

Unexpected Vibrations in Unexpected Places:
Making New, Old Music in the McCarroll Family

Joseph Edward Decosimo

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of American Studies (Folklore).

Chapel Hill
2012

Approved by:

Patricia Sawin

Robert Cantwell

Glenn Hinson

© 2012
Joseph Edward Decosimo
All Rights Reserved

Abstract

JOSEPH EDWARD DECOSIMO:
Unexpected Vibrations in Unexpected Places: Making New, Old Music in the McCarroll
Family
(Under the direction of Patricia Sawin)

This thesis examines the ways that commercially recorded music from the late 1920s and the meanings attached to the recordings by listeners shape contemporary music making in the McCarroll family of East Tennessee. I argue that processes of circulation, resonance, and feedback help explicate some of the changes in the McCarroll family's sound over the last dozen or so years, paying careful attention to the family's shift towards consciously performing their music as heritage. I trace fiddler Jimmy McCarroll and the Roane County Ramblers' 1928 and 1929 Columbia recordings as they have circulated globally among listeners through 78rpm records, anthologies, and reissues, attending to the ways in which releases have resonated with listeners. I conclude by examining the ways that Tom McCarroll and his daughter Tammie McCarroll-Burroughs' music has transformed into heritage tailored for audiences and venues dedicated to traditional music.

Table of Contents

Chapter

I. Introduction.....	1
II. Biography: Tom McCarroll and Tammie McCarroll-Burroughs.....	8
Tom McCarroll.....	8
Tammie McCarroll-Burroughs.....	11
III. Circulation and Resonance.....	15
Circulation: Columbia Recordings 1928 and 1929.....	16
The Sound.....	18
Circulation: As Commercial Product.....	20
Circulation: Collectors.....	21
Resonance.....	24
Anthologies and Reissues.....	26
County Records' 1971 Reissue.....	35
Jimmy McCarroll among the Folklorists: As Authentic Folk Heritage.....	39
IV. McCarroll Family Music: 1970s to 2010s.....	43
The Tammie McCarroll Radio Show.....	44
Music during the 1970s and 1980: The Sound, Venues, and Tammie's 45s.....	46
Feedback: In Theory.....	49
Feedback: In Action.....	52

Heritage: In Story.....	55
Heritage: In Identity.....	62
Heritage: In Instrumentation, Repertoire, and Performance.....	67
Recording Heritage.....	71
V. Conclusion.....	75
Works Cited.....	81
Discography.....	85

I. Introduction

I first heard Tom McCarroll and his daughter Tammie McCarroll-Burroughs perform in the summer of 2003. I had a summer job working for the Cumberland Trail State Park just north of Chattanooga, Tennessee. Each evening it was my responsibility to make sure the sound system was working correctly for the musicians who came to play. The evening programs were a welcome break for the worn-out volunteers after steamy days spent building trails in the deep gorges that cut through the Cumberland Plateau. One evening in June, the McCarrolls arrived. In his seventies, Tom wore overalls and a black bowler hat. Tammie wore a polo shirt and a pair of blue jeans. I set up the microphones. What came out of the speakers astonished me; the fiddle and guitar roared through the linoleum floored dining hall like a freight train. Tom's fiddling was raw. It wasn't ragged, but it had wild energy. Tammie's guitar playing was insistent. Her bass runs propelled the tunes. Being an Old-Time music junky, I found myself captivated by what I heard. I soon learned that Tom and Tammie McCarroll were part of a great tradition of East Tennessee fiddling.

In 1928 and '29, Tom's father fiddler Jimmy McCarroll and his crack band, the Roane County Ramblers, traveled from Harriman, Tennessee to Atlanta and Johnson City to record fourteen sides for Columbia. The band's music sold pretty well, particularly two pieces that Jimmy McCarroll composed—"Hometown Blues" and "Southern 111." Though the band never achieved the status of contemporaries like Gid Tanner and the Skillet Lickers or Charlie Poole and the North Carolina Ramblers, Jimmy McCarroll's

bluesy and driving fiddling still continues to captivate a handful of Old-Time music enthusiasts.

Born in 1892 in Anderson County, Tennessee, Jimmy McCarroll grew up with fiddle music. Both of his parents fiddled. As an adult, Jimmy McCarroll eked out a living for his family of six by working in the coal mines, as a prison guard, as a tenant farmer, and in the mills. Beyond the jobs that he took to earn a living, he gained a reputation as one of the finest fiddlers in East Tennessee, winning most of the fiddle contests he entered and playing for square dances and stage performances. He often performed with his sons and later with his granddaughter Tammie.

A later version of the Roane County Ramblers, featuring Jimmy, Tom, and Tammie, can be heard and seen playing a quirky version of “Devil’s Dream,” in the key of B flat, in the 1970 film “A Walk in the Spring Rain,” starring Ingrid Bergman and Anthony Quinn. As “Uncle Jimmy” performed throughout his region, friends and music partners documented much of his music. Folklorists and record collectors visited him in the ‘70s and early ‘80s. He passed away in 1985, but his music still resonates with Old-Time and Bluegrass musicians. Walking around the campsites at a fiddlers’ convention in West Virginia or North Carolina, there’s a good chance that you’ll stumble on a group of Old-Time musicians sitting in a tight circle blasting through his “Johnson City Rag.” Or, if you’re drawn to the polished, slippery double-stops of the bluegrass fiddle, you can likely hear his influence in the twists and turns of the “Lee Highway Blues,” which owes a considerable debt to the artistry of his “Hometown Blues.”

As I’ve come to know Tom and Tammie McCarroll, sharing the stage with them at festivals throughout East Tennessee over the last eight years, I grew curious about how

they came to create their current sound. The first night I met them, compelled by the sheer power of their playing and singing in the dining hall of the Dogwood Lodge, I bought their CD *Generations* as well as the CD reissue of the original Roane County Ramblers recordings from them. The new album pointed back, both sonically and verbally, to the older Columbia recordings. The family was telling a particular story about their music. It was the kind of story folklorists usually tell, except that Tammie was telling it.

The family's music became more even more intriguing to me later that summer. During my stint working for the park, I was responsible for producing a weekly radio program—*"You're tuned into Cumberland Trail where we play the music of our friends and neighbors along the thin green line running 300 miles from Cumberland Gap all the way down to Signal Point."* Folklorist and park manager Bobby Fulcher had left me with a couple of boxes full of recordings from which to pull material. Sometime later that summer, during my weekly hunt for interesting material for my broadcast, I came across an old radio show, a digital copy of a radio transcript from the 1970s. The high-pitched twang-inflected voice of a young girl singing Loretta Lynn's "You Ain't Woman Enough to Take My Man" struck me as a bit mismatched, but delightful nonetheless. There was a swinging electric guitar boogie. There were also some nice fiddle tunes that managed to drive while paradoxically remaining whimsical. What I had found was an artifact of the McCarroll family's music—an earlier iteration of the musical force I had encountered in the Dogwood Lodge dining hall. I had stumbled onto a recording of the "Tammie McCarroll Show" from the early 70s.

What follows is my attempt to make sense of the last eighty years of the McCarroll family's music. My goal is to understand how the electric guitar boogie fits with the sounds and repertoire that mark Tom and Tammie's current performances. Drawing on recordings, reissues, and stories, I aim to understand the ways that that the family's music has changed and the reasons behind those changes. Folklorists and historians have said a lot about the folk revival and the musicians who took part in it. This project does not attempt to cover the ground that has been so well charted by Ray Allen, Robert Cantwell, Benjamin Filene, Neil Rosenberg, Michael Scully, Jeff Todd Titon, and the others who have helped us to understand not only the revival but also the revival's impact on performers and on our discussions of thorny issues of authenticity and representation (Allen 2010, Cantwell 1996, Filene 2000, Rosenberg 1993, Scully 2008, Titon 1993). I enter from a different point in time and with a slightly different set of concerns. I am interested, in part, in how something like the Internet shapes the ways that musicians in East Tennessee create what they conceive of as traditional music and make claims of authenticity in the early 2000s.

Specifically, I am interested in the ways in which Tammie McCarroll-Burroughs has re-imagined, revised, and reinterpreted her family's music over the last dozen years. I see her actions as a kind of post-revival revival. Although the term "revival" fails fully to describe or illuminate the processes and choices that it attempts to encapsulate (Allen 2010, Slobin 1983), I choose to use the term for the sake of convenience, knowing well its limitations¹.

What makes Tammie's actions unique is that she acts as an empowered and educated musician, taking the place of intervening folklorists in interpreting her music

and grooming repertoire and style. Where the revival of the last century hinged on discovery and rediscovery, the revival that has played out in the McCarroll family hinges on a kind of self-discovery and a self-conscious and self-imposed revision of repertoire and performance style. Although the McCarrolls frame their music as heritage and present a more selective regionally and family focused repertoire, they have not completely abandoned the performance styles that marked the “Tammie McCarroll Radio Show” in the 70s. This new and intentionally old sound draws from a range of older performance styles shaped in an era of radio performances and stage-shows, while creating a new vision of the family tradition.

I argue that processes that we might call circulation, resonance, and feedback shed some light on the changes in Tom and Tammie McCarroll’s sound over the last dozen or so years. First, there is the circulation that describes the ways that recordings of music move among listeners through time, making their way onto new media as technology and listening practices change. I trace the 80-year history of circulation that begins with Jimmy McCarroll’s Columbia recordings in the late 20s and follow the recordings from record collectors onto the anthologies and reissues of the folk revival. These recordings continue to circulate and enter into the repertoires of early revivalists like the New Lost City Ramblers and more contemporary Old-Time performers like Bruce Molsky. As the recordings circulate, they take on new meanings and significance in the ears and imaginations of listeners.

Drawing on literary theorist Wai Chee Dimock’s theory of resonance (1997), I examine the ways in which this particular set of recordings resonates with listeners. Although she originally intended her theory of resonance to describe the evolving

meanings of literary texts through time, I believe it speaks to the multiple meanings that listeners might hear in any given recording at any moment. In the case of the Roane County Ramblers recordings, some listeners began to hear something they believed to be authentic and defined as traditional. In the minds and ears of some Old-Time musicians and folklorists, these Columbia recordings ring with a kind of authenticity that transforms Jimmy McCarroll into a source musician and tradition bearer.

Circulation and resonance lead to feedback. Ethnomusicologist David Novak uses the word “feedback” to speak to “the relationship between performance and media in the lives of listeners” (forthcoming). I use the word to describe a process through which musicians encounter listeners’ expectations shaped by the circulation and resonance of recorded music. Feedback describes this encounter with listeners and the process of making new music that attempts to align with listeners’ expectations. Like the sonic phenomenon of feedback, these meanings and resonances play back into the musicians’ ongoing construction and performance of their music, amplifying certain sounds while drowning others out in distortion. In this instance, the concept of feedback serves as a frame to consider that family’s encounters with and responses to the many meanings Jimmy McCarroll’s recordings accrued over years of circulation.

In the following pages, I use these concepts to explicate the changes I have observed in the McCarrolls’ music. Section one offers brief biographies that provide a rough account of Tom and Tammie’s musical and work lives. The second section traces the circulation of Jimmy McCarroll’s Columbia recordings and is my attempt to unearth some of the many meanings that have been attached to the recordings and performances. I trace the recordings through various releases and forms of media. Along the way, I

attend to the ways in which liner notes and images shape listeners' experiences with the music. Drawing on the experiences of some revivalists and my own experiences as a performer of Old-Time music, I discuss the ways that these recordings have resonated with listeners and musicians during the Old-Time revival of the 1970s and '80s and in the contemporary Old-Time scene. The third section explores the changes in Tom and Tammie's music over the years. I begin by listening closely to a recording of the "Tammie McCarroll Show" and thinking about the music that Tom, his wife Polly, and their daughter Tammie were making during the 70s and 80s, when revivalists were transforming Jimmy McCarroll into a "Pioneer of Country Music" (Crumb 2006). Examining Tom and Tammie's stories and their 2004 album, I consider the choices they made to change their sound and style and the reasons behind those changes.

II. Biography: Tom McCarroll and Tammie McCarroll-Burroughs

Both Tom and Tammie learned to play their music in the context of their family. They have both spent much of their lives as community musicians, meaning that their music has been made for their own enjoyment and to entertain neighbors and later, tourists to the region. It is only in the last ten or so years that they have connected with national and international audiences interested in their connection to Jimmy McCarroll. In this section I introduce Tom and Tammie McCarroll, providing brief biographical sketches with an emphasis on their experiences of learning and making music within their family. Although Tammie's treatment is significantly shorter than her father's, I will explore her musical experiences in greater depth later, as I examine her role in rethinking her family's tradition over the last decade. Because my work with her has taken place after she had begun the process of reviving and revising her family's music, I feel that her self-account of her musical life is best understood as it plays out alongside that larger process of re-imagining her family's music.

Tom McCarroll

The eldest of six musical children, Tom McCarroll was born in 1928, and began fiddling at the age of four while staying with his maternal grandmother Rosa Gibson in Emory Gap, Tennessee. He recalls his introduction to the music:

My grandmother started me. I was just four years old and staying with her. And she'd put me up in the bed so I wouldn't drop the fiddle. And the first tune she learned me was "Back Up and Push." What they call "Back Up and Push." From then on there's just different ones—on and on and on and on. (T. McCarroll 2011)

His brothers Charlie and Arthur joined in the family's music making, absorbing the fiddle styles of their grandparents, father, and their uncle George. As a child, Tom hammered out bass runs on the rhythm guitar behind his father for dances and fiddle contests throughout the region. During his teenage years, he joined his father on radio shows and on stages alongside Grand Ole Opry regulars Sam and Kirk McGee. In his late teens, he and his brother Arthur served as the regular band for five years at a weekly square dance in a dance hall in Lenoir City.

Although Tom McCarroll was born into a musical family and performed regularly with his family members, he never attempted to make music his profession, in part because of his difficult childhood and a desire to provide a more secure living for his family. He paints a bleak picture of the poverty that shaped his childhood, describing a family in perpetual motion, seeking one opportunity after another, but never quite making it. When I asked him what it was like growing up, he put it simply: "If you made it, you made it. You didn't, you didn't. That's all I can say" (T. McCarroll 2011). By the time he was fourteen, he had left home and spent two years working on a neighbor's farm for low wages. He tells me about the impact of poverty on his childhood, pointing out the ways that he rose above it as an adult: "When I got big enough, well, Daddy was sick and I had to help keep the family going. So I never did get to go to school. I barely got through third grade. I had a job for forty years that run over a million dollars a year" (T. McCarroll 2011).

In spite of the circumstances of his childhood, Tom found steady work that enabled him to give his family financial stability. After a few years of farming, he settled into a career working for Lenoir City's department of roads, rising eventually to serve as

the superintendent of roads and retiring after thirty-six years on the job. All the while, he sang in gospel quartets and played his guitar and fiddle. His wife Polly became a singing partner, performing in gospel quartets with her husband. I will explore the music Tom, Polly, and Tammie made as family in more detail in the third section. Besides performing with Tammie, Tom continues to sing and play his guitar at church. Although his abilities have diminished some over the last couple of years, he has maintained an impressive repertoire, not only drawing from expected sources like his grandmother Rosa and his father, but also including tunes from influential fiddlers like Chubby Wise and Arthur Smith.

Tom still values work. Hard work, like family music, continues to be a source of pride and meaning for him. His daughter Tammie believes that these are the things that keep him going. She tells me that she fears the year he doesn't plant a garden or chooses no longer to pick up the fiddle. For now, he continues to play, and although his garden is shrinking in size, he continues to plant one.

It's an afternoon in early June 2011. Tom and I have spent a few hours sitting in his living room, talking about his music and looking at his instruments, including an old Gibson L-JR guitar from the early 1920s that he tells me his father got from his friend, the iconic blind hillbilly guitarist Riley Puckett. He leads me out of his house and down to his garden, telling me that he wants to show me what he spends his days doing. I carry my digital recorder and document our trip to the garden. His modest ranch house sits on a hill on the western side of Lenoir City. The backyard slopes down into a flat stretch of land running behind similar houses down the block. As we work our way down towards the garden, we pass a weathered shed filled with old chairs, furniture, and garden tools.

He explains, “Yeah, I do a little bit of everything. I bottom chairs, redo furniture, make furniture—just anything.” Stepping into the rows of an impressive garden, I ask him what all he has planted this year. “You’re seeing beans and tomatoes. And that’s all cucumbers yonder. I got a hundred and something tomatoes through there,” he tells me and points, his right hand in line with a row of staked-out tomatoes running along the high side of the garden down into his neighbors’ yard—“and sixty something out there. And this is cucumbers here in a bed fashion. And then I got a row going through yonder. I got a row of okra down there. I had the best luck getting everything up that I’ve ever had getting everything up this year” (T. McCarroll 2011).

