Ralph Rinzler, Folklorist: Professional Biography

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Not all folklorists are the products of folklore graduate programs, and not all folklorists pursue professorial careers. Ralph Rinzler was a Fellow of the American Folklore Society, and yet his education as a folklorist was informal, the result of his friendship with great thinkers rather than of the payment of tuition fees. The paths which he explored as a musician, artist’s manager, impresario, bureaucrat, publisher, and record company executive extend beyond the bounds of the academy.

Within the academic sphere, Rinzler stressed the common ground between such disparate branches of folklore as material culture and ethnomusicology. Folklorists, in his view, must reveal the traditional arts which produce both baskets and ballads.

In the public sphere, Rinzler searched out great traditional artists, and found ways for these artists to bring their gifts to a larger public. In this he differed from many folklorists in the academy in three separate respects. First, most academics seek only to observe the lives and work of their subjects, rather than to become involved with them. Second, while many folklorists confine their attention to one community, Rinzler cast his net further to bring in more artists from different communities. And third, Rinzler confined his attention primarily to outstanding performers. In Roger Abrahams’s view, while most folklorists seek out the norm, Ralph Rinzler sought out the exquisite.

Rinzler noted Roger Abrahams’s view of his work during an interview I conducted with him at his summer home on July 29, 1993. During this interview, Rinzler discussed his education, inspirations, his goals, and the variety of his occupations. The following biography springs from that interview, and is told predominantly in Rinzler’s words. Separate interview segments on the same topic are drawn together, and occasional phrases are replaced with ellipses. I have kept these changes to a minimum to retain the flavor of Ralph’s speech. As he talked, Ralph referred to a stream of artists, academics, writers, organizations, publications, and projects. These are glossed in two appendices so as not to interrupt the flow of the biography.
The first appendix is an "Explanation of Projects" which Rinzler discussed. The second is a "Glossary of Names" containing brief references to all of the other people, places, publications, and events which Rinzler mentioned.

**Early Influences**

Ralph Rinzler first considered that the folk arts are important cultural statements at a young age. As he described it:

I had an uncle that studied with Kittredge at Harvard for four years and then went on and stayed there another four years for law school. And he always wanted to be another Kittredge. He wanted to be an English professor, so I was his student. And, he had no children until I was eight. And he used to read *Bulfinch* to me, *The Age of Myth and Legend*, and compare the Norse and Greek and Roman mythology. And they all became friends of mine.

Rinzler was also exposed early to traditional music:

By the time I was seven, the Library of Congress issued its first publicly available recordings from the collection. Two seventy-eight rpm records that Lomax had recorded and wrote excellent notes for. Two Anglo-American ballads, and four work songs, I think, on these... seventy-eights. And those records just galvanized my ear... Alan traced the songs way back into earlier English history. What fascinated me most of all was the way the people sang... And I had, I think, firmly emblazoned on my mind the beauty of alternative esthetics... And the sense that folklore was connected to something that was thousands of years old. And that had a big influence on me.

By the time Rinzler was applying to colleges, his interest in traditional music had grown, and he knew that he wanted to major in music. He decided to attend Swarthmore, a school which had only a limited music department—a decision he later branded as "stupid." At Swarthmore, Rinzler was not the only frustrated music student:

Peter Schickele and I were roommates. Imagine that combination! And we were both discouraged because the music department consisted of one Russian would-be composer who was a great fan of Scriabin, who I couldn’t stand. We would have had to have gone to Penn, really, for our courses.
Schickele reacted to the conservative Swarthmore music department by creating P.D.Q. Bach. Rinzler reacted by settling for a French major, and by going to the college’s folk festival, along with yet another frustrated musician at Swarthmore, folklorist Roger Abrahams:

Roger and I both were very moved by a concert that Pete Seeger gave in ’53. And Roger—we went out and bought a banjo which he said he wasn’t going to learn to play, so he gave it to me. And that’s how I started playing the banjo... Roger and I played a lot of music. We would—Roger played the guitar, and we’d go over to Bryn Mawr and Haverford and give little concerts. And had a lot of fun...

What I really did at Swarthmore that related to later activities was my work on the folk festival there. Which was, you know, just setting up a concert with Jean Ritchie or John Jacob Niles.

Rinzler’s contact with the musicians at the festival made a strong impression on him. He became particularly close to the Seeger family:

The year that Pete came, ...his brother and sister Mike and Peggy came down, and they were no older than we were. And I figured, if they can play that stuff, I can play it too. We became good friends, and I learned a lot from Mike... I used to go over and he would record the Stanley family and other local groups that were old-timey, and I saw how simple it was... But I don’t think it would have occurred to me to go record people if I hadn’t watched Mike do it, and seen how easily it was demystified.

While Mike Seeger introduced Rinzler to techniques of ethnomusicology fieldwork, Charles Seeger supplied him with the theoretical background for the discipline. Rinzler first met the elder Seeger at a musical gathering in New England:

Charlie was there, and he was such an amazingly magnetic figure. You couldn’t—you just had to listen to him. Very engaging in conversation. And I ended up taking a trip several hundred miles out of my way in order to ride in a car with him and talk to him. He was going to Pittsfield, Mass, I think, all the way over to Springfield, all the way over to the western part, and I was going to Wellfleet. And I had to take a bus all the way clear across the state. But he kind of adopted people. And he sent me articles, and off-prints of things... Every time I’d see him, he’d give me a lecture on something about revival activity or how to deal with the large structures in the society,
like the music educators national conference. Seeger had a global view of the folksong movement. He helped found the International Folk Music Council for an NGO for UNESCO. And he had a sense of how to use structures and organizations.

**Musician**

Rinzler decided to go to France to get a graduate degree in French. But in 1957, while still there, his musical interests caught up with him. His friend Peggy Seeger convinced him to postpone his studies, cross the Channel, and play music in England. Once in England, he met three more people who, with Charles Seeger, would serve as his mentors. His education as a folklorist got under way:

[Peggy] said that she had all these recording dates that she couldn’t fulfill because she was going to China for three months or something, and I should get in touch with the following people, and go to them. And I met Ewan [MacColl] at Bideford Arms, in Camden Town. And he showed me the ropes of where we were supposed to be and record and that sort of thing. And she was also teaching at the Workers’ Music Association, giving banjo and guitar lessons. So I gave up graduate school for a while, and stayed in England, and lived primarily at Bert’s house, and that was like going to college. Bert Lloyd was extraordinarily erudite, in a very informal way. I just lived in his house for a year. Between Ewan and Bert’s work, I had another vision of how people use folklore in creative ways. Bert had worked on whaling factories, he’d been an overlander in Australia, and a sheepherder. And he knew the tradition from inside. And he used to write—I mean, here he is, a Communist, in 1957, writing for BBC programs for schools. And everyone knew he was a Communist. The idea of anyone in this country writing for schools for the national network would be unheard-of. He wrote these brilliant little things, full of humor and insight, about the different occupations, and then sang the songs. So you got a sense of one kind of radio, for youth.

And at the same time, a BBC producer, named Charles Parker, got together with Ewan, and encouraged him to do what Ewan later called the Radio Ballads. Which was a whole series of recordings now on Argo paying tribute to working people. Casey Jones types that got killed in train wrecks, and singing the fishing—very beautiful things. You probably know the melodies for some of them. Shoals of Herring. And what Ewan was doing was not something anyone else had ever done on the radio... Ewan had—because he was an actor—an amazing
gift for eliciting passionate monologues from people. And here these people talk about the train they took care of as if it were a woman. And singing about all of the trials of and wonderful things about living as one of the fisher-folk. And he edited the actual interviews in with songs. So it was a very powerful piece of theater. Those were two models.

And while I was there in England, Peggy returned, and she said, “Oh, we have to go see Alan [Lomax]. He’s heard your banjo playing on the sea-songs, and wants to meet you.” So we went to see him. And immediately got in an argument [laughter]. I always loved him. He just had, always, a built-in sense of vision about everything.

I attribute the kind of make-shift combination of things that I did to my uncle and my contact with Charlie, Bert, Ewan, and Alan, primarily. Because they all were very nurturing, and they all had a vision. Different visions, but you saw that if you had a vision of something and it wasn’t going to happen other than your doing it, you just figured out how to do it. So I became an impresario, or a fieldworker, or a bureaucrat.

While in England, Rinzler sought out other visions of “how to use folklore in creative ways,” and considered them critically. Not all of them measured up to the high standards of Charles Seeger, Ewan MacColl, A.L. Lloyd, and Alan Lomax.

I had the opportunity to get an insight... into revival activity from a historical perspective. I read Fox Strangways’ book about Cecil Sharp. And I would go to Cecil Sharp’s house, and see what kind of activities they had, how it was structured. And it was basically very much an upper class—I mean, with the paid patronage of Princess Margaret. It wasn’t everyday. It became very dull, what they did. Morris dancing, and the same old thing, singing contests, but no particularly great singers. And they had this huge building, and all these resources, and an archive, and a library. And when you think of the vitality of Cecil Sharp, going into East London, and using his dancing to revive fallen women, you realize that institutions was not what folklore needed, or at least I did.

The humdrum presentation of traditional material at Cecil Sharp’s house must have particularly rankled because at the time Rinzler was a working musician. His job was to get audiences excited about traditional material. He played mostly banjo and mandolin, with occasional guitar work. He was in demand as an accompanist for singers:
In England I made a living accompanying Dominic Behan and A.L. Lloyd and Ewan MacColl—of course there weren’t any instrumentalists back in the ’50s—that came in the ’60s. So I basically acted simply as an accompanist for recording sessions and tour... I did that in ’57 and ’8...

A.L. Lloyd liked the mandolin because he claimed that when he was on sailing boats—not on the whale factories—the mandolin was much more common than the guitar, because it was smaller and easier to carry. So I’d often use the mandolin for the stuff that he wanted it on. And rarely the guitar, because there were people who just played rhythm guitar. So I usually played banjo or mandolin with him.

At the same time, Rinzler began to do fieldwork in the local pubs. The Camden Town pub sessions at that time were filled with superb Irish musicians. Rinzler borrowed Ewan MacColl’s excellent recording equipment for this work, which eventually resulted in an album on Folkways Records:

When I started working in the field in ’57, when I went to London, I would listen and listen and listen to these sets in Camden Town pubs. And it’s such an enormous repertoire that you couldn’t figure out the parameters, because it would take you years. But I would still record them and I would listen to them back and I was still always trying to figure out, well, how much really modal stuff was there, how much of it comes out of a polka tradition... I never tried to influence anybody with that tradition, I just recorded it as it was.

In 1959, Rinzler returned to New York, and joined an established band which was looking for a mandolin player. This was The Greenbriar Boys, who brought bluegrass to the northeastern United States:

The mandolin was not an instrument that people played in the folksong revival. And I had only learned by watching Woody Guthrie in Washington Square. And it was the most basic simple style, I mean, not bluegrass. But they wanted a mandolin player, so I learned how to play bluegrass in ’59. I worked with them until ’63.

Impresario and Agent

In these years of touring, Rinzler learned how the music business worked. He made many contacts with booking agents and concert producers. These were useful when he began to do fieldwork again, this time in American
music. With his new contacts, he realized that he could actively promote the music which he was finding in the field:

When I got back in ’59 and met Clarence Ashley and Doc Watson, I thought it was just a travesty that these people should be overlooked and forgotten, and that someone like Doc Watson should be playing in a VFW hall on an electric guitar, who had this potential.

Rinzler’s role with Doc Watson was not as a fieldworker recording whatever the musician played. He convinced Watson that he could make a better living playing acoustic guitar and singing songs from his youth, than he could playing commercial standards on electric guitar. He actively influenced Watson’s medium and repertoire, and used his contacts to get him gigs at colleges and other venues in which American traditional music was welcomed:

We went to members of his family, older people, and they really filled in an enormous amount of repertoire... And the other thing he did, he grew up on phonograph records... So Eugene Earle, who was with me the first time I met Doc, would just send Doc tapes of everything that Doc had heard but couldn’t remember the whole of...

But it was fascinating working with him over the years, because at first they [Watson and Ashley] had no sense of putting together a set, so—talk about parameters—you would find out what religious songs they knew, what comic songs, what were medicine-show vaudeville-type songs that Ashley sang. And once you got a feeling for the different categories, you’d make up a set together with them, that would represent Ashley’s banjo playing, Watson’s guitar playing and banjo playing. You’d have an enormous range of things, and they got a feeling for how many different things they knew that they never thought of as separate categories. So they sort of codified a repertoire that they had but didn’t think of as being in categories.

And after a short while—well, Doc wouldn’t talk on the stage at first, because he had always been a side man, and he said he didn’t know what to say. I said, “Doc, when you can’t see how many people are out there, just pretend that it’s you and me, and talk like you would at a jam session in your living room.” And he was an instant success. But it was a real shaping process...

The success of seeing Doc Watson, in a year and a half, go from living on state aid for the blind to supporting his family and wowing audiences all over the country was convincing enough to make you think that almost anything was possible.
Rinzler did not confine his promotional efforts to Doc Watson. He decided to tackle the king of bluegrass, Bill Monroe. Here, Rinzler's role was different. With Watson, the task was to recognize the value of an unknown musician, and introduce him to a national audience. Monroe, on the other hand, was already known, but he was bitter about the music business.

Monroe is this giant, whose songs had been recorded by Elvis Presley, and who had been on the Grand Ole Opry 20-some years, he was like a nova, I mean people were astonished with him. But he couldn't make a living because Flatt and Scruggs had sewed up the whole business with the Ballad of Jed Clampett, Bonnie and Clyde, and the Beverly Hillbilly stuff... Trying to get Monroe to talk to you, he just didn't want to be interviewed. But I was determined. It took me three months to get an interview from him. And publish it in Sing Out.

And when you finally sat down to talk to him, even as reluctant as he was about the idea of being interviewed, he answered every question very diligently. And at the end of the interview I said, "Is there anything you've said that you don't want to see in print?" And he just looked up and he said, "Well, it's all true."

And once he saw the stuff that I'd written, which unequivocally credited him with having launched everybody else, the next morning after he read the stuff he was a totally different person, and he never changed after that. And it made it possible to begin to understand somebody who was really totally inaccessible before...

And then, all of a sudden, after accepting the role of patriarch, he would talk about his Uncle Pen [Pendleton Vanderver], and about retuning the mandolin into fiddle tunings that his uncle used. And he would talk about a concept that he had about 'old tones', which meant modal, mostly, for him. So working with those kinds of artists, who were really among the greatest musicians of their time, was an exercise in getting the best out there. Because Monroe couldn't make three or four hundred dollars a night at the beginning of this experiment, but he was soon just cleaning up. But it took getting the folk song audience to understand that he was as folk as he was Nashville. And to give them the actual facts of who he learned from and how and what his philosophy was. And once he realized that people were interested in his ideas, he was very voluble on the stage and very gracious.

Touring with the Greenbriar Boys became less important to Rinzler as he worked more with Doc Watson and Bill Monroe:
I worked with them [The Greenbriar Boys] until '63. And then I started working with Monroe more, and I was still working with Doc, until '66. And it didn’t have any meaning for me to get on a stage and play imitation Bill Monroe when I was booking him. It seemed like a travesty... So I moved to Nashville, and booked him, and worked on records with him... It was a world that I could not adjust to. But I was just there long enough to get him rolling.

The same year he left the Greenbriar Boys, a remarkable opportunity came Rinzler’s way which would allow him to continue conducting fieldwork in American traditional music, while being paid for it. This was how the Newport Folk Festival found its acts:

From '63 on, I continued being with Doc, but [Alan] Lomax wrote a memo suggesting that I be the fieldworker for Newport, and spend the whole time traveling around the country just finding people. And he started by giving me a long list of things that I should look into—people who had collected years ago but were infirm, and who knew a lot about the regions but hadn’t been able to follow up on them.

I found remarkable examples of tradition that just no one had ever found in this country. A ten-note syrinx player, black, on a plantation in Alabama, playing a little home-made tambourine in one hand, and playing this panpipes in another. And black Sacred Harp which hadn’t really been heard outside of Alabama. And the families of the people who had composed the Sacred Harp, and published the colored Sacred Harp of the ’30s...

Newport was a wonderful experience, because I kind of learned a part of the cultural map of the country, and I traveled fairly extensively. But there was something about bringing the best of tradition into the midst of an entertainment-oriented scene with a lot of kids drinking beer or smoking pot that was just really offensive to me. And I stuck with it for four years.

Material Culture

While doing musical fieldwork for the Newport Folk Festival, Rinzler met artists and craftsmen as well as musicians. He had been interested in material culture for some years, and now he found it more and more difficult to separate his work on music from his work on material culture:

It wasn’t until '63 when I got to visit dozens of craftsmen. And once I did I just—well, I had to figure out a way to close the gap in
people's minds between music and material culture, which seems simple now. But except for Don Yoder, there was no one thinking about that, until Glassie came along in '66...

I was able to stop and visit potteries, and overshot weavers... The Smithsonian said... overshot weaving died in the nineteenth century—and yet there was this man who had been written up by Allen Eaton for the Russell Sage foundation in the 1930s still weaving.

And the more you interviewed material culture people, the more you realized that it was of a piece—how Alan Lomax must have kicked the baskets out of the way when he was recording the ballads. But it really is of a piece. And if you interviewed those people, they valued those overshot coverlets that their grandparents had made, and those quilts that their mother had made before that she died, or the pots that grandpa made when they first opened the pottery in 1893. They had a sense of the real value, even though they were making ashtrays for gift shops.

Rinzler and a potter named Nancy Sweezy founded an organization called Country Roads to sell traditional crafts and help support craftsmen. When Rinzler and Sweezy learned that Jugtown Pottery in South Carolina was in financial difficulties, they decided to expand their operation. They bought Jugtown and turned it into a model of how to produce and market traditional crafts.

[Nancy] was a working potter who intensely understood the chemistry of glazes and was thoroughly knowledgeable about kiln temperatures and styles. She just moved down there, and we bought it together, with the same little foundation in Cambridge that we had set up to sell crafts before I worked at the Smithsonian. To sell the crafts of all the poor people's co-ops that they were making and such.

And Nancy just very slowly and instinctively had this very gentle way of making suggestions so that the potters who were there and who were fifth generation potters from Staffordshire, England didn't feel as though some Yankee was coming in and running the show. But it was all functional stuff.

That resulted in an explosion of pottery activity in North Carolina. So that where there were half a dozen potteries, there are now forty-six. It's amazing how with a little bit of dickering around and a minimum of getting in people's way, things will take their own course and just take off. And now, George Holt, the state folklorist, is building a state pottery museum there.
After Rinzler’s four years with the Newport Folk Festival, and after he had set the Jugtown Pottery on its feet, a bigger institution came calling. The Smithsonian Institution wanted to establish a folk festival, and they sought Rinzler’s advice.

When the Smithsonian asked me to come down and talk to them in November of ’66, I suggested that—once I had looked around, the institution was basically material culture oriented, and so a folk festival that just dealt with music just wouldn’t make any sense at all. The chap who... I was advising the secretary through... said, “Oh, material culture’s too complicated, you have to set up all this”— he didn’t want to do the material culture part, and I didn’t want to do a music festival. So I just kind of pulled out. And they went to the foundation library in Washington to get the money to get the festival off the ground, and Richard Taft, who was the head of the library at the time, said, “Well, the interesting thing about this is the combination of material culture and music.”

Administrator

The Smithsonian agreed to put together a festival which included both music and material culture — the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife — and they hired Rinzler as a consultant. Rinzler worked partly in an organizational capacity, and partly as a fieldworker. In working for Newport, he had met so many traditional artists that he could easily fill a folklife festival slate. He also drew academics into the project by organizing a conference attached to the festival:

We had a small festival of a hundred people or so, and a conference with people like Reidar Christiansen and E. Estyn Evans and leading folklife scholars from Europe, as well as the usual cast of characters—Kenny Goldstein, Mo Asch, Roger [Abrahams], and Don Yoder...

And the public reaction and the press reaction to the festival was overwhelming. Not only because for once, instead of having a label written by a curator, you had a person standing there who knew more than the curator would have... And they were such plain-spoken, grass-roots, Grant-Wood-type Americans, that people were literally in tears. The journalist Mary McGrory, who’s still very active in Washington, just wrote one of these tearful articles about the beauty of humanity on July fourth.
While conducting fieldwork for the Smithsonian, Rinzler was much freer to pursue his interests in material culture than he had been while working for Newport. He had been hoping, for example, to work with the potter Cheever Meaders for years:

The first thing I did when I went out in the field for the Smithsonian was I went straight to Cheever Meaders, whom I had read about, but never seen. And when I got there, I was just astounded because every piece of—every tool on the place was made either by the local blacksmith or by the Meaders themselves. And all of the supplies were local. They dug the contents for all the glazes, and they ground it—the clay—with a mule. Nothing had changed...

Cheever was not Doc Watson. He didn’t make anything that was particularly beautiful. But it was thoroughly representative of the sort of baseline tradition, if you will, of Georgia people making canning jars and functional things. That was much more exciting than the people who had adapted to the gift shop approach...

Cheever was eighty, and you knew that when he died, things were going to change quickly. So I filmed it, and spent a lot of time with Bob Sayers, who was a student of Archie’s—Archie Green’s—doing interviews and documentation...

There were two reasons for that [making the film]. One, I wanted to make the point that material culture needed to be documented in ways that it hadn’t. And in talking to Henry [Glassie], he said, “What you need, to establish something as unknown as folklife in the National Museum, is model studies that are innovative and different.” And so I thought the first thing you need to do is demonstrate how much you could learn from a short film next to an object.

Rinzler intended this film to serve as a companion piece to a book about the Meaders family, a kinetic set of illustrations. This pairing of film with written word initiated a new publications series from the Smithsonian:

I did the Meaders film in ’67... The idea of the series that we developed was that an awful lot of people were making folklore films, like Les Blank, and John Cohen, but they were all sort of art films. And they really missed the point, very often. They had to impose their sense of art film on what it was they were documenting.

And so just as I was thinking this through, Margaret Mead made a wonderful statement... Mead pointed out that anthropology was a hopelessly outdated—it was using hopelessly outdated techniques. Why use a paper and pencil when a piece of film could tell you a great
deal more? and, give you really a primary source to look at. And with
that, she established the National Anthropological Film Center at
the Smithsonian.

So the series that we had already planned and developed along
those lines, was to publish a monograph which really told the whole
story. And then shoot the film as if you were doing a series of
illustrations for the monograph, like racks of photos. So the film didn't
just have to have a start and an end and a dramatic anything. Except
for the fact that if you were documenting craft it had the process itself,
which was a kind of natural order... So mostly what is in that series
now is done entirely from that point of view. A monograph
supplemented by a film, rather than a film with footnotes.

So Rinzler did not confine his work at the Smithsonian to the Folklife
Festival. He used his side projects, such as the Meaders family film, to try to
influence the institution as a whole. This is also why he had gathered the
conference of folklorists at the first Folklife Festival:

There were about thirty people in this conference who could
comment to the festival, and could tell what the responsibility of a
national museum to living forms of cultures that were represented by
objects in the collections [was]. And that led to a lot of hostility on the
part of the Museum of American History who said that they were
already doing all that, but of course they weren't. So the anthropologists
who were at the Museum of Natural History pointed out that indeed it
did need to be done, that's what the Bureau of American Ethnology
had done, but only with Indians.

So I showed the Cheever Meaders film in a very rough cut, a
part of it, and said, "Here's an example of what the Musée des Arts
Traditionnels et Populaires in Paris would have next to a pot in their
exhibitions, and we don't have anything like that in here, and this is a
republic of technology." And so it made the point, and there was a lot
of support in academe for doing something [to study American folklore]
at the Smithsonian. Although aside from Roger [Abrahams] and Henry
[Glassie] and Kenny [Goldstein], and Don Yoder, I think that people
like [Richard] Dorson were just horrified that someone without a Ph.D.
from Indiana would run anything at the Smithsonian.

Nevertheless, the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife was an
enormous success for the first three years under Rinzler's direction. Rinzler
had always cultivated a healthy skepticism about the value of bureaucrats
and government officials, but while running the festival, he was rapidly becoming one himself:

It was the middle of the Vietnam War, and I didn’t want to work for the government. I just put the whole thing together out of notes from traveling around. And I did it for three years as a consultant. And it became so successful that they wanted to make a Bicentennial Program out of it, at which point they asked me if I would join the staff.

Rinzler knew from his visits to Cecil Sharp’s house that simply founding an institution was not all that was required to promote traditional arts and effect cultural change. He remembered Charles Seeger’s views on the founding of institutions:

[Charlie] had a sense of how to use structures and organizations. He also had a very clear sense that they needed revolution and counter-revolution. So he had this story about Christ and the Devil, where they were walking down Fifth Avenue and saw a piece of the truth. And Christ, being the younger—both were very moved by the beauty of the truth—picked it up from the pavement before the Devil could get to it, and held it in his hands, and said, “On this I’ll found my Church.” And the Devil said, “Let me help you.” Charlie would tell that story, and chuckle, and you knew exactly what he meant.

When he began work for the Smithsonian, however, Rinzler did not feel bedeviled by bureaucratic strictures. In particular, when he did fieldwork, Washington ceased to exist:

I used to buy all the stuff that was sold at the festival for the Museum Shops, and haul it back in a trailer. So I was doing fieldwork at the same time that I was buying literally thousands of dollars worth of crafts, quilts and pots and weavings of all kinds. And half the people that I would speak to in the countryside, if you gave them a Smithsonian check, well they’d never heard of the Smithsonian. So you were connected with an institution that didn’t mean anything to most of the people that you worked with. One lady—we called the Smithsonian to convince her that there was such a place—she finally agreed to accept the check.

Back in Washington, the organizational work for the Folklife Festival was a task which kept changing. The events for the festival were not static
like the program at Cecil Sharp's house. Rinzler's job was not only to produce the Festival but to invent it. So he bristled at the suggestion that he was acting as just another cog in an impersonal institutional machine:

"No, it wasn't like working in an "institution" at first, because I was in an office where there were people that I could depend on to organize guest lists and organize participant lists and housing. It was a production office, because the guy that brought me there was a former theater producer. So I didn't have to do all the dirty work. Just write the letters to the people and maintain contact with them and select the programming, which was enough. And get folklorists and people who could introduce them to come and provide context.

From year to year, as the festival progressed, Rinzler refused to let it fall into a rut. He developed new methodologies for presenting folklife to an audience. He found that if he wanted to illustrate a particular community's folklife, then with his supervision, he could delegate the choice of materials to members of the community itself:

"The next year [1969] I started talking to an Indian woman... I hired this woman to run an Indian program, and I worked closely with her. But she knew just—she went to all the leaders of the community, and they didn't just send people with fancy feathers and stuff, they really dug in. And then they had their own people presenting, and they dealt with the political issues as well. Which caused somewhat of a stir, but we got away with it.

Rinzler also broadened the focus of the Festival. He kept presenting programs focused on communities, but then added further programs based on occupations:

"Almost every folk festival that I'd ever seen just had a bunch of kids dressed up in the costumes doing ballet. Well, really. In '70, after talking to Archie [Green], I realized that occupational culture was a really interesting area of endeavor... These people [at other festivals] sang union songs, but they never talked about the rest of the culture that went along with the workplace. Stories about hazing new employees, getting the boss in the back, and high risk jobs that had tremendous kinds of narratives. And so we worked on a theory of presentation for occupational culture that would make it meaningful to a folk festival audience.

Peter Seitel worked out this approach which I thought was essentially very sensible. That the two pieces of occupational culture
that you can present effectively were skills and narrative... He got a person who was a theater person to set up different contexts so that when he had the railroad workers, they took a set of Lionel trains, and set it right up, and talked about legal and illegal alternative ways of switching track and—so you could see that there was a whole culture of legal and illegal practice. And then there was a whole set of stories that went with them. So while they would back the train up in the illegal way, and change the track, they would tell you of horror stories, about people getting crushed between the blocks and that sort of thing. So you had this wonderful combination of skill and narrative.

Presenting Afro-American culture was a larger task than most for the early Folklife Festivals. Partly this was because of the richness of the available material, and partly because of the unstable racial climate in the late '60s and early '70s. Rinzler delegated the most ambitious Afro-American presentations at the Festival to an establishment called the African Diaspora Advisory Group:

A whole bunch of folklorists worked on it, and came up with a tripartite concept: to present African elements, Caribbean elements—because things survived in the Caribbean that didn't here, and American elements. And that tripartite structure had imposed on it the fact that the major locus of activities was the back porch, the church, and the marketplace. So they set up metaphors for those, with little structures, and had storytelling, and people making all sorts of African-American crafts.

Rinzler also organized presentations with material aimed at children who came to the festival, but again, he tried to go beyond the usual fare for children which folk festivals typically provided:

Most folk festivals had someone like Pete Seeger or Mike Cooney singing to children and that was it. Kate [Rinzler's wife] actually went out and did fieldwork in the schools of Washington, and found jump-rope rhymes, and hazing of teachers, how you make spitballs that hurt. And great stories, I mean kids have lots of stories. And all kinds of cheerleading that they did in sports. There was a huge area of stuff that kids either had invented themselves, or the kind of things that they would come up with, given pieces of wood and hammer and nails, things like that. And then there were craftsmen there who would work with the kids.
Splintering the organization of the Folklife Festival into these separate segments, with different people working on them, was an important step for Rinzler’s office. It became even more necessary in the greatly expanded Festival held in 1976, the country’s Bicentennial:

In each part of the festival, you had a different philosophical approach presenting very different kinds of material. But it was intensely well-thought-out by different sub-groups... There were a hundred people working on the staff, about a third of them professional folklorists. And they did problem-solving as a group and individuals. But you ended up with a whole different model for how a museum might present folk culture. And it had a great impact on the public. Twelve weeks of folklife festival from Memorial Day to Labor Day, Bicentennial summer, just drew enormous numbers of people, and everybody could find themselves there, because there was such variety.

Rinzler is proud that so many people found a place at the festival, and felt comfortable celebrating their own part of American culture. In part he credits Dillon Ripley, then head of the Smithsonian, with encouraging this ideal in all the Smithsonian’s programs:

Black people in Washington who didn’t use to come to the Mall, because it wasn’t their turf, all of a sudden appropriated the mall. And that essentially, I think, was the purpose of Ripley’s wanting to do a program like that. Was to bring people to the Institution who felt disenfranchised or unconnected entirely.

In 1968, after the death of Martin Luther King, many blacks gathered in Washington to mark the occasion. Ripley summoned Rinzler and others to a meeting to prepare them for this unprecedented surge of black patrons in the Smithsonian’s facilities:

I’ll never forget a meeting a week before the Poor People’s Campaign started, ’68. And Ripley gathered in his highly ornate Victorian sitting room all of the people who ran facilities services in the institution, and the assistant secretaries. And these were people who handed out—who supervised having enough toilet paper in the bathrooms, and soap, and the guard service, and everything.

But as usual Ripley was late. And the general counsel got up to fill up the time, while waiting for Ripley, and handed out these pieces of paper which indicated everything that you could do to keep black people off the Mall. You could arrest them for walking in the gardens,
or for—I mean, it was just horrendous—passing barriers and all sorts of things.

And then the door opened and Ripley came in, and the general counsel sat down in the middle of his tirade. And Ripley walked the full length of the room, as if he was taking the temperature of the scene, put his fingers tog—sat down—put his fingers together very slowly like this, and I'll never forget the sentence he said: "Above all, we must remember that the people who are coming to mourn their slain leader are citizens of our nation and must be welcomed in our museums."

And when you're working under someone who has that perspective, and can articulate it—and then he went on, and talked to each one of the different managers. He said if people stage a sit-in in the museum, your responsibility as head of the guard service is to make sure that the collections are protected. Your job, as maintenance person, is to make sure there is enough soap, towels, and toilet paper in the rooms. You, as director of the museum, put a sign on the door saying: "Museum overcrowded, closed for the day," or whatever. And he had thought the whole thing out. He just ran it off...

...with no notes. And that's who he was.

After the long twelve weeks of folk festival, the summer of the Bicentennial, Rinzler's position at the Smithsonian was up in the air. Originally his office was established as a "Bicentennial program," and 1976 was now past and gone. Rinzler responded by changing the focus of the Office for Folklife Programs:

...After that, I got bored with festivals. But they wanted to wipe out the Folklife Program, so I stayed there and established a publications series, like the Meaders monograph, and built up a staff of folklorists—seven or eight of them...

...We separated from the performing arts focus. And got Victor Turner, who was in his prime, to do an exhibition called "Celebrations," where he took things from every category of collection in the Institution, and showed how societies across the planet celebrate, and what kind of objects they use, and what the meaning of those objects in celebrations was. And it was just a brilliant, huge exhibition.

But it made the point to the senior staff of the Institution—the senior management staff, the secretary, and the assistant secretaries—that this was serious business, it wasn't just singing and dancing. And that was open for a year and a half. And all kinds of publications came out with it. So Turner's work really was very helpful in re-establishing
the credibility—the intellectual credibility of the program. It was about '81.

Once the Office of Folklife Programs was safely on its feet again, Rinzler again considered leaving the Smithsonian. But then a new challenge cropped up. Folkways Records, with its huge archive of traditional music, was in shaky financial condition due to the poor health of its owner, Mo Asch. Rinzler decided to try to rescue Folkways:

"I was just bored, and I wanted to resign. And they asked if I would be the assistant secretary for public service. And I thought, well, a few years of this can’t hurt. But what I really wanted to do was get Folkways Records. And I figured that as an assistant secretary, I could do that. But as a program director, it would be impossible.

Rinzler became an assistant secretary, and with the blessings of Dillon Ripley, he tried to convince Mo Asch to sell Folkways to the Smithsonian. The negotiations were rocky, and dragged on for years. Ripley retired, and Robert McCormick Adams took over as secretary of the Smithsonian. The changing of the guard threatened the Folkways deal:

"I had to start all over again with Adams. And a couple of people poisoned his mind against Folkways. They said it was going to cost a fortune, we were going to lose huge amounts of money, that the record re-issue program was going to suffer because we licensed recordings from all the major labels, when we put out these packages of country music. And Folkways had just pirated all this stuff, so our relationship with those companies would be threatened, because we had this whole collection of pirated material... Then the treasurer came in and gave a whole bunch of figures about why we would lose a fortune. We’re now selling over a million dollars worth of records a year!

But Adams said... I went in there to make my presentation, and before I could open my mouth, he started bellowing. About what a madcap idea this was, and it hasn’t been thought out, and we can’t afford to lose this kind of money. And after the meeting, I went down to my office, and said “I intend to acquire Folkways, and this is how I’m going to do it.” And the second sentence was a very simple statement of negotiation with Asch, and that I would raise the money for it.

Without the deep pockets of the institution, raising the money to purchase Folkways was a challenge. Mo Asch wanted $800,000 for the
company. However, Rinzler had friends in the music business, and he was able to muster their support:

Well, I knew Bob Dylan very well when I was in the Village, and he happened to arrive on the Mall... the very summer that I was looking for money! I hadn't seen him in twenty-five years. And he had his kid with him. And he asked someone where I was. And so they took me over to where he was, and he said, “This is the guy whose band I played opening act for on my first club date,” he told his son Jesse.

And I said, “You know, we’re in trouble, and we need to do something. Because Mo Asch is dying, and Woody Guthrie’s papers are being Red-baited by the University of Oklahoma, so there’s no place for them to go.” And Dylan said, “Well, