expert on contemporary self-taught artists. He is a freelance writer, critic, editor, and independent curator. He has written more than one hundred articles and critical essays on self-taught artists that have appeared in *ARTnews, Folk Art, Raw Vision,* and other magazines. He is the author of *St. EOM in The Land of Pasaquan* (1987), *Howard Finster, Stranger from Another World* (1989), *Reclamation and Transformation: Three Self-Taught Chicago Artists (l994),* and *Contemporary American Folk Art: Treasures from the Smith-sonian American Art Museum* (2001).

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INTRODUCTION

The *Encyclopedia of American Folk Art* is intended as a resource for researchers in American folk art and the categories of artistic endeavor that have become associated with it in recent decades through patterns of institutional collecting, museum exhibitions, and related publications and programs. As such it provides basic information about the American visual art forms that are variously described as "folk art" or as "non-academic," "naïve," "self-taught," "vernacular," "visionary," or "outsider" art. The proliferation of these terms, to which others might justifiably be added, demonstrates an ongoing struggle for precision and clarity in an aesthetic terrain that remains remarkably resistant to definition. It is also evidence of the growth of the field, the shifting nature of its parameters, and the passionate engagement of its participants.

Folk art is increasingly recognized as a vital element in the cultural history of the United States, but it remains a contested expression. Art historians, museum curators, folklorists, and cultural anthropologists assign varying discipline-based meanings to it. Divergent categories of cultural production are comprehended by its usage in Europe, where the term originated, and in the United States, where it developed for the most part along very different lines. Within the field, some American museums and organizations that emphasize the work of contemporary "self-taught" or "outsider" artists in their missions and programs use the expression "folk art" as an umbrella term, while other institutions reserve the expression for more traditional works of art. Not insignificantly, the politics of the marketplace have had an impact on the development of terminology in the field, with the use of "folk art" and other words moving in and out of fashion as a result of trends in buying and selling.

In compiling the *Encyclopedia of American Folk Art,* its editors and contributors have taken a broadbased approach to the subject. Many of us have ad hered to the art historical perspective generally in place in American museums, but other viewpoints are represented, as well. Altogether 607 topical entries are explored. Intended for scholars, students, collectors and the general public, the encyclopedia offers for the first time in one volume quick and convenient access to a remarkably diverse body of information drawn from three centuries of American folk creativity in the visual arts.

A Brief History

To understand folk art requires some familiarity with the conflicting approaches to the subject and its definitions, beginning with the genesis of the term itself. It was in late nineteenth-century Europe that the very notion of folk art as a field was first articulated and where the ideas that shaped the subject first arose. Surprisingly, these significant antecedents to the scholarship of American folk art are rarely referred to in American studies of the field. Nevertheless, European ideas continue to have an impact on the way American folk art is classified and studied today.

The great Paris *Exposition Universelle* of 1878— with sixteen million visitors, the world's largest world's fair until then— was a watershed in the early history of the field. Artur Hazelius, who had assembled the comprehensive folk art collection of the Nordiska Museum in Stockholm beginning in 1872, exhibited a collection of Scandinavian folk objects at the Paris fair. Another Scandinavian pioneer, Bernard Olsen, founder of the Danish Folk Museum, visited Hazelius's display, and later exclaimed that it represented the emergence of an entirely new idea. The presentation of these objects was a "fresh museum

concept," Olsen observed, associated with a "class" whose life and activities previously had been disregarded "by the traditional and official view of what was significant to scholarship and culture."

Olsen's reference to class is noteworthy because it provides a key to an understanding of the term "folk art" as it was first articulated in Europe. For European scholars, folk art is generally identified with the peasant class: rural communities with a deep connection to place, the members of which are bound together by ties of kinship, ethnicity, religious faith, common agrarian life patterns, and inherited or received traditions in the arts. Folk art, according to this view, is conservative in expression and local or regional in character; it is created within a communal environment, and its techniques are transmitted from generation to generation within small, related groups. In contrast to the machine-made products of mass culture, folk artists use simple, often handmade, tools, manual techniques, and readily available materials.

The developing ideas about folk art, with their emphasis on time-honored local traditions; continuity through the passage of years of cultural forms, ornamental patterns, and symbolic references; and the integrity of hand craftsmanship were consistent with the spirit of nineteenth-century European romantic nationalism and became significant in the quest for national identity. The authentic national culture was seen as residing in the countryside, away from the polluting influence of the cities, which had absorbed foreign ideas and ways of life. Folk art became a powerful symbol of the national soul.

Ernst Schlee, in his comprehensive study of German folk art, refers to an almanac that was published in 1845 to promote German nationalism in certain German-speaking territories then under Danish rule. The volume contains an essay on *Schnitzkunst* or the art of woodcarving. Its author argued that with an "awakening national awareness," the artistic element in "the spirit of our people" should be developed. He praises woodcarving as an art form "rooted in the soil of the fatherland, an instructive, holy art, in the true sense of the word, a *Volkskunst* [folk art]." He further argues that it is "in the nature of art that it does not belong…to the upper classes only."

If the use of the term *Volkskunst* is recorded as early as 1845, the subject itself was not more fully elucidated until much later in the century, with the work of art historians like the Austrian Alois Riegl, whose important *Volkskunst, Hausfleiss und Hausindustrie* was published in Berlin in 1894. Romantic nationalists had used folk art to help underpin the argument for distinct national identities in the second half of the nineteenth century, emphasizing its shared, tradition-bound nature, and occasionally the-orizing about a mystical, collective creativity, in which the identity of the individual artist was lost in communal anonymity. Riegl, on the other hand, stressed that the individual hand and intentions of the artist were significant, even in folk creativity. To be sure, the artist may have been obliged by group expectations to work within the norms of transmitted forms and conventions, but individual creativity-which implied personal aesthetic choices and technical virtuositysaved received or inherited traditions from stagnating and permitted them to be renewed in each generation.

By the end of the nineteenth century, a vast descriptive and theoretical literature existed in Europe devoted to the field of folk art, much of it unknown to American scholarship on the subject even to this day. In this literature, folk art is considered either from the perspective of art history or ethnography, or both. (The former, for example, might typically trace the relationship of folk ornament to earlier styles in "high art" or elite culture; the latter the symbolic role of a folk object in a specific peasant culture.) A wide variety of objects in various media had been collected, described, and analyzed: ceremonial or regional dress and articles of personal adornment, ceramic or wooden vessels, painted furniture and household decoration, ritual or symbolic objects, woodcarvings, woven and embroidered textiles, decorated Easter eggs, among many other forms. Moreover, museums from Ukraine to Norway had been established on the model of Skansen, the influential outdoor Swedish museum in Djurgården of vernacular culture that Artur Hazelius founded in 1891.

If anything, the advent of the twentieth century only accelerated the interest in folk art. In 1928, the first Folk Art Congress met in Prague. By 1932 it was estimated that there were 2,000 local folk art museums in Germany alone. Ironically, as the European interest in the subject began to grow, the production of folk art in Europe entered a period of sustained decline, the result of changing social conditions, mechanization, industrialization, education, emigration, and the consequent loss of traditional village life.

The Roots of American Folk Art

The interest in American folk art may be traced to the celebration of the nation's centennial in 1876, which helped awaken a widespread interest in American local history, genealogy, and material culture and spurred the Colonial Revival. It also fostered the establishment of hundreds of historical societies in small towns and villages throughout the country and the antiquarian pursuit and collection of objects— some of which would later be characterized as folk art—that were especially relevant to the history of their respective regions and the people who resided there. Before the end of the nineteenth century, pioneers like Henry Chapman Mercer in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, had begun the methodical collection, classification and preservation of the everyday objects of early American life, approaching this endeavor from an anthropological rather than an aesthetic purview. Another Pennsylvanian, Edwin Atlee Barber, acquired folk pottery and fraktur for the Philadelphia Museum of Art in the 1890s, recognizing these Pennsylvania German objects as works of art.

Although these trailblazing efforts were highly significant to the development of the field, American folk art was not collected in earnest *as art* until the 1910s and 1920s, independently of the earlier European interest in the subject. European ideas about folk art, however, continued to affect American thinking, especially in the academic disciplines of folklore, folklife studies and cultural anthropology. Moreover, various forms of folk art were brought to the United States by recent immigrants or created, studied, and exhibited here. Between 1919 and 1932, for example, a series of popular exhibitions of immigrant arts and crafts, as described by Allen H. Eaton in *Immigrant Gifts to American Life* (1932), was presented to large audiences throughout the country.

Almost from the start, however, the collection, study, and exhibition of folk art in America took a radically different direction. At least in part this was because the social conditions supporting the creation of folk art in Europe did not exist in North America, except in relatively closed groups with fully integrated cultural traditions. Notable examples of these in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the Pennsylvania German farming communities of southeastern Pennsylvania and the Hispanic villages of northern New Mexico.

The perspective through which many Americans came to know the field was defined by Holger Cahill, curator of several of the first exhibitions devoted to the subject in the United States. In a 1931 essay in *The American Mercury,* Cahill—who had visited folk art museums in Germany and Scandinavia—demonstrated how dissimilar his conception of the subject was by comparison to the earlier, European ideas. "Folk art," he wrote, "does not include the work of craftsmen-omakers of furniture, pottery, textiles, glass, and silverware—but only that folk expression which comes under the head of the fine arts—painting and sculpture. By 'folk art' is meant art which is produced by people who have little book learning in art techniques and no academic training, whose work is not related to the established schools." This is not to suggest, however, that such creative endeavors were not without substantial aesthetic merit. "Much of it," Cahill observed, "was made by men who were artists by nature, if not by training, and everything they had to say in painting and sculpture is interesting."

As against the emphasis on *tradition* and *community* that prevailed in Europe (an emphasis, incidentally, that is accepted by American folklorists, although with expanded parameters that substantially extend the original narrow class-based focus of the terms), Cahill chose for his model an "aesthetic" or "fine arts" approach and stressed instead *the nature of the artist's training.* Through this approach, which to a considerable extent guides the field to this day, American folk art embraces many, generally unrelated, artistic expressions that flourish among gifted individuals who are inspired to create, but for the most part without formal academic training or sustained exposure to the fine arts. As understood by Cahill and his followers, folk artists may draw deeply from the wellsprings of community tradition or may be idiosyncratic in their creativity. Their paintings are often distinguished by deceptively simple but remarkably sophisticated and stylized compositions, flat picture planes and tonalities, and a tendency toward abstraction. Folk sculpture, often direct and vigorous, shares similar aesthetic qualities.

Cahill's exhibitions "American Primitives: An Exhibit of the Paintings of Nineteenth Century Folk Artists" (The Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey, 1930–1931); "American Folk Sculpture: The Work of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Craftsmen" (The Newark Museum, 1931–1932); and "American Folk Art: The Art of the Common Man in America, 1750–1900" (The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1932) established a pattern that would influence American thinking on the subject to the beginning of the twenty-first century. Unlike the categories of objects that Hazelius showed in Paris, Cahill exhibited portraits of prosperous nineteenth-century merchants and farmers and their families by itinerant professional painters, landscape and still-life paintings by young women in seminaries, weathervanes, ship figureheads, shop figures, tavern signs, wildfowl decoys, and other objects. Some of these objects were produced in small shops by trained artisans; others represented the work of talented amateurs. Some were utilitarian in nature, while others were examples of pure fancy. Folk art, according to this view, was not necessarily rural in origin, and it clearly cut across class lines, often developing from earlier, provincial adaptations of urban style. Indeed, if any class was predominantly represented in the field, it was the middle class. In one sense, however, Cahill and the Europeans agreed. For the most part, they reasoned, folk art was a thing of the past. Having reached its full flowering in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, its production declined as a result of industrialization, mass communication, and the impact of popular culture.

It should be acknowledged here that neither Cahill nor the early collectors of American folk art ever articulated clear or comprehensive parameters for the field that they had helped establish. In fact, these parameters were flexible enough eventually to admit the very kinds of objects—pottery, quilts, hooked rugs and other textiles, furniture, and other objects from craft traditions—that Cahill originally rejected. (In these categories, the creator transforms an everyday object into a work of art through the highly skillful and inventive use of materials, the application of imaginative surface decoration or other non-utilitarian features of an aesthetic character, and excellence in form and design.) Nor did they generally attempt to understand folk art in the context in which it was created. Many of these collectors were themselves artists who were seeking, in the years following the influential 1913 Armory Show in New York, a paradigm for a new American art, with freedom from the conventions of the academy. For these modernists, folk art—by definition "non-academic" in nature—represented something of the free spirit of America itself.

Among the artists who collected American folk art early in the twentieth century and helped shape the field as it came to be developed in the United States, were several painters and sculptors who spent summers in Ogunquit, Maine, at an artist's colony and school established in 1913 by Hamilton Easter Field. A painter, critic, and teacher, Field was an influential proponent of modern art through his published essays, the gallery that he operated in his home in Brooklyn, and *The Arts,* a brief-lived journal of art criticism that he inaugurated in 1920. Modernism helped open the doors to an appreciation of American folk art in the 1920s and 1930s. Many of the institutions and individuals—artists, collectors, curators, dealers—who figure prominently in the development of modern art have significant places in the field of American folk art as well.

A History of Collecting

The artists associated with Field included Robert Laurent, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Niles Spencer, and William Zorach, all recognized today as prominent modernists. They decorated the fishing shacks in which they spent the summer in Ogunquit with examples of folk art that they collected. Some of them lent objects from their collections to such pioneering exhibitions as Cahill's Newark Museum shows and "Early American Art," an even earlier presentation at New York's Whitney Studio Club that the painter Henry Schnackenberg organized in 1924 with the support of Whitney director Juliana Force. Marsden Hartley, Charles Sheeler, and Elie Nadelman were among other important American artists whose work was influenced by their exposure to American folk art. In fact, Nadelman, an immigrant from Poland, and his wife, Viola, established in 1926—in their home in Riverdale, the Bronx (New York City)—the first museum in the United States devoted wholly to the subject. As opposed to the art of the academy, the modernists considered folk art as direct, free from the constraints and posturing of academic realism, and, above all, authentic. Indeed, much of this early interest in folk art may be understood as a quest for authenticity, an effort to recover truths deemed lost in social conventions and cultural forms. On a parallel track with the European artists of the period whose experiments with primitivism transformed the very nature of their artistic expression, American modernists found a basis for their own creativity in folk painting and sculpture.

It would be impossible to consider the developing appreciation for American folk art without recognizing the pivotal role played by Edith Gregor Halpert, who opened her influential Downtown Gallery in New York after a period of residence in Ogunquit in the summer of 1925 with her husband, the painter Sam Halpert. Field had died in 1922, but Laurent, his heir, introduced the Halperts to folk art, and they in turn brought it to the attention of Cahill, who visited Ogunquit with them the following year. By 1929, Edith Gregor Halpert was selling eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American folk paintings and sculpture in her gallery together with the avant-garde work of contemporary artists. She sold to Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, one of the founders of New York's Museum of Modern Art, many of the important works of American folk art that today form the core of the collection at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum at The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in Williamsburg, Virginia. Many other prominent private and institutional collections were built with Halpert's assistance.

As observed previously in this essay, little if any attention was paid in Cahill's and other early exhibitions to the contexts in which the objects on display were created. On the contrary, folk paintings, sculp ture, and other objects were considered strictly on aesthetic grounds, depriving them of their place in history and culture. (Eaton's exhibitions of immigrant arts and crafts were notable exceptions.) In part, this approach resulted from the newness of the field and the fact that virtually no contextual research had yet been undertaken. In the decades following these early efforts, however, American folk art became institutionalized. The establishment of Electra Havemeyer Webb's Shelburne Museum in Vermont in 1947; the purchase in 1950 of the American folk art collection of Howard and Jean Lipman by Stephen Clark for the New York State Historical Association in Cooperstown, New York; the installation of the Rockefeller collection at Williamsburg in 1957; and the founding of the American Folk Art Museum in New York (then the Museum of Early American Folk Arts) in 1961 not only meant that the public had access on a regular basis to exhibitions of American folk art, but that research in the field would be encouraged.

As more became known about the richly gifted artisans and amateurs who produced works that previously were seen as anonymous, the full diversity of the contexts in which they created, their widely varied sources and techniques, the disparate methods of transmission and training, and the differing community traditions that they represented, the very notion of American folk art as a coherent field was questioned. A highly charged literature, sometimes rancorous in nature, developed in the last quarter of the century over issues of classification and terminology, some theorists holding more closely to European ideas about folk art. The debate was all the more frustrating because its participants often were not speaking about the same categories of cultural production.

Notwithstanding the raging of these debates, the proponents of American folk art continued to collect, study, and exhibit the objects comprising the field, however arbitrary the classification occasionally appeared, confident that these objects deserved the consideration accorded to mainstream art. As an increasingly reliable body of information was developed, it became clear that the field, however diverse and elusive its definitions, had shed light on a highly important aspect of the American heritage and warranted the serious consideration of scholars.

A History of Terminology

The advent of the 1960s and 1970s brought new challenges to the scholarship of American folk art. The term increasingly was used to refer to the paintings, sculpture, and built environments of contemporary self-taught artists, although previously it had been generally accepted that folk art belonged to the past. Collector, curator, and tastemaker Herbert W. Hemphill Jr. used the expression in his "TwentiethCentury American Folk Art and Artists," an exhibition with wide-ranging parameters and influence at New York's American Folk Art Museum (then the Museum of American Folk Art) in 1970. Although Hemphill and others recognized that this usage substantially extended the scope of the subject, it continued to enjoy broad-based, if occasionally begrudging, institutional and popular acceptance in the United States to the end of the twentieth century and beyond. Thus "folk art" was the term chosen to describe Hemphill's eclectic collection when it was acquired by the Smithsonian American Art Museum in 1986; the term was used by the Milwaukee Art Museum to refer to the collection of Michael and Julie Hall, an assemblage similarly rich in twentieth-century materials acquired by that museum in 1989; and the curatorial department of American folk art at the High Museum of Art in Atlanta uses the expression in its departmental title despite its clear emphasis on the work of contemporary self-taught artists.

In Europe, however, a clear distinction was drawn between folk art—which continued to be understood as class-based and tradition-bound—and "naïve art." This expression had been used to describe the paintings of Henri Rousseau, whose work was exhibited for the first time in 1886 in the Salon des Independants in Paris, and other self-taught artists like him. "Naïve art" continues to be the term most commonly used in Europe for self-taught artists today. Interestingly, the distinguished collectors of eighteenth- and nineteenth- century American folk art, Edgar and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch, chose to use the term "naïve art" to describe their collection; this usage has been maintained by the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., where the core of their collection now is housed.

The proponents of other concepts and categories competed for recognition during the late twentieth century. "Outsider art" was the name Roger Cardinal's publishers gave to his 1972 study of *art brut,* a concept that "embraces not only the art of the clinically insane but also other artists of an authentically untutored, original, and extra-cultural nature." This category of artistic expression was originated by the painter Jean Dubuffet, who founded the *Compagnie de l'Art Brut* in France in 1948. For Dubuffet, mainstream art had become a repetitive cultural exercise. He saw in *art brut* ("raw art") an unmediated expres sion of creativity: spontaneous and uncompromising. The term "outsider art" is now in use by at least one American institution—Intuit: the Center for Outsider and Intuitive Art in Chicago.

Although it is difficult to imagine the use of two such dissonant terms to describe the same artists and their work, this is precisely what occurred in the United States in the last two or three decades. The two expressions, after all, do share similarities in meaning; as expressions they are less parallel in nature than convergent. As we have seen, both terms refer to art created outside the institutional structures of the art world by individuals without academic training or sustained exposure to the fine arts. Hemphill had already opened the doors to the idea that the work of idiosyncratic self-taught artists could be contextualized as folk art, and "outsiders"—persons living in isolation or at society's margins—had been included in his exhibitions and publications.

The field was able to absorb this enlarged purview at least in part because of advances in the understanding of American folk art itself. Cahill's Newark exhibitions, in keeping with the thinking of the day, tended to characterize folk art as anonymous, as if the individual hand and intentions of the artist were beside the point. In the following decades, however, researchers had identified scores of American artists. As a result, it was possible to discern visual, contextual, methodological, thematic, and other continuities, if not direct lines of transmittal, between the earlier artists and those who worked in the twentieth (and now twenty-first) centuries, including artists described as "outsiders." To be sure, some of these continuities were accidental, rather than related to the essence of the art or its production, but sufficient similarities existed to provide a basis for considering this work together.

Increasingly, distinctions are being drawn between folk art, on the one hand, and such categories as outsider art, although they remain connected in most institutions. In fact, when the surface is scratched, the full complexity of each artist and his or her work becomes apparent. Facile and narrow labels that reduce the creative spirit to a single dimension are of little significance in the long run, especially when they obscure the multiplicity of intentions, ideas, meanings, influences, connections, and references inherent in every work of art. Whatever nomenclature is used, the art and artists presented in this reference work are essential to an understanding of the American experience in its fullness.

Scope of the Encyclopedia

The *Encydopedia of American Folk Art* is not intended to be fully comprehensive in scope. Rather it has been designed to provide a representative but detailed sample of relevant subjects through capsule biographies and thumbnail sketches. The entries, which together cover over three centuries, address three broad areas: persons, institutions, and subjects of topical

interest. The extensive use of crossreferences demonstrates the interconnectedness of the entries and will suggest additional areas for research to the user. Bibliographies are provided to suggest other sources of information, and entries on major repositories of American folk art will offer further leads. Finally, the comprehensive index will provide access to information that may be found throughout this volume, even when it is not the principal subject of the entry.

Newcomers to the field may appropriately question the relative want of Native American topics in this reference work. In general, research and collecting patterns in American folk art developed independently from those of traditional American Indian art, and for the most part the two subjects do not share institutional homes, specialists or bodies of scholarly literature. (It is interesting, and perhaps not surprising, however, to observe that avant-garde modernists, with their enthusiasm for primitivism, collected and contextualized both American folk art and Native American art *as art* early in the early twentieth century.) While recognizing that Native American art is outside the scope of this volume, the editors nevertheless have elected to include a general entry on the subject and several specialized entries on topics that represent a fusion of Native and non-Native cultural influences, such as ledger drawings.

Artists and subjects have been selected for inclusion in the *Encyclopedia of American Folk Art* because of their general significance to the field, but the editors recognize that other specialists might well have chosen differently. The emphasis here is on artists, collectors, and others who have achieved widespread recognition, but relatively few living persons have been included. Given limitations in the size of this volume, it was thought appropriate to restrict the numbers of living subjects. The approach tends to be art historical rather than ethnographic or folkloristic, but these perspectives are also represented. Had the work been approached as a whole from the purview of another academic discipline, the contents of this book would have been substantially different. Nevertheless the editors hope that the information provided in the encyclopedia will be of benefit to a wide range of inquiry. It was intriguing to observe the diversity of the entries—in content, approach, and style—as they arrived for inclusion in this volume. It is our hope that readers will share our enthusiasm for the absorbing process of discovery that the compilation of the *Encyclopedia of American Folk Art* represented.

Although the *Encyclopedia of American Folk Art* is the first encyclopedic reference work to approach the subject as a whole, valuable resources have been published that provide access to aspects of the subject. For many years, George C.Groce and David H.Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564–1860* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1957) has been a useful guide to America's early artists. Its brief entries and bibliographical references include artists of interest to the field of American folk art. For "naïve artists"—as that term is used in Europe—Oto Bihalji-Merin and Nebojsa-Bato Tomasevic, *World Encyclopedia of Naïve Art* (Secaucus, New Jersey, 1984) provides a colorful introduction. George H.Meyer, *Folk Artists Biographical Index* (Detroit, Michigan, 1987), which covers more American folk artists than any other compilation, does not contain entries of its own; rather it helpfully refers the reader to over two hundred sources of published information about the indexed artists. Especially valuable for its comprehensive coverage of 257 artists and widely acknowledged for the significant original research and fieldwork of its authors, Chuck and Jan Rosenak, *Museum of American Folk Art Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century American Folk Art and Artists* (New York, 1990) is a pioneering work that remains an important resource. Another book by the same authors, Chuck and Jan Rosenak, *Contemporary American Folk Art: A Collector's Guide* (New York, 1996), while written from another perspective, contains detailed information about many artists not included in the first work, together with useful references to museum collections. More recently, Betty-Carol Sellen with Cynthia J. Johanson, *Self-Taught, Outsider, and Folk Art: A Guide to American Artists, Locations and Resources* (Jefferson, North Carolina, 2000) and *Outsider, SelfTaught, and Folk Art Annotated Bibliography: Publications and Films of the 20th Century* (Jefferson, North Carolina, 2002) offer much helpful data.

The compilation of information represented by this volume was accomplished by ninety-two specialists, including many distinguished scholars with impressive credentials in their respective fields of study and a talented group of newer students, who brought their own fresh perspectives to their entries. I am deeply grateful to all the contributors; their commitment to sharing the results of their research and their enthusiastic dedication to their subjects have truly animated the *Encyclopedia of American Folk Art.* I am especially beholden to my colleague, Lee Kogan, director of the Folk Art Institute, an educational arm of the American Folk Art Museum, and curator of special projects for that institution's Contemporary Center. Kogan, who served as associate editor of the encyclopedia, was my partner in every respect of the word. In addition to writing ninety-five entries of her own, she provided wise counsel and advice at every step of the project's development. She also assembled most of the illustrations that bring a striking visual dimension to the pages of this book. Paul S. D'Ambrosio, chief curator of the New York State Historical Association at Cooperstown, a contributor to this volume, kindly read its whole text. His critical comments and other suggestions were important to the realization of our goals. My gratitude to him is deeply felt and abiding. My warm appreciation is also due to Cynthia Parzych and John Turner, who first proposed the project to me, helped shape the book, and administered its development with aplomb and dedication. Final acknowledgments go to the publisher, Routledge, New York, an imprint of Taylor and Francis, London. The team at Routledge's reference department who diligently brought this book to fruition include Sylvia Miller, publishing director; Kate Aker, director of development; and

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Gerard C.Wertkin, Director
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Lee Kogan, Director
Folk Art Institute/Center of Special Projects
for the Contemporary Center

A

AARON, JESSE J. (1887–1979) was a woodcarver of mixed descent (African American, European, and Seminole) who took up art in his eighth decade. The origins of the creative process are often ambiguous and baffling, but for Aaron they were clear and unmistakable: "Carve wood" were the words he heard at three in the morning in 1968, during a period when his wife, Lee Anna, was losing her eyesight. Compelled by a higher power to make art, the former cook, cabinetmaker, and nurseryman quickly became an accomplished carver of cedar rescued from the swamps and marginal terrain near his Gainesville, Florida, home. The income he earned during his first year of carving helped pay for an operation he credited with saving Lee Anna's vision.

Trees on the boundaries of Aaron's property were his first artworks; the faces carved into the wood changed and became distorted slightly as their living hosts added rings. Aaron gradually converted his side yard into a "museum" filled with freestanding carvings, ranging from a foot or so to seven feet tall, that he offered for sale. Aaron's artwork is part of a continuum, encompassing the work of conventional African American carvers such as Elijah Pierce and Ulysses Davis, and "root sculptors" such as Bessie Harvey and Ralph Griffin. Artists devoted to a single medium, especially wood, often develop an almost preternatural attachment to the act of identifying and selecting their raw material. Aaron preferred to salvage wood himself; the carving was virtually a translation of existing forms, or a negotiation between the natural world and his vision. By the mid-1970s his health began to fail, however, and he relied increasingly on having wood brought to him.

As with many sculptors of found wood, Aaron's subjects tend to be people and animals. Occasionally, hints of social observation and commentary appear, as in a carving of a sheriff restraining a chained, brown prisoner, but most of Aaron's efforts are true to their generally untitled status. Sometimes they are painted and embellished with other found materials, such as hats, jewelry, dolls' eyes, and antlers. Their formal strength emerges through a mixing of the cedar's prior textures and volumes with a virtuoso blunt carving style that can resemble brushstrokes. The tension between sinuousness and brutal technique lends classic Aaron sculptures an expressionist pathos that is both tender and anguished. Often the works are stiff and frontal, hallmarks of their former existence as stumps or limbs, but their powerful, semaphore-like movements pulse inside skins as complex as their maker's.

See also **African American Folk Art (Vernacular Art); Ulysses Davis; Bessie Harvey; Elijah Pierce; Sculpture, Folk**.

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PAUL ARNETT

ABBY ALDRICH ROCKEFELLER FOLK ART MUSEUM is built around the important American folk art collection of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (1874–1948), the wife of John D.Rockefeller Jr. (1874–1960). Rockefeller's husband funded the restoration of Virginia's colonial capital, and the museum is one of five that compose Colonial Williamsburg. In 1935, Rockefeller loaned a portion of her collection to Colonial Williamsburg for exhibition in the Ludwell-Paradise House, an eighteenth-century building; she donated those objects to Colonial Williamsburg in 1939. The collection remained on exhibit in the Ludwell-Paradise House until 1956.

Two years earlier, Colonial Williamsburg had announced plans to construct a new museum bearing Rockefeller's name. With the support of David Rockefeller (1915–), Mrs. Rockefeller's son, fifty-four examples of folk art that she had given in 1939 to the Museum of Modern Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art were reunited with the collection in Williams-burg. Funded by John D.Rockefeller Jr., with Nina Fletcher Little (1903–1993) serving as consultant and writing a catalog for the collection, the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection opened to the public in May 1957.

The four hundred and twenty four objects collected by Abby Rockefeller between 1929 and 1942 remain the foundation of the museum's collection, which nevertheless was envisioned to be expandable from the outset. In the museum's first year of operation, with the acquisition of the folk art collection assembled by J.Stuart Halladay (dates unknown) and Herrel G. Thomas (dates unknown), as well as objects acquired from Holger Cahill (1887–1960), Edith Gregor Halpert (1900–1970), and Mrs. John Law Robertson (dates unknown), the collection rapidly grew. Works from all regions of the United States and objects dating from the early eighteenth century to the present day are now represented in a collection of more than 3,000 objects. Particular strengths are in the areas of portraiture, Southern folk art, sculpture, fraktur, African American folk art, and textiles. The museum has in-depth holdings of representative works by Eddie Arning (1898–1993), Wilhelm Schimmel (1817–1890), Erastus Salisbury Field (1805–1900), Edward Hicks (1780–1849), Lewis Miller (1796–1862), and Ammi Phillips (1788–1865). Some of the museum's first exhibitions were about such diverse topics as The Beardsley Limner (Sarah Perkins, 1771–1831); Virginia decorated furniture; the portrait painters Zedekiah Belknap (1781–1858), James Sanford Ellsworth (1803–1875), and Asahel Lynde Powers (1813– 1843); and the artists Eddie Arning and Henry Young (1792–1861).

The museum's name was changed in 1977 to the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, reflecting the institution's extensive archive of research materials, and in 2000 the center's name was changed again, to the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum.

See also **African American Folk Art (Vernacular Art); African American Quilts; Eddie Arning; Zedekiah Belknap; Holger Cahill; James Sanford Ellsworth; Erastus Salisbury Field; Fraktur; Furniture, Painted and Decorated; Edith Gregor Halpert; Edward Hicks; Nina Fletcher Little; Sarah Perkins; Ammi Phillips; Asahel Lynde Powers; Abby Aldrich Rockefeller; Wilhelm Schimmel**.

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RICHARD MILLER

ADKINS, GARLAND (1928–1997) was a carver and painter of animals from the mid—1980s until shortly before his death in 1997. Adkins married Minnie Wooldridge in 1952, and the couple lived mainly in Ohio until returning to their home community of Isonville, Kentucky, in the early 1980s. Garland then began his work as an artist by helping his wife produce her pieces. Typically, he would do the initial work of obtaining, selecting, and preparing a suitable piece of wood, then marking it and sawing out the rough form of a piece with a chainsaw and other power tools. He would then give it to Minnie to carve. He was quick to assert that he participated primarily because this was the Adkins family's source of income, and he regarded Minnie's carvings not as works of art but as objects made for sale. Regardless of who spent more time working on a piece, most of the Adkinses' carvings produced between 1986 and 1997 were presented as collaborations, marked with their combined signature, "G & M Adkins." Garland's participation was a key factor in the Adkins's family cottage industry, but he and Minnie both produced pieces that quite clearly bore the marks of their separate, individual styles.

Garland's personal repertoire was much narrower than Minnie's, consisting almost entirely of the abstracted, standing horses for which he became best known in his own right, about 1990. In 1987 he sold a foot-high unpainted wooden horse to Morehead State University, and in 1988 he granted permission for the silhouette of this piece to be used as the basis for the

organizational logo of the Folk Art Collection at the university. Adkins continued to develop and refine this form, retaining its legs, which lack detail, and its rectangular head, but further elongating the extended neck. Over the next ten years he produced many versions of this horse, either in plain wood or painted black all over. The standing horse came in two basic versions: one upright and alert, with its straight neck raised diagonally forward from the shoulders, and the other relaxed, with its neck curved gracefully forward and downward, and its head close to the ground, as if grazing.

Adkins earned a significant place in twentieth century American folk art, not because his work exemplifies regional woodcarving traditions, but because the austere power of his horse form transcends identification, whether by geographic location, culture, or period in time.

See also **Minnie Adkins; Sculpture, Folk**.

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ADRIAN SWAIN

ADKINS, MINNIE (1934–) is a carver in wood who gained national attention as an artist in the late 1980s. She began to carve small animals and birds as a child in Isonville, Kentucky. Generally, she has produced, carved, and assembled sculptures of animals, particularly tigers, bears, foxes, and possums, but she has also created paintings, various assemblages, and ceramic collaborations with her cousin, Tess Little, a sculptor and ceramic artist. For many years, Adkins' best-known piece was a forked-twig rooster with a red-and-yellow painted comb and beak, and a split tail, but after interest in her work grew through her association with the Folk Art Collection at Morehead State University, her subject matter expanded to incorporate the human figure, including a series of self-portraits. From the mid-1980s until his death in 1997, her first husband, Garland Adkins, helped work on his wife's larger pieces, procuring the wood, rough-cutting the sculptures, and generally helping with production.

Adkins has initiated a cottage industry by selling commercially woven afghans and locally made quilts featuring her animal forms, and offering *The Blue Rooster,* a book and cassette collaboration with musician Mike Norris. Her second husband, Herman Peters, produces painted, welded steel-pipe versions of other animal forms. Adkins remains productive, with a reputation that extends beyond her own work, as a mentor and promoter of other self-taught artists in her own community and beyond. The existence of a network of folk artists based in Kentucky can be attributed largely to her promotion, friendship, and encouragement of others. An annual folk art fair is held at her home each June.

Adkins has received many awards, including the Jane Morton Norton Award from Center College in Danville, Kentucky; the Award for Leadership in Arts and Culture from the Eastern Kentucky Leadership Foundation; the Distinguished Artist Award from the Folk Art Society of America; an Al Smith Fellowship; a Governor's Award for the Arts from the Kentucky Arts Council; the Appalachian Treasure Award and an honorary doctorate from Morehead State University.

See also **Garland Adkins; Outsider Art; Sculpture, Folk**.

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ADRIAN SWAIN

ADVENTIST CHRONOLOGICAL CHARTS were a distinguishing feature of the religious movement founded in the 1830s by William Miller (1782–1849), a farmer-turned-preacher from Low Hampton, a village near the Vermont border in upstate New York. An intensive study, of the prophecies contained in the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation convinced Miller that the long-awaited millennium, the 1,000year period of peace on earth, would commence in 1843 or 1844, accompanied by the Second Coming of Christ. He gathered a substantial following in the Northeast and elsewhere in the country through tent meetings and the circulation of prophetic literature.

In 1842, two of Miller's followers, Charles Fitch and Apollos Hale, prepared a chart printed on linen panels that outlined Miller's calculation of the Second Coming in graphic detail. They exhibited their work at a conference of Millerites (followers of Miller's teachings) in Boston, and it was deemed so successful that the leadership of the movement resolved to have three hundred copies printed. *A Chronological Chart of the Visions of Daniel & John,* as the first version was titled, was published in 1843 by Miller's lieutenant, Joshua V.Himes, and printed in a large format by the Boston lithographer, E.W.Thayer. The charts measured nearly six by four feet. From then on, Millerite preachers carried a copy of the chart with them, using it as a visual aid to help audiences understand the complicated biblical chronology. The American folk painter William Matthew Prior (1806–1873), was an ardent follower of Miller. Although it no longer is extant, Prior painted a version of the chronological chart under Miller's direction; he was so moved by the preacher that he also painted his portrait.

Versions of the chronological chart were circulated widely in the periodicals of the Millerite, or "Adventist," movement, as it was also called (from the belief in the imminent second "advent" of Christ), and they provided an iconographic resource for efforts by other preachers and prophets to demonstrate in a visual format the timing of the millennium. In addition to the actual calculations, the charts generally contain fearsome, if fanciful, depictions of the beasts described in the Books of Daniel and Revelation; a large and imposing bearded figure symbolic of four ancient empires; the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse; and several trumpeting angels, among other dramatic images.

After the failure of Miller's calculations, the Adventist movement revised its interpretive approach to biblical prophecy and, in turn, altered the chronological charts. Jonathan Cummings of Concord, New Hampshire, for example, published an untitled prophetic chart in the Adventist tradition in 1853, a copy of which is in the Firestone Library at Princeton University. A monumental late nineteenth century handdrawn and painted *Missionary Map,* formerly in the collection of Herbert W.Hemphill Jr., is now at the Smithsonian American Art Museum. It draws upon a similar stock of Adventist iconography. The twentieth century artist William Alvin Blayney (1917–1985) may have been familiar with the imagery of the Adventist chronological charts when he painted his impressive diptych, *Anti-Christ and Reign of the Gentile Kingdoms* and *The Sealed Book of the Revelation of Jesus Christ* (c. 1960).

See also **William Alvin Blayney; Herbert W. Hemphill Jr.; William Matthew Prior; Religious Folk Art**.

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GERARD C.WERTKIN

AETATIS SUAE LIMNER: *SEE* NEHEMIAH PARTRIDGE.

AFRICAN AMERICAN FOLK ART (VERNACULAR ART) is defined here specifically as the visual art produced in various forms within the African American community beginning as early as the seventeenth century, when blacks were taken in large numbers from Africa and the Caribbean to work as slaves in the United States, primarily in the South. The study of black art forms has been dominated by deeply riven opinions about African American culture. In 1998, when the Museum of American Folk Art (now the American Folk Art Museum) mounted its major overview of self-taught art, "Self-Taught Artists of the Twentieth Century: An American Anthology," thirteen of the exhibition's thirty-two artists (40 percent) were African American, when only about one-tenth of the total United States population was black. The show made inescapable an obvious question: How did artists of African descent become so central to the field of self-taught art?

African American folk art, or vernacular art, has two histories: one of its production (the artists, their work, and its perspectives), and another of its reception (the ways the art is consumed, discussed, and positioned on cultural maps). The gaps between these two histories merit study, for the ways in which the art has been promoted point to conflicting American attitudes toward African American "folk" culture. Only in the last years of the twentieth century did it become apparent that, among a generation of vernacular artists who came of age during the period of intense civil rights struggles in the 1960s, the fissure between their art's creation and its welcome have become a part of their work's meaning. If vernacular artists have not fully entered any "mainstream" (a goal most do not pursue anyway), many have nevertheless brought under their control the terms on which their art is created.

African American folk art began everywhere Africans were forced, with limited resources and no organization, to cobble spiritual, aesthetic, psychological, and physical survivals amid the surrender of selfhood demanded by the institution of chattel slavery in the United States. The historical record remains hazy, but slaves and free blacks often became accomplished craftspeople within white workshops or patronage environments, as was the case with Harriet Powers (1837–1911), who

created at least one of her quilt masterpieces as a commission for a group of college professors' wives in the 1890s; other important examples of needlework, pottery, and furniture were produced by African American artisans throughout the North and South, especially in antebellum times. During an era in which most of white society remained skeptical that even literate blacks were capable of creating written literature, the first forms of folk art (art produced for personal use or consumption by other blacks) were almost certainly not paintings and sculpture, nor works in any genre that would have endangered the maker in a society threatened by displays of elevated black consciousness.

Nevertheless, tantalizing glimpses linger of independent veins of creation. Two signature objects from the mid—to late nineteenth century—a wooden walking stick carved by Henry Gudgell (c. 1826–1895) of Missouri, and a pair of pictorial, appliqué quilts made by Harriet Powers of Georgia—are remarkable for their individuality and formal assurance. Powers' appliqué quilts, divided into a panel-like grid, depict biblical stories and events, while Gudgell's reliefcarved canes feature abstract as well as realistic motifs, such as humans, leaves, lizards, and tortoises. Despite the works' utilitarian functions, their elaborate iconographies imply the existence of highly developed systems for representing reality through the visual arts, oral storytelling, religious worship, or combinations of the three. Both artists' work hints at the fact that African mythologies endured the middle passage (the journey undertaken by many slave ships, from Africa across the Atlantic to the West Indies or the Americas) and became firmly established within African American life.

The unknown provenances of most craft objects of the nineteenth century muddy attempts to identify any traits particular to African American artisans. Moreover, two key categories of African American creativity are almost entirely unaccounted for in the historical record. The yard shows ubiquitous in the black South were seldom, if ever, documented, except obliquely in the descriptions of a few travelers and novelists. And few significant examples of studio painting or sculpture are known to have survived—if indeed conditions of material prosperity and personal leisure existed to support any widespread production of "gratuitous," or non-utilitarian artworks.

Black folk art did not exist, at least as far as the outside world was concerned, until the rise, in the 1930s, of interest in indigenous (as opposed to European) sources of American vanguard art. The key early figure in black folk art's public emergence was Nashville stone carver William Edmondson (1874– 1951), the subject of a show at the Museum of Modern Art in 1937. A gravestone carver, Edmondson blurred the boundaries between stonemasonry and art with his limestone animals, angels, and popular heroes. Edmondson, like an artisan in pre-modern societies, worked within a circumscribed framework of inherited formal solutions, materials, and techniques; yet he was individually inspired by a divine vision, and his sculptures' stylistic resemblance to twentiethcentury masters, such as Amadeo Modigliani (1884– 1920) and Constantin Brancusi (1876–1957), seemed to confirm the universality of modernist aesthetic values. Edmondson's artistic renown helped establish an enduring historical pattern by which folk art and outsider art are treated as evidence of the investigations and stances of trained artists.

The work of other black artists, such as painter Horace Pippin (1888–1946), was looked at in a similar way, but few observers sought to make cultural distinctions among the panoply of folk artists that came to light before the 1960s. Broad dichotomies between Europe and the United States, those in the vanguard and those with more conservative views, and highbrow and lowbrow sensibilities dominated conceptions of folk art's place within the larger history of art.

The three signal artists of the pre-1960s era are Edmondson; Bill Traylor (1854–1949) of Alabama, with his elegant draftsmanship and opaque yet irresistible storytelling; and James Hampton (1909–1964), with his resplendent religious altar/throne/shrine produced in the 1950s to early 1960s in a Washington, D.C., garage, which he called *The Throne of the Third Heaven of the Nations Millennium General Assembly.* This work by Hampton epitomized the great migrations (the slow exodus of blacks from the rural South to major cities), and although the iconography of the work remains only partially understood, it seems to represent the blossoming of liberation struggles in the postwar decades.

The upheavals of the 1960s and early 1970s— including the civil rights, counterculture, women's, and antiwar movements —completed disruptions to class and racial structures first set in motion by the Great Depression of 1929 to 1939 and World War II. Social criticisms, previously unthinkable as manifest themes for most African American vernacular artists, became the norm, and "blackness" was represented with an open-ended set of possibilities, including Joe Light's (1934–) cartoon-influenced proclamations of his creolized heritage and adopted Jewish faith; Vernon Burwell's (1916–1990) equating of Sojourner Truth, a former slave and advocate for equality and justice, with Martin Luther King Jr. and Jesus in monumental concrete sculptures outside his North Carolina home; and Royal Robertson's (1936–1997) conception of himself, based on comic strips, as an intergalactic superhero/traveler exposing the hypocrisies and sins of his fellow earthlings.

While art underwent transformation during the civil rights movement in the 1960s as well as during the movement's percolation into the everyday lives of African Americans in the 1970s, new tools for art's evaluation were emerging throughout academia, primarily outside the narrow realm of the art world. The establishment of a Black Arts movement, making claims for a black aesthetic, coincided with groundbreaking studies of black religion, slavery, folklore, and music, along with an interest in African American genealogy that permeated popular culture. This heady period culminated in two projects from the early 1980s: the 1982 exhibition "Black Folk Art in America, 1930–1980," curated by Jane Livingston and John Beardsley, at the Corcoran Gallery of Art; and the book *Flash of the Spirit: African and AfroAmerican Art and*

Philosophy (1981), by Robert Farris Thompson. Both upended the aesthetic principles previously applied to black folk art. Livingston and Beardsley spotlighted works, for example, like Steve Ashby's (1904–1980) bawdily kinetic found-object sculptures, and James "Son" Thomas's (1926–1993) hair-raising ceramic heads that were, in Livingston's words, "crude" and "relentlessly coarse or repellent" (intentionally so, she posited) when considered through existing standards of taste. Partisans of European *art brut* had long championed disturbing rather than congenial forms, but Livingston turned prior debates on their head by proclaiming such styles as culturally specific values often consciously sought by African American artists. Meanwhile, Thompson placed the same art at the New World end of clusters of cosmological beliefs and religious rituals originating in Africa. "Black Folk Art in America" challenged received notions of beauty and artistic skill; Thompson implicitly attacked the designation of the art as *art*—not because it was in any way inferior to art proper, but because he saw it as sidestepping almost entirely any standing definitions of art.

The two projects have their detractors, but after "Black Folk Art in America" and *Flash of the Spirit,* conceptions of African American folk art were indelibly revised. The 1980s saw few other theoretical developments in the emerging field, but dozens of previously unrecognized artists soon came to light, notably artists whose media (such as the yard shows and other site-specific creations prevalent in Thompson's study), styles, or thematic concerns had previously kept them unseen, despite their often ambitious and confrontational qualities. Academic studies of African American life began to spread slowly into interpretations of highbrow art forms, especially in Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism,* which posited the African American vernacular tradition of "signifying"—playing with coded communications to produce indirect or misleading utterances understood differently by different receivers-as a central trope of black literature. The idea of signifying, with its propensity for challenge through parody and misdirection, helped complete Livingston and Thompson's picture by demonstrating the ways in which cultural ideals could thrive while still remaining camouflaged, sometimes within forms that are seemingly crude, ugly, or random.

Meanwhile, vertiginously rising prices (and reputations) in the "mainstream" art world during the 1980s pushed many academic artists, and emerging groups of collectors and dealers, to prospect for alternative, unsullied voices in the supposed nether reaches of Western civilization, especially the black American South. By the end of the 1980s, two critical frameworks —the creative outsider and the folk community—outshone all others in the interpretation of African American Art. From these two perspectives a fundamental debate developed about the roles of and relationships between the individual and the community in the creation of art. Interestingly, ethnic enclaves and subcultures were usually considered final islands of folk culture, amid the forces of homogenization and modernization that were believed to have swamped rural European-American folk communities throughout the twentieth century. The combined energy of the two camps propelled rapid increases in visibility and demand for African American vernacular folk art throughout the 1990s, resulting in one-person museum shows for Edmondson, Pippin, Nellie Mae Rowe (1900–1982), Sam Doyle (1906–1985), Thornton Dial Sr. (1928–), Sister Gertrude Morgan (1900– 1980), Elijah Pierce (1892–1984), William Hawkins (1895–1990), and others, while also creating a storm of stereotypes, from the nostalgic to the degenerate, that beset the art and its makers.

Can any art stand for conceptions of community *and* for truculently nonconformist, individual visions? Can any concept carry two otherwise incongruent notions about the other? In the case of African American—made artworks, the answer to both questions is yes, owing to the concept of "cultural pathology." First articulated by prominent black academics in the 1930s and 1940s, cultural pathology posits that African American progress (defined as assimilation into mainstream American society) has been impeded by structural deformities in African American culture brought on by slavery and the effects of race prejudice. African American folk culture, according to such cultural pathology, was born in the experience of bondage and therefore developed as a deformed version of the larger American culture. The distortions ultimately led, according to the theory, to all sorts of social ills and deviancies, including high levels of school dropouts, soaring crime rates, and the fraying of the family unit. The concept of cultural pathology underlies much social policy of the second half of the twentieth century in America, including many landmark court decisions of the civil rights era, because of the belief that government should remove barriers to such assimilation. Social progress, within this context, pushed the have-nots further into the pathology of a permanent underclass. Therefore, the neo-conservative argument that highly motivated individuals will transcend such challenges also presupposes, in the case of race, the cultural pathologies of self-destructiveness and self-defeatism.

Social policy and aesthetic theory mix dangerously. Thus there have been wildly diverging interpretations of all African American vernacular cultural forms. The non-institutional nature of African American vernacular art extends beyond the creators' general lack of formal art schooling and their personal displacement from debates among critics, curators, and collectors. Vernacular art's radically noninstitutional (perhaps anti-institutional) quality has always been closely tied to the very factors that gave rise to theories of cultural pathology: historical oppression, denial of basic rights, and unequal access to education, housing, and economic opportunity. Addressing such conditions from within their own culture, vernacular artists often feel a special burden to persist without institutional validation, vocational support, fellowship with other artists, or even legal protections from the destruction or theft of their works. Much vernacular art, then, stands against cultural pathology and its applications by the political left as well as the right.

Many African American vernacular artists operate within two deeply felt cultural contexts of responsibility: to act as documenters, and as visionaries. These artistic roles or ambitions coexist vividly for artists whose lives straddle the two epochs of Jim Crow, or the post-Civil War period after 1865, and the postcivil rights decades of the late twentieth century. On one hand, this is an art of witnessing and recounting, driven by the need to describe honestly the world as it has been overlooked, ignored, or mistreated, as well as misrepresented, by the powerful. Memory and memorial resound through nearly every artist's sensibility. Even when description simply elevates the everyday and the mundane, lifting commonplace experiences into the realm of the timeless, the implications may be radical, as in Purvis Young's (1943–) paintings of playground athletes with arms raised in gestures that recall those of mourners, rioters, and worshippers. At the same time, African American vernacular artists dare nearly always to re-imagine reality, to wear the robes of a dreamer, and to transform. For this mission there is abundant precedent within black culture, from the religious sermon and divine calling to cultural heroes such as Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King Jr., and from song to sport.

Callings that might appear incompatible are often, instead, inseparable for the vernacular artist. Ronald Lockett (1965–1998), born in Alabama the same year that the Selma, Alabama, protest marches took place, depicted in his works the concurrent exterminations of animal species and peoples of color through naturalistic depictions of drought-encumbered deer and bison. Lockett's close observation and naturalism (an approach already at odds with many stereotypes about "primitive" artists) was executed in collages of scavenged, oxidized tin whose luminous colors were both ravaged and ravishing, an apt metaphor for his insistence on both commemoration and rebirth. Lockett's delicate mix of journalistic and visionary impulses led to holographic or mirage-like effects that feel as postmodern in form as they are traditional in theme.

Lockett's analogies between black people and endangered ecosystems were also a way of representing himself. For black Americans who lived through segregation, making art is an inherently political event, a rebuttal to invisibility. Autobiographical ambitions tie together virtually every artist working from the 1960s onward (and many from before then). Because indirection and misdirection have been primary tools of "signifying" communications among African Americans, their self-proclamation through art is varied and full of nuance. Statements of individual identity only occasionally reveal themselves as declarative personal narratives or in other overtly self-descriptive content, such as storytelling. Autobiographical features frequently reside instead in the medium. For tombstone makers like William Edmondson and Eldren M. Bailey (1903–1987), who created their art-works with the same materials and implements with which they made their grave markers, or like Leroy Person (1907–1985), whose woodcarvings were made after decades of work in a sawmill, the medium puts their professional skills into a new context, namely, the service of art. For woodcarvers like Elijah Pierce and Ulysses Davis (1914–1990), woodcarving became an extension of their barbering professions, as well as the hairstyling professionals' community-building positions within African American neighborhoods. For Jesse Aaron (1887–1979), a garden nursery worker, woodcarving enacted his religious faith and fulfilled the terms of an artistic mission initiated by a divine directive to "carve wood."

Aaron carved; but other artists, especially those who work with found roots, refrain from all but the slightest alterations to their wooden materials. Whether or not root sculptors believe divinities or energies repose in wood (as some scholars have suggested), spiritual metaphors abound in the acts of recycling and reclamation. Ralph Griffin's (1925–1992) roots were, to him, literal roots, something that preceded the founding of the United States and therefore called up forces from Africa and the Bible. Bessie Harvey (1928–1994) made roots, which overflow with phallic and aphrodisiac implications in folk medicine traditions, into feminist inversions: her large, black roots were transfigured into stylish women, and became symbols of female power.

Artists' materials and media also document social histories, such as movements to urban areas and industrialized occupations. Charlie Lucas (1951–) traces artmaking ancestors to the nineteenth century through skills learned from his father, who was an auto mechanic. Lucas's welded found-metal sculptures encapsulate the traditions of his forebears, who made woodcarvings, baskets, ceramics, quilts, and who worked in metal as blacksmiths.

Other artists have inscribed autobiography in style. Mississippian Mary Tillman Smith (1904–1995) endured a hearing impairment and an early life of sharecropping to wrest a fiercely independent life for herself. Her painted figures, sometimes self-portraits, convey their power through robust brushwork and dramatic figure-ground interactions.

If his work was considered outside its cultural context, Purvis Young might well be labeled an expressionist or abstract expressionist. His conviction that African American people have survived and triumphed over persecution through their vitality led him to a painterly style ruled by motion. Ripples of human respiration, beating hearts, nervous energies, and rhythmic rituals course through both his individual brushstrokes and his overall compositions. Young's almost romantic attitude belies his themes of the desperation and fragility of the life force.

The foremost practitioner of vernacular autobiographical art may be Alabamian Lonnie Holley (1950–), who seeks to represent thought itself in all its grandeur, accident, and messiness. Holley's assemblages of gathered materials, meant to evoke neighbors, friends, and relatives, as well as distant places visited only through the news media or imagination, form structures devoid of conventional order. Often, they are almost unbearably genuine, such as *Protecting Myself the Best I Can,* a collection of weapons (a baseball bat, a steel pipe, a golf club standing in a tall, ceramic jar) that Holley rescued from the

abandoned home of an elderly, bedridden neighbor who had wielded this odd collection to fend off intruders who tried to get into her home. In restating this grouping of objects as an artwork, Holley questions an entire spectrum of artistic definitions as well as their assumed boundaries. This work is utilitarian, as it was used inside the woman's house; and it is artful, through its transformation into a source of contemplation. Yet its transformation also places it in the realms of religious observance (a pre-modern role for art) and modern/postmodern conceptual art, because there are no expressly aesthetic qualities to the piece-any such pretenses would be more sadistic than commemorative.

This work by Holley therefore fits into the category of history paintings such as Gustave Courbet's *A Burial at Ornans,* painted in 1849–1850, and Pablo Picasso's *Guernica,* painted in 1937, as an attempt to lift to mythic status the fate of every person. Holley's myths, however, harbor deep mistrust of mythologies. Like constellations, his artworks are essentially chance configurations of materials reconceived or intentionally misread as meaningful or portentous. Art becomes an experiment in history, ancestry, race, and gender, in which all pretenses of scale, material, and workmanship are eliminated in search of more authentic access to the truths of history as "made" by the forgotten.

For African Americans at every social station, a legacy of the civil rights movement, echoed by post-modernism in general, has been a newfound freedom not just to proclaim but to question all proclamations, including one's own. By viewing his cultural patrimony as a kind of potential wreckage or blight, Holley immerses his art in the deepest held stereotypes underpinning the premises of communal pathology. Holley leaves no stone unturned (or, more literally, no garbage at his curb).

Why do these artists do it? Why does anyone pierce the veil behind which many African Americans have shrouded their thoughts, the veil the dominating white culture once threw over black America, and make art, without promise of reward? In a negative way, this question has dominated most of the descriptive terminologies, which have tended to focus on the difficulty of achieving aesthetically significant forms from positions of extreme marginalization—circum-stances that, from the vantage of the powerful, supposedly need to be overcome in order to create art. Vernacular art dives into these "margins," to rebalance relationships between expression and communication. The word *vernacular* denotes language: the actual language used among a people or within a region. The vernacular is entirely cultural. While they denote everyday systems of communication, the languages developed by oppressed or colonized peoples (the term *vernacular* derives from the Latin word for house-born slaves) are complex because of—not in spite of—their unofficial status. Among the ways of grouping artists working from any perceived margins, the concept of shared cultural identity is both observable in practice, and responsive to ideas and interpretations that emanate from within the culture, rather than from outside observers. Most important, conceiving art as "vernacular" does not preclude other ways of seeing; in fact, it may sharpen them. The process of analysis becomes, through the vernacular, a dialogue among many actors and cultures, rather than a conclusion imposed by any one power.

Four developments beginning in the mid-1990s have brought two previously segregated practices— the art's production and its reception—into much closer intellectual proximity. The first development is the intensified documentation of artists, while they are still alive, to preserve crucial biographical and interpretive information, and to introduce the artists' stated intentions into the art's historical analysis.

The second development, proposed by folklorist Gerald Davis in an essay about Elijah Pierce, is the idea of expressive "equivalences." To understand the specifically "black" textures and layers of any artist's work, Davis argued, one must look at influences and correlations further afield than merely other visual art. Davis's "equivalences" were first used to explain the propensity of African American vernacular artists to create in many media, in which music and artmaking, and barbering and woodcarving, are among the common pairings. His formulation grounds African American folk art, or vernacular art, in an almost endlessly rich terrain of culture, enabling the study of art to bridge otherwise disparate fields, bringing verbal "signifying" into the interpretation of vernacular art, for example. These equivalences add a much-needed cultural context to constructions of even the most seemingly self-made, or "self-taught," creator. Moreover, these equivalencies also provide evidence for common perceptions and representational strategies that nourish the intrinsically individual task of creating visual art.

The third development, advanced by the historian of religion Theophus Smith in his essay, *Working the Spirits: The Will-to-Transformation in African American Vernacular Art,* applies principles from folk medicine to artmaking. Moving beyond simple "equivalences," Smith takes the traditional healing principle of homeopathy (the use of trace amounts of toxins to compel the body to cure itself) as a point of departure for explaining African American art that employs degraded or cast-off materials, tackles disturbing subject matter, depicts human suffering, and invokes convulsive or even ugly forms. A common purpose in such artworks, Smith argues, is to affect a comprehension and mending of ills in the social body, including endemic racism, class distinctions, and sexism. Like Davis, Smith returns conceptual control of the art to its makers, and repositions African American creativity within national and global cultural discussions in which the artists are speakers, not subjects.

The fourth development is interest in deeply embedded and continuing cultural practices such as the yard show and patchwork quilts. Ubiquitous throughout black America, particularly in the South, these traditions lie somewhere in the personal histories of nearly every African American folk artist. On such a level, quilts, for example, make a glorious "equivalence" with painting, providing an expressive language that is both self-sufficient for quiltmakers, as well as fruitful source material for vernacular painters.

Broadened notions of vernacular artmaking increasingly embrace undertakings as diverse as the flamboyant topiary sculptures of South Carolina's Pearl Fryar (1939–); the sprawling outdoor memorial to civil rights constructed by Alabama's Joe Minter (1943–); and the ephemeral debris graves erected for pets and wild animals by Alabama's Dinah Young (1934–). These and other artists have directed their creative energy away from the narrowness of art-as-object and toward significations of place, history, ecology, and ethics. Their twenty-first-century vernacular art finds prescient ways to make itself vital in the lives of its makers without reverting to the over-simplified, practical, and functional status associated with craft, or the unselfconscious compulsion associated with the outsider artist.

If many individual artists have been compelled by a precipitating event (visions, conversion experiences, debilitating injuries, or retirement, for example), it may be because some events, such as the civil rights movement in America, have compelled the redrawing of the maps of creativity in general, have become precipitating events for cultures to be looked at as a whole, and are responsible for an overall upswing in vernacular artmaking. Individuals who find themselves in increasingly ambiguous states of marginalization—partly assimilated into various mainstreams, yet conditioned by a lifetime of subaltern status—often turn to artmaking as a means of speech. The clear sense of an audience for their work, and the sharpened formal consciousness of many folk artists support the argument that much, though not all, vernacular visual art constitutes a special arena of cultural practice, wherein issues of personal and collective identity are reinforced, tested, and ultimately created anew.

The diversity of African American experiences ensures there cannot be a single exemplary or archetypal African American artwork or style, "vernacular" or otherwise. Concepts change, like the artists themselves, because of increased social and economic mobility, educational opportunities, democratization of access to information, and the recognition that race and ethnicity are neither immutable nor pure. Critics looking to group together artists such as Bill Traylor and Lonnie Holley are not likely to find answers in labels or forms, for the linkages between African American folk artists ultimately resist such reductions. Their constructions of the self draw strength from larger purposes, whether secular or sacred. By any name, the unique hybrids of African American folk art, or vernacular art, constitute an attitude toward creation, born of and offering unique insights into the ceaseless transitions of all civilizations.

See also **Jesse Aaron; American Folk Art Museum; Steve Ashby; Canes; Ulysses Davis; Thornton Dial Sr.; Sam Doyle; William Edmondson; Environments, Folk; Gravestone Carving; James Hampton; William Hawkins; Bessie Harvey; Lonnie Holley; Joe Light; Ronald Lockett; Charlie Lucas; Sister Gertrude Morgan; Outsider Art; Painting Folk; Leroy Person; Elijah Pierce; Horace Pippin; Quilts; Quilts, African American; Royal Robertson; Nellie Mae Rowe; Mary Tillman Smith; James "Son" Thomas; Bill Traylor; Yard Show**.

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PAUL ARNETT

AIKEN, GAYLEEN BEVERLY (1934–) has created hundreds of drawings, paintings, and handmade books, using crayon, pen, pencil, and oil paint on paper, and on canvas board. Her fondness for comics is reflected in her artistic expression, and she returns to themes of nostalgia, family life, music, and industry.

Aiken has created a world that combines fantasy, memory, reality, and music through visual narratives that are generously sprinkled with text. The subject of an award-winning film, *Gayleen,* by Jay Craven, and in 1987 the recipient of a fellowship by the Vermont Council on the Arts, she is also a leading member of Grassroots Art and Community Effort (GRACE), a not-for-profit workshop program in Vermont. GRACE supports artists, many working at community centers, in nursing homes, and psychiatric facilities throughout the state.

Barre, Vermont, has been Aiken's home her entire life. From the age of two, Aiken has made art. As a child she drew on the woodwork of her parent's home. In Aiken's book, *Moonlight and Music,* the artist introduces the reader to her curious, integrated world. The illustration titled *The Funny Happy Raimbilli Cousins, Music, Hobbies, Me the Artist* features twenty-four smiling imaginary cousins, the Raimbillis, who have kept Aiken company since grade school, as well as a granite factory

located just outside of town, and a nickelodeon that she keeps in her home. The world Aiken creates in her work is always sunny and filled with pleasant dreams, fireworks, and music. She keeps in her home life-size cardboard cutouts of the eternally youthful Raimbilli cousins featured in her drawings. The Vermont art dealer Pat Parsons arranged a one-person exhibition for Aiken in April 1987.

See also **Grassroots Art and Community Effort (GRACE)**.

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LEE KOGAN

A.L.JEWELL & CO. was a weathervane manufacturer in Waltham, Massachusetts, owned by Alvin L.Jewell from 1852 to 1867. At a Springfield, Massachusetts, fair in 1860, Jewell weathervanes were considered the best in the show, and he is reported to have sold twenty-three gilded weathervanes. A trade poster of A.L. Jewell & Co.'s, proclaiming "Prices Reduced for 1867," lists various designs of "copper weather vanes," including horses, oxen, bulls, cows, rams, pigs, deer, birds (rooster, peacock, eagle), vessels (ship, brig, schooner, steamer), church vanes, and miscellaneous designs (flag, cannon, pen, scroll, arrow, plow, "Goddess of Liberty," butterfly, locomotive, with or without tender, and codfish). The poster also noted that the company could produce "all kinds of vanes made to order." The catalog prices for these weathervanes ranged from four dollars for a small arrow to one hundred dollars for a large eagle.

The weathervane specialist Myra Kaye, consulting the text *Waltham Industries,* learned that in addition to vanes, the Jewell company manufactured iron hat trees, umbrella stands, dentist's spittoons, shelf brackets, and lightening rods. Jewell was a pioneer in the mass-production of cooper weathervanes, and one of the first manufacturers to market weathervanes through printed catalogs. He met an untimely death on June 26, 1867, when he and an assistant fell from a scaffold while erecting a building sign. The fall was fatal to both. The firm was acquired through auction by Leonard W.Cushing (d. 1907) and Stillman White (dates unknown), a purchase that has made attributions of Jewell weathervanes difficult, because Cushing and White continued to manufacture Jewell designs after his death. Some of Jewell's creations have been identified, however, most notably a magnificent *Centaur* weathervane, a gift from the collector Ralph Esmerian (1940–) to the American Folk Art Museum. It was recovered from a Hollis, New Hampshire, barn, built in 1854, and is celebrated for its gilded surface and geometric patterning.

See also **American Folk Art Museum; Ralph Esmerian; Cushing & White; Weathervanes**.

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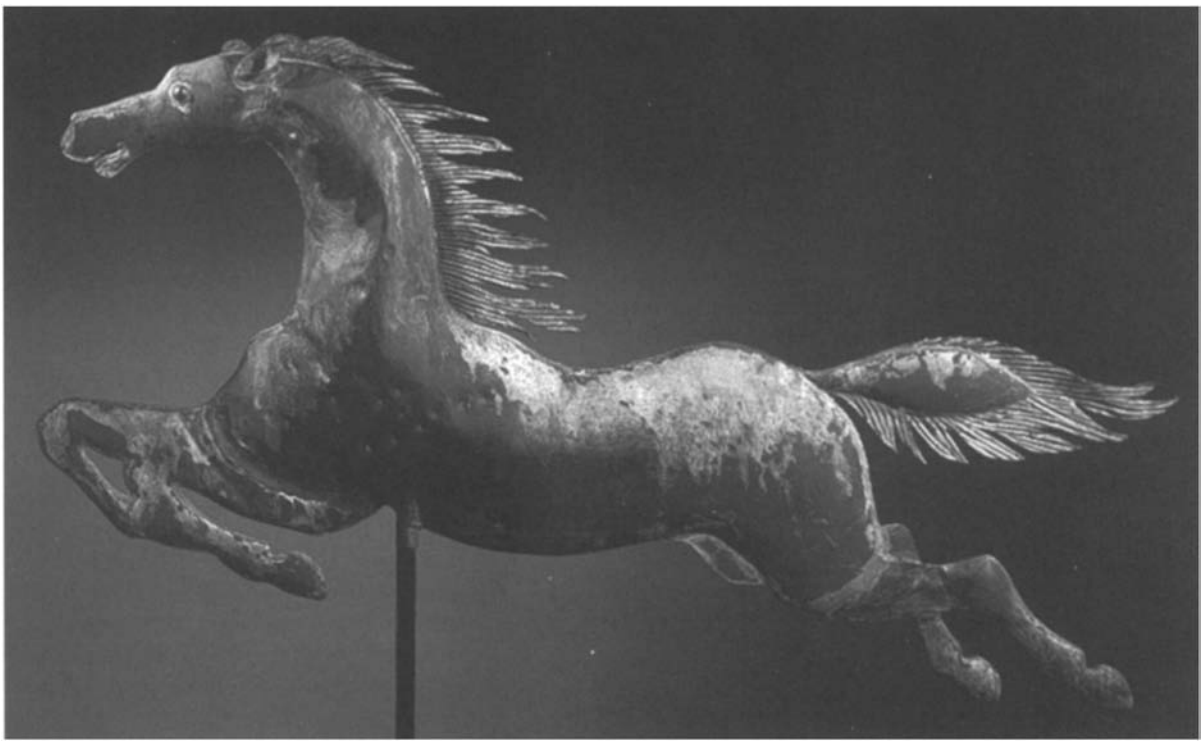
WILLIAM F.BROOKS JR.

ALLIS, MARY (1899–1987), a dealer in American folk art and antique furniture, helped assemble several major private and public collections, including those at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum; the New York State Historical Association at Cooperstown; the Shelburne Museum; Old Sturbridge Village; and the Winterthur Museum. She also assisted in the founding of the American Museum in Great Britain and served as a trustee of the American Folk Art Museum. Through her work as a dealer, she helped shape the field as well as the institutions of American folk art.

Born in Cleveland to a family of modest means, Allis moved to New York in 1929 to pursue a career in interior design. In the mid-1940s she established an antiques shop in the center of Southport, Connecticut. She also restored the Ogden House, an eighteenth-century Southport house, filling it with eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century American furniture and folk paintings. She was a mentor to many influential collectors, including Stewart Gregory (1913–1976).

It was Allis's acquisition, in 1958, of the folk art collection assembled by William J.Gunn (1879–1952) and his wife, Marion Raymond Gunn (1881–1957), of Newtonville, Massachusetts, that brought her to national prominence. Consisting of 630 paintings, the Gunn collection was especially rich in folk portraiture. Stephen Clark purchased about 150 paintings for the



Flying Horse Weathervane. Probably A.L.Jewell & Co.; Waltham, Massachusetts, c. 1865; 37½×18¼, inches. Photo courtesy Allan Katz Americana, Woodbridge, Connecticut.

New York State Historical Association at Cooperstown, New York. Other institutions and private collectors purchased the remainder.

See also **Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum; American Folk Art Museum; New York State Historical Association; The Shelburne Museum; Stewart Gregory; Winterthur Museum**.

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GERARD C.WERTKIN

ALMON, LEROY, SR. (1938–1997) was a carver born in Tallapoosa, Georgia. He moved with his family to Cincinnati, Ohio, when he was seven. He attended Kentucky State University in the late 1950s, and in 1961 served in the United States Army. He had a number of other sales jobs before the Coca-Cola Company hired him to work in that capacity in Columbus, Ohio. While living there, in the late 1970s, he began making painted bas-relief carvings under the influence of Elijah Pierce (1892–1984), an African American vernacular artist and former itinerant preacher widely known for his religiously inspired woodcarvings.

Pierce made his living operating a barbershop that doubled as a gallery for displaying his painted basreliefs. Deeply affected by Pierce's artworks and the spiritual teachings many of them embodied, Almon apprenticed himself to the aging artist and, after he lost his job with Coca-Cola, worked alongside him for three years, serving as the "curator" of Pierce's barbershop gallery. Their relationship stands as a rare example among contemporary African American folk artists, few of whom have been known to take apprentices. Almon initially provided Pierce with minor assistance, but eventually they collaborated on works as equal partners.

In 1982, two years before Pierce's death, Almon moved back to his birthplace and childhood hometown in northwest Georgia. In Tallapoosa he found employment as a radio dispatcher for the police department and began preaching as a non-denominational, Christian evangelist. He also continued to make his own painted bas-reliefs, which, over time, became increasingly distinctive and less derivative of Pierce's work.

Almon actively promoted himself as a folk artist, and he succeeded to the extent that he was able to retire from the police department in 1994. By that time he had moved back into and restored his childhood home, whose basement he transformed into a workshop and gallery for displaying his art. Most of his work falls into two basic thematic categories: the African

American experience, and the teachings of Christianity, with special emphasis on messages of personal resourcefulness and spiritual redemption.

As he came into his own artistically, Almon reflected on his career and that of his mentor's, remarking, "The only difference in my work and the works of Pierce is that he created according to his time and experiences and I created according to my time and experiences."

See also **African American Folk Art (Vernacular Art); Elijah Pierce**.

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TOM PATTERSON

ALMSHOUSE PAINTERS refers to the work of three immigrant Pennsylvania German folk painters, Charles C.Hofmann (1821–1882), John Rasmussen (1828–1895), and Louis Mader (1842–c. 1899). These artisans, each incapacitated in later life by alcoholism and poverty, produced a series of iconographic folk landscapes depicting the Berks County Almshouse near Reading, Pennsylvania, where they all spent time as institutionalized residents.

Publicly funded almshouses had become a necessary and desirable element toward maintaining proper social and economic order within many urban and rural communities in America by the end of the eighteenth century. Reassuring symbols of social progress and human charity, almshouses, like other public institutions, factions, and churches, became proud sources of joint social accomplishment, and as a result were often a popular subject of the landscape painter. The surviving paintings of Hofmann, Rasmussen, and Mader provide the most numerous and consistent historical record for one of these important social institutions. Their crisp, sanitized views record the almshouse within which they sought refuge from personal weakness, frailty, and turmoil. By depicting pristine brick buildings, fenced green yards, and clean regimented order, the artists perhaps imagined to create for themselves the secure, tranquil, and happy existence that had consistently eluded them. In reality, however, many of these almshouses were overcrowded places of despair, insanity, abuse, and loneliness.

Charles C.Hofmann immigrated to America in 1860 and produced his first painting of the Berks County Almshouse in 1865. It was not until October 26, 1872, at age fifty-two, that he committed himself to that institution as an intemperate pauper, unable to support himself financially. He spent the remaining twelve years of his life in and out of the institution. While resident, he painted numerous commissioned views of the almshouse, its ordered grounds, and numerous support buildings for members of the staff, and may have used the income from these paintings to finance his periodic releases, until the next period of intemperance necessitated his return. Hofmann is also known to have produced views of the Montgomery and Schuylkill County Almshouses in Pennsylvania during his travels, as well as several local landscape views, such as of Wernersville, a thriving local village. His last works are dated 1881, the year before he died of dropsy in the Berks County facility.

Charles Rasmussen, born in Germany in 1828, arrived in America though the port of New York in 1865. He is listed as a painter and "fresco painter" in the Reading, Pennsylvania, business directories during the years 1867 to 1879. Widowed and suffering from chronic drinking problems and rheumatism, the painter's growing vagrancy led to Rasmussen's first committal to the Berks County Almshouse on June 5, 1879. He arrived roughly three years before his fellow inmate, painter Charles Hofmann, died. Possibly inspired by the attention Hofmann had received for his painted landscapes and views of the institution, or perhaps as a result of a friendship between the two painters, Rasmussen produced almshouse views and other landscapes similar in composition to the older Hofmann's during the period of their joint residency. Rasmussen is known to have painted a wider range of subject matter than Hofmann did, including portraits, still lifes, various landscapes, baptismal certificates, and, beginning in 1880, at least six views of the almshouse. In all of these, Rasmussen closely followed Hofmann's earlier 1878 composition of the institution, which hung in one of the administrative buildings of the complex. While both painters shared some common subject matter and seemed to prefer using thin, zinc-plated tin metal sheeting, available to them through the institution's wagon and machine shops, their techniques differed markedly. Rasmussen's somewhat more painterly approach utilized gradual tonal gradations, subtle shading, richer color tonalities, and a higher degree of detail. This is probably the result of his former role as a professional painter, particularly his more adept handling of the techniques of shading and depicting light, which would have been required by the expedient medium of fresco. By contrast, Hofmann tended to paint in broad areas of color with little shading or attention to the effects of natural light, and to

repeat stylized figures using few details, which can be attributed to his status as a professional painter prior to his intemperance and vagrancy.

Louis Mader was born in Germany in 1842, immigrated to the United States, and settled in Pennsylvania in 1867. Little is known of his activities until 1892, when he was first committed to the Berks County Almshouse. Over the next three years, he painted at least eight views of the almshouse complex. Mader would have most likely had access to several of the earlier views produced by Hofmann and Rasmussen, several of which were displayed in the almshouse. While his compositions show marked similarities to the works of both earlier painters, he lacked their ability to record precise detail, and his paintings tend to utilize less vibrant colors. Mader is also known to have produced a series of mural paintings for a house in Parksburg, Pennsylvania, which constitute his only known variant subject from the almshouse paintings. Mader left the almshouse for the last time on August 22, 1899. The date of his death remains uncertain.

See also **Painting, American Folk; Painting, Landscape**.

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JACK L.LINDSEY

ALSDORFF, CHRISTIAN (d. 1838) was a fraktur artist and schoolteacher. No record of his birth or of his descendants has been found. While his origins remain a mystery, he worked as a schoolmaster for many years, and the authors of one of Lancaster County's histories mentioned Alsdorff's work as a teacher long after his death. The earliest record of Alsdorff and his work appears in a fraktur he made for a student while he was a schoolmaster in Earl Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in December 1791. He continued to make frakturs in Lancaster, Montgomery, and Dauphin Counties in Pennsylvania, and later in his life in Mifflin County. He apparently knew and was strongly influenced by the work of fraktur artists Johann Adam Eyer (1755–1837) and his brother, Johann Friedrich Eyer (1770–1827); in turn Alsdorff influenced the work of Christian Strenge (1757–1825).

Alsdorff worked chiefly among the Mennonites. His production includes small music-notation books, religious texts, *vorschriften* (writing examples), bookplates, and presentation frakturs, all closely related to elementary education among Mennonites. An example of his work is a poem based on the story of Susanna from the Hebrew apocrypha that was in every German Bible.

The capital letter *A* he drew for Anna Stauffer, with its group of angels dancing and turning, along with a bookplate in an *ausbund,* the hymnal Amish and Mennonites in Lancaster County shared until 1804, both reveal that he knew the work done at the Ephrata Cloister in Pennsylvania, where the hymnals were decorated with crosshatched designs. Although Alsdorff s work was not exclusively made for Mennonites, and he surely was not one himself, his name is closely associated with their culture, rightly so.

See also **Johann Adam Eyer; Fraktur; German American Folk Art; Pennsylvania German Folk Art; Religious Folk Art; Christian Strenge**.

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FREDERICK S.WEISER

ALTEN, FRED K. (1871–1945) was a carver of small animal sculptures and a few figural pieces in wood, which he produced over a twenty-year period in the isolation of his garage in Wyandotte, Michigan. His motivation to create was never revealed. Alten's carvings were left behind when he moved from Wyandotte back to his home in Lancaster, Ohio, and were not discovered until thirty years later at an estate sale in 1975.

Alten's father, an immigrant from Germany, settled with his family in Lancaster. They were devout members of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church. The artist worked with his brothers John and August in the Alten Foundry and Machine Works, a business founded by another brother, Henry. He married Mary Ann Weidner about 1890, and they moved

Dinosaur; Fred Alten; c. 1915–1925. Carved and painted wood; 9 ×24 ×3½ inches. © Collection American Folk Art Museum, New York. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph A. Dumas, 1977.2.1.

Photo courtesy Helga Photo Studio.

to Wyandotte, Michigan, in 1912, where Fred began a series of jobs as a mover, a machinery oiler, an employee of the Ford Motor Company, a carpenter, and a janitor.

Alten's animal figures range from prehistoric dinosaurs to circus lions and tigers to familiar barnyard creatures and household pets. He lined up groups of animals and placed them side-by-side in wooden cages that he constructed with thin metal bars. At times his animals were presented in combat. *Johnson's Household Book of Nature,* a natural history encyclopedia published in 1880 and based on the nineteenth-century writings of such naturalists as John James Audubon, and which Alten probably used as a reference, was found among his animal carvings after he left Michigan.

The animal figures were carved with common tools, such as pocketknives, in one piece, or with interlocking parts, and assembled in a manner similar to the foundry patterns that Alten had worked with in his family's business. Occasionally, he used metal to balance a wooden animal, or to embellish a dinosaur's scaly skin. The animals were painted or given a waxy-looking surface, and textured with a pointed object to achieve a hair-like finish. Alten produced a few metal castings of his animal figures, which were turned into doorstops and trivets during the period when he worked in the foundry. Alten produced more than 150 animal figures in his lifetime.

See also **Doorstops; Sculpture, Folk**.

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LEE KOGAN

ALVAREZ, DAVID (1953–) discovered his talent as an animal woodcarver under the tutelage of Felipe Archuleta, the acknowledged master of the form. He then developed a unique style that has placed him among the finest of New Mexico's celebrated creators of folk art animals. Alvarez was raised in West Oakland, California, but moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico, at the suggestion of a friend, in the mid-1970s. In 1976 the same friend introduced Alvarez to Archuleta, who was then enjoying newfound success as the father of an original woodcarving style. Archuleta's roughly carved and painted representations of domestic and wild animals had thrust him into the limelight in international folk art circles, and the demand for his work had skyrocketed. Unable to keep up with his orders, Archuleta took on a number of apprentices, including Alvarez.

Alvarez had no prior artistic experience, but immediately upon entering Archuleta's Tesuque, New Mexico, workshop he assumed important artistic duties. His first assignment was to paint a large, fantailed turkey that Archuleta had carved by hand. With no instruction from Archuleta, Alvarez looked to the master's examples: large, often life-size, cottonwood images of tigers, bears, lions, zebras, giraffes, and other exotic animals, as well as fish, snakes, dogs, and everyday house pets. These were commonly depicted by Archuleta in menacing poses, wearing colorful coats of latex house paint, with toothpicks for teeth, nails for claws, and marble eyes. Despite intense criticism by Archuleta, Alvarez patiently endured the pressures of learning, contributing carved or painted details to Archuleta's works.

As Alvarez's techniques improved, and he began carving his own creations, his unique style and expression began to emerge. The result is an eclectic animal menagerie—including armadillos, raccoons, sows, and piglets—characterized by soft, endearing, and humorous representations, as opposed to Archuleta's more aggressive pets. Even in Alvarez's popular "killer

pig" creations, in which the animal's rigid posture and bared teeth and tongue create an illusion of aggression, the animal's charm shines through. Alvarez refined his distinctive talents and artistic touches through hundreds of signature works, though he rarely innovated or departed drastically from what he learned from Archuleta.

Alvarez's years with Archuleta established him as an accomplished animal carver, creating a demand for his work from private collectors, tourist shops, galleries, and museums. Indeed, for many animal collectors, Alvarez's works became the preferred carving style. By the mid-1980s, Alvarez had left Archuleta's workshop to establish his own in Santa Fe. He continues to carve and sell his works in local folk art shops and to private collectors.

See also **Felipe Archuleta; Sculpture, Folk**.

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CARMELLA PADILLA

AMERICAN FOLK ART MUSEUM, known earlier in its history as the Museum of Early American Folk Arts (1961–1966) and the Museum of American Folk Art (1966–2001), was established in New York City in 1961. One of very few urban museums in the United States devoted to folk art, the American Folk Art Museum has supported a broadly based program of exhibitions since it was founded. During its first decade, the institution staked out a national and even international purview for its programming. Since then it has presented more than 220 exhibitions, many of which also have been seen in other museums through an active traveling exhibition program.

At the time of its founding, the American Folk Art Museum was without a collection of its own, unlike the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center or the Shelburne Museum, which were established around distinguished collections. The first object to enter the museum's collection was the now famous *Flag Gate* (c. 1876), the gift in 1962 of Herbert W.Hemphill Jr. (1929–1998), one of the institution's founding trustees and an influential pioneer in the field. Since then the museum's holdings have grown to encompass more than 4,000 objects in various media, including the highly important collection formed by Ralph Esmerian (1940–), president of the museum's board from 1977 to 1999, and chairman since then. Among the major works of art in the museum's collection is Ammi Phillips's (1788–1865) great portrait, *Girl in Red Dress with Her Cat and Dog* (c. 1830).

The museum publishes *Folk Art* (formerly *The Clarion*), a quarterly magazine; issues exhibition catalogs; and offers graduate courses in folk art studies in association with New York University and as part of the Folk Art Institute, an accredited educational division of the museum. In 1998, the museum established The Contemporary Center, a division devoted to the collection, exhibition, and study of the paintings, sculpture, and installations of twentieth- and twenty-first-century, self-taught artists. In 2001, The Contemporary Center announced the acquisition, by purchase and gift, of twenty-four works of art by Chicago artist Henry Darger (1892–1973), as well as an archive of Darger's manuscript books, tracings, drawings, and source materials.

After many years without adequate space, the museum inaugurated its own building in late 2001. Designed by architects Tod Williams and Billie Tsien, the 30,000-square-foot structure, at 45 West 53rd Street in New York City, includes a library, auditorium, classrooms, and exhibition galleries, among other facilities.

See also **Robert Bishop; Mary Childs Black; Henry Darger; Adele Earnest; Ralph Esmerian; Herbert W.Hemphill Jr.; Jean Lipman**.

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GERARD C. WERTKIN

AMERICAN FOLKLIFE CENTER, THE was established by the American Folklife Preservation Act in 1976 as part of the Library of Congress. The United States Congress mandated a center that would "preserve and present American folklife" through both active programs and the preservation and dissemination of archival collections. To fulfill the archival aspect of its mission, the Archive of Folk Song, originally created in 1928 within the library's Music Division, was transferred to the center in 1978. In the first generation of the center's life, its legislation required periodic extension, or reauthorization, but in 1998 the United States Congress made the center permanent within the Library of Congress.

The archive, now named the Archive of Folk Culture, comprises about 2 million items, making it the largest such ethnographic archive in the United States as well as one of the largest in the world. The archive's American and international holdings are strong in folk music, reflecting its origins within the library's music division, but the collections have included oral history and verbal traditions from the early twentieth century onward. The original archive was strong in sound recordings and manuscripts garnered in field expeditions throughout the United States and beyond. The archive's earliest recordings (and the earliest ethnographic recordings anywhere) are wax-cylinder recordings of Passamaquoddy Indian songs and stories collected by Harvard ethnologist Jesse Walter Fewkes in 1890. The collections also include the field recordings of John and Alan Lomax, as well as other New Deal documentarians, who made the archive their focus in the 1930s. From the 1970s, the collections expanded through a series of team field projects sponsored by the American Folk-life Center in various parts of the United States. The newer materials include a wide variety of folklore and folklife documents as well as a broad range of documentary media: still photographs, motion-picture film and videotape, and digital technologies in addition to manuscripts and sound recordings. Currently, the center has an active program for the acquisition of internationally significant collections.

In the 1940s, the Folk Archive was a pioneer in the publication of documentary recordings for public purchase. These folk music albums provided a model that was imitated by the private sector in the second half of the century. In a similar vein, in the 1980s and 1990s the center began publishing collections in new technological formats—first experimentally, then as part of the broader efforts of the Library of Congress to share its collections online, known first as American Memory and then as the National Digital Library. Many multi-format center collections are now accessible in their entirety online.

The center's public programs have included a folk music concert series at the Library of Congress; a variety of conferences, symposia, and workshops; a number of exhibitions both at the library and traveling to other institutions; and a wide variety of publications in various media. In recent years, the center has sponsored several programs with a national dimension and scope, including the Local Legacies Project, the congressionally initiated Veterans History Project, and the Save Our Sounds Project to develop standards for audio preservation.

See also **Musical Instruments**.

ALAN JABBOUR

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF QUILTS AND TEXTILES: *SEE* SAN JOSE MUSEUM OF QUILTS AND TEXTILES.

AMERICAN VISIONARY ART MUSEUM, THE (AVAM), overlooking the Inner Harbor of Baltimore, Maryland, is devoted to what it has described as "art produced by self-taught individuals usually without formal training, whose works arise from an innate personal vision that revels foremost in the creative act itself independent of the influence of mainstream art." The institution's founder and director, Rebecca Alban Hoffberger, conceived of the museum in the mid-1980s, while working in a hospital job-training program for people with chronic mental illnesses; she managed to raise $7.4 million to get the museum built and operative within ten years.

Opened in November 1995, the elliptical, three-story building that houses AVAM was designed by Rebecca Swanston and Alex Castro. It represents a substantial retrofit and addition to a 1913 building formerly occupied by a paint manufacturing company. Totaling 36,000 square feet, the focus of the main building is a broad, spiraling, travertine staircase that connects basement offices and storage areas to two floors of exhibition space, more offices, and a restaurant on the upper story with views of the harbor. In addition to its unusual design and scenic location, the museum's exterior is distinguished by a three-story broken-glass mosaic, a wildflower garden, and an outdoor sculpture plaza entered around a towering, three-ton whirligig by artist Vollis Simpson. Also located on AVAM's grounds is a former whiskey warehouse that has been adapted to serve as a "tall sculpture barn." An adjacent warehouse building is being transformed into a space for classrooms, a meeting area, and an additional large exhibition space.

The museum's ground floor has a gift shop, changing exhibition space, and an enclosed gallery displaying selections from the museum's permanent collection of more than 4,000 pieces. Collection highlights include a large, figural-abstract assemblage of painted-wood cutouts by the late James Harold Jennings; Wayne Kusy's model of the cruise ship *Lusitania,* constructed of 193,000 matchsticks and five gallons of glue; and William Kurelek's painting, *Where Am I? Who Am I? Why Am I?* Most of the museum's available space is used for its yearlong "mega-exhibitions," which have been AVAM's

programming staples. The inaugural show, "The Tree of Life," included nearly four hundred sculptures and other works created from a wide variety of wood and tree products and expressing a reverence for the earth.

See also **James Harold Jennings; Outsider Art; Vollis Simpson; Visionary Art; Whirligigs**.

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TOM PATTERSON

AMES, ASA (1824–1851) is credited with at least eleven figural carvings that were created between 1847 and 1851. Based upon inscriptions that appear on many of the works, they appear to be specific portraits, primarily of children. Three-dimensional carving is an uncommon medium for this genre; typically, nineteenth-century portraiture was painted, and woodcarving was the domain of trade-figure and ship carving. Although we do not know the nature of Ames's training, one family remembered him as a seaman, suggesting perhaps that he may have learned to carve in a traditional ship-carving shop. The artist is highly regarded for his skill and his sensitive portrayals of young children, although he carved some adult figures as well. His work is characterized by the careful depiction of details of costume and drapery; linear treatment of hair with repetitions of incised lines; deep-set eyes with lashes painted as a series of dots; and fully modeled ears.

Ames first came to public notice in the seminal exhibition "American Folk Sculpture: The Work of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Craftsmen," presented in 1931 at the Newark Museum, New Jersey. At the time it was exhibited, *Bust of a Girl* was thought to be one of three portraits of sisters, and the artist was incorrectly identified as Alexander Ames. It was not until 1977 that Jack T.Ericson located Asa Ames in the federal census of 1850 for Evans, Erie County, New York, where he listed his occupation as "sculpturing," and was living in the household of Dr. Harvey Marvin. In 1847 the artist may have been living with another physician, Dr. Armstrong, when he carved the full-length figure of Amanda Clayanna Armstrong. That same year, he carved the three portraits thought to be of sisters, though they are more likely portraits of Millard F.Dewey and his sisters, Adelaide and Maria.

Ames's most ambitious work is a memorial to three-year-old Sarah Reliance Ayer and her one year old sister, Ann Augusta, who both died during an epidemic in 1849. The memorial features a young girl seated with one arm around the lamb of Christ and a salver, or small tray, in her other, outstretched hand. The carving was completed in 1850, the year that Ames was living with Dr. Marvin in Evans. Marvin was a physician who was interested in alternative therapies such as the water cure, magnetism, and phrenology. Given this association, it is likely that the young artist carved the *Phrenological Head* about this time, and was perhaps seeking a cure for "lung fever," or tuberculosis, a disease that was terminal in the age before antibiotics. Ames was unsuccessful, and died in 1851 at the age of twenty-seven years, seven months, and seven days, as inscribed on his gravestone in the Evans Center Cemetery.

See also **Nautical Folk Art; Ship Figureheads; Shop Figures; Trade Signs**.

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STACY C.HOLLANDER

AMES, EZRA (1768–1836) was a portrait and ornamental painter working in the area of Albany, New York, primarily during the period from 1800 to 1820. Through his surviving account books, it has been determined that his work included miniature portraits and Masonic ritual paintings as well as the painting, lettering, and gilding of carriages, fire buckets, clock faces, fences, mirror frames, drums, sun blinds, ear trumpets, and pieces of furniture. Whether formally trained or not, at some point early on Ames began painting in an American academic manner. He is also thought to have carved figures in wood. Folk art historian Robert Bishop concluded that Ezra Ames was probably the most successful portrait painter working in upstate New York in the first third of the nineteenth century. Because he painted many of the prominent politicians of the New

York State capital, he was nicknamed the "official New York State portrait painter." Ames also is credited with influencing the folk painter Ammi Phillips (1788–1865).

Born in Framingham, Massachusetts, in 1768, Ames grew up in what is now Wayland, Massachusetts. Records indicate that by 1790 he was painting in Worcester, Massachusetts, but joined family members in Albany, New York, by 1793. In 1796 Albany became the state capital of New York, and it was there that Ames sold artists' material and did decorative painting as well as other craftwork before flourishing as a portrait painter. He was an active freemason, rose to the position of Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter of New York State, and benefited from the connection by receiving Masonic regalia commissions. He is also known to have completed several landscape paintings.

In 1852 Ames was elected an honorary member of the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York City but was more active in Albany, where he served as chairman of the Fine Arts Committee of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts (1805), and as a director and president of the Mechanics and Farmers' Bank of Albany. Following his death in Albany, his family auctioned fifty of his artworks. He left an estate of $66,000, a considerable sum at the time.

Ames is well known for a portrait he painted about 1812 of United States vice president and New York State governor George Clinton, which was purchased by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1812, after it won acclaim at the second exhibition of the Society of Artists of the Untied States, in Philadelphia. This portrait no longer exists, but another full-length likeness of George Clinton by Ames, dated about 1813, hangs in the New York State Capitol. Ames also painted the official half-length portrait of Clinton's nephew, Dewitt Clinton, another governor of New York.

See also **Robert Bishop; Fraternal Societies; Freemasonry; Miniatures; Painting, Landscape; Ammi Phillips**.

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WILLIAM F.BROOKS JR.

AMISH QUILTS AND FOLK ART reflect the simple and austere values of the community that produces them. The Amish, followers of Jacob Amman (1655– 1730), a conservative Mennonite bishop who broke from the church because he believed it too lax in discipline in regard to church doctrines, came to Pennsylvania in 1727 from Germany and Switzerland at the invitation of William Penn. They settled first in Lancaster County and later spread to other parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, Indiana, and elsewhere.

Key to Amish beliefs are the ideals of humility, restraint, and simplicity, and to preserve their lifestyle and conservative beliefs they have kept themselves separate from the world and their "English" (nonAmish) neighbors. They place little value on art, and decoration for its own sake is shunned; rather, they believe that beauty is found in function, and fulfillment through commitment to family, friends, and community. The culture is not, however, devoid of artistic expression. Cabinetmakers such as Henry Lapp developed distinctive yet simple styles in keeping with Amish beliefs, and self-taught artists such as Barbara Ebersol used designs similar to those seen in the *fraktur* of other Pennsylvania German groups, to create colorful birth and family records and book plates. Wall decoration was proscribed, but homecrafted, embroidered, or painted family records and memorial samplers could be displayed as testimony to the value of family. The embroidering of show towels is another area in which decorative touches were allowed and proliferated.

The greatest creative expression in Amish folk art is seen in their quilts. The stark geometric designs and dramatic juxtapositions of deep, rich colors, the use of natural fibers (especially wool), and the meticulous stitching have made Amish quilts symbols of quilting excellence. Although highly decorative to a nonAmish eye, Amish quilts are fully in keeping with the values of their makers. The quilts are intrinsically functional and not made as works of art; elaborate embellishment and naturalistic images are prohibited, as are printed fabrics, but this does not exclude careful design and color selection as well as scrupulous attention to detail.

The Amish did not bring a quilting tradition with them from Europe, but learned from their English neighbors, probably in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, as there are no Amish quilts known before about 1860. The most traditional Amish quilts, those from Pennsylvania, are based on a center medallion style and are minimally pieced, while the quilts of the Midwest

Amish show a greater range of pattern and color and more piecing, perhaps because those groups have not been as isolated from their neighboring English communities. In keeping with religious ideals that view pride as a sin, pre-1940s Amish quilts were rarely signed, but makers today will occasionally sign or initial their quilts, a practice again more common among the Midwestern groups.

Since the 1950s, Amish quilters have begun to use synthetic and printed fabrics, a color palette that includes pastels, a broader range of designs, and less intricate quilting patterns. Some of these changes are in reaction to market demand, as the women have found quilting a useful way to supplement their incomes. It remains to be seen whether the design tradition that made Amish quilts so distinctive will be maintained, or whether it will be taken over by mainstream aesthetics.

See also **Decoration; Family Records and Registers; Fraktur; Furniture, Painted and Decorated; Mennonites; Pictures, Needlework; Quilts; Religious Folk Art; Samplers, Needlework**.

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JACQUELINE M.ATKINS

ANCIENT ORDER OF UNITED WORKMEN: *SEE* FRATERNAL SOCIETIES.

ANDERSON, STEPHEN W. (1953–) primarily paints portraits of movie actresses, both famous and forgotten. From his library of some 1,800 videocassettes of vintage movies, he freezes frames of an actress and takes photographs of images on the television screen. He uses these as models for sketching proposed portraits.

Born and raised in Rockford, Illinois, Anderson is graduate of West High School. Except for one year at the University of Chicago and four years in the United States Navy, he has always lived with his family in Rockford, and has never married. In addition to movie actresses, Anderson has painted portraits of some historical, imaginary, and mythological women, some men and floral pictures, completing about one thousand works ranging in size from seven by five to 36 by 28 inches.

Anderson is an accomplished, self-taught portraitist who has perfected and adapted his technique for more than twenty years. Because he failed to find commercial success as a writer, he turned to painting in 1982. At first he used pastel and tempera that he would mix in bottle caps and re-liquefy with his own saliva. He applied the paint on lampshade cloth with a plastic stylus in a pointillistic style, building up dots of color. He now paints using gouache and Prismacolor on museum board to achieve a sharper and more vivid image, and he likes to create a sepia effect using burnt sienna.

Anderson's portraits are precise and intense, with a mysterious remoteness. While the movie stars are identifiable, they have the stylized and generic quality of Hollywood publicity stills. The women are invariably voluptuous and romantic yet prim and detached, as though they are looking into another world. Anderson, interested in costume design, meticulously crafts the stylish and colorful gowns in his portraits. Moreover, he has designed and sewn his own clothes.

The portraits with detailed backgrounds are particularly impressive. His recent painting *A Sinister Couple* features the actors Vincent Price and Barbara Steele, a haunted castle, and the ominous touch of a lone black raven in the background-a scene that is not taken from any particular movie. Another recent painting, *Feminine Icons of the Silent Screen,* presents portraits of the actresses Pola Negri, Gloria Swanson, Mary Pickford, Lillian Gish, Theda Bara, and Clara Bow.

With these bright and luminous subjects, Anderson creates his own genre of the Hollywood actress as temptress and icon, which he presents with a skill unusual for a self taught artist. He deftly illustrates the American fascination with the movies, and the romantic urge to identify with idealized stars.

See also **Painting, American Folk**.

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JOHN HOOD

ANDREWS, EDWARD DEMING (1894–1964), and **FAITH** (1897–1990), a husband and wife team of collector-dealers and scholars, did more to foster appreciation for the Shaker contribution to American culture than anyone else in the twentieth century. Over the course of four decades, their publications and exhibitions introduced virtually every aspect of Shaker history and material culture to an increasingly receptive public. Despite the fact that some members of the Shaker Society took issue with the Andrewses approach to the subject or questioned their motives as collectors, their place as pioneers in the field of Shaker studies remains secure.

The Andrewses came to their interest in the Shakers indirectly. In the fall of 1923, while driving through the countryside of northwestern Massachusetts, they happened upon Hancock Shaker Village, just west of Pittsfield. They drove into the village, knocked at a door, and were allowed to purchase two loaves of home-baked bread. This was to be the first of many visits to Hancock and other Shaker communities as their collection and commitment to the subject developed, and as they came to know the Shakers themselves. Of the two of them, Edward Andrews did most of the writing. He had undertaken graduate studies in American history at Columbia University, and in 1930 received his Ph.D. from Yale. Even though most of their publications bear his name alone, however, theirs was a true partnership. Andrews's first essay on Shaker craftsmanship appeared in *The Magazine Antiques* in 1928. *The Community Industries of the Shakers,* his first book-length study, was published in 1932, while he was temporary curator of history at the New York State Museum in Albany.

In 1932, they met Juliana Force, the director of the Whitney Museum of American Art. She arranged for a monthly subsidy to support their research, which led directly to the presentation at the Whitney in 1935 of their "Shaker Handicrafts," the first comprehensive exhibition devoted to the subject, as well as to the publication in 1937 of the trailblazing *Shaker Furniture: The Craftsmanship of an American Communal Sect,* published by Yale University Press. Other books followed, on Shaker music and dance (1940); history (1953); and after Edward Andrews's death, on drawings (1969), among others. Although more recent research does not always support the Andrewses con clusions, their scholarship is sound, and their publications remain important as resources. Much of the collection assembled by Edward and Faith Andrews is now at Hancock Shaker Village, which since 1961 has been operated as a museum and historic site. Their Shaker library is at the Winterthur Museum in Delaware.

See also **Juliana Force; Shaker Drawings; Shaker Furniture; Shakers; Winterthur Museum**.

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GERARD C.WERTKIN

ARAGÓN, JOSÉ (working dates c. 1820–c. 1835) was a northern New Mexican *santero,* a painter, and probably a sculptor of Catholic religious images. His origins are unknown; no documentary evidence supports his family's traditional belief that he emigrated from Spain to New Mexico, about 1820. By 1821 he had begun painting *retablos* (devotional panels of saints) and other religious figures, in Hispanic villages of northern New Mexico, and he continued to do so until about 1835. José Aragón was one of the few nineteenth-century *santeros* to sign and date his paintings. In some cases he also gave the name of the place where they were painted, most often the village of Chamisal. He may have lived in Chamisal or may have been an itinerant *santero,* temporarily working in different villages to fill the need for depictions of *santos* among the residents. In some of his inscriptions he states that the piece was painted in his *escultería* (sculpture workshop), which suggests that he was also a sculptor. While there is no further documentary evidence of his work as a sculptor, it is likely that *bultos* (polychrome

wooden sculptures) were carved and painted by him or under his direction, and several surviving pieces are attributed to him on stylistic grounds. At least two *bultos* have figures of angels painted on them in his style.

José Aragón often worked directly from engravings of Mexican or European origin, in some cases even copying the lengthy prayers that appeared on the prints. The subjects depicted by Aragón do not necessarily suggest a direct influence from Europe, because most of them are saints popular in Mexico and New Mexico: Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Nuestra Señora de Refugio, Nuestra Señora de San Juan de los Lagos, Cristo Crucificado, La Santísima Trinidad, San José, San Isidro, Santa Barbara, and others. These prints, which may have been provided to him by priests or other literate settlers, were done in the naturalistic academic styles of the period (late Baroque and Neoclassic), and his paintings tend to be more naturalistic than those of most other New Mexican *santeros* of the period, but it is a simplified naturalism that emphasizes the saintly qualities of the personage depicted.

José Aragón had several followers, who were probably apprentices in his workshop. The most important of them is the Arroyo Hondo Painter, so named for the large altar screen of twelve panels that he painted in the church of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Arroyo Hondo, near Taos, New Mexico.

See also **José Rafael Aragón; Bultos; Religious Folk Art; Retablos; Santeros; Sculpture, Folk**.

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WILLIAM WROTH

ARAGÓN, JOSÉ RAFAEL (c. 1796–1862) was one of the most prolific and popular of the *santeros* (carvers and painters of figures of saints) of northern New Mexico in the first half of the nineteenth century. Aragón's place and date of birth are not known, but by 1815 he was living in Santa Fe, where he was associated with some of the leading families of New Mexico as well as with other artisans, including woodworkers and a sculptor, Anastacio Casados, who may have been his teacher. There is no known family connection between José Rafael and the *santero* José Aragón, although they share characteristics in their painting styles. José Rafael Aragón was a property owner and a literate man who occasionally signed his work. After the death of his first wife in 1832, he remarried and moved to the village of Pueblo Quemado (now Córdova), where he made his living as a *santero* and a farmer until his death in 1862.

After his move, Aragón became the leading *santero* of the region. Nearly every church north of Santa Fe had (and some still have) an altar screen painted by him. Among them are major works at Santa Cruz de la Canada, Chimayó, Pojoaque, Córdova, El Valle, Picurís Pueblo, Talpa, and Llano Quemado. He also painted numerous smaller *retablos* for individuals, and as a sculptor made *bultos* (figures in polychrome cottonwood). As a young man in Santa Fe, Aragón was exposed to Baroque and Neoclassic work imported from Mexico, and his painting style is a compelling synthesis of spiritual and humanistic tendencies, in which the innocence and saintliness of his subjects are dominant. His sculptural style incorporates a restrained Baroque expressiveness with fundamentally static frontal stances.

The paintings of Aragón developed from small, carefully painted pieces in the 1820s to bolder imagery in the 1830s, as his style became progressively looser and more self-assured. Each period of his work is documented by signed and/or dated pieces. The sculptural work assigned to him is documented by archival evidence, as well as by the presence of painted faces and decorations in his style on the surface of some *bultos.* It is likely that Aragón had a small workshop with apprentices and other artists working with him. A number of *retablos* appear to have been painted by an apprentice. They are rendered more childlike than is his style, and they have been dated from the 1850s and 1860s by tree-ring dating and other physical evidence. The most likely apprentice was his son Miguel Aragón, who was still remembered as a *santero* in Córdova in the 1930s. Another *santero* who certainly worked with José Rafael Aragón was the Santo Niño *santero*.

See also **José Aragón; Bultos; Religious Folk Art; Retablos; Santeros; Santo Niño Santero; Sculpture, Folk**.

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WILLIAM WROTH

ARCHITECTURE, VERNACULAR is an imprecise term that has come to mean the most numerically common, and thus representative, buildings of a particular community, place, or region. For much of the twentieth century, vernacular architecture was understood to be the humble buildings erected by provincial, uneducated "folk," as distinguished from the architect-designed, high-style buildings of America's elite, educated, and cosmopolitan classes. Early scholars of vernacular architecture thus focused primarily upon traditional, rural, domestic, and agricul tural structures. Based upon an anti-modernist critique of industrial America, pioneering studies often sought to find surviving constructions of a previous age, and documented the earliest structures in a region, as well as rare, enduring examples of obsolete and vanishing forms. Seminal works by folklorists, antiquarians, and architectural historians, for example, addressed Dutch barns in New York State; seventeenth-century brick-end dwellings in Rhode Island; double-pen houses of the lowland South; and two-story, four-room "I-houses" found in Indiana, Il-linois, and other states.

Many of these invaluable scholarly contributions essentially established typologies, as well as a vocabulary of connoisseurship for previously unstudied and undervalued buildings. This initial literature generated an obsession with the intricacies of antiquated construction techniques, and a fanaticism for understanding variations in floor plans and room uses. Based upon these works, for example, it can be asserted that if a house exhibits *pièce-sur-pièce* construction, in which horizontal timbers are stacked vertically and held in place by grooved vertical corner posts, the structure was probably built by individuals of French-Canadian origin. Similarly, the "dogtrot" house of the Tennessee Valley can be defined as a single-story dwelling characterized by two rooms with doors opening onto an open center passage, allowing for cross-ventilation. The "shotgun" house, to provide a final example, is a domestic architectural form that made its way to the southern United States from western Africa via Haiti. It is one room in width and from one to three or more rooms deep, with a frontward-facing gable.

In the middle decades of the twentieth century, the forces of nationalism, patriotism, and romanticism that led the first collectors to acquire examples of American folk art similarly produced an interest in preserving and gathering vernacular architecture. A number of wealthy individuals purchased buildings and moved them to campuses to create open-air museums. In 1926 industrialist Henry Ford began to construct a complex near his business office outside Detroit. Ford's conglomerated American village, which included vernacular domestic, agricultural, industrial, and commercial structures, opened to the public in 1933. A similar impulse led philanthropist Stephen Clark to work in the 1940s with the New York State Historical Association to install regional vernacular structures at The Farmers' Museum in Cooperstown, New York, and heiress Electra Havemeyer Webb to move a lighthouse, Shaker shed, covered bridge, church, jail, and other historic structures to her property south of Burlington, Vermont. Other notable collections of preserved vernacular structures relocated from their original sites include Old Sturbridge Village in Sturbridge, Massachusetts; Old Bethpage Village, on New York's Long Island; Old World Wisconsin in Eagle, Wisconsin; and the Genesee Country Village & Museum outside of Rochester, New York.

Inspired by these museum villages and by Colonial Williamsburg's precedent-setting endeavors in largescale community restoration, other individuals and institutions have preserved vernacular architectural resources in their original locations. Henry Flynt, a granite magnate from central Massachusetts, for example, was the motivating force behind preserving, appreciating, and restoring a number of eighteenth-and nineteenth century houses in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Old Salem, in Winston–Salem, North Carolina, comprises the preserved and restored historic architecture of a Moravian town. Three important compounds created and currently stewarded by America's most successful communal religious sect are Hancock Shaker Village, in Hancock, Massachusetts; Canterbury Shaker Village, in Canterbury, New Hampshire; and Shakertown at Pleasant Hill, in Harrodsburg, Kentucky. Strawbery Banke, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, preserves and interprets the urban vernacular spaces and structures built and used between the 1600s and the 1950s by residents of a neighborhood in this regional port.

Other institutions have used the best available scholarship to reproduce the vanished vernacular architecture of a previous era, to serve as a setting for the interpretation of social history. Most notably, Plimoth Plantation, in Plymouth, Massachusetts, presents the public with a constantly evolving simulation of the separatist Pilgrims' village of 1627. Similarly, Virginia's Colonial Williamsburg created a slave quarter at Carter's Grove as a strategy for making the realities of chattel slavery more visceral for visitors.

Since the 1970s, scholars have expanded the definition of vernacular architecture to include urban and contemporary forms. Inspired by the advances in social, gender, and economic history, researchers have also broadened their perspective to include the study of complexes of buildings and landscapes. For example, the field of vernacular architecture now encourages examination of not only the barn and the house but also the structure of the dooryard and gardens, the plan of the fields, and the physical interrelationship of the farm with its surrounding community. Similarly, scholars who make vernacular architecture their focus have analyzed mill towns and mining camps; public libraries and roadside food joints; Methodist camp meetings and postwar suburban subdivisions; and Anglican Church architecture of eighteenth century Virginia as well as that of

twentieth century Masonic temples. In 2002 the Los Angeles Cultural Heritage Commission nominated an early trailer park to the city's list of historic and cultural monuments. Proponents deemed this complex irreplaceable as an example of the vernacular landscape created by twentieth-century America's fascination with automobile travel.

Leading scholars of the man-made American environment argue that vernacular architecture is ordinary architecture. This definition, which emphasizes the pervasiveness of built forms within the American landscape, serves to defang the classist, elitist, and ethnocentric conception that vernacular architecture is created by economically, culturally, or chronologically isolated groups, while legitimate architecture is produced by trained and licensed practitioners. Current scholarship tends not to be concerned with whether buildings were designed by individuals with formal academic training, but rather focuses upon the ways in which architecture both embodies and shapes human patterns of behavior. Instead of celebrating individual achievements of artistic expression, as do traditional architectural historians trained in the field of art history, scholars of vernacular architecture investigate the ways in which status, power, wealth, gender, ethnicity, religion, and other factors have shaped buildings and landscapes.

The term "vernacular architecture" has also been used to refer to folk art environments, such as Howard Finster's (1915–2001) *Paradise Garden* outside Summerville, Georgia; Mathius Wernerus's (1873–1931) inspiring concrete, metal, and glass grotto in Dickeyville, Wisconsin; or Simon Rodia's (c. 1875–1966) sublime *Watts Towers.* Debate simmers, sometimes becoming heated, over whether this is an appropriate use of the term. Aficionados of idiosyncratic architectural assemblages argue that these structures qualify, as their builders use common construction methods, are inspired by traditional forms, and are formally unschooled in architecture. Their adversaries contend that, although these often are exquisite artistic statements, they are not communally sanctioned, nor are they representative of a larger class of structures. In this view, these buildings and environments, which also could be labeled "intuitive" or "outsider" architecture, embody a single individual's personal vision rather than the cultural processes of an identifiable group of people.

The ordinary American-built environment is complicated; the manner in which Americans conceive and construct it has been influenced by ethnicity, environment, economics, technology, religion, and other factors. Because of the complexity of the undertaking, scholars explicating vernacular architecture have employed a variety of disciplinary perspectives, including folklore, cultural geography, gender studies, history, art history, and anthropology. The scholarly literature regarding vernacular architecture tends to be centered in academic and professional journals, including *Winterthur Portfolio; The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians; Cultural Resource Management;* and the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* rather than in selfcontained books. Founded in 1979, the Vernacular Architecture Forum is a lively organization of more than eight hundred members that sponsors annual meetings with insightful presentations and dynamic, scholarly tours of buildings, landscapes, and compounds. It also sponsors a quarterly newsletter, maintains an encyclopedic on-line bibliography of the topic, publishes the Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture publication series, and subsidizes scholarly consultation regarding the preservation and interpretation of architectural resources.

Advances in the study of vernacular architecture since the 1970s have led a number of individuals to observe that the term "vernacular architecture" is an artificial construct, derived from nineteenth-century Romanticism, which has outlived its usefulness. These radicals assert that *all* architecture, architectdesigned or traditional, fulfills human functions, is shaped by cultural forces, and should be studied and explicated using the same criteria.

See also **Environments, Folk; Howard Finster; Freemasonry; German American Folk Art;** New **York State Historical Association; Simon Rodia; Shakers; Electra Havemeyer Webb; Mathius Wernerus**.

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WILLIAM D.MOORE

ARCHULETA, FELIPE BENITO (1910–1990) produced innovative carvings that reflect his strong personality as well as the *santo* (or holy figure) woodcarving tradition. He is credited with creating a secular art form as a carver of animal figures and gave new direction to more than a dozen younger carvers. Less well-known are his drawings.

Born in Santa Cruz, New Mexico, the eldest of six children, Archuleta worked from his early childhood to help support his family. He was employed as a migrant worker picking potatoes, *chiles,* and fruit; he did farm chores for less than a dollar a day; and in 1935 he joined the Civilian Conservation Corps as a laborer, later becoming an office orderly. He later worked for the Works Progress Administration as a stonemason, and as a hotel cook. At age thirty-five, he joined the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and worked as a carpenter for twenty-four years.

In 1964, Archuleta was virtually unemployed, and he prayed for guidance. In an interview with collector and dealer Davis Mather, Archuleta recalled, "I asked God for some kind of miracle, some kind of a thing to do, to give me something to make my life with. I started carving and they just come out of my mind after that."

Archuleta's early works were small; his subjects were *carretas,* wagons with oxen and driver, sheep, and snakes. During the 1970s he began to make larger pieces, some life-size. The favorable response his work received encouraged him to expand his menagerie of subjects to include figures of coyotes, pigs, and birds, as well as exotic animals, such as gorillas, lions, tigers, and rhinoceroses. Children's books, magazines such as *National Geographic,* and other sources were used as reference material, but Archuleta always individualized each animal figure. The artist created hundreds of works using local cottonwood; his basic tools were a chain saw, ax, chisel, rasp, knife, and sandpaper. He would begin each work using a chain saw, to rough out the general shape, and next he used a pocketknife to create the fine details. He carved larger animals in more than one piece, using a glue and sawdust mixture to fill in crevices, build up forms, and create texture. He added realistic details, such as eyes and teeth, with baling wire, telephone cable, glass marbles, and sisal. He sanded his figures before finally painting them.

To meet the demand for his carvings, which were popular with dealers and collectors, he worked with his son Leroy, and his grandson Ron Rodriguez, as well as Alonzo Jimenez, and David Alvarez. All became independent carvers and established reputations of their own. In 1979, Felipe Archuleta, master carver and guiding spirit of the younger New Mexican animal carvers, was given the governor of New Mexico's Award of Excellence and Achievement in the Arts.

See also **David Alvarez; Leroy Ramon Archuleta; Religious Folk Art; Sculpture, Folk**.

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LEE KOGAN

ARCHULETA, LEROY RAMON (1949–2002) was a New Mexican woodcarver who followed the secular art form that his celebrated father, Felipe Benito Archuleta, initiated in Tesuque. Working with his father in his workshop for many years, he used local materials, mainly cottonwood, to carve such animal forms as coyotes, dogs, rabbits, and snakes, which were familiar in his environment. For more exotic species, such as bears, jaguars, kangaroos, lions, macaws, and yaks, he referred to sources like the *National Geographic Book of Mammals.*

After selecting his wood, Archuleta used a chain saw to rough out his forms, then refined them with an ax, knife, chisels, rasps, and sandpaper. A mixture of sawdust and glue was used to build up his forms and to fill crevices before painting. Latex exterior house paint was applied for finishing. Glass marbles, broom bristles, bottle caps, baling twine, telephone cable, and leather provided realistic embellishment for eyes, whiskers, skin, harnesses, and saddles. Plastic lawn edging was used for animal claws. Similar to his father's style in form, technique, and materials, Archuleta's animals are distinguished by smoother finishes and more benign attitudes.

After high school, Archuleta worked in Colorado in a variety of jobs, including factory work, tree cutting, and as a laborer loading trucks. He returned to Tesuque in 1973 and worked full-time, at first assisting his father, then carving his own animal figures. He represents the second of three generations of New Mexican woodcarvers, and was, along with his father, a mentor to Ron Rodriguez, his nephew, with whom he shared workspace for more than twenty years. Archuleta never married, but was beloved by family and friends.

In 1994 he shared with his father the Award of Distinction from the Folk Art Society of America. An exhibition of his work, "Leroy's Zoo," traveled to a number of museums in 1999, and a children's book of the same title, with text by Warren and Sylvia Lowe, was published in 1997.

See also **Felipe Benito Archuleta; Sculpture, Folk**.

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LEE KOGAN

ARMSTRONG, ZEBEDEE ("Z.B.") (1911–1993) received a vision when he was in his sixties telling him that "the end of the world is coming" and to stop "wasting your time." This awesome message compelled Armstrong to start constructing three-dimensional calendars to predict the date and time of this apocalypse. He created hundreds of these calendars by the time he died, all of which employed a very distinct visual vocabulary and palette. Using primarily red and black felt-tip markers, the artist would first delineate his surface with a grid design, a technique he called "taping." Then he would affix a numerical calendar system onto the grid using a variety of surfaces, such as cardboard boxes, paper ephemera, wooden understructures, mailboxes, containers, and other found three-dimensional objects. Some sculptures have moving parts, such as the hands on a clock or the points of a star, which can rotate to various days and months on the constructed calendar; this movement aided the artist in calculating the exact date of the final judgment. These embellished objects crowded the interior of the artist's home, creating a distinct, visually exciting environmental and sculptural display.

Armstrong was born in, and never left, Thompson, Georgia. He was a cotton field worker most of his life; he started working in a box factory as a foreman sometime in the 1970s. Upon retiring from factory work in 1982, the artist devoted more time to his calendar creations. Having grown up in a rural farming community, Armstrong had a lifetime of practical experience in making things, whether it was chairs, benches, and cupboards, or his artistic calendar constructions.

See also **Environments, Folk; Visionary Art**.

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BROOKE DAVIS ANDERSON

ARNING, EDDIE (1898–1993) struggled back from the brink of mental and emotional instability with the help of art. He was born to German immigrants who settled in Austin County, Texas, where his father worked as a farmer. Signs of his illness appeared in Arning's mid-twenties. Cycles of depression and withdrawal followed by violent outbursts occurred with increasing frequency, and in 1928 he was committed to the Austin State Hospital. He was released a year later but recommitted in 1934, this time for thirty years.

A turning point in Arning's life came in 1964. That year he was moved to a nursing home, but perhaps more importantly, his artistic creativity drew the attention of a perceptive hospital aide. Helen Mayfield noticed that, instead of merely filling in the printed shapes in the coloring books she offered him, Arning added freehand lines and chose unusual color schemes. Encouraged by Mayfield, Arning soon graduated to blank sheets of paper, initially drawing on recollections of his boyhood for most of his subjects: animals, plants, farm implements, windmills, and automobiles. Eventually he added people to his iconography, and he switched from wax crayons to oil pastels. As his confidence increased, he developed the habit of deriving inspiration from the printed photographs and graphic artworks that appeared in magazines and newspapers.

Tennis Players; Eddie Arning; c. 1965; crayon on paper; 16×22 inches. Photo courtesy Fleisher/Ollman Gallery, Philadelphia.

Yet Arning never slavishly copied pictures. Instead, he transformed them into bold and unique statements reflective of his inner vision. Generally, he retainedbut vastly simplified-key elements, preferring abstract shapes and graphic lines. Consequently, he reduced everyday objects into compelling, abstract images that communicate a world from a fresh and unexpected viewpoint. A sharp eye for color aided his efforts; whether explosive or subtle, his color combinations are unpredictable and visually arresting. His *Tennis Players* (c. 1965) is one such composition that Arning structured using flattened schematic shapes to depict three dark-skinned people (two men and a woman) dressed to play tennis. The players's faces are articulated using bold striated marks similar to those found on African masks, and the background is blocked in using unmodulated areas of intense greens, blues, and whites.

In 1973, Arning left the nursing home to live with a widowed sister, a change that seemingly disrupted his creative drive. Drawing at this point became "hard work," and he no longer savored the pleasure and pride it had once brought. His productive period had been fruitful, though, resulting in several hundred drawings. Dedicated friends ensured the preservation of his work and, ultimately, their discovery by the larger art world. Without Mayfield and her husband, Martin; Robert and Betty Cogswell; and Alex and Ivria Sackton and their children, Arning's talent might have lain dormant or been appreciated by only a few.

See also **Outsider Art**.

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BARBARA R.LUCK

ARNOLD, JOHN JAME STRUMBULL (1812–c 1865) painted likenesses in a distinctive, linear style long after the popularization of the daguerreotype and other photographic processes made it unfashionable and impractical to do so. In addition, he is a rare example of a portrait painter who was also a documented instructor of penmanship.

Arnold was born in Reading Township, Adams County, Pennsylvania, one of eight children of Dr. John B.Arnold and Rachel Weakley Arnold. He was active as a painter of full-size and miniature portraits and as a penmanship teacher by 1841. About thirtyfive portraits have been attributed to him, painted mainly in oil on canvas, although his body of work includes a self-portrait in watercolor and ink on paper, advertising his penmanship skill, in the collection of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum. These works were largely executed in York County, Pennsylvania, although Arnold is also

thought to have worked in Washington, D.C., and northern Virginia. Arnold consistently painted his sitters' faces in soft shades of grayish brown, posing his adult subjects in half-length compositions while portraying children full-length. His penchant for delineating facial features and hands in a precise, linear fashion may derive from his skill in penmanship. He is thought to have died after the end of the American Civil War, as a result of excessive alcohol consumption.

See also **Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum; Miniatures; Painting, American Folk**.

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PAUL S.D'AMBROSIO

ARROYO HONDO CARVER (active c. 1830–c. 1850) was an important sculptor of religious folk images in northern New Mexico. His name derives from the large number of his works found in the village of Arroyo Hondo, north of Taos. His *bultos* (polychrome wood figures of important saints and holy persons) were made for the local church and for lay brotherhood meeting houses *(moradas)* in Arroyo Hondo, the nearby towns of Questa, Arroyo Seco, and Valdez, and for a private family chapel in Arroyo Hondo. The identity of this artist is not known, but he was probably an Arroyo Hondo resident who ceased working in the 1850s, and whose name had been forgotten by the time field research was done in the 1940s. His work can be dated to the first half of the nineteenth century through his use of hand-adzed wood, which was not used until after 1850, for bases and niches of statues rather than milled lumber, and his use of locally made water-based tempera paints rather than the commercial oils and enamels favored by later artists.

The carver's brightly painted pieces are characterized by static frontal poses, the bodies often relieved from heaviness by simple grooved lines running their length to indicate flowing robes. The faces are symmetrical and sharply carved, with distinctive clamshell ears and pointed chins and noses. They have an expressionless quality, placing them beyond the realm of human sentimentality and evoking the spirituality of medieval Christian sculpture. Most of the sculpture done at this time in New Mexico, such as the work of José Rafael Aragón and the Santo Niño Santero, is characterized by a simplified naturalism, reflecting the academic art of the day. In contrast, the work of the Arroyo Hondo Carver is the first to move away from this aesthetic to achieve a more abstract and transcendent spirituality. The abstracted work of this artist provides a transition to that of the late nineteenth century, but unlike some of the later sculptors, whose work is often awkward and rigid, the Arroyo Hondo Carver's pieces are graceful and appealing. It is likely that Juan Miguel Herrera, a later sculptor from Arroyo Hondo, learned to carve with the Arroyo Hondo Carver.

See also **José Rafael Aragón; Bultos; Juan Miguel Herrera; Religious Folk Art; Retablos; Santeros; Santo Niño Santero; Sculpture, Folk**.

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WILLIAM WROTH

ASHBY, STEVE (1904–1980) was born in Delaplane, in Fauquier County, Virginia. Except for a brief stint as a waiter at a hotel in nearby Marshall, he spent most of his life working on the farm where his father and several earlier generations of his family had been slaves. When he was in his late twenties, he married Eliza King, an older woman who worked as a cook at a girl's boarding school, and they set up housekeeping in a previously abandoned one-room schoolhouse. They had no children, but adopted and raised a son.

Ashby had occasionally made small carvings since his childhood, but after his wife's death in 1960, and his subsequent retirement, he began to make the slapdash, figural sculptures that he called "fixingups," which came to populate his house and yard. Pieced together largely from scraps of timber and lumber that he modified with a saw and augmented with paint, old

clothing, cut-out images from magazines, and various found objects, these representations of people and animals are lively, expressionistic, humorous, and in many cases erotically charged. In addition to making individual figures and groupings of them, Ashby also made kinetic, wind-activated "whirligigs," some of which depict sexual couplings.

See also **African American Folk Art (Vernacular Art); Whirligigs**.

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TOM PATTERSON

ASIAN AMERICAN FOLK ART may be described as the traditional material culture of people of Asian ancestry living in the United States. There is essentially no concerted field of study nor academic history for addressing this broad subject area. The designation "Asian American" is formulated by geographic determinants that circumscribe a group of otherwise distinct people whose ancestry, as defined by the United States 2000 Census, relates to "the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent." This point of departure for defining Asian American folk art suggests an unwieldy, disparately constituted category encompassing a complex array of, in many cases, unrelated traditional forms, created for use in community contexts by immigrants, refugees, and their descendants. These forms might include, for example, Japanese flower arrangements, Hmong reverse appliqués, Tibetan sand paintings, Chinese kites, Javanese puppets, Thai vegetable carvings, Cambodian carved temple decoration, Indian henna tattoos, Lao silk weavings, Filipino lanterns, Korean carved seals, Mien scroll paintings, and Khmu baskets, as well as the vernacular architecture of American Chinatowns.

Asian arts and crafts have long been the object of American collecting fads; they have inspired art and design movements (for instance, Art Nouveau and the Aesthetic Movement), and have informed the work of American artists and architects. By the end of the nineteenth century, American audiences had grown accustomed to regarding Asian culture with wonder, and in terms of an exotic, mysterious, and undifferentiated "Orient." Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and Filipino people were routinely displayed and presented in museums, circuses, theater stages, and world fairs. Trade agreements between America and Asian countries gave rise to the popular collecting of Chinese and Japanese objects, such as furniture, fans, silk textiles, and pottery, all of which were acquired as rarities or luxuries and signaled the possessors' wealth and social station.

In contrast to this curiosity in Asian things, international politics and anti-immigrant sentiment incited an overwhelmingly negative public regard of Asian people living in the United States. From the mid-1800s to the early 1900s, hundreds of pieces of legislation were enacted limiting or excluding persons of Asian ancestry from citizenship, intermarriage, land ownership, employment, and other legal rights that would have facilitated the permanent settlement and development of Asian American communities. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act initiated a series of restrictions that culminated in the 1924 Immigration Act, which completely halted the emigration of people from countries within a "barred zone," a triangular area encompassing most of the Asian continent. Immigrants from Asia did not begin to shed their legal status, and thus popular perception, as "aliens ineligible for citizenship" until the 1940s.

It was not until the 1950s that American-born people of Asian ancestry outnumbered immigrants; this situation changed with the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which eliminated the quota system that previously restricted Asian immigration. By 2000, the fastest-growing segments of the United States population were Asian American.

This history underlines the complexity and diversity of Asian American communities. It also reflects historically how Asian Americans have been marginalized politically, socially, economically, and culturally. The consideration of Asian immigrants as a foreign group, incapable of assimilating, probably accounts for the historic lack of attention focused on the folk arts of these communities by earlier generations of American scholars of material culture as well as folklorists, who have otherwise generated a robust body of scholarship pertaining to European immigrant groups, and to other racial minorities such as Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and African Americans. Scholars and curators may well have overlooked the cultural products of Asian Americans because they did not consider these forms integral or related to their narrow definitions of an American identity and related folk art traditions. Perhaps, too, they imagined the material culture of Asians solely as foreign curiosities, souvenirs, or antiquities.

While early Asian immigrants were subject to residential and social segregation, the experiences of both past and present generations of Asian Americans have been substantively related to those of other Americans; their lives have not been

discretely bound, nor have their activities and interactions been exclusively circumscribed along racial and ethnic lines. The post-1965 changes in American demography have shifted the ways in which people of Asian ancestry are considered, with respect to American history and American life. Thus, in the latter half of the twentieth century, scholars of folklore, anthropology, and history have reconsidered the scope of what constitutes American folklore and folk art, proposing new frameworks for exploring how ethnic identity and immigration experiences are reflected in traditional life and forms of cultural production. In the field of folklore, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Robert Georges, and Stephen Stern, among others, suggested new conceptual categories with which to interpret the experiences of immigrants and their descendants, delineating among, for example, the "folklore of the immigrant experience," the "folklore heritage of immigrants," and the "folklore of ethnicity." All of these approaches account for differences in generational experiences. Most meaningfully, they also address "ethnicity" as one of many aspects of a person's identity, and, therefore, only one possible means by which communities and cultural production should be defined. Moreover, these scholars have directed attention to the dynamic way that traditional behaviors serve to mark cultural differences, and how multiple cultural resources inform the ways in which they change over time.

These frameworks may be adapted to a study of Asian American folk art and can be broken down into four categories: folk arts sustained and adapted by immigrants and refugees; folk arts adapted and maintained by American-born generations; folk arts specifically generated by conditions or experiences in the United States; and Asian folk arts in mainstream American culture. For the purposes of this broad discussion, the illustrations presented focus primarily on the folk arts of Japanese Americans, a population present in the United States since the late nineteenth century, and on LaotianHmong Americans, a tribal people from the mountainous area of Laos, who fought the Communist Pathet Lao and North Vietnamese, with money, supplies, and military leadership controlled by the Central Intelligence Agency, from 1955 until the end of the Vietnam War, in 1975. The Hmong resettled in the United States beginning in the mid-1970s.

As with all immigrants, those from Asian countries bring to the United States the traditions of their countries of origin. These include rites of passage, culinary ways, healing practices, music, dance, and seasonal celebrations. Generally speaking, all of these customs have related material forms that may be considered folk art.

An example of a form used by an early Asian immigrant group is the *senninbari,* a "one-thousandstitches" scarf that served as a talisman and was sewn to protect the American-born sons of Japanese immigrants during their World War II tours of combat with the United States Army. These scarves feature the image of a tiger—or another appropriately brave and fierce animal—situated amid a constellation of one thousand stitches, each one applied by a different female (with the exception of those born in the Year of the Tiger, who were permitted to sew more than one).

A more recent example is illustrated by the adaptation of a form of Chinese paper folding among a refugee population. In 1993 a ship attempting to smuggle approximately three hundred Chinese passengers into the United States, the *Golden Venture,* ran aground near New York City. The passengers were detained until 1997, and spent the interim petitioning for the right to remain in the country. During this time, using available materials such as newspapers, magazines, and toilet paper, they prolifically created elaborate figures of folded paper and papier-mâché. This process reportedly began with a particular individual who knew a form of Chinese paper folding (called *zhizha* or *huzhi*) that he then taught to the other detainees. Over time, more and more detainees began to create pieces. Some based their forms on traditional Chinese motifs; others explored new forms inspired by their situation in the United States. Common subject matter included pineapples, birds, plants, Chinese towers, and miniature landscape tableaux. The pieces that most captured the American public's attention were the eagles, referred to as Freedom Birds and interpreted as symbols of the refugees' dreams of liberty. Initially, these creations were presented to the pro bono lawyers working on the political asylum cases. They were later exhibited and sold to American supporters. Five of the refugees were eventually granted permanent United States residency based on their "extraordinary artistic ability" manifest in the works fabricated while confined. In 1996 a traveling exhibition, "Fly to Freedom: The Art of the Golden Venture Refugees," was organized by the Museum of the Chinese in the Americas, in New York City.

Textiles created and used in Hmong refugee communities in the United States provide another dynamic example of the ways in which immigrants adapt their folk arts. The Hmong continue to maintain cultural contexts that require the use of their traditional needlework, *paj ntaub.* In Laos, Hmong women typically learn to sew reverse appliqué and embroidery as a primary skill, sometimes even before farming, childcare, or cooking. In the United States, Hmong New Year is an important occasion for wearing traditional clothing. Tens of thousands of Hmong Americans gather in major centers such as Fresno, California, or Minneapolis, Minnesota, to socialize, court, eat, and perform the rituals that ensure a prosperous New Year. Mothers compete to provide clothing for their children that will bring status, compliments, and ultimately attract prospective in-laws. With greater access to variety in fabrics and sewing accessories such as beads, sequins, glue, rickrack, and other Westem craft supplies, Hmong American embroiderers are limited only by their imagination, and have developed a number of new styles. The sequined and beaded "rooster hat," for example, is an adaptation of a traditional Hmong baby hat. In the 1980s it was favored by girls in place of the traditional purple turbans that are wrapped by hand for each wearing. Hmong American women have also ingeniously adapted their sewing skills to create pillows, purses, jackets, wall hangings, place mats, aprons, and other goods-for-sale designed to appeal to American textile lovers. For these purposes, the artists use a

palette designed to coordinate with mainstream American home-decor tastes. Thus, in place of the bright, saturated, contrasting colors preferred by the Hmong, like fluorescent greens and pinks or oranges and blue, textiles sold to a non-Hmong market utilize pastels and earth tones.

Some American-born descendants of Asian immigrants continue to produce and engage in the folk arts brought to the United States by earlier generations of their families. A contemporary example is the ongoing use among Japanese Americans of origami (paper folding) in celebrations and in gift exchanges. Even for the weddings of fourth-generation Japanese Americans, family and friends will collectively fold 1,001 paper cranes to display at the reception and to serve as auspicious symbols of fidelity, happiness, longevity, and health. Garlands of 1,001 cranes have also been created to present to people confronting challenges. In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, Japanese American organizations around the country presented these folded cranes both to those directly touched by the attacks in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania, and to American Muslim and Arab communities that were suffering under a climate of hostility and discrimination similar to that which had affected Japanese Americans after the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor.

An example that demonstrates an adaptive process at a fairly young stage—given the more recent settlement of this population in the United States—is the fabrication and use of traditional clothing and textiles by American-born Hmong girls. With a different set of expectations and life circumstances than their mothers, these girls and young women place priority on their academic achievement and professional development, rather than becoming expert *paj ntaub* artists. Many, however, have learned traditional *paj ntaub,* and while fewer can sew the painstaking reverse-appliqué designs that their mothers can, they have embraced simpler cross-stitch techniques that they use to produce their own New Year's finery. While styles in Laos were determined by specific region and clan, American-born Hmong girls may own many different regional outfits, from which they mix and match headdresses, skirts, and aprons according to their personal tastes and moods. Despite their culturally different approach to dress and adornment, many American-born Hmong women continue to value the use of traditional clothing in community celebrations, such as the New Year, as a means of expressing their sense of "Hmong-ness" as well as their individual conceptions of beauty and style. Several museums have staged Hmong textile exhibitions. In 1985 the John Michael Kohler Arts Center in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, organized "Hmong Art: Tradition and Change," which toured the United States. This exhibition served to define Hmong and Hmong American art for the general public, and provided a model for many ensuing exhibitions.

While Asian folk arts may change dramatically over subsequent American-born generations, they often retain certain elements that continue to refer to an identifiable and distinct Asian source. In contrast, there are also forms that, regardless of their creation by either immigrant or American-born generations, are not transferred or adapted directly from an Asian source, but rather are forged from specific experiences or conditions in the United States.

During World War II, for example, arts and crafts activities proliferated among Americans of Japanese ancestry as well as among Japanese immigrants who had been forcibly removed from their West Coast homes and incarcerated in camps located in six states. The carving and painting of wooden bird pins for adornment and exchange was an especially popular pastime developed to cope with the boredom and demoralization of confinement. Reportedly best developed as a craft at the Poston and Gila River camps in Arizona, the pins were carved from wood resourcefully salvaged from produce or egg crates, with legs shaped from scraps of excess window-screen wire, and the figures were then realistically painted according to examples found in various nature publications. The factors that probably lent this craft its particular popularity were the availability of basic materials, a process that accommodated individual variation and artistry within a set pattern, and the exchangeability of the finished product. It has also been suggested that, in a manner similar to the Freedom Birds created by the *Golden Venture* refugees, the bird motif resonated with inmates as a symbol of their desire to fly beyond the confines of the camps. Several museums, including the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, have examples of these pins, as well as other camp arts and crafts, in their permanent collections, and have featured them in exhibitions.

While the bird pins were promulgated by a specific event or experience, other forms have emerged out of more generalized American experiences and reflect the influence of multiple cultural repertoires. For example, in communities such as Orange County, California, which has substantial concentrations of Asian-American populations of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Vietnamese, and South Asians, a new type of car customization emerged in the 1990s. Through processes analogous to those that produced older American forms of custom cars like low riders and hot rods, subcompact cars imported from Asia, such as Hondas and Acuras, are "souped up" and transformed into lighter, faster, and more visually dramatic vehicles for cruising and racing. Common modifications include paint jobs that favor bright, unconventional automobile colors and combinations; lowering the car's suspension to minimize the space between the tire and fender; and accessorizing the cars with fancy wheel rims, thin tires, a shiny exhaust system, body skirts, and rear wings. These modifications are generally made by crews, who develop distinct, collective identities and recognizable styles. While there are many non-Asian participants, the form is noticeably prolific among Asian American youth. This association is reflected in popular coinages such as "ricerocket," as well as the nickname "The University of Civics and Integras" for the University of California, Irvine, which has an Asian American enrollment that exceeds 50 percent.

It was not until the late 1960s that the concept of a pan-Asian identity was deliberately articulated and the term "Asian American" was both assumed by and ascribed to people of Asian ancestry in the United States. Developed in the context of the ethnicconsciousness, civil rights, and antiwar movements of the 1960s and 1970s, this pan-ethnic identity was formulated upon the perception of a shared history of racial discrimination in the United States, and it catalyzed a nationwide movement for social change. Artists' collectives and public arts projects were established to promote the idea of a synthetic, pan-Asian American culture, through community-based and accessible media such as public murals, printmaking, and the performing arts.

The proliferation of *taiko* drum ensembles in the United States emerged within the context of this so-called Asian American movement. While adapted from traditional Japanese drumming (the word *"taiko"* means "big drum" or "fat drum" in Japanese), *taiko* in the United States developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a dramatic vehicle through which to assert a strong, powerful, collective pan-Asian American identity. Innovations in American drum building, which diverged from traditional Japanese methods, were crucial to the spread and viability of the form, making it affordable for grassroots ensembles. Specifically, the leaders of two pioneering California groups, San Francisco Taiko Dojo and Kinnara Taiko, developed methods that made it possible for groups to build their own drums from reconfigured old wine barrels, using car jacks to stretch the skins across the drum bodies. These techniques continue to be disseminated informally among ensembles throughout the country, with members of groups who have successfully built their own drums traveling to assist those attempting the process for the first time.

Since the late 1800s, Japanese vernacular forms have continued to inspire and influence American design, art, and architecture, especially well recognized in the works of artist Isamu Noguchi (1904– 1988), furniture designer George Nakashima (1905– 1990), and architect Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959), all of whom were born in the United States. Additionally, Asian folk art forms and motifs have been widely disseminated through mainstream American popular culture through films, video games, comic books, and contemporary houseware, such as rice-paper lanterns, bamboo baskets, lacquer ware, and textiles.

A number of Asian folk art forms have been directly absorbed into a generalized American popular culture. For example, the practice of Asian paperfolding techniques (such as origami) extends beyond Asian American community contexts. Henna tattoos, the *mehendi* tradition from India, and certain Asian and Pacific Island styles of tattooing (Japanese, Oceanic, and Chinese) are commonly applied as non-ceremonial body adornment.

The folk arts prevalent in the state of Hawaii demonstrate how, through generations of cross-cultural interaction and creolization, the specific ethnic associations of certain forms may be absorbed into broader, generic ones. With a population comprised of native Pacific Islanders, immigrants and the descendants of immigrants from Asia, Puerto Rico, and Europe, as well as people whose heritage is constituted from various combinations of all of these derivations, a regional Hawaiian "local" identity often takes precedence over specific ethnic or cultural ones. Leis, for example, garlands made from flowers or other natural materials, have their origins in Polynesian cultures, but they have also become a traditional part of the celebratory life of all local residents. Similarly, as a consequence of the long history and demographic dominance of Asian American populations in the state, many regional folk arts not specifically identified as Asian have been nonetheless informed by traditional Asian techniques, styles, and materials. For instance, while the traditional art of Hawaiian fishnet knotting is derived from and identified with the culture of native Hawaiians, throw nets are also referred to locally by a Japanese name, *tsuji,* suggesting that techniques brought to the islands by immigrants have been incorporated into the regional form.

This broad survey of a range of traditional material culture demonstrates the difficulty of defining Asian American folk art exclusively by any one criterion, such as the ethnicity or race of the maker, the ethnic origin of the form, or its community context. The four categories delineated above are offered hypothetically, and there are many ways in which they overlap. Clearly, there is a multiplicity of forms and categories that could be identified under the broad rubric of "Asian American folk art." Ultimately, there are no unifying characteristics, formal, stylistic, or otherwise, that connect all of the possible examples and people for whom this term might apply. Additionally, many people of Asian ancestry continue to identify with more specific sources of cultural affiliation, such as nationality, region, religion, generation, and language, among others. Definitions and categories, therefore, should be considered open-ended and flexible, lest they cease to be useful tools for understanding forms that are by nature dynamic, and will continue to change as a consequence of internal migration, new immigration, intermarriage, personal creativity and innovation, and the diverse and fluid nature of public and popular culture.

While the material folk arts of Asian Americans have not been the subject of widespread scholarly and curatorial attention, the fieldwork and presentations of public folklorists and historians, especially since the 1980s, have played a central role in presenting and recognizing Asian American folk artists. Resulting exhibitions, festivals, performances, and awards have contributed to a public record that helps inform what can be considered Asian American folk art. The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) Folk and Traditional Arts Program has led the national effort in developing and supporting programs that increase public awareness of individual folk artists. Since its initiation of the National Heritage Fellowships, the program has honored a handful of traditional artists of Asian heritage who work with material culture, including Em Bun (1916–), a Cambodian silk weaver from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Yong Fang Nhu (1911–), a Hmong weaver and embroiderer from

Detroit; Losang Samten (1953–), a Tibetan sand mandala painter from Philadelphia; John Naka (1914–), a bonsai sculptor from Los Angeles; Mone (1952–) and Vanxay (dates unknown) Saenphimmachak, Lao weavers, needleworkers and loom-makers from St. Louis; and Bounxou Chanthraphone (1947–), a Lao weaver from Brooklyn Park, Minnesota.

Most public sector folklore work has focused on Old World immigrant expressions, not on the categories that emerge from the American experience. Among the public history institutions that have played leading roles in preserving all aspects of the experiences of the older Asian American communities, including their traditional arts, are the Wing Luke Asian Museum in Seattle; the National Japanese American Historical Society in San Francisco; the Museum of the Chinese in the Americas in New York; and the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles.

Interdisciplinary studies, academic and public sector collaborations, as well as the continuing vitality and transformations of community life in the United States, provide exciting opportunities for shaping a new discourse that recognizes the complexities and heterogeneity of the historic and contemporary experiences, and material traditions, of Asian Americans.

See also **African American Folk Art (Vernacular Art); Architecture, Vernacular; Baskets; Circus Arts; Hmong Arts; Musical Instruments; Native American Folk Art; NEA American Heritage Awards; Paper Cutting; Pictures, Needlework; Pottery, Folk; Quilts; Quilts, African American; Samplers, Needlework; Tattoo; Toys, Folk**.

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SOJIN KIM AND AMY KITCHENER

AULISIO, JOSEPH P. (1910–1974) painted about fifty pictures, many of which are portraits, in oil paint on canvas board and Masonite. Aulisio's wife, Mary Heffernon Aulisio, bought him a paint-by-number set for Christmas in 1952, but he did not begin to paint until arthritis of the knee limited his physical activity. Painting seemed a viable way to spend free time; it gave him pleasure and afforded diversion from work he did not enjoy. Aulisio studied forestry management at Pennsylvania State College, but when he discovered that he did not enjoy this work, he relied on his training as a tailor's apprentice, received during his high school years, to open his own shop in 1929.

Among Aulisio's portraits, the one of his employee Frank Peters attests to the continuing power of portraiture as a vernacular art form in the twentieth century. Aulisio captures the nuances of Peters' personality with sensitivity, grace, and honesty in this waist-length portrait of an elderly, white-haired man with dark-rimmed glasses and a yellow measuring tape dangling gently from his neck. By depicting Peters' deeply furrowed brow and wrinkled cheeks and hands, suggesting years of hard work, Aulisio seems to pay homage to the worker. Among others, Aulisio also painted a portrait of American folk painter Grandma Moses (1860–1961) seated at her kitchen table near a ruffled curtained window.

In the 1960s, Aulisio won first prize in the Lackawanna County Art Show, which was sponsored by the Everhart Museum in Scranton, Pennsylvania. A few portraits of family and friends, landscapes, and hunting and fishing scenes of the Susquehanna River area near Falls, Pennsylvania, hang at Lease Cleaners in Old Forge, Pennsylvania, where Aulisio lived.

See also **Anna Mary Robertson "Grandma" Moses; Painting, American Folk**.

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LEE KOGAN

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BADAMI, ANDREA (1913–2002) is best known for his humorous paintings, full of irony and produced in an exaggerated Pop Art style, which possess a fusion of American and Italian sensibilities. Pop art was an art movement of the 1960s and 1970s that incorporated elements of modern popular culture and the mass media. Badami was self-taught and painted his entire life, but was most active as an artist between 1960 and 1990.

Badami's life was as colorful as his work. He was born on October 27, 1913, in Omaha, Nebraska. When he was five, his parents took him back to their native home in Corleone, Sicily. In 1929 he returned to Omaha to live with an uncle, but two years later he returned to Corleone and was married. Conscripted into Mussolini's army in 1940, he was captured by the British in North Africa, and spent the rest of World War II in prisoner of war camps in India and Britain. When he returned to Sicily in 1946, he contacted the American consulate in Palermo to reassert his American citizenship, and soon after, returned to the United States. He brought his family to America in 1948, and worked in the repair shop for the Union Pacific Railroad, in Omaha, Nebraska.

Badami spent all of his spare time painting, determined to become a better artist. Lacking proficiency in English, art became a way in which he could relate his past experiences and express his personal view of the world. Tom Bartek, associated with the Joselyn Museum and Creighton University in Omaha, recognized Badami's talent and appreciated the humor and pop images in his work, and exhibited some of the artist's paintings in the 1960s.

In 1978, after thirty years of service, Badami retired from the Union Pacific Railroad. Several years later he moved to Tucson, Arizona, where he continued to make paintings, until his death.

Mother Nursing Child (1974), for example, is a forthrightly sensuous nude, the mother nursing a robust baby and holding a bar of soap. By all accounts the artist never used live models, which is surprising because his figures are so realistic. The saints and Madonnas in the artist's paintings are a reflection of his Italian and religious upbringing, yet the overall impact of a Badami painting is always American because of their references to popular culture.

Badami's *Adam and Eve in the Sight of God* (c. 1969) is a play on the traditional Garden of Eden scene, with the snake and a figure of God rendered in the style of William Blake. The partially clothed Eve is voluptuous, while the nude Adam warms himself by a campfire. The trees in the background are painted using small dots in a Pointillist manner.

See also **Painting, American Folk; Religious Folk Art**.

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