The garden is an impressive feat, made even more so by Tom’s eighty-three years and the sweaty work required to make it productive. As we wind our way through the rows, Tom draws my attention to his plum grannies. I’m not familiar with the plants. He tells me it’s a plant that was once used for deodorant and that they’re not very common these days. It seems appropriate that just before my digital recorder quits recording, filled with too many bytes of information, Tom reflects: “I’ve had the seeds for years and years. Just kept them and kept them” (T. McCarroll 2011). His statement makes for an appropriate and perhaps philosophical ending to my documentation of that visit.

Tammie McCarroll-Burroughs

Tammie McCarroll-Burroughs’ musical path parallels that of her father. Tom and Polly McCarroll’s only child, Tammie, was born in 1958. Early on Tom decided that Tammie would join in the family’s music. She recalls a family photograph that mirrors her father’s introduction to the instrument with his grandmother Rosa:

We’ve got baby pictures of me being propped up holding a fiddle. You know my father was like, “This kid is going to play music, no matter what.” And when I

was born, my mom and dad were in a quartet, and they'd get ready to play or sing or something, and I was just an infant. And she always took a blanket and a pillow and put it down in the guitar case. And when I fell asleep, she just put me in the guitar case. I think it was just infused in my brain that I was going to be a musician. (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011)

In our conversations, she uses the word “inborn” to describe the way in which music has become a part her identity and sense of her family. She recalls participating in music parties at her grandparents’ house as a child and playing until she could no longer stay awake. By the time she reached the age of four, her father and grandfather had begun to teach her the mandolin. Soon after, she began performing publicly with them, shifting to guitar once her hands were big enough to make chords. For three years around the time she was in middle school, she hosted a weekly radio show featuring her family’s music. Occasionally, her grandfather would make an appearance. She performed regionally with her family throughout high school and into college. In our conversations, she explains that family music fit in the same kind of place that sports fit in the life of other kids, suggesting that much of her free time during childhood was spent learning, practicing, and performing her family’s music.

By the time I came to know Tammie in 2004, she had decided to pursue a sound and repertoire that she felt reflected her grandfather’s music and a more traditional portion of her family’s repertoire. When I began working with her for this project during the summer of 2011, the stories that she told me about her music seemed clearly shaped by her experience with the Old-Time community. During my visits with her, she spoke eloquently about the role of music and her grandfather in her life and the responsibility she feels to maintain her family’s music. On that note, I will return to the stories that

shape her musical biography in the third section. For now, I'll conclude with a brief look at her life as a teacher.

After earning an undergraduate degree in elementary education at the University of Tennessee and a master's degree in Teaching at the Tennessee Tech, Tammie has spent the last twenty-six years teaching Social Studies in elementary schools in Lenoir City, currently fourth grade social studies. She strikes me as a dedicated teacher. I spent an afternoon last June helping her move into a new classroom, unpacking box after box of artifacts and historical objects that she uses to enliven her classes. For her, the drive to teach is tied in with a desire to connect students to the past. She tells me that she wants her students to understand that who they are has been shaped by the circumstances of the past, and thus requires each student to create a family tree. Her love for history extends into her involvement with the East Tennessee Historical Society. She and her husband Brian are also involved with Scottish clan activities, attending meetings and gatherings throughout the year. Besides providing a means of making a living, history shapes Tammie's life beyond music making.

As I write, I am aware that my representation of Tom is shaped in part by the besetting sin of folklorists through the ages: I imagine my folk as an admirable other, hardworking and tied to the land, a keeper of a vanishing tradition. However as problematic as this type of representation may be, I cannot dismiss the fact that I am drawn to him and his music because they offer me, as a musician, a connection to a certain sound that I find compelling. It is a sound and way of playing that *is* vanishing as Tom grows older and finds himself less able to play. There is only one Tom McCarroll,

and he is positioned as the last fiddler in long family tradition. As a folklorist, I recognize that the way I tell the family's story is shaped significantly by the things that I wish to hear and see in their music. For public folklorists and arts groups seeking performers suitable for programs and grants, the circumstances in which Tom and Tammie learned their music align with the type of intergenerational and familial traditions that are often valued by funding agencies. Their music meets the criteria of grants and agencies that privilege "delimited" notions of folklore (Zeitlin 1999).

I would imagine that their neighbors also find something in the family's story and music that resonates with popular notions of what folk traditions in Appalachia look like. The Lenoir City News-Herald clipping hanging in Tom's hallway suggests what this something might be: "Tom McCarroll and daughter Tammie McCarroll-Burroughs are preserving their family's musical heritage, which dates back to Scotland in the 1400s" (Cheek 2003). Perhaps neighbors see them as cultural holdouts, maintaining an ancient and venerable family tradition into the 21st Century.

For contemporary Old-Time musicians, in turn, Tom and Tammie's contact with Jimmy McCarroll and their family repertoire lend them an air of authenticity unobtainable by revivalists, potentially transforming them into tradition bearers. However, labeling them "tradition bearers" or "source musicians" fails to account for the fullness of their music making over the years. These terms tend to suggest insular music making and minimize the variety of music they have performed over the years and the complex motivations driving their musical choices.

III. Circulation and Resonance

The McCarroll family's current sound employs and refashions an older sound documented in the shellac grooves of Jimmy McCarroll's Columbia 1928 and '29 records. Through the processes of circulation, those recordings have reached audiences extending far beyond their original intended listeners. The history of the Columbia recordings is marked by the consumption of those recordings in original releases, anthologies, and reissues beginning with the initial release in the late 1920s and ending with a County Records CD reissue in 2004. This past has been interpreted by curatorial liner notes that attempt to locate where Jimmy McCarroll's recordings fit in the world of recorded Old-Time music from the late 1920s. It is a past shaped by the images and packaging of each release. By tracing the circulation of the McCarrolls' music over the last eighty years, we begin to see the ways in which the recordings accrued new meanings and reached new audiences. What began as a commercial effort to sell a product, drawing on tunes from both familial and popular sources, took on new meanings and values over time. For record collectors, the recordings became something valued partially for what they contained, but also because they were scarce and bore witness to the collector's determination and luck.

As time passed, the Columbia recordings were interpreted as genuine articles, documents of the peak moment of Old-Time music recordings, and therefore became "source material"—something that Old-Time musicians could incorporate into their repertoire and reference to legitimize or critique a contemporary musician's treatment of

the tune. For contemporary Old-Time musicians, the tunes themselves, pulled from a reissue of one of the Ramblers' recordings or learned from other revivalists, become a kind of currency (Titon 2001:11).

Circulation: Columbia Recordings 1928 and 1929

Although Tammie McCarroll traces her family's music back over eight generations in the U.S., the story of recording in the family begins in 1928 and '29 when Jimmy McCarroll made his Columbia Recording during a boom period of record production (Gronow and Saunio 1998: 39). It was a moment when Okeh, Columbia, and Victor made just over 700 field recordings in the mountain South (Wolfe 2006: 1153, 1155). Both 1928 and 1929 were lucrative years for American record companies. In 1929 sound recording was a 75 million dollar industry, selling nearly 150 million records (Gronow 1983: 63). Finnish recording historian Gronow's research suggests that the industry brought in 73 million dollars in 1928 (1983: 63). These were the second and third most lucrative years during the '20s, due in part to the shift from acoustic to electric recording in 1925 that allowed record companies to capture sound with higher fidelity, which in turn led to an increased demand for records (Gronow and Saunio 1998). During this boom period, record companies sought to expand markets, developing race records and hillbilly series such as Columbia's hillbilly "old familiar tunes" 15000-D, the series under which the Roane County Ramblers' material was included (Malone 1997: 39).

It was during this boom that Columbia records' advance men Frank Walker and E. B. Brown set up shop in the John Sevier Hotel in Johnson City, Tennessee. In early October 1928, Columbia Phonograph Company placed an advertisement in the Johnson

City Staff News and *Chronicle* seeking local talent. The advertisement ran: “Can You Sing or Play / Old-Time Music? Musicians of Unusual Ability / Small Dance Combinations / Singers / Novelty Players, Etc. / Are Invited / To call on Mr. Walker or Mr. Brown of the Columbia Phonograph Company. . . . This is an actual try-out for the purpose of making Columbia Records” (Russell 1973: 8).

After trying out on Saturday, October 13, 1928, Jimmy McCarroll and the Roane County Ramblers were invited back, and on the following Monday recorded four cuts—two of Jimmy McCarroll’s compositions and two waltzes (Freeman 1971). Jimmy’s two compositions, the “Hometown Blues” and “Southern No. 111” turned out to be the band’s best selling cuts. “Sales figures, assembled by Chris King and Dave Freeman of County Records, show the Ramblers sold 12,234 copies of ‘Hometown Blues,’” writes folklorist Bobby Fulcher (2004: 8). These sales were significant; the Ramblers’ first recordings earned them two more recording dates with Columbia.

On April 15, 1929, the band headed to Atlanta and recorded six more sides, four of which were released. During this session, Jimmy laid to wax his reworked version of Gid Tanner’s “Buckin’ Mule” titled “McCarroll’s Breakdown,” a setting of “Dill Pickle Rag” given the title “Everybody Two Step,” and “Green River March,” a piece learned from his grandmother that the family claims originated during the Cherokee Trail of Tears. Two waltzes were never released.

The group’s final recording session took place in Johnson City on October 21, 1929, where they captured a driving breakdown in the key of A, attributed to Cherokee musicians in McCarroll’s family and titled “Callahan Rag.” The session included Jimmy McCarroll’s jazzed up “Free a Little Bird – 1930 Model,” a re-imagining of a classic tune

popular among banjo players in East Tennessee and Kentucky. He gives it a bluesy edge and some fancy double stops up the fiddle's fingerboard. The addition of "1930 Model" borrows from the world of advertising, suggesting that the band delivers a sleek new model for listeners. "Johnson City Rag" was McCarroll's version of Dan Emmett's tune "Jordan Am a Hard Road to Travel" learned from his father. The raggy C tune "Alabama Trot" was a renamed version of the "Georgia Fox Trot," which, like "1930 Model," referred to a popular and decidedly urbane dance step of the day.

The Sound

As for the sounds captured on the recordings, Howard Wyatt's tenor banjo, John Kelly's mandolin, and Luke Brandon's guitar mesh tightly, chugging beneath McCarroll's soaring fiddle. Curly Fox, who later achieved fame as a Nashville fiddler, added his guitar to the band's October 1929 session. Wyatt, Kelly, Brandon, and Fox become a rhythmic engine sometimes propelling and other times tugging against the fiddle. Or perhaps the push and pull comes from Jimmy's playful sense of timing. At one moment, McCarroll holds onto the beat as long as possible, teasing out every last millisecond from it, making listeners wonder how long his bow is. The next moment his bow crashes right down on top of the beat, propelling the tune ahead with a giddy sense of anticipation. This rhythmic playfulness and elasticity marks the Ramblers' sound. They can stretch a beat to the limits of imagination only to snap taut again, driving the beat like a jackhammer. On their breakdowns, McCarroll suspends the listener in a playful world where familiar tunes unravel in surprising ways.

These recordings become a place for McCarroll to play with expectations, to tease listeners, to deny them the familiar notes in favor of a drawn out drone. Familiar tunes

like “Bucking Mule” and “Leather Britches” take on new names such as “McCarroll Breakdown” and “Roane County Rag,” probably in hopes of better sales, but the new names may be appropriate as the tried and true tunes become places for invention – a place where a cascade of notes is replaced by the steady surge of a droning long bow over a double stop.

One of Jimmy McCarroll’s most popular compositions, the “Hometown Blues,” provides an example of his inventiveness. A slinky fiddle blues in the key of D, the “Hometown Blues” has a strikingly modern sound, confirming McCarroll’s mastery of the instrument and establishing him as more than a hillbilly fiddler. The tune abandons the typical two-part structure of string band music with its four irregular parts. It employs some fine bow work in his use of tremolo high up the fingerboard in the third position and demonstrates a jazz sensibility in its use of the seven chord—a C chord that sets the tune apart from the more widely known version that Grayson and Whitter later recorded as “Going Down Lee Highway Blues.” On the Ramblers’ recording, McCarroll’s fiddling and sensibility share more in common with the refined Nashville fiddling of the 1940s than with the untamed sounds of his contemporaries Earl Johnson and Gid Tanner. It comes as little surprise that bluegrass fiddlers who play the “Lee Highway Blues” typically end up playing something much more similar to the Ramblers’ setting than to Grayson and Whitter’s simplified version, which has become the preferred version among contemporary Old-Time musicians. These recordings—familiar tunes with twists and uptown compositions—bear witness to the flexibility of McCarroll’s tradition and the ways in which he reshaped it to meet the needs of the moment.

Circulation: As Commercial Product

In the end, it is important to remember that the twelve tunes released by Columbia were a product to be sold. Columbia made no claim at presenting some kind of authentic glimpse into a tradition; such notions and narratives of authenticity would not be attached to the recordings until years later. If anything, these recordings represent an authentic example of a string band attempting to appeal to the broadest possible audience. For consumers, such records were entertainment—something decidedly rural and decidedly Southern. Indeed, record buyers in the rural South may have heard familiar echoes of the self on these recordings. For contemporary musicians, the records presented themselves as new material. For record companies, the music in its raw form served as a cultural resource—not necessarily folk or popular—to be exploited. Bill Malone explains:

It is tempting to say that the commercial fraternity was neutral in its attitudes towards the folk, and that merchandisers of products (whether music or soap) did not know or care if the “folk” were Elizabethan, backwards, or anything else. If a potential market for grassroots music could be discerned, they would exploit it, without concern for its art, or the lack of it. (Malone 1993: 72)

David Whisnant observes the design in the marketing practices of the era as the record companies sought “to appeal—through carefully shaped images of rusticity—to the nostalgic longings of a public caught in the midst of rapid social transformations of the late 1920s” (Whisnant 1983: 182). Whether or not the appeal of these recordings was in some ambiguous folkiness or rusticity heard in the music, consumers inside and outside of the South brought a whole range of notions about fiddle music and the region into their encounters with these recordings. As ironic as it may be that the modern sounds of McCarroll’s fiddle may have satisfied some nostalgic need of the 1920s listeners, Whisnant and folklorist Richard Blaustein suggest that string band records and fiddle

music in general did carry with them vague suggestions of a more bucolic past (Blaustein 1975, Whisnant 1983). Of course, listeners familiar with McCarroll's live performances throughout East Tennessee would undoubtedly have recognized the music as familiar and contemporary, rather than past-looking and time-honored. As a commercial product, Jimmy McCarroll's Columbia Recordings were released during a booming era of record production as part of a larger commercial endeavor to create new markets and sell more products.

Circulation: Collectors

Two blocks from my house in Durham, my friend Peter has amassed a modest collection of old 78 hillbilly records, nestling them in shelving in his living room. On one afternoon, we listened through several of the Roane County Ramblers tunes, sitting on a couch in the middle of the room and savoring each recording. The act of listening and savoring involves physical connections to the music. Peter searches for the recordings, thumbing through a certain section of the shelf. The disc is found, pulled from a protective sleeve. We look at the Columbia labels—gold letters on black paper, “Viva-tonal Recording” written across the top, “Electrical Process” written below in electrified letters. Peter carries it over to the Victrola, places it on the turntable, cranks the machine, and lowers the needle onto the disc. What should be a lo-fi experience feels remarkably hi-fi. The guitars resonate with a dry woodiness inside of the Victrola; the bass runs come through with a warm precision. The chug of the mandolin and rap of the tenor banjo— sounds that I usually find indistinguishable on the Ramblers' recordings— become distinct.

As long as I've known the music, with the exception of the handful of LPs that I've picked up over the years, it's been in the form of CDs or MP3s. Listening to the music on a hand-cranked Victrola shapes my perception of it differently. It somehow feels more direct—more physical and maybe more alive. Peter places Jimmy McCarroll's "Callahan Rag" down on the turntable, and below the surface noise, the band comes into focus, driving ahead with clarity. As they move into the second part of the tune, Jimmy McCarroll hits the C# note high up the E string where the neck meets the body of the instrument with a searing intensity. I feel like I'm getting to partake in a rare pleasure as Peter shares his private stock with me. Afterwards, we talk about the quality of that note: there's immediacy in the way the tone slices through the air that seems to be lost in the digitized versions of the tune. Somehow the listening experience feels more direct and less mediated. We're one step closer to the actual performance and its life world.

We move from the initial life of the recordings as a product of the late 1920s into a new value and meaning rooted in the arcane knowledge and esoteric pleasures of the record collector. As collectable objects, these 78s were hunted down and filed away on the custom-built shelves of collectors, only to be reissued by those same collectors just in time to fuel the folk and Old-Time music revivals of the 1960s and '70s. Literary theorist Susan Stewart suggests that collecting is a narrative of hunt and discovery of the elusive shellac recordings (1993). She offers some help in explaining the way in which the context of a collection and the idea of records as collectible objects inscribes new meanings on the Rambler's Columbia recordings. Considering the ways in which collections distance objects from the labor that produced them, in this case the band's

performance, the recording engineers, and the factory workers who produced the records, she writes:

The collector constructs a narrative of luck which replaces the narrative of production. . . . All collected objects are thereby *objets de luxe*, objects abstracted from use value and materiality within a magic cycle of self-referential exchange. (Stewart 1993: 165)

Stewart suggests that the narrative of acquisition and the perceived luck that allowed a record collector to find a rare record in an attic or through a mass mailing effort during a collecting trip translates into a whole new abstract and magical system of value and meaning for the record. Certainly, luck plays a part in the collector's work; however, I would point out that record collectors do not only rely on luck or erase the "narrative of production" (Stewart 1993: 165). They approach their work with a deep knowledge of the recording industry, a focus on a particular genre or label, and an ability to discern which recordings are most valuable.

I would also suggest that record collectors not only value their records for their rarity and the luck to which they bear witness, but also for the performance of music. The labor of the musicians, captured in the grooves of the disc, is not, as Stewart suggests, erased. Instead, it is celebrated as a part of the collection. The collector exists in a world of connoisseurship, finding rare pleasure in the older technology and in the way that Jimmy McCarroll's high C# note on Callahan Rag electrifies listeners when heard through a hand cranked Victrola. In fact, the inclusion of Jimmy McCarroll and the Roane County Ramblers in R. Crumb's set of *Pioneers of Country Music* trading cards offers material proof that means of production do in fact matter to the collectors. It was, after all, Nick Perls, the collector behind Yazoo records, who schemed up the idea of including Crumb's trading cards with his reissues of LPs (Crumb 2006). As an avant-

garde celebration of both obscure and well-known bands from the '20s and '30s, these cards give the old records a fascinating face—a cartoon face pulled from R. Crumb's imagination, rooting the object back in a moment of imagined musical production.

Still, in the hands of collectors, McCarroll's recordings do take on new meanings, layered with narratives of luck and subject to the expert's refined tastes. They enter into an abstract system of value. Through an inscrutable arithmetic, the rarity of the records combines with the feelings of pleasure and desire to determine the records' value. They are a line in a discography. They become something to be traded. However, the music and the musicians are not forgotten; if anything, the record collectors paved the way for a particular model of studying early hillbilly music that oriented itself around the discographies of individual recording artists seen in early issues of *JEMFQ*, Tony Russell's *Old-Time Music*, and the *Journal of Country Music* (Wolfe 1975: 66). In 1975, Charles Wolfe observed that the approach "imposes on the Old-Time music of the 1920s a cultural aspect of the present day: the tendency to see the recording artist as a hero, as personality, as 'star'" (1975: 66). Instead of erasing the musical labor of the recording artists, the collectors elevated early recording artists, lionizing them as pioneers, heroes, and greats. Whatever the case, anthologies would not have been made without the work of record collectors.

Resonance

Before moving from the collector's shelves to the revivalist's turntables, we should spend a moment considering the theory of resonance. Through circulation on anthologies, and reissues of LPs and CDs, as well as reinterpretations during the Folk Revival and in the last ten years, the McCarroll family's music has had multiple

meanings among a range of audiences over the last eighty or so years. It has been transformed from a product of the late 1920s into a genuine article and touchstone of authenticity. Taking some liberties with literary theorist Wai Chee Dimock's theory of resonance in literary texts, I believe that her model proves helpful in thinking about the ways that the Ramblers' recordings (and any number of other recordings, for that matter) take on new meanings for new audience over the course of time. Of resonance in literature, Dimock writes:

This primarily aural and primarily interactive concept offers a helpful analogy for the phenomenon of semantic change. Modeled on the traveling frequencies of sounds, it suggests a way to think about what (following Ralph Ellison) I call the traveling frequencies of literary texts: frequencies received and amplified across time, moving farther and farther from their points of origin, causing unexpected vibrations in unexpected places. (Dimock 1997: 1061)

Although my study explores the ways in which the sound of the music itself resonates with diverse and unexpected meanings in the ears of listeners, I am equally interested in the ways in which the music liner notes, talk, and images frame the music, tuning its frequencies to resonate in certain ways. As Tammie McCarroll discovered in the early 2000s, Jimmy McCarroll's music was creating "unexpected vibrations in unexpected places" (Dimock 1997: 1061). In this section, I explore the processes by which various audiences attached new cultural meanings to the Ramblers' recordings and the McCarroll family tradition. By tracing the path from collections into circulation and looking at the ways in which the Roane County Ramblers' music was reframed through anthologies, we see the ways in which the music accrued meaning and symbolic value among musicians, as well as ways in which the music resonated with different audiences. I explore the way these 78s and the sounds documented on them gained the quality of traditionality within the Old-Time community.

Anthologies and Reissues

The Roane County Ramblers' 78s found their way, in large part because of the development of microgroove recording technology, onto the LP anthologies of the 1960s and 70s (Brock-Nannestad 2010, Cantwell 1996: 190). Between 1964 and 1971, the band was featured on at least three important anthologies and one reissue of their Columbia recordings, produced and curated by influential record collectors such as Dave Freeman, Chris Strachwitz, and Richard Nevins. Freeman's County Records, Strachwitz's Arhoolie label, and Nevins' Yazoo produced some of the key reissues of the revival era. Though each curator offers listeners different interpretations of Jimmy McCarroll's music, the anthologies and reissues all did two things: they made the Ramblers' sound and repertoire accessible to new listeners and placed the band's repertoire squarely in the Old-Time canon. Beyond these early releases, the music has been released again more recently in 1997 and in 2004. By examining the ways in which these albums frame the McCarrolls' music, we begin to understand how these recordings come to resonate with different meanings among members of the Old-Time community and how the McCarrolls' tradition became linked to ideas of heritage and folk tradition.

Robert Cantwell offers a sense of the role these anthologies played among revivalists as he describes Harry Smith's Anthology: "The Folkways Anthology was a kind of curriculum in mystical ethnography, converting a commercial music fashioned in the twenties out of various cultural emplacements and historical displacements into the 'folk' music of the revival" (Cantwell 1996: 190). As "folk" musicians begin to learn and reinterpret the performances documented on the collector's 78s, the initial existence

of the recordings as commercial music is minimized, as the music travels from the private worlds of the collector into the public worlds of reinterpretation and performance. Along the way, the recordings and performances contained on these anthologies are reframed as some kind of genuine artifact of folk culture.

In the ears of revivalists, the recordings resonated with authenticity. The sonic artifacts of earlier recording technology—the surface noise, the hisses, and the pops—only verified an otherness and authenticity of the music and performers. This brings to mind Michael Taussig’s writings about how the Third World is marked by that which is “recently outmoded” and “recently outdated” (1993: 234). In the case of the anthologized recording, the sounds of “recently outdated” technology become the sounds of the third world, of an imagined Appalachia or American South of the late 1920s, populated by a simple, creative folk. The rustic world of rural life sketched on the LP jackets of the County anthologies featuring the Ramblers’ music imagines such a world.

Historian Michael Scully confirms the romantic tendencies among those responsible for early anthologies, their inclination to engage in Cantwell’s mystical ethnography. Writing of the founders of Rounder Records, another label dedicated to during its early years to Old-Time music, and drawing on founder Bill Nowlin’s words, Scully explains: “Seeking worlds unlike their own, they gravitated to the authentics, developing a real ‘romanticization about hillbilly music,’ which Nowlin believed represented ‘real folk musicians sitting on the back porch playing the banjo’” (Scully 2008: 67)². Notions of Appalachia as other, and of authentic folk performance, guided the packaging and framing of the earliest anthologies on which the Roane County Ramblers were featured.

Images and texts shape encounters with the sound—with anthologies come acts of interpretation in liner notes and more subtly through cover art. These interpretive acts shape the ways in which the music is consumed, tuning the sound waves to resonate in particular ways. New listeners are instructed in ways of listening and thinking about the music as cover art and liner notes attach narratives to the performances and performers. Both County Records anthologies from the celebrated 500 series package the Ramblers' "Johnson City Rag" in a rustic way. New York record collector Dave Freeman tapped into the Roane County Ramblers' music for his first anthology release in 1964. A sketch of a simple rustic cabin surrounded by a split rail fence sits squarely on the cover of County 501 "A Collection of Mountain Fiddle Music: Original Recordings by Great Old-Time Bands." County 507 "Old-Time Fiddle Classics Played by Fiddle Champions," released between 1965 and 1967, elaborates on the earlier theme of rusticity; this time, a wisp of smoke rises from a log cabin nestled in the bend of a mountain creek. A dog naps in the yard between a sawhorse and some hand-cranked tools. Although these rural and rustic images had long been linked to the music, dating back to the record company catalogues of the 1920s, these images on the jackets of anthologies perpetuate the link, imagining a sepia-toned place and time as the one hospitable to the kinds of performances contained on the anthologies, inviting listeners to enter into the strange and ruggedly beautiful world evoked by these sounds.

What these record labels suggest in images is articulated in the liner notes. In the notes accompanying Columbia's 1968 "Ballads and Breakdowns of the Golden Era," featuring the Ramblers' "Free A Little Bird – 1930 Model," record collector Richard Nevins frames the cuts, culled from the Columbia's 1500 series in the late 1920s, with an

authenticity and transparency appropriate to popular conceptions of folk performance. Nevins tunes the listeners' ears to hear a certain quality of authenticity in the performance. He invites us to hear something genuine in the commercial recordings from the era: "Country performers, to whom self expression, not money, was their incentive, and to whom this music was a way of life, created these performances and imbued them with a sensitivity and strength rarely equaled by any other form of expression" (Nevins 1968). He transforms the performers and performances into touchstones of authentic American experience and real emotion. He concludes his notes celebrating the raw emotion he believes the performances convey:

Unobstructed by sophisticated feelings, which incur subdued reactions, the performers presented here, and their contemporaries, never held a tight rein on their emotions. They had the rare ability of being able to communicate their deepest feelings with their music. "And a little child shall lead them," say the scriptures. And in this music the beautiful innocence of a child in the minds of strong, sensitive men has made for art unparalleled. (Nevins 1968)

His notes invest Old-Time recordings from the '20s in general and the McCarroll's recording legacy in particular with the value of fine art. Guiding listeners into the music of another era, Nevins invites listeners to engage recordings in a direct way that celebrates the pure emotional expression of the folk. However, we should be careful not to dismiss Nevins as a naïve romantic. His notes demand that we take the music seriously—in the same way that we might encounter a classical piece. As the collector, he invites listeners into a rich and unfamiliar experience.

Moving from the general to the particular, we can observe the variety of ways in which liner notes deal specifically with Jimmy McCarroll's music, noting that there was no single interpretation of the music shaping the listener's understanding of the Columbia recordings. The collectors were just beginning to piece together information about the

performers on these anthologies. There was no extensive discography and very spotty information about the circumstance of the recordings and the bands. It was up to the curators to make sense of what they heard. In the Ramblers' music, Nevins hears the sound of a "deep southern" region and draw comparisons to Mississippi's Leake County Revelers: "deep southern traits are evident and even more prominent in the playing of the Roane County Ramblers. Wild high-note inflections in the mouth harp fiddle duet and a heavy double-time background beat make for the similarities" (Nevins 1968). Perhaps bowled over by Jimmy McCarroll's double stops, drones, and bluesy slides, Nevins mistakenly suggests that a harmonica accompanies McCarroll's fiddle. In my mind, it is an understandable mistake. In his erudite notes for the anthology *Old-Timey Records'* "Old-time Southern Dance Music: The Stringbands," Chris Strachwitz takes an academic posture as he writes about the music, presenting "a magnificently diverse and rich record of 'oldtime' Southern music" that explores the ways in which emergent forms of music influenced the white string bands of the late 20s (Strachwitz 1965). The anthology features Jimmy McCarroll's "Hometown Blues," and Strachwitz labels McCarroll a "blues fiddler"—a logical conclusion given the performance on that particular recording. Both of these interpretations mediate the ways in which listeners hear and understand the music. Strachwitz recontextualizes the Ramblers, locating them in the "hey days of 'folk' recording." Nevins invites listeners to hear the Ramblers' "deep southern traits" (Nevins 1968).

As the Roane County Ramblers recordings filtered through one layer of interpretation in the collector's liner notes, they have become subject to layers of reinterpretation in the performances of Old-Time musicians. It was during this same era

that the proto-revivalists New Lost City Ramblers (NLCR) authenticated their recording of “New Lost Hometown Blues” by tracing a discographic lineage and claiming a fidelity to McCarroll’s original: “In our recording the spirit of the Roane County Ramblers dominates” (Seeger 1973). In spite of Mike Seeger’s claim to have been inspired by the Ramblers’ recording, the NLCR’s version, recorded in 1966 and released on Folkways in 1973, merely registers the ways in which McCarroll’s composition had circulated among Old-Time revivalists and bluegrass musicians up to that point. It also raises questions of what it means for a revivalist to “capture the spirit” of an earlier performance.

To my ears, Seeger’s changes and reinterpretation are significant and innovative, drawing inspiration from performances by Grayson and Whitter, Chubby Wise, Scott Stoneman, and Art Wooten. He adds extended passages of tremolo and extra parts, including a percussive section mimicking a train. The piece, which he registered with BMI as his own arrangement, demonstrates the ways in which revivalist musicians could pick and choose from the recordings and passages of music they found most compelling, cobbling together something new from something old while claiming to have captured the spirit of the original. In some ways, this process of creation is no different than what Jimmy McCarroll did in his recordings. Just as McCarroll reworked and renamed a tune like “Free A Little Bird,” Seeger follows a similar practice, modernizing a tune while paying homage to the original. In spite of the changes, he aligns his performance with the first recording of the tune. The idea of capturing the spirit of McCarroll’s version demonstrates one way in which revivalists employ older recordings to make claims of authenticity. It leaves listeners wondering whether the spirit is captured through the

playing, through the attitude guiding the creation of the performance, or in some other ambiguous way.

In 1971, Dave Freeman's County Records issued County 403 with all twelve of the Ramblers' released Columbia recordings, bringing Jimmy McCarroll and his band into greater clarity with liner notes informed by Freeman's fieldwork and interviews with the musicians. He provides biographical sketches of the musicians, discussing their work histories and their relationships to their music and community. Attempting to contextualize the Ramblers' music, he writes: "Unlike a few better-known performers who made music their livelihood, the Ramblers were content to keep music a sideline. And, as it was for many other similar groups, it proved to be an enjoyable sideline and a fairly rewarding one, financially—especially during the lean Depression years" (Freeman 1971). His interpretation highlights the financial rewards associated with music making, suggesting that recordings and the opportunities to perform for pay provided the Ramblers with much needed income. Tracking with the currents in folklore during the era, he attempts to locate where McCarroll's fiddling might fit in a regional tradition, speculating on the "mystery" of McCarroll's "unique fiddle style" and noting that McCarroll's parents and grandmother were major sources for his music but also hearing a "Georgia style" in Jimmy McCarroll's sound (Freeman 1971). He hears a musical kinship with Earl Johnson and explains that McCarroll did spend time with Johnson and his Georgia compatriots over the years. His notes reflect a concern for the context of the music and his fieldwork offered listeners valuable information about McCarroll and the Ramblers. In some ways, the notes reflect two impulses among folklorists during the era³. First, they attempt to place the music in context, resituating it within a community, a

family, and a tradition. The second impulse traces lineages and to identify a tradition that might be said to be regional. Beyond the anthologies and reissues of the 1960s and 70s, County Records can claim responsibility for introducing the Ramblers to a newer generation of Old-Time revivalists. In 1997, County released a CD, “Rural Stringbands of Tennessee,” which included two uptown tunes from the Ramblers, “Everybody Twostep” and “Alabama Trot,” as well as liner notes penned by Charles Wolfe (County CD-3511). Wolfe describes McCarroll as “Tennessee’s answer to Earl Johnson” and hears “well arranged tight ensembles and dazzling musicianship” (Wolfe 1997).

Freeman again reissued the complete recordings of the Ramblers on CD in 2004 (County CD-3530), digitized and remastered. Folklorist Bobby Fulcher’s liner notes fill in many of the gaps with information provided by Tom and Tammie McCarroll, expanding the biography that Freeman had earlier provided of McCarroll and giving a more detailed overview of his life of music making from contests, to radio shows, to film. He tracks the tunes through time and explores the influence that McCarroll had on Curly Fox, a well-known Nashville fiddler in 1930s and ‘40s. Revisiting the photo blown up large on the original County 403 reissue of the Roane County Ramblers, Fulcher observes: “The album cover featured a crystal-clear studio portrait of the Roane County Ramblers: three of them grouped around the leader, fiddler James McCarroll, all dressed in first-rate suits, looking confident, strong, sharp-eyed and successful” (Fulcher 2004). He dispels any notions of hillbilliness as he points out the modern dress appropriate for the band’s modern sound: “an urbane, savvy group of young men, without any leftover medicine show trapping or inclination toward rusticified characterizations” (Fulcher 2004).

Then Fulcher invites listeners to face the fact of McCarroll's poverty as he draws them to note that Jimmy McCarroll's shoes don't gleam like the others. By mapping out McCarroll's life and attending to the facts of his history and socio-economic status, this reissue offers listeners yet another interpretation of the recordings as it reframes the music within a longer history of circulation. More importantly, Fulcher maps the impact of McCarroll's music on fiddlers during the 1930s and '40s and provides a more accurate sense of the role that Jimmy McCarroll's music played in his life. Thus McCarroll's recordings are introduced to resonate in new ways with another generation of Old-Time music enthusiasts.

Evidence of this new resonance can be heard in Nikos Pappas's recording of McCarroll's "Hometown Blues" (New Young Fogies Volume 1 2012). Pappas, a musicologist and award winning Old-Time fiddler, represents a younger generation of Old-Time musicians with unparalleled access to MP3s of old recordings and with technical abilities shaped by years of classical training. Unlike the New Lost City Ramblers' amalgamation, Pappas and his crew attempt to reconstruct the tune faithfully, employing a tenor banjo sound and a technically flawless fiddle line that approximates McCarroll's recording. Though approaching the old recordings at different moments in time, both groups of revivalists point back to McCarroll's recordings. The NLCR claim to capture the spirit of the original, while Pappas' group can assert a kind of authenticity in replication. These two recordings illustrate the two different strategies for claiming authenticity available to old time musicians who do not have familial roots in the music. I do not mean to suggest that one version is more authentic than the other. Instead, I hope

to show one example of the ways that Old-Time musicians grapple with old recordings and issues of authenticity.

Anthologies and Reissues among the Revivalists: County Records' 1971 Reissue

It is worth pausing to consider in more depth the role that these anthologies and reissues have played in the Old-Time community—more specifically, in the personal experiences of two musicians. The Roane County Ramblers' music has circulated on anthologies for almost forty-five years, having been heard on vinyl, CDs, and now mp3s. At this point, pages of interpretive liner notes could shape a listener's understanding of the music. To better understand the role and meanings of these reissues, I focus on the ways in which the 1971 reissue resonated with two revivalists: folklorist and musician Bobby Fulcher and contemporary Old-Time fiddler Bruce Molsky.

Bobby Fulcher's experience suggests two results of a reissue like County 403 among revivalists during the 1970s. First, Fulcher claims that this type of reissue served to make a band like the Ramblers visible among Old-Time revivalists. Fulcher remembers discovering the Ramblers in the early '70s:

We were all interested in the Skillet Lickers and the Hillbillies and these other bands. But it was really cool that there was a band called the Roane County Ramblers and Roane County was right outside of Knox County—that some people had made these historic 78s there. We were a lot more aware of them than we were of some of the players who lived in Knoxville, who were part of the Knoxville scene—like the Tennessee Ramblers. They weren't in the consciousness at all. Of course, they lived here in Anderson County, but of course it was invisible because nobody had put out a big disc. (Fulcher 2011)

Even though he lived only a few miles away from the Tennessee Ramblers, they were invisible to him because their music had not been reissued.

The visibility created by the County reissue led to a second outcome: young folklorists like Fulcher and Andy Cahan were inspired to visit Jimmy McCarroll and to

produce field recordings of those visits. Although Fulcher would admit that McCarroll is one of his fiddle heroes, the Ramblers' recordings also resonated with him as texts worthy of folkloric attention. A reissue transformed the commercial musician of the 20s into the "source musician"—a term used by Old-Time enthusiasts to make a claims of authenticity and esoteric knowledge—of the 1970s and '80s. Through the processes of entextualization, decontextualization, and recontextualization (Bauman and Briggs 1990), the recording of the late 1920s became a text for folklore scholarship, thereby adding another layer of meaning to the recordings and to Jimmy McCarroll. One of the most influential Old-Time fiddlers of the last two decades, Bruce Molsky—a self-described "urban northern guy" who grew up in the Bronx—expands Fulcher's notion of visibility, describing the scarcity of recordings and the role of reissues among a generation of Old-Time musicians:

When people my age were learning to play, we all had our heroes and a lot of them were alive and we visited them, but the resources for recorded stuff, besides the Library of Congress and various archives, were not that great. County Records was *really* important – just really important. But back then it was extremely important. And Dave Freeman – you know who he is? He owns County Records, always has, since the beginning. And it's a labor of love. A lot of us would buy every County LP that we could afford because we trusted him. And he put out some really great stuff. I think I bought the Roane County Ramblers LP when it first came out just because it sounded interesting. (Molsky 2012)

Reissues provided a vital connection to the music for urban musicians. For Molsky, Dave Freeman acted as a guarantor of tradition. Musicians like Fulcher and Molsky relied on Freeman to make the finest examples of Old-Time music available. Molsky reflects on his experience with the Ramblers reissue:

I didn't know anything about Jimmy McCarroll or about the music. And I just listened to the LP and read the back of the cover. And I just played the stuff. I mean that's really my only, I wish I could tell you I had some experience or

connection with that band, but it's just that I really loved what I heard, and I'm a tune-sucker. (Molsky 2012)

Although he enjoyed the recordings, he tells me that he chose not to play Jimmy McCarroll's tunes for a period of time. To his ears, the Roane County Ramblers didn't resonate with what he was looking for in Old-Time music; their sound was "a little more modern, a little more studied, a little more polished." He explains that around the time of the reissue in the 1970s, he and his musical companions enjoyed the albums of bands like the Ramblers but were seeking "inward facing" music and cultural connections: "A lot of us in my generation came to it—we were seeking something that went further than music, so we associated ourselves with all the Round Peak guys or whoever. . . . There was a real attraction to things that were way older than anything that I could experience in my life. It was kind of an aesthetic" (Molsky 2011).

Bruce Molsky's desire for a personal connection was fulfilled by visits with Tommy Jarrell and the musicians around Round Peak, North Carolina. The more modern sounds of Jimmy McCarroll's band were good listening, but they did not resonate as deeply with the need to connect to something that he perceived to be older. In many ways, his quest shares similarities with Nevins' project. In fact, during my conversation with him, he challenged me to consider what attracted me to the old recordings and the older musicians. I explained that I too have often found myself seeking something older and richer in my encounters with older musicians and recordings.

Years later, however, Molsky embraced McCarroll's sound, incorporating several of McCarroll's pieces into his repertoire, even recording "Johnson City Rag" on his 2004 Rounder release *Contented Must Be*. Like the New Lost City Ramblers, whose "New Lost Highway Blues" pointed revivalist listeners back to the Rambler's recordings,

Molsky's version of "Johnson City Rag," with his fiddle swinging against a rock solid guitar rhythm and the bluesy slides that he feels mark McCarroll's Columbia recordings, gives McCarroll a new resonance for a generation of post-revivalist 21st century Old-Time musicians.

A recording by an artist like Molsky, however, does more than draw attention to Jimmy McCarroll. By treating McCarroll as a "source musician," Molsky and the New Lost City Ramblers canonize McCarroll's music as a resource from which respected Old-Time musicians can draw. Molsky's recording, like most contemporary Old-Time recordings, invites listeners to revisit McCarroll's recordings and creates a space for conversation and comparison over how the newer recording positions itself in relation to the original. It is a conversation that draws on familiarity with the "source recording" and allows listeners to participate as both artists and critics. It also creates a space for listeners to hear what Molsky brings to the tradition; his melodic changes or bowing patterns become a part of the tune from that point onward. If a fiddler plays "Johnson City Rag" and cites Jimmy McCarroll as the source while also pointing to Molsky's setting, she would gain more credibility than only citing Molsky's version. Perhaps after musicians played "Johnson City Rag" during a jam, a conversation would follow, evaluating Molsky's setting and praising McCarroll's joyful way of playing. The conversation would reveal the multitude of ways in which the piece of music has circulated and resonated within the community. Playing the tune would create space for evaluation of the past recordings and the choices guiding the playing in the contemporary moment.

Ethnomusicologist and musician Jeff Todd Titon has suggested that tunes and the ability to trace a recording to a source are a kind of "currency" in the Old-Time

community (2001: 11). He points to the way in which the information about artists, recordings, and tunes—the kind of information typically contained in and interpreted by liner notes—becomes part of the essential knowledge of the tune. A common complaint among “Old-Time Herald” reviewers is that a new Old-Time album fails to provide sources in the liner notes. For those Old-Time musicians unable to make the claims of authenticity and tradition that can be made by those born into a musical tradition, it becomes essential to establish relationships to source recordings. For such musicians, an acceptable and respectable performance of the music in the present moment hinges on both the performance and documentation of it in the past, and the performers’ familiarity with those earlier recordings. Bruce Molsky, who questions the idea of source musicians, points to the tension between these ways of learning and claiming authenticity:

I refer to things as source recordings or source people, and I’m not sure that is even a thing. It’s all stops along the way. When you brought up the question of heritage, you know, heritage—it kind of makes me wince a little bit. Because heritage starts to become a cultural claim more than a musical claim. And for an urban northern guy like me, it immediately brings—and all my associated guilt—it immediately brings into question my right to play this music, which is something I’ve always struggled with. (Molsky 2011)

His statement speaks to the complicated relationships and complex meanings that The Roane County Ramblers and most other recordings carry with them into the present. In the contemporary Old-Time music scene, the Ramblers’ recordings become both a potential source for repertoire and a measure for contemporary performances. They become material from which claims of authenticity can be made and standards against which contemporary performances and performers can be judged.

Jimmy McCarroll among the Folklorists: Authentic Folk Heritage

Having explored the complex meanings among Old-Time enthusiasts, I now expand the discussion of Jimmy McCarroll's relationship to folklorists. A Grammy nominated release from the Tennessee Folklore Society in 1979 added an authenticating stamp to McCarroll's music, attaching to it the label "folk heritage." In spite of the Grammy nomination, Bobby Fulcher, who contributed recordings and notes to the album, suggests that the project was actually rather small in scale and significance. However, I feel that the labels of "folk" and "heritage" represent an important layer in the interpretative atmosphere surrounding the McCarrolls' music. In considering the more recent field recordings featured on this project, I am stepping beyond the circulation of McCarroll's Columbia recordings; however, I believe that McCarroll's inclusion in the project is due in part to the visibility that his Columbia recordings and their reissues gave him. After all, the reissues had brought him to folklorists' attention.

It is not coincidental that this compilation was produced during an era of expansion for state folklife programs. Both folklorist Ray Allen and historian Michael Scully trace the ways in which contextual theories of folklore shaped national and state folklife policy in the 1970s and '80s and the effects that these policies had on Old-Time musicians and revivalists (Allen 2010, Scully 2008). Allen describes the shift in policy: "In order to justify the use of federal and state tax dollars for folklore programming, government-based folklorists would have to carefully distinguish between those artists who were actually community-based tradition bearers and those who had come to the music through the urban folk revival" (Allen 2010: 198). In order to find funding, folklorists found themselves in the role of authenticators, determining which artists met the criteria of traditionality. Seen as a documentary effort to present regional traditions in

context, the Tennessee Folklore Society's 103 LP "Tennessee: The Folk Heritage Vol. 2 The Mountains: New field recordings of traditional music from Tennessee" presents Old-Time musicians like Jimmy McCarroll as worthy of grant funding and programming at folklife festivals. Folklorists Charles Wolfe, Bobby Fulcher, Richard Blaustein, and Jay Orr all contributed recordings and liner notes to the album, which makes a strong case for the traditionality of the artists.

The photo on the album cover illustrates the kind of vanishing local traditions that the folklorist of the 1970s might hope to uncover doing fieldwork somewhere in the Tennessee mountains: overall clad Blaine Smith plays his viola on the front porch of an outbuilding, staring straight into the camera. A bag of fertilizer is propped against the tarpaper walls and a child sits in a chair off to his right. Rather than a mystical encounter with the past, the album presents a mystical encounter in the contemporary moment. As part of a project attempting to provide samples of the regional music traditions of Tennessee, the album features contemporary field recordings. The notes explain: "they all represent important aspects of the state's rich folk music heritage." Charles Wolfe, as a voice from the academic side of folklore, authenticates the traditions heard on the album: "Taken together, they form a rich sample of the authentic sound of Tennessee's best music" (Wolfe 1979, emphasis in original).

The album features ballad singers, square dance music, and banjo tunes. The three recordings of Jimmy McCarroll—a mislabeled tune called "Train 111," "Fiddler a Dram," and "Dog and Cat Rag"—were recorded in 1974. Wolfe writes:

"Uncle Jimmy was 84 when these recordings were made, and he was still playing an occasional square dance with his 'Roane County Band,' a fixture in the region for over 50 years. Jimmy's unique style, which relies on quick, fast strokes with a "short bow," has been attributed to sources as diverse as his Cherokee

grandmother (from whom he learned) and the north Georgia fiddle style he encountered in the 1920's" (Wolfe 1979)

Although Wolfe's notes follow in the vein of earlier liner notes, the inclusion of Jimmy McCarroll's music on the album authenticates him as a folk performer, transforming him from being merely a recording artist from the late 1920s into a bearer of folk tradition or heritage. In Wolfe's eyes, these field recordings of Jimmy McCarroll's constitute an authentic folk performance. He places value on the contemporary performance, pushing the family's living tradition into the realm of heritage.

IV. McCarroll Family Music: 1970s – 2010s

While Jimmy McCarroll's Columbia recordings circulated through the worlds of collectors, revivalists, and Old-Time music enthusiasts, Tom, Polly, and Tammie McCarroll played a different kind of McCarroll music, largely unaware of the ways in which Jimmy McCarroll's recordings were being interpreted and valued. During the 1970s and '80s, the family band blended popular country songs, gospel, boogies, and fiddle tunes into a radio and stage shows meant to satisfy the tastes of local and tourist audiences. It seems that they played music to entertain audiences and make some extra money rather than to keep a particular vision of tradition alive. It wasn't until the early 2000s that Tammie became aware of the ways that her grandfather's music had reached listeners she never knew existed. She discovered a new audience interested in a very specific sound, which led her to turn inward and reflect on her relationship to her grandfather. She began to reevaluate and revise her repertoire and performance style, creating a new old sound that she believed would be appreciated by an audience of Old-Time enthusiasts. A series of encounters and moments of self-discovery led her to present her music as heritage. In this section I explore the impact that the years of circulation and resonance have had on Tom and Tammie's musical performances over the last decade or so, in hopes of explaining the differences I heard between the recording from 1973 of the "Tammie McCarroll Show" and the more recent album *Generations*.

As Tammie has internalized the meanings that listeners have attached to her grandfather's music, her sense of heritage, articulated in part through stories, shapes her

musical performances, just as her father has come to understand the nature of his relationship to the Old-Time community. Tom has learned to be a master musician through encounters with an audience that values his music in part because of his relationship to his father. Tom and Tammie's 2002 album *Generations* perpetuates Tammie's notion of heritage through repertoire, sound, and the practice of making music.

The Tammie McCarroll Radio Show

We will tune in now to a recording of "The Tammie McCarroll Show" broadcast from AM station WLIL in Lenoir City, Tennessee. It's a Monday night in late December of 1973. Tammie McCarroll is fourteen years old. Tom, Polly, and Tammie are about one third of the way through the hour-long show. Tom has picked up his fiddle to satisfy some requests for fiddle tunes. He blasts through "Down Yonder"—a common, uptown sounding fiddle tune with a hokey but catchy turnaround that probably matches popular notions of what country fiddling should sound like. Things get a bit more interesting as he plays "Flop Eared Mule." His short bow strokes drive the tune, while Tammie's acoustic guitar and Polly's electric bass anchor it down. Although the instrumentation is different from that of the Roane County Ramblers, the performance matches the rhythmic drive heard on the Columbia recordings. Tom reaches into the family repertoire for a loping rendition of the third fiddle tune, "Smoke behind the Still." Before he satisfies a request from a listener in Greenback for the gospel number "When They Ring Those Golden Bells," he assumes a familiar tone and delivers an ad for local sponsor Elm Hill Meats' Wampler Sausages and their Flavor-Saver packaging: "If you really want good sausage, why, reach for the name Wampler's, and you'll be glad you did."

After he fiddles the melody of the Gospel tune, we hear him pick up his red Univox electric guitar and announce: “We had some requests from some little girls to do a boogie. You think we can get over one right here right quick like?” With a high-pitched voice, Tammie answers: “Yeah.” Tom strikes a chord on the electric. Tammie dedicates the tune: “I want to do this for the freshman basketball team and the varsity basketball team and my home ec class. Make that the *girls’* basketball team.” Tom rips into the shuffling bass runs of his boogie. The settings on the electric guitar amp add a gentle reverb effect, sounding like a cruder version of the spacious lead guitar sounds heard on early Sun Studios recordings.

Although WLIL’s signal reached into the four surrounding counties and up on to the Cumberland Plateau, Tammie directs the radio waves right to the girls’ basketball team and her home ec class. Though typical of local radio shows, the dedication of the tune underscores one of the major factors shaping the McCarrolls’ music during this era—playing requests to satisfy the tastes of local and regional audiences. Tom explains their approach to repertoire on the radio show: “We just done everything. We’d take requests. We’d have more requests than we could get done” (T. McCarroll 2011). The popularity of the show, measured in the abundance of requests and in his telling me that the family got 105 calls from fans the last night they signed off, is still source of pride for him. He elaborates on the types of requests: “Some of them liked to hear breakdowns. Some liked to hear gospel. Some liked to hear Tammie sing. And we sung, me and my wife sung together. We sung a lot of gospel” (T. McCarroll 2011). As the McCarrolls fulfilled these requests, they drew from popular country artists Charlie Pride and Loretta Lynn, dipped into the bluegrass repertoire with “Slewfoot” and Tom’s funky two-finger

rendition of Earl Scruggs' three-finger "Foggy Mountain Breakdown," as well as from the string band tradition with their opening rendition of "Gonna Raise a Ruckus Tonight" and various fiddle tunes.

Certainly, some members of their audience knew Jimmy McCarroll's Columbia recordings and appreciated Tom's fiddling. After all, the McCarrolls sold the County reissue on air and at shows right alongside Tammie's original 45s. She tells me that her grandfather would make occasional appearances on the show, leading them to play more fiddle tunes, including some of his classics like "Southern 111" and the "Hometown Blues." Their electrified "Banks of the Ohio" linked a world of ballads to the electric sounds of Nashville, while their gospel tunes rounded out the programs, allowing a glimpse into the world of live gospel music that continues to be popular in churches and weekly gospel jams at Hardee's and McDonalds throughout East Tennessee. As for the instruments, the McCarrolls employed acoustic guitars, fiddle, mandolin, banjo, electric guitar, and an electric bass. Within the frame of country music, the repertoire and instrumentation of the radio show was wide open, designed to entertain local listeners with diverse musical tastes.

Music during the 1970s and 1980s: The Sound, Venues, and Tammie's 45s

The need to please audiences shaped both the family's repertoire and its sound. Tammie McCarroll reflects on the link between sound and audience during the 1970s and '80s, recalling gigs at the Castaway Hotel in Daytona Beach, Gatlinburg, Pigeon Forge, Opryland, and Nashville: "It was more the rockabilly type with the electric guitars and the full country twang and all that kind of stuff" (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011). These gigs were performances for tourists wanting to be entertained, rather than for revivalists

wanting an encounter with the real thing. If twang was what these audiences wanted, then twang was what the McCarrolls delivered.

That is not to say, however, that their stage shows were limited to rockabilly and contemporary country performances. Tom's fiddling and banjo playing were featured parts of performances. When I asked him if they got paid for these gigs, he set me straight: "Heck yes. They were good paying gigs. Expenses and paying too" (T. McCarroll 2011). Reflecting on the role of money over years of family music making, Tammie complicates Richard Nevins' picture of Jimmy McCarroll and his contemporaries, who played for love of music rather than money. She, speaking about the role of music from her grandfather's time to the present, echoes her father: "Music was made for music itself, but the money was also good" (McCarroll-Burroughs 2012). Besides these paying gigs, Tom, Polly, and Tammie mixed their music with recreation, hitching their Holiday Rambler camper behind Tom's F 250 truck, traveling around the country, and providing nightly entertainment at the National Campers and Hikers' Association annual Campventions.

The 45s that Tammie recorded of her original compositions during junior high school exhibit the same breadth of style and repertoire that marked family performances during the era, providing another example of what their music sounded like in the 1970s. Produced in a local studio under the "Log Cabin" label, the 45s contain some of Tammie's original songs and her father's fiddle tunes. The project was fairly modest: Tom remembers the studio space as an actual log cabin with Styrofoam egg cartons attached to the walls and the studio. I never learned just how many copies they sold, but I am pretty sure that Tom still has some wrapped in plastic in his basement. Looking at one

particular 45, we can see the variety of music the family performed, and the ways in which their music's role in the community extended beyond entertainment. This particular recording pairs one of Tammie's originals with a fiddle tune. On one side, Tammie's original "Man in Vietnam" includes the work of a session steel guitar player, taking on a familiar country sound. On the flipside, Tom fiddles the traditional tune "Run Johnny Run," reminding listeners that the McCarrolls can do it all. Tammie tells about writing "Man in Vietnam" around 13 or 14 years old:

We were watching some released POWs, and they were televising it. I was sitting there. Daddy likes to tell that I was eating macaroni and cheese, watching and wrote that song because they were releasing these hostages from POW camp. I wrote, "I've got a man in Vietnam. I'm the girl who has been waiting for her man in Vietnam." (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011)

A story attaches to this song. Tom tells me about the impact of Tammie's song on one listener:

And we'd done a show one night, and the dispatcher called me— said, "Tom, there's a man down here wanting to talk to you." And I said, "Okay." And so he put him on the phone. He said, "Is that your daughter that wrote that Vietnam memorial song?" I said, "Yes it was." . . . He said, "If there's anybody ever come up to be that song, I'm it." He said, "I want some of the records." It was about eleven o'clock. I said "Are you at the radio station? Come up to the fire hall, and I'll be down there." So I went down there, and he pulled in. And he'd just got out of the Vietnam War. I said, "How many you want?" He said, "How many is in a box?" I said, "There's twelve." He said, "Give me twelve." I said "Well, I'm going to give them to you." I said, "Anybody that has went through that, I'm giving them to you." (T. McCarroll 2011)

The sounds and repertoire of the McCarrolls' recordings, radio shows, and performances tell a story of family making music for audiences that were not overly concerned with whether or not the music represented a regional or familial tradition. As one of Tom's jokes from the radio show suggests: "You know we play three ways— terrible, awful, and miserable. . . . So that's the way we play, of course we enjoy trying it

each week. You know, it's kindly hard sometimes to work ten hours and then come and do an hour show, but still we enjoy doing it anyway." Rather than locating the meaning of musical performances primarily in the language of family tradition or heritage, his joke suggests the family found enjoyment in performing and entertaining audiences. While enjoyment and entertaining were core foci of their playing, this does not mean that a sense of tradition was not important to them, particularly when playing the older fiddle tunes. Surely some of the program's listeners were specifically listening for those older, familiar tunes. Though not articulated as "heritage," it seems likely that their music making alongside Jimmy would have given them a sense of tradition and continuity in their family music. In spite of a long day at work, Tom still had a desire to share his gifts with others. There were moments, like his encounter with the Vietnam veteran, when the musician's gifts and listener's needs allowed for meaningful connections that extended beyond entertainment.

Feedback: In Theory

When Tom's wife Polly passed away in 1989, he and Tammie took a break from their music, finding it difficult to play without Polly. Occasionally, they made their way to jams at the Bradbury Community Center, to smaller RV campouts in East Tennessee, and to a handful of events in Lenoir City like the annual Loudon County Fiddlers Convention; but the 1990s were a relatively dry period for McCarroll family music. In the early 2000s, a series of events and encounters led Tammie to begin making music again with her father; however, the music had a new sound—one that was decidedly Old-Time. Tammie and her father had embraced a sound and repertoire rooted in the memory of a particular moment in the family's musical past. She attributes the changes to three

events: becoming involved in the Appalachian Studies movement, meeting folklorist Bobby Fulcher, and discovering a global community of Old-Time enthusiasts online who happened to be spellbound by Jimmie McCarroll's fiddling. Besides leading Tom and Tammie to rethink their music, these discoveries led to the production of an album of family repertoire, performances in venues dedicated to promoting traditional music, and connections with new national and global audiences.

Unlike the stories of revival familiar to folklorists in which Ralph Rinzler (or substitute your favorite folklorist) convinces Doc Watson (or substitute your traditional artist of choice) to quit shredding on an electric guitar and to play an acoustic, thereby removing what Jeff Todd Titon has called "the electric taint" from the pure music of the folk (1993:231), the repackaging and re-imagining of the McCarroll's music has largely come from within. Folklorist Bobby Fulcher has played some role in fueling Tom and Tammie's sense of pride in their music and helping connect them with venues and appreciative audiences; but Tammie, who is an historian and has a savvy sense of the traditional music scene, has stepped into the role of primary interpreter of the family's tradition and has aligned their current music with the familial repertoire and sounds that Old-Time enthusiasts are most eager to hear.

Stepping back and considering these changes theoretically, I would suggest that the processes of circulation and resonance described in the last section have led to a kind of feedback. The circulation of Jimmy McCarroll's Columbia recordings and the ways in which listeners have layered them with value and meaning shape the ways in which the McCarrolls now perform and construct their tradition. Ethnomusicologist David Novak employs the terms "feedback" and "feedback loop" to describe "the co-constitutive

relationship between performance and media in the lives of listeners” among Japanese Noise performers and listeners (forthcoming). Louise Meintjes also describes a process, which Novak might call “feedback,” through which certain past recordings and sounds combine with current attitudes and interpretations of the music among audiences to shape the choices that artists make in the recording studio (2003). In making new music and attempting to appeal to listeners in the early 1990s, South African Mbaqanga artists incorporated into their music sounds and melodies that referenced past recordings that listeners had interpreted as classic examples of the style. As I use it, the term feedback describes the process by which Tammie discovers a whole audience invested in her grandfather’s recordings and attempts to create a new sound, drawing from the sounds and repertoire of the older recordings that will appeal to this audience. Feedback can describe the ways in which the Columbia recordings, deemed classics by generations of Old-Time musicians and enthusiasts, become incorporated into the McCarrolls’ performances and recordings in the 2000s. In the end, feedback amplifies some sounds and parts of their repertoire while canceling others out, shaping their (particularly Tammie’s) choices in repertoire, technique, and instrumentation as well as their discourse about and interpretation of their music. It amplifies stories that connect Tom and Tammie to Jimmy. Over the last ten years, they have performed primarily for audiences seeking encounters with traditional or source musicians in venues that are in the business of presenting such artists and heritage. A significant portion of this audience know the Columbia recordings, or at least value Tom and Tammie’s music because of their connection to that source.

The McCarrolls have responded to these new audiences by leaving their electric instruments at home, revising their repertoire to focus on family tunes, and incorporating specific sounds that index those earlier recordings. Tammie’s interpretations and stage presentation emphasize music making as heritage creation rather than simply music making as recreation or entertainment. Their album is presented in the same fashion; Tammie’s spoken introduction frames the music as heritage—as the current manifestation of a family tradition. The presentation is self-conscious of the tradition that it simultaneously constructs and performs.

Feedback: In Action

In our conversations, Tammie points to three events that have most shaped her music choices over the past decade, suggesting that the events all coincided around the same time during the early 2000s, when she encountered audiences previously unknown to her. In the early 2000s, a fellow teacher convinced Tammie to attend an Appalachian Studies conference for elementary school teachers, where she remembers hearing lectures by Ted Olson and Loyal Jones and recalls being amazed at the speakers’ familiarity with her grandfather’s music:

And I asked Loyal on the break, I said, “Did you ever know an old man named Jimmy McCarroll?” And he said, “Oh my yes. *Oh my yes.*” And I’m thinking, “Okay, this is just too scary for words.” The third speaker that afternoon on the very first day was Dr. Montgomery. He wrote the *Tennessee Encyclopedia*. And I asked him. He said, “There are lots of old musicians. Now I know you’ve already heard about Appalachian music.” But he said, “It was brought over from Scot”—he brought in the Scots-Irish trace about the crossover tunes and everything. And I asked him on break, “Did you ever know an old fiddler by the name of Jimmie McCarroll?” And he said, “Oh my yes.” And I’m thinking, “Okay, this is heaven sent.” By the end of the week, we had run into so many Appalachian folks—guest speakers and everything and gone different places—the other teachers were thinking, “Who doesn’t she know, and who doesn’t know her family?” And that just kind of piqued my interest. (McCarroll-Burroughs, Tammie 2011)

What had been music made as a family took on new meaning as a cultural resource worthy of documenting as her encounters at the Appalachian Studies conference inspired her to action. Besides beginning the process of getting County Records to digitize and reissue the original Columbia recordings and archiving tapes of her family's music, Tammie felt compelled to document her father's music through a recording project focusing on familial repertoire. Around this same time, she happened to search for her grandfather's name on the Internet. She recalls: "You Google everything. Somebody had said, "Type in your name sometime and see how many hits you get." So I just typed in my grandfather's name. Golly—forty-three thousand and growing. It's more like hundreds now" (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011).

In a different version of the story, she stresses the global following her grandfather had acquired: "But I mean as far away as Australia. They had people in Australia playing my granddad's music. And I was floored, just absolutely floored" (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011). This moment of discovery is tied directly to the technology of the moment, as the Internet allowed her to discover her grandfather's now global audience. This instantaneous experience of feedback—a second or perhaps milliseconds as a search engine generated information—condensed years of circulation and made a global audience visible in a way that would have been previously unthinkable. This awareness engendered by the Internet gives the McCarroll family's musical turn a unique flavor. It sets it apart from the more familiar stories of musical revival and suggests ways in which the Internet can empower artists.

As she was reevaluating her grandfather's music, a serendipitous encounter with folklorist Bobby Fulcher provided Tammie and her father opportunities to begin to

connect with members of the very audience she had discovered on the Internet. She tells the story of meeting Fulcher at an East Tennessee Historical Society function, remembering the way that his ranger uniform, “complete with gun,” stuck out in a crowd “dripping in diamonds and pearls.” She found herself sitting near Fulcher and happened to see a list of tunes for a recording he was producing, including “Southern 111,” which prompted her to ask Fulcher, who at the time was a stranger, if that was Jimmy McCarroll’s tune. She remembers:

So I got my courage and poked him and said, “Excuse me sir, that’s a list of songs isn’t it?” “Why yes it is.” And I said, “I couldn’t help noticing about the fifth one down ‘Southern 111.’ Is that song about a train?” “Oh my yes! It’s an original piece. It was written by this genius, and he was the best fiddler I’ve ever heard. And he was...” And I said, “He was my grandfather.” He about fell out of his seat. He said, “Are you serious?” And I said, “Yeah, as a heart attack.” “How’s he your grandfather?” I said, “Through my daddy.” He said, “Where have you been? I’ve been trying to find you people for years.” I said, “We’ve been right here.” He gave me his card and Bryan was like “Our mojo was working here. Our mojo was working.” I’m thinking, “This guy may be going to contact me, maybe not.” I mean the very next afternoon, the phone rings. “Do you remember we met last night?” It was Bobby – Bobby Fulcher.

And that started a long friendship to which we are eternally grateful because he has gotten me to realize just how much our family’s music was loved and was appreciated. But I was almost moved to tears that night, listening to him say just how wonderful of a fiddler my grandfather was. And it wasn’t too long after that that we got the invitation to go to the Festival of Fiddle Tunes and perform at the Laurel. And I had been to many concerts at the Laurel, so it was like playing at Mecca for me. But it was just amazing that it opened doors, and it opened opportunities. (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011)

Fulcher reflects on his own complex motivations in working with Tom and Tammie, describing the ways in which his personal experience with Jimmy McCarroll’s music shaped his relationships with them:

I had an ongoing guilt trip about Jimmy McCarroll living so long that I never went back to him again even though I loved his fiddling. I craved it. Moved by it. But I had—when I was younger and had thought, “Well, Jim McCarroll, everybody knows everything about him. There’s no reason for me to spend my time going to see Jimmy McCarroll because there’s these other people out there.”

I felt like that was supposed to be my mission to document their stories, their lives, their music, because it hadn't been done at all. I sure didn't have anything against Jimmy McCarroll because, indeed, I thought his fiddling was the most entertaining. He's my favorite fiddle player of the 78 era. I just didn't do it. I don't know. It was a little intimidating. I felt like, "I'm not supposed to be doing that because all these other people, they have been there. David Freeman has already covered this." (Fulcher 2011)

In Tom and Tammie, Fulcher saw an opportunity to do Jim McCarroll justice. He conducted interviews with them and connected them with the Jubilee Community Art's Laurel Theater in Knoxville, TN, and the Festival of American Fiddle Tunes in Port Townsend, WA. In 2003, he helped arrange Tom and Tammie's first concert at the Laurel Theater, celebrating the music of Jimmy McCarroll and the Roane County Ramblers. He reflects on their connection with a new audience: "That concert was the first time for them to play before an audience that you would say would be connected to some understanding of the string band revival. . . . I guess you'd say college educated, Old-Time music savvy crowd" (Fulcher 2011). He acted as a vital link between the McCarrolls and an audience eager to encounter musicians with some claim to heritage and the family.

Heritage: In Story

During our conversations in 2011 and 2012, when Tammie spoke to me about her family's music, she used the word "heritage." It is a striking choice given that heritage feels like a label placed on her family's music by outsiders such as folklorists, revivalists, and traditional arts organizations. It is even more problematic for a folklorist trained to view heritage as a thorny concept or an attempt to resuscitate traditions and practices that are no longer viable (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). Nonetheless, she embraces a different meaning of the word, offering stories that speak to vitality of tradition and the rich sense

of meaning and identity that her family's music gives her. Although I recognize that heritage is a problematic concept with multiple meanings, I use the term because she has used it most frequently to describe her relationship to her family's tradition. In doing so, I follow folklorist Deborah Kodish's lead and refuse to dismiss something vitally important to my consultants just because it is "a discredited notion in the field of folklore," realizing that concepts like authenticity and heritage often remain critical to communities and consultants as they produce and evaluate works of art (Kodish 2011: 34). In this work, I use heritage in the way that Tammie uses it—as a way of talking about a rich sense of family tradition that guides actions and sense of self. The concept of heritage informs McCarroll's work as a 4th grade Social Studies teacher. It is reflected in her curriculum, which requires students to create a family history and engage with oral history. It shapes her and her husband Bryan's involvement in Scottish clan activities. It motivated her to show me, during a visit to her classroom, the brick that she pulled from the ruins of an ancestor's house in Virginia. For her, the notion of heritage drives actions.

Tammie McCarroll's concept of heritage also fuels stories in which she makes sense of her relationship to her grandfather and the tradition he has come to represent. In these stories, heritage becomes a way to talk about the choices family members have made to maintain a tradition. It becomes a word that speaks to the ways that her life is both similar to and different from her grandfather and father's lives. It allows her to reconcile her life with their lives. In her stories, the meanings of the term narrow, excluding a heritage of poverty and ignorance, while focusing on her family's musical traditions and knowledge. As I sat in an undersized student's desk in Tammie's

classroom in early June 2011, she recounted the following with the passion that a good historian pours into the telling of an important event:

When I went to college, I majored in music at Tech. I was majoring in voice and music education to come back and teach music in the high school. That would be my emphasis – high school music teacher. And my music professor – my voice teacher and advisor did not see eye to eye [with me]. When she found out that I was a country bluegrass *Old-Time* music person, she literally had a catfight because in *her* opinion the only thing worse for the voice was cheerleading. She told me, she said, “I wouldn’t have hated it any more if you told me you were a cheerleader ‘cause it will *ruin* the voice.” And we went round and round every – every time I had a musical function concerning family music. I’d come back, and she’d be on my case.

And I talked to my parents about it, but then I went home and I talked to my granddad, cause I mean we were buddies. And I told him what was going on. I said, “I - I just don’t know what to do.” And he said, “Well, I’m not telling you what to do,” he said, “It’s your college career.” He said, “I’m proud of you.” But he said, “I’m telling you, you can’t turn your back on your heritage. This is your heritage. [Tammie pauses] The McCarroll line has always been musicians. We’ve always carried our music through. This is your heritage.” And he said, “And you can’t turn your back on your heritage. Don’t walk away from what you *know* and what you have always known and family.” He said, “I’m not telling you what to do, but,” he said, “if you turn your back on this, you’re *not* going to be happy. You’re not *ever* going to be happy.”

And so I went back and I told them I was switching majors. And of course she was not real happy about that. And the head of the voice department, Dr. Ernest, talked to me and said, “I’ll be your voice teacher if that’s the problem, and you and I can just work something out. And I said, “No, I really feel I need to do this,” so I switched to elementary ed. I did a 360 from music high school to elementary ed. And Dr. Joseph Sharp was the head of the elementary ed department over at Tech. And I had to do an interview with him to get into the program. And he looks at my application and my paperwork, and he says, “Are you *kin* to an old man named Jim McCarroll?” And I said, “Yes sir, he’s my grandfather.” And he said, “The finest musician I’ve ever met.” And I thought, “How does he know my granddad?” And he said, “I saw him play and he’s just one of the *finest* musicians I’ve ever met.” So I thought, “Okay, that’s a sign. *That’s a sign* that it’s accepted.” This is all it took. And my grandfather’s [words] came back to me, “you can’t turn your back on your heritage.” And there’s an old saying, “Don’t get above your raising.” And if I’d have continued in that plot in life, I would have gotten above my raising.” (McCarroll-Burroughs, Tammie 2011).

After establishing the conflict with her voice teacher over “the voice,” Tammie has returned home and reports her grandfather’s speech. He reminds her of her family’s

tradition and presents a choice, setting up a theme of heritage as maintaining tradition. His voice is a voice of wisdom—an “authoritative voice” that directs and guides action (Bakhtin1986: 130-131). She has told me about her relationship with her grandfather:

TM: We took walks, and he told me a lot of stuff. He always talked and told me a lot of stuff.

JD: Were they things about the family?

TM: It was things about the family, getting along in nature. He taught me how to shoot a gun. And he’s the one that also taught me what a gun can do by way of putting a cantaloupe on a fence post. He said, “I’m going to show you how to shoot a gun, but I’m also going to show you what a gun can do.” When I blew the cantaloupe away, he said, “That could be a human being. Think about that.” He taught me what plants were good in the woods. He taught me a lot about herbal medicine and Indian medicine. Old folklore. Taught me about what snakes to watch out for. Taught me about moonshine. Jokingly, but much to my parent’s dismay.

Yeah, to him family was important. And dad says it’s after the fact, because when he was little, he wasn’t around much for family. He was away working, playing the fiddle or whatever. But when it came to family traditions, he made sure I was listening a little bit. Wish I’d have listened a lot more. (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011).

As the only one of his thirteen grandchildren to take up music, Tammie believes she had a special relationship with her grandfather, using the label “old folklore” to describe her grandfather’s knowledge. It is a label that is applied in retrospect and marks the distance in time and social status between her and her grandfather. Her current position as a teacher with an advanced degree and connections to Appalachian Studies allows her to label her grandfather’s knowledge as “old folklore,” marking it as a more valuable kind of knowledge given that she recounts the story to me, a folklorist. She casts him as a repository of folklore in the most classical sense, like one of the wizened Appalachian elders featured in a *Foxfire* book.

In the story Tammie tells, as she seeks to resolve the conflict, Jimmy praises her and recognizes her accomplishment in attending college; but, the tension between a world

of education and a world of family makes itself felt. Through her use of reported speech, she employs her grandfather's voice to verbalize the conflict, naming its source to be "heritage." Heritage or the family's tradition of music making is not only the source of the conflict, but also the source of her potential satisfaction and fulfillment in life. As she gives her grandfather voice, he eloquently describes the music as something "carried" through time and pins the meaning of heritage on the family's music: "We've always carried our music through. This is your heritage." At the heart of this story is the refrain of maintaining tradition. It becomes a theme in our conversations about why the music matters so much to Tammie.

Although in the story Tammie tells her grandfather presents heritage as a choice, it is difficult to say whether or not she views it as such. Bakhtin suggests that an authoritative voice, like Jimmy McCarroll's, become the voices "to which one refers, which are cited, imitated, and followed" (1986: 131). As Tammie tells me this story, I am reminded that we are talking after she has come to realize that for many Old-Time enthusiasts, Jimmy McCarroll represents the pure stream of Old-Time music; he is an ambassador from the golden era of hillbilly recordings. This value conferred on him by the audiences that she first encountered a decade ago adds another layer of authority to his utterances.

As Tammie concludes the story, resolving her grandfather's admonition with her academic aspirations, she speaks her grandfather's refrain again: "And my grandfather's words came back to me 'you can't turn your back on your heritage.'" She works carefully through the first words of his speech, giving them space to be heard. The tone of her voice rises on the word "heritage." By choosing her family's music over classical

music, she avoids breaking ties with her family; she doesn't "get above her raising." In this moment, Tammie shifts from her grandfather's voice to a voice rooted in the wisdom of her community, as she speaks the proverb "Don't get above your raising," which, placed at the moment of resolution, serves to "encapsulate a problem and propose a solution," adding one more layer of authority—that of tradition—to her grandfather's words (Abrahams 1976: 196). She heeds her grandfather's advice and follows the proverb, staying true to her roots as she understands them. She concludes the story and places herself as the last in the line of McCarroll musicians: "So that's just the way it was, I mean, it's just an accepted thing that the McCarrolls are musicians. And sadly, I think I'm the last generation." (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011)

I returned to speak again with Tammie in February of 2012, wanting to make sure that I had not invested too much meaning into this particular story. When I asked her about the significance of this storied moment, she explained:

It was a career change. If I wanted to continue and be a Music Major, and graduate from the School of Music and get a job somewhere in music, I had to give this old mountain stuff up. Just ignore that old stuff—that's old. I went back and said, "I can't go there. I can't do that." (McCarroll-Burroughs 2012)

She then rehashes the story, employing her grandfather's voice again:

"You've got to live with what you decide." He said, "I'm not going to tell you what to do, just don't turn your back. Don't turn your back on what you were born to do. Don't turn your back on your heritage." And it made sense, because I'm thinking, "okay, generations before us, generations before him and generations before him. When they didn't have anything else, they had music." (McCarroll-Burroughs 2012)

She traces her life's work as history teacher and the trajectory of her music to this moment of conflict and her grandfather's advice. Heritage, defined more narrowly as maintaining her family's musical tradition, provides her with a way of bridging the gap

between her grandfather's poverty and lack of formal education and her societal position as a well-educated professional.

Tammie employs her grandfather's voice to tell another story that articulates and reinforces her understanding of her family's music, hinging on an enigmatic statement from Jimmy McCarroll to his son and granddaughter that stated that the McCarrolls are "the king's musicians." As in the story above, she highlights her closeness to her grandfather and employs his voice:

When I was little, I would talk a lot with my grandfather because—being the only one that ever picked up an instrument—we talked a lot about the family music and everything. And he always told me "We are the king's musicians. We are the king's musicians." And I'd go, "Yeah, right." And then about twelve years ago, nearly thirteen now, I got involved in Scottish history through Scottish clan societies. And I belong to clan Donald. And I was tracing my family name, and the name McCarroll was originally spelled from the Scottish. It was spelled M-a-c-k-e-r-r-a-l. Mackerral. And they came out of clan Reynold's holdings and the Mackerral was Angus Og – the leader of the Island Donalds – Angus Og's musician. So Angus Og was the laird, so in my grandfather's wordage, he was like a king. He was over – he was head of this clan. And the original Mackerral was the musician, the chief musician to Angus Og. And in the clan Donald, in the clan Donald newsletter this last issue "*By Sea By Land: Heraldic Names Through History*" – Mackerral: hereditary musicians.

So in my grandfather's wordage, we are the king's musicians. And it kind of floored me. When I was little, I'd go "Yeah, right. We're just being conceited." But, when I was in college, I did a research paper. We had to research our names. And "carol" meant musician. But it didn't go any further than that. I just found out that "carol" was musician, and I built my research paper on the fact that – you know- music has been passed down. But then when I got into Scottish history, there it was in black and white in the records. And it floored me. And I had to look up for a minute and say, "Now I know what you're talking about. Now *I know* what you meant by "we are the king's musicians." (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011)

In this story, Tammie's genealogical research confirms her grandfather's authority. Her belief that the McCarrolls are the king's musicians speaks to the way in which she situates her music making in the long stream of her family's history, suggesting that McCarrolls have, as her grandfather put it, always carried their music

through. Her story adds time and gravitas to the family tradition. By choosing to continue making music with her father, she aligns herself with generations of McCarrolls who have made music and does not “get above her raising,” in spite of her education and socioeconomic status. As she and her father describe their music, it becomes something carried in the blood. She has pointed out that her mother often said “McCarrolls play best with other McCarrolls.” She tells me that other musicians in the region recognize that McCarrolls sound best when they play music with each other. The saying underscores the ways in which the family views musical talent as an inherited trait. Through the idea of heritage, she positions herself in the world and in her family.

However, Tammie recognizes that she is an odd position to carry on the family tradition. She explains:

I am the 7th generation, I think, here in America that has played an instrument. I am the first generation to not have a fiddler. I can play the fiddle enough to make the dog’s howl. I’m not good at it. I know I’m not good at it. I can scratch out the tunes, but as far as taking off and playing something—no, it’s not there—cause all my life I’ve had to *back-up* (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011)

Although she prides herself in her ability to back up fiddlers, recognizing that her father is the last of the McCarroll fiddlers is a source of sadness. It is also a source of motivation. She feels the need to document and promote her family’s music because she fears that she is the last in the line. Her position in her family’s tradition gives the concept of heritage poignancy and shape the ways she performs and interprets both her tradition and her musical biography over the last ten years.

Heritage: In Identity

Both Tom and Tammie have found a second musical life as self-conscious tradition bearers, prompting their listeners to transform their family music into “heritage”

and “folk tradition.” Consequently, their identities as musicians reflect the changes. Clearly, Tammie acts intentionally as a presenter, preserver, and promoter of her family’s tradition, and has led the charge for the reinvention of her and her father’s music with her understanding of the Old-Time community. It was she who insisted her father leave his electric guitar and amp at home when they did their first performance at the Laurel Theater. She was the engine behind their recording project.

Although Tammie has been the primary actor among the two in the revision of repertoire and rethinking of the tradition, Tom has played a subtler yet equally important role as a master Old-Time fiddler. When I visited his house for the first time in the spring of 2007, he told me about his experience at the Festival of American Fiddle Tunes in Port Townsend, Washington. As I listen to the tape, I hear him describe photographs taken over the course of his trip to Washington. He tells me about the ferry from Seattle and the bluffs along the coastline, and draws my attention to the photos of his students, explaining that some were nurses. One owned a business that manufactured space suits. Another taught music at a college. He dwells on the photo of a woman from England, pointing out that she was particularly gifted and learned every tune on his CD. He tells me that each night, after they had spent the day performing and teaching, a crowd of people would come to the house where he and Tammie were staying to play more music with the two of them. I believe he shares these things with me because he is proud of them and wants me to know that people all the way across the country (and across the Atlantic) and from different socioeconomic positions value him and his music.

Watching Tom on a video made during his repertoire class at Fiddle Tunes in July of 2004, I see him charming the audience with an occasional joke between tunes while

Tammie shakes her left hand out, looking a bit worn out and perturbed with the relentless pace that her father sets. His sense of performance shapes his actions in the front of the class as he repeats jokes, milking the audience for a few more laughs. He tells stories about the family music and speculates on origins of tunes, while she attempts to rein him in when she feels he is exaggerating. In one revealing moment, he finishes playing a wild version of “Bucking Mule” filled with funky bowed imitations of a braying mule. Taking on the role of a teacher, he asks the class: “Has anybody got a question or anything? How about a waltz? Let us do a waltz here, and I know I ain’t going to learn you much, but maybe you can get an idea of what we’ve been doing all these years” (in Blech 2004).

Although students in such situations often expect master musicians to adroitly break tunes learned over a lifetime into palatable, explainable chunks, Tom recognizes that the real point of his presence is to give the students a window into the music his family has made. Over the course of the video, he occasionally highlights particular movements of the bow, but generally his technical explanations are made in passing and fail to account fully for the complexity of his playing. Oddly, being labeled a master musician often carries with it an expectation of master teaching—an incongruous expectation in the Old-Time community, given that master musicians in this mode are typically defined and valued for the ways in which they’ve informally learned traditions in the contexts of community and family.

However, in spite of the ways in which the video suggests that Tom is comfortable with the role of teacher and master, it appears that he has learned parts of the role from being featured at festivals and concerts as a tradition bearer. Tammie and her husband Brian recall Tom’s anxiety when he heard the other artists perform on the

opening night at Festival of American Fiddle Tunes in 2004:

Tammie McCarroll (TM): We were sitting up on stage, and you know how they have all of the showcase of the performers and the teachers, the first couple comes off and he's kind of panicking. He said, "I can't do that. I *can't* do that."

Brian Burroughs: So I told him, I said: "They don't want you to do that. They want you to play the way you play. That's what they brought you here for."

TM: I said, "Daddy—Daddy, just play our music. We don't have to play that. We don't have to play this other stuff. Play *our* music." And he took off on "Hometown Blues" and the place went to pieces.

Joseph Decosimo (JD): Really?

TM: Oh yeah.

JD: How did he react to that?

TM: Oh, he was grinning from ear to ear then. He was in his element. But he was scared to death. He was scared to death if they expected him to play some fancy stuff. He said, "I'm just not into that." (McCarroll-Burroughs and Burroughs 2012)

In Tammie's story, Tom heard fiddlers who may have been playing in technically more demanding genres and feared that his performances would not be up to snuff.

Having a better grasp on the situation, Tammie and Brian convinced Tom that his music—especially the family repertoire—was what audiences were hoping to hear. He has subsequently come to understand that when they choose him to listen to audiences want an encounter with him and his repertoire rather than an encounter with a musician with mind-blowing technical skills. Perhaps in part because Tom has been rewarded for

playing a range of genres in the past, it has taken him some time to recognize his position as a master musician valued for the tradition that listeners hope inheres in him. Indeed, I observed a similar situation when I watched his younger brother Charlie McCarroll go through the process of selecting a tune for an Old-Time fiddle contest in Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 2010. The contest itself was focused solely on Old-Time music and was a revival of the Great Southern Fiddlers Convention, a convention that took place in 1920s and '30s and drew some of the finest fiddlers of the time, including Jimmy McCarroll.

Not fully realizing that the judges and audience would most value a tune pulled from the McCarroll family repertoire, Charlie chose to play his version of “Peacock Rag” based on Chubby Wise’s playing. In so doing, he played the difficult tune flawlessly but failed to win a ribbon or attract much attention from the judges or audience. His repertoire choice, combined with the fact that his performance was not framed as the performance of a master musician whose father had played in the original contests, made for an unremarkable performance for most of the audience. Perhaps he would have placed if he had chosen to play one of his father’s pieces and to trace his lineage. Not unlike his brother, Charlie misinterpreted the expectations of the Old-Time enthusiast audience, although over time Tom has learned about and has come to embrace and perpetuate his identity as a master musician.

In June of 2011 I asked Tom about his favorite fiddlers. He answered:

Most of them died out. Charlie Acuff was one of them. He’s a good one, and a good one to play with. Well, I’d say Arthur Smith was my favorite fiddle player as far as fiddles. Arthur played just common music. Gid Tanner and Clayton McMichen, they played just straight fiddle playing. They didn’t put on nothing to it. There’s a lot of fiddle players, but the old fiddle players is all about gone. Me and two or three more is all that living in Tennessee—around 80 years old. I was watching the show they have down at Smithville [an annual fiddlers’ convention

in Middle Tennessee] every year, and they didn't have near the fiddlers that they used to have. We used to play that every year—Smithville. (T. McCarroll 2011)

Listing himself alongside a recognized living master fiddler, Charlie Acuff, and some of the most famous fiddlers of the Hillbilly era, he acknowledges his status as one of a handful of fiddlers remaining in Tennessee who might be recognized as source musicians. Not only does he demonstrate his awareness of the way his tradition places him in the unique position of being an “old fiddle player,” but he also verbalizes an aesthetic kinship with fiddlers revered by the broader Old-Time community. His experiences and observations have led him to understand his music as a rarity—a thing highly valued by a certain audience.

During the same visit, I was struck by the way in which Tom displays his musical achievements on the walls of his living room. A poster from Fiddle Tunes 2004 hangs alongside two clocks above the sofa. Just below the poster, he has placed a certificate of appreciation from Bobby Fulcher's Cumberland Trail History Project and a blue ribbon from a fiddlers' convention. On top of his piano, the County reissue of the Roane County Ramblers rests alongside the program from Fiddle Tunes. In the hallway just beyond the living room, he has hung some of the awards and certificates that he received for his service to Lenoir City. Each of these items, prominently positioned, tells a story about him as a musician and worker. He decorates his walls with them and invites guests to see his accomplishments. I believe he appreciates the attention that he has received as a musician over the last dozen years and takes pride in the fact that he has been labeled a master musician.

Heritage: In Instrumentation, Repertoire, and Performance

Folklorists have noted that stage performances framed as folklore often create problematic situations for performers who are expected to perform their tradition in an unfamiliar context, a problem that performers address in a variety of ways (Bauman 1992:36-37, Price 1994, Sheehy 2007). When I performed with East Tennessee fiddler Charlie Acuff, who is a decade older than Tom McCarroll, from 1999 until around 2005, he insisted that we break up the fiddle tunes with plenty of songs. Having developed his sense of showmanship performing on radio shows and stages in the 40s, he believed that songs were essential to entertaining audiences. Although he had thoroughly entered into the world of heritage, he still saw his duty on stage, regardless of the venue or audience, as that of an entertainer. I felt like this solution managed to keep audiences, ranging from the local folks to the hardcore Old-Time camp attendees, happy. Not only did Acuff's performance rely on a regional and familial repertoire, but it also allowed audiences to encounter a performance style and aesthetic shaped by radio performances in the 1940s. Interestingly, Acuff often differentiated himself from fiddler Clyde Davenport by pointing out the fact that Davenport's performances only featured fiddle tunes—one after another. He saw this as a shortcoming or a lack of Davenport's ability to put on a show. However, what he failed to account for was the fact that folklorist Bobby Fulcher framed each lowly fiddle tune as a rare and precious example of a regional fiddle style. The new context for performance presented the McCarrolls with a similar set of problems. As Fulcher helped them onto stages in venues featuring traditional musicians and catering to audiences who would likely know Jimmy McCarroll's Columbia recordings, Tammie took the lead in solving the problems.

In June of 2011, Tammie described the significant shift from including electric instruments in performances to only playing acoustic instruments, linking it to a formative performance around the time the album “Generations” was recorded in 2002: “We did acoustic, but dad still liked his electric instruments. But we went totally back to the Old-Time after we played at the Laurel [Theater] and dad saw how much people loved the acoustic again. The Old-Time—that—that’s what he decided to stick with. And I’m so grateful” (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011). More recently, she explained:

“He didn’t want to do the Old-Time stuff, and I kept saying, ‘Dad, you got to do the Old-Time stuff. That’s what they want to hear. *That’s* what they want to hear.’ And then he realized, when we did our first show at the Laurel and so many young college kids were there to listen. He said, ‘All of these kids are here to listen to an old man?’ You know, he was astounded by that. . . . That was the convincing moment right then” (McCarroll-Burroughs 2012).

This particular concert was Fulcher’s brainchild and was meant to be a celebration of the Roane County Ramblers’ music and Jimmy McCarroll’s legacy. Divining the expectations of the audience and drawing from her own experience as a concertgoer at the venue, she aligned their performance with her understanding of the concertgoer’s expectations.

Tom and Tammie’s current instrumentation reflects their Old-Time aesthetic. For most performances these days, Tammie plays a Gibson J-30 guitar. Her father carries two fiddles, one of which is cross-keyed (tuned to AEAE), lending him seriousness and distinguishing him from other fiddlers who might not employ this decidedly Old-Time tuning. Instead of his electric guitar, he now brings an old parlor sized Washburn guitar from the 1920s to his performances. The slotted peghead and smaller size would fit right in with the black and white studio photo of his father’s band. He uses it to Carter-pick occasional gospel numbers and Carter family songs. It’s no coincidence that several times

during my visits with Tom he has asked me if I knew anybody who might be interested in buying his old PA system. He tells me he no longer has a need to amplify performances. The McCarrolls are now an Old-Time band, playing suitable instruments.

Although Tom and Tammie's performances now focus on the "Old-Time stuff," their actual presence on the stage bears the marks of years spent on the radio and stages—a particular kind of heritage. Good radio and stage performances require performers to leave a minimal amount of dead air time. The quick pace of Tom and Tammie's performances seems shaped by their days on the radio and stages. The two stand up during performances. Between tunes, they keep things moving quickly. When Tom switches from fiddle to guitar, he does so hastily. After years of performing together, they convey a sense of comfort and showmanship. Though not slick, their surefooted stage-show probably owes a deep debt to traditions of stage and radio performance, but this is a tradition that much of their audience does not understand or even recognize, and thus likely do not appreciate. The audience's search for "folkness" probably looks right over this aspect of their performances. As much as Tom and Tammie's performances rely on a structure and pacing similar to what was heard in "The Tammie McCarroll Show," Tammie's interpretations of tune histories and framing of her family's music represent new twists in their performances. Through her stories and tune histories, she transforms the stage from a venue for entertainment into a platform from which she can educate audiences about her family's music and construct her vision of her family's tradition.

With the changes in instrumentation and performance come changes in repertoire. Again, Tom and Tammie have not abandoned the old structures that marked their performances in the 1970s and '80s. The impulse to entertain remains and shapes the

repertoire. Although the McCarrolls have revised their repertoire to leave out the Charlie Pride and Loretta Lynn songs, vocal numbers still play an important role in performances. Tammie occasionally sings her composition “Tennessee.” They punctuate fiddle tunes drawn from their family repertoire with a handful of Carter family songs and gospel numbers. It would be safe to say that the bulk of their repertoire for stage performances over the last dozen years has been fiddle tunes pulled from the family repertoire. Where Tammie’s persona and singing were once the main draw, Tom’s fiddling has become the driving force behind their performances. His vast repertoire of obscure and familiar tunes has provided Old-Time enthusiasts with what they want from him.

Recording Heritage

The McCarrolls’ 2002 album *Generations* serves as Tammie’s way of ensuring that her family’s music will not disappear. As the last member of her family to play the music, she views the album as a document of the tradition. In an ironic twist, the technology that captured and publicized her family’s tradition in the late 1920s serves to document the end of the family’s tradition 80 years later. The album becomes a document that communicates her vision of her family’s tradition; it becomes a moment when tradition is constructed through speech, repertoire, and sounds.

Placing Tom and Tammie’s 2002 self-produced and self-released album into the CD player, the first thing we encounter is Tammie’s voice:

Music has been a vital part of our family. It has been passed down from generation to generation by our Scots-Irish ancestors. Both my father and I began playing at an early age. The songs in this collection are old tunes. Some were brought from the Scottish Highlands to the Appalachian Highlands. Some were adapted from ballads played by our ancestors. Three songs are original pieces

recorded by Fiddling Jim McCarroll and the Roane County Ramblers in 1928 and '29. We hope you enjoy them. (McCarroll-Burroughs and McCarroll 2002)

She delivers her message in a measured, deliberate manner, using the format of the CD to speak directly to us. Rather than offering liner notes, she frames her family's tradition and constructs a world of familial repertoire and oral tradition for listeners to explore. Listeners cannot escape this oral piece. She tells me that her husband suggested she place it at the start of the album. She brands the repertoire contained on the album with the mark of her family's heritage. Each tune becomes a way of claiming that heritage, whether they learned it from Jimmy McCarroll or from Tom's grandmother Rosie, or whether Tammie herself composed it in the 1970s. The album becomes a way of staking claims regarding heritage, pulling out a trump card of authenticity. The interpretation of the music as heritage becomes as critical to the listeners' encounter with the McCarrolls as the actual performance of the music.

Tammie's project of claiming and constructing heritage continues throughout the album. In Tom and Tammie's reworking of Jimmy McCarroll's "Southern 111," Tammie amplifies this message of familial tradition as she attempts to capture the spoken passages narrating "Southern 111." Just as her grandfather narrated the journey of the Southern 111 hauling coal from Knoxville to Danville, Kentucky, in his 1928 Columbia recordings, Tammie speaks almost the same words. She remembers the power of hearing her grandfather's voice the first time she heard his voice clearly speaking the words on the remastered version: "First time I heard it, I sat there and squalled because I hadn't heard his voice in years" (McCarroll-Burroughs 2012). When I asked her why she chose to include the narration in her recorded version, she answered: "I wanted to try to make it as close to his as possible. That meant speaking with it. That meant speaking with it. I

didn't get them all exactly the way he had them, but the thing was to narrate it" (McCarroll-Burroughs 2012). In doing so, Tammie links her recording project and the sound, repertoire, and performance therein to a recording made by her grandfather nearly seventy years before.

During a visit I paid to Tom's younger brother Charlie in the summer of 2008, Charlie described a technique his father used called "riding the bass" (C. McCarroll 2008) that Tom now emulates. Just as Tammie's spoken words duplicate an earlier sound and era, Tom's actual fiddling—the push and pull of his bow—replicate both the sounds and motions of his father. The technique of "riding the bass" speaks to one way in which sound and technique, through memory, link Tom's music to his father's. Although Jimmy McCarroll is not the only Old-Time fiddler to employ the technique, he used it with considerable skill and to great effect. We might say it's an essential part of his sound. "Riding the bass" describes a technique by which a fiddler begins a phrase by drawing the full length of the bow slowly over the G and D strings, while adding a flurry of slurred notes below the steady bass drone. In the two particular examples that Charlie gave me, he employed the technique on tunes in the key of D, playing a D unison note on the bass G string while droning the open D string below it. Once, after playing "Lost Indian" for me, Charlie distinguished his version from others, explaining: "I've seen a lot of them play it different than that. They don't—I like to ride the bass. A lot of them don't. On a lot of that stuff I like that. Go on the bass and you know... That sounds a lot better. Don't you think it does?" (C. McCarroll 2008). Interestingly, when I asked him to show me again what he meant by the term, he began playing the long droning section at the beginning of his father's classic "Hometown Blues," concluding: "Daddy called that

the ‘Hometown Blues.’ That’s the way he done that there on that. Now, I’ll play that thing—sometimes I’ll play it through like he did. And I’ll get into a little of that other stuff. It makes it come off better” (C. McCarroll 2008). During a visit with Tom McCarroll in 2007, while we discussed his father’s “Everybody Two-Step,” Tom identified a certain bow rock his father used. After playing a section of the tune he concluded, comparing his playing to his father’s: “I ain’t got the right rock on my bow there. . . . That’s the only way I’ve heard it.” (T. McCarroll 2007). For Charlie and Tom McCarroll, “riding the bass” and certain bow rocks attest not only to the influence of their father on their aesthetics related to performance, but also speak to a set of identifiable techniques that tie their art to that of their father. These techniques combine to form a particular sound that we might label the McCarroll sound. Thus when Tom “rides the bass” and creates the droning D note during his 2002 recording of “Hometown Blues,” he is not simply mimicking his father’s sounds; rather, his motions and the physical practice of his music bear the memory of his father’s actual technique and style. His playing technique bears witness to the tradition and to the hours and days Tom spent learning from and making music with his father. In this way, Tammie’s abstract claims of heritage become a physical part of the sound and the recording project.

Similarly, Tammie describes the way that physical practice of playing opens a space for remembering her grandfather. She has told me that playing the “Hometown Blues” gives her both a feeling of peace and a sense of closeness to her grandfather:

Bryan says that when we play “Hometown Blues,” that there is actually a physical change that comes over my face, when we play that particular song. That’s my favorite of all my granddaddy’s songs. That’s my favorite. And he [Bryan] says there’s an actual—I call it my peace song because it’s like, “okay, the stress is all out. I’m at peace when I play this song.” But he says “there is *really* a physical change that comes over you when you play ‘Hometown Blues.’” And that’s the

one that I probably feel the closest on—because that’s just the one I feel at peace with. Yeah. I guess it’s from having such a tight family group. That’s just the way it is. . . . And sometimes it can be put in words, and sometimes it can’t.
(McCarroll-Burroughs 2011)

Not only does the melody invite memory, but the physical act of making the bass runs, in “Hometown Blues” in particular, but also in other tunes, becomes another way of remembering her grandfather. She explains:

I remember playing it with him when I was—it’s—I grew up listening to him and playing with him. And I guess it’s just bringing back to mind all of the things. He’s the one that taught me how to do the guitar runs. And he’s the one that told me that I would be a good guitarist. He’s the one that said “You’ll be a good guitarist one day.” And he’s the one that taught me all the runs. For that I’m grateful. (McCarroll-Burroughs 2011)

Her guitar work on the album’s version of “Hometown Blues” and in performances continues the project of sonic duplication with syncopated bass runs that conjure up sonic memories of the Roane County Ramblers’ Luke Brandon’s delightfully rowdy guitar playing. More importantly, her guitar playing creates space for remembering her grandfather and gives her a sense of his presence. By aligning themselves with a familial repertoire and specific historic sounds, Tom and Tammie have used *Generations* to re-imagine their family’s tradition. She invites her listeners to hear it not simply as an album of Old-Time fiddle music, but as the sound of a family’s heritage. In the absence of another generation of McCarroll fiddlers, the album crystallizes the family’s tradition, documenting a particular moment in time.

V. Conclusion

I spent the first week of January 2012 in an old farmhouse in Floyd, Virginia, attempting to record my first album of Old-Time fiddle music. The very first tune we recorded was one I learned from Tom McCarroll's brother Charlie, who learned it from his father. I learned the tune "New Nashville" from Charlie one stifling August afternoon in a Best Western hotel room (air conditioning cut off so I could make clean recordings) just off of I-40 in Harriman.

Recording my own playing makes me anxious. I'm not sure how best to describe the feeling. What makes recording particularly strange is that it combines the mental anguish that you might feel before a test with the physical, jittery anxiety that I used to feel before I ran the 800 meters in high school track meets. As I spent more time in front of the microphone over the course of the project, this anxiety became duller. However, while we were recording our first cut the nervous energy filled the room. Since it was the first tune that we were laying to tape, we threw ourselves into it with reckless abandon, converting that nervous energy into music. For almost three minutes we teetered on the edge of calamity. My palms were sweating by the end of the tune. My heart was racing. My right hand ached; it was clenched way too tightly around the stick of my bow, a result of all the energy that we poured into the tune as well as my bad musical habits. We held our breaths until the last note from the guitar quit ringing.

Apparently, whatever that nervous, frantic energy converted into as a recorded performance was exactly the feel that we needed to capture to do a McCarroll tune

justice. My band mates and I didn't realize it at the moment. It felt too crazy, but our producer, who can hear the dynamics of musical energy as they transform from a live performance into a recording, identified the edginess as having the perfect feel for a McCarroll tune. Our producer happens to be an aficionado of Old-Time music. He has a phonograph (or two) in every room of his house as well as a considerable collection of old Hillbilly 78s. We ran through one more take and then joined him in the control room. When we went into the engineering room—an old fashioned high-ceilinged parlor filled with speakers and a mixing board that looks like it could control a spaceship—we heard what he meant. As our recorded performances played back, the first take floored us. Even though the second take was technically cleaner, somehow we all agreed that the first take had felt right. It sounded the way that we felt a McCarroll tune should sound. It didn't sound as reckless as it had felt when we were on the other end of the microphones. Instead, that nervous energy had translated into musical statements that were whimsical and forceful. At times, they were a bit frantic, but never quite out of control. The performance reinvented itself at each turn, tapping into newfound energy and driving in a playful way. Whatever it was that we heard lined up with our understanding of Jimmy McCarroll's music.

What does that ability to identify a certain McCarroll sound captured in our performance suggest? The fact that three musicians and the producer could all agree on that particular take sounding right suggests that in my little neighborhood of the Old-Time community there are certain meanings that shape how we hear and think about the Roane County Ramblers' music. Maybe we call it the band's "sound." Maybe it's what Mike Seeger called "the spirit" of the music (1973). Although the Ramblers' recordings

resonate differently with each of us, we agreed that our recording captured some essential quality that we (have learned to) hear in Jimmy McCarroll's music. If I remember correctly, we agreed that the recording's energy and insistent beat was faithful to the feel of the Columbia recordings: a raw freshness that was not over-wrought, as some new recordings of Old-Time music tend to be. I tell this story because it suggests that the circulation and resonance of Jimmy McCarroll's recordings are more than theoretical notions. A whole history of circulation had helped to shape our multiple understandings of what it means to record or play a tune that would be faithful to Jimmy McCarroll's sound. Our performance was shaped by the sounds we heard on the actual Columbia recordings, but it was also shaped by the discourse around the music and the multitude of meanings that several generations of listeners and players before us have attached to the recordings. These processes of circulation, resonance, and feedback shape the practice of making Old-Time music in the present.

In one light, my attempt to capture the feel of Jimmy McCarroll's music represents a claim of authenticity. In a different light, it has little to do with authenticity and everything to do with respect: I hope to honor a great player by playing a tune from his repertoire in a manner that I feel is appropriate. As I consider my recording project more carefully, I feel that my efforts have less to do with authenticity and more to do with my interest in creating music that satisfies my creative needs while doing justice to the musicians whom I admire and the tradition I love. Though the two are not mutually exclusive, there is an important difference between them. Although I value the time I have spent with "source musicians," I realize that my music is ultimately my music. However, because authenticity matters in the Old-Time community, my recording can

and will likely be read as an effort to claim a certain kind of authenticity. Sonically, I want to show listeners that I have spent time studying and listening to Jimmy McCarroll's music. My performance of an unrecorded obscure tune, learned directly from Jimmy's son, gives the performance respectability in the Old-Time community. It shows my dedication to connecting with a "real" source. Of course, the credibility that Charlie McCarroll has as a source musician is rooted in the fact that his father made a handful of recordings for Columbia that have become seen as the real deal by Old-Time musicians. Because the music is based on a canon of old recordings and a traditional style of playing, musicians in the Old-Time scene are perpetually confronted with questions of authenticity: whether we attempt to play a tune just exactly as it was played on a 78 or bristle at the idea of slavish duplication and claim an authenticity of ourselves, we position ourselves around the music and in doing so grapple with the layers of meaning surrounding the music. Whatever the case, we have to think through our relationship to the music.

For Tom and Tammie, the need to establish ties with something deemed authentic is in some ways the same and in some ways different from my own need. Like me, the McCarrolls are attempting to connect with an Old-Time music audience that values the ability of a performer to trace connections to people and moments of recording that have come to resonate with authenticity. Since the early 2000s, the expectations of this audience have figured into the choices Tom and Tammie have made about their music making. But unlike my claims, Tammie's claim falls back on her concept of heritage, which roots itself in family connections and is articulated in stories and performances that rely on mental and bodily memory. I might be able to replicate the motions of hand and

bow arm that I learned from Charlie or Tom. I can even tell stories about the time I've spent visiting them; but Tammie can claim, as her stories do, kinship to Jimmy McCarroll. She can claim to have known him, to have learned from him, and to have been his favorite grandchild. As she discovered the ways in which audiences valued her grandfather's music, she began talking about and performing her music as heritage. That's not to say that their music became a series of cold and calculated choices aimed at gaining more listeners. On the contrary, the McCarrolls have found a humble and deep satisfaction in the new opportunities they have had and in their relationship to new audiences. As Tom and Tammie construct their tradition, the new old sound of their music—a result of Tammie's revision of repertoire and rethinking of performance style—tells a story that is as much about her family's music as it is about the ways in which her grandfather's music reached listeners around the globe and acquired new meanings. Even though Tammie takes great pride in her family's tradition and laments her position as the last in the line of musicians, she is not interested making an exclusive claim on her family's heritage. Instead, she and Tom tell me that they are thrilled to see young people learning the music.

Works Cited

- Abrahams, Roger D. 1976. The Complex Relations of Simple Forms. In *Folklore Genres*, ed. Dan Ben-Amos, pp. 193-214. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Allen, Ray. 2010. *Gone to the Country: The New Lost City Ramblers and the Folk Music Revival*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Bakhtin, M. M. 1999 [1986]. Excerpts from Problems of Speech Genres. In the *Discourse Reader*, ed. Adam Jaworski and Nikolas Coupland, pp. 121-132. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bauman, Richard, Patricia Sawin, Inta Gale Carpenter, and Richard Anderson. 1992. *Reflections on the Folklife Festival: An Ethnography of Participant Experience*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bauman, Richard and Charles Briggs. 1990. Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 59-88.
- Benford, Mac. 1989. Folklorists and Us: An Account of Our Curious and Changing Relationship. *Old-Time Herald* Spring 1989.
- Blaustein, Richard. 1975. "Traditional Music and Social Change: The Old Time fiddlers Association Movement in the United States." PhD diss., University of Indiana.
- Blech, Kerry. 2004. FT-2004 Volume 1: Tom and Tammie McCarroll – 7/3-7/6 [DVD].
- Brock-Nannestad, George. 2010. The Development of Recording Technologies. In *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, ed. by N. Cook, E. Clarke, D. Leech-Wilkinson and J. Rink, pp. 149-176. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cantwell, Robert. 1996. *When We Were Good: The Folk Revival*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Cheek, Tammy. 2003. "McCarroll's Carry on Family's Musical Heritage." *Lenoir City News-Herald*, June 25, 9-10.
- Crumb, R. 2006. *Heroes of Blues, Jazz & Country*. New York: Abrams.
- Dimock, Wai Chee. 1997. A Theory of Resonance. *PMLA* 112(5): 1060-1071.
- Filene, Benjamin. 2000. *Romancing the Folk: Public Memory and American Roots Music*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Freeman, Dave. 1971. *The Roane County Ramblers Complete Recordings 1928-29*. County Records 403. LP.
- Fulcher, Bobby. 2011. Interview by Joseph Decosimo, Marlow, Tennessee
- Fulcher, Bobby. 2004. *The Roane County Ramblers Complete Recordings 1928-29*. County Records 3530. CD.
- Gronow, Pekka and Ilpo Saunio. 1998. *An International History of the Recording Industry*. Translated by C. Moseley. New York: Cassell.
- Gronow, Pekka. 1983. The Recording Industry: Growth of a Mass Medium. *Popular Music* 3: 53-75.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 1998. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kodish, Debora. 2011. Envisioning Folklore Activism. *Journal of American Folklore* 124:31-60.
- Malone, Bill C. 1997. *Country Music USA*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Malone, Bill C. 1993. *Singing Cowboys and Musical Mountaineers: Southern Culture and the Roots of Country Music*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- McCarroll, Charlie. 2008. Interview by Joseph Decosimo, Harriman, Tennessee, July 29.
- McCarroll, Tom. 2011. Interview by Joseph Decosimo, Lenoir City, Tennessee, June 11.
- McCarroll, Tom. 2007. Interview by Joseph Decosimo, Lenoir City, Tennessee, March.
- McCarroll-Burroughs, Tammie and Brian Burroughs. 2012. Interview by Joseph Decosimo, Knoxville, Tennessee, February 26.
- McCarroll-Burroughs, Tamie. 2011. Interview by Joseph Decosimo, Lenoir City, Tennessee, June 9.
- Meintjes, Louise. 2003. *Sound of Africa!: Making Music Zulu in a South African Studio*. Durham: Duke University Press
- Molsky, Bruce. 2012. Telephone interview by Joseph Decosimo, February 16.
- Nevins, Rich. 1968. *Ballads and Breakdowns of the Golden Era*. Columbia Records CS 9660. LP.

- Novak, David. Forthcoming. Chapter 1 "Scenes of Liveness and Deadness" in *Japanoise*. Duke University Press. Microsoft Word document.
- Price, Richard and Sally. 1994. *On the Mall: Presenting Maroon Tradition-Bearers at the 1992 FAF*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Rosenberg, Neil, ed. 1993. *Transforming Traditions: Folk Music Revivals Examined*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Russell, Tony. 1973. The Roane County Ramblers. *Old Time Music* 8:8.
- Scully, Michael F. 2008. *The Never-Ending Revival: Rounder Records and the Folk Alliance*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Seeger, Mike. 1973. *A Remembrance of Things to Come*. Folkways FTS 31035. LP.
- Sheehy, Daniel. 2007. Crossover Dreams. In *Public Folklore*, ed. Robert Baron and Nick Spitzer, pp. 217-229. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi
- Slobin, Mark. 1983. Rethinking "Revival" of American Ethnic Music. *New York Folklore* 9: 37-43.
- Stewart, Susan. 1993. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Strachwitz, Chris. 1965. *Old-time Southern Dance Music: The Stringbands*. Old-Timey Records X-100. LP.
- Taussig, Michael. 1993. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge.
- Titon, Jeff Todd. 1993. Reconstructing the Blues: Reflections on the 1960s Blues Revival. In *Transforming Tradition*, ed. Neil Rosenberg, pp. 220-240. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Titon, Jeff Todd. 2001. *Old-Time Kentucky Fiddle Tunes*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- Whisnant, David. 1983. *All That is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in and American Region*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Wilson, Joe. 1990. Confessions of a Folklorist. *Old-Time Herald* Spring 1990: 25-31 and 43.

- Wolfe, Charles. 2006. Field Recording Sessions. In *Encyclopedia of Appalachia*, ed. Rudy Abramson and Jean Haskell, pp. 1153-1155. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Wolfe, Charles. 1997. *Rural Stringbands of Tennessee*. County Records CD 3511. CD.
- Wolfe, Charles. 1979. *Tennessee the Folk Heritage – Vol. 2 the Mountains*. Tennessee Folklore Society TFS 103. LP.
- Wolfe, Charles. 1974. Toward a Contextual Approach to Old-Time Music. *Journal of Country Music* 5(2): 65-75.
- Zeitlin, Steven J. 1999. I'm a Folklorist and You're Not: Expansive versus Delimited Strategies in the Practice of Folklore. *Journal of American Folklore* 113:3-19.

Discography

- McCarroll, Tom and Tammie McCarroll-Burroughs. 2002. *Generations*. Self-released CD.
- New Lost City Ramblers. 1973. *A Remembrance of Things to Come*. Folkways FTS 31035. LP. Includes Mike Seeger's "New Lost City Blues."
- Molsky, Bruce. 2004. *Contented Must Be*. Rounder Select 82161-0534-2. CD. Includes Bruce Molsky's "Johnson City Rag."
- Roane County Ramblers. 2004. *The Roane County Ramblers Complete Recordings 1928-29*. County Records 3530. CD. Includes Bobby Fulcher's liner notes.
- Roane County Ramblers. 1971. *The Roane County Ramblers Complete Recordings 1928-29*. County Records 403. LP. Includes Dave Freeman's liner notes.
- Various Artists. 2012. *The New Young Fogies: Volume 1*. No label. CD. includes Nikos Pappas' "Hometown Blues."
- Various Artists. 1997. *Rural Stringbands of Tennessee*. County Records CD 3511. CD. Includes the Roane County Ramblers' "Everybody Twostep" and "Alabama Trot." Includes Charles Wolfe's liner notes.
- Various Artists. 1979. *Tennessee the Folk Heritage – Vol. 2 the Mountains*. Tennessee Folklore Society TFS 103. LP. Includes Jimmy McCarroll's "Train 111," "Fiddler a Dram," and "Dog and Cat Rag." Includes Charles Wolfe's liner notes.
- Various Artists. 1968. *Ballads and Breakdowns of the Golden Era*. Columbia Records CS 9660. LP. Includes the Roane County Ramblers' "Free A Little Bird—1930 Model." Includes Rich Nevins' liner notes.
- Various Artists. ca. 1965-1967. *Old-Time Fiddle Classic: Champion Fiddlers*. County Records. 507. LP. Includes the Roane County Ramblers' "Johnson City Rag."
- Various Artists. 1965. *Old-time Southern Dance Music: The Stringbands*. Old-Timey Records X-100. LP. Includes the Roane County Ramblers' "Hometown Blues." Includes Chris Strachwitz's liner notes.
- Various Artists. 1964. *A Collection of Mountain Fiddle Music: Original Recordings by Great Old-Time Bands*. County Records 501. LP. Includes the Roane County Ramblers' "Johnson City Rag."

Endnotes

¹ Similarly, I will use the accompanying term “revivalist,” recognizing that the term itself carries with it a problematic history in the Old-Time music community. After spending hours tracking a debate that raged between Joe Wilson, Mac Benford, and a number of other Old-Time musicians and folklorists in the pages of the *Old-Time Herald* from the 1970s to the 1990s (Benford 1989, Wilson 1993), I was relieved to find that Michael Scully had deftly charted the contours of the argument in his chapter “Toward an Authenticity of Self: Old-Time Music in the Modern World” (2008). At the heart of the debate are questions of authenticity and cultural ownership as well as narrow-minded attempts by folklorists to justify their existence by placing themselves in the role of authenticators. Thus, I use the term “revivalists” reluctantly. In using it, I refer to people who grew up outside (culturally or geographically) of the traditions which they embrace. The term itself is becoming a bit useless now that the children of revivalists have taken up the music, often learning from their revivalist parents. Three examples come to mind. Revivalist Dan Gellert’s daughter, Rayna Gellert, has become one of the finest Old-Time fiddlers in the country. Even more challenging is the case of folklorist Gerry Milnes, whose son Jesse has not only been steeped in the West Virginia fiddle tradition but was raised in circumstances similar to many of his father’s mentors. The last case is even more confusing. Consider fiddler Clelia Stefanini, whose father Rafe Stefanini came to the US from Italy because of his love for Old-Time music. The term “revivalist” is fraught with problems. I use it simply because I do not have a better term. In no way do I intend for it to be a judgment of authenticity.

² Romanticism is a problematic term. Nowlin’s statement suggest that romanticism is merely a form of naïve thinking about the folk and their music. However, I would suggest that romanticism among collectors, revivalists and in the contemporary Old-Time community should not be dismissed as naïveté. It is more complex that a soft-minded and uncritical longing for a past that never existed—something akin to Susan Stewart’s definition of nostalgia as “the desire for desire” (1993: 23). Instead, it is a complex feeling and attitude toward the past and the present. As Richard Nevins, Bruce Molsky, and Bobby Fulcher show us, romantic tendencies were often rooted in thoughtful critiques of the present and treated the music as a higher, complex form of art capable of conveying as much human emotion and meaning as any art found in a museum or music heard in a concert hall.

³ Two years later, in the fall of 1973, country music scholar Charles Wolfe delivered a paper at the American Folklore Society annual meeting titled “Toward a Contextual Approach to Old-Time Music” that was subsequently published in the *Journal of Country Music* (Wolfe 1975). Addressing academic folklorists, Wolfe makes his own contextual turn as he attempts to apply the idea of context to the study of hillbilly recordings; the resulting paper outlines a method that bears striking similarities to the method guiding Freeman’s notes on the reissue. Among other things, Wolfe suggests that scholars investigate the production and circulation of hillbilly recordings, untangle the complex

relationship between artists and recording companies, discern regional traditions, and understand the impact of recordings on artists and their communities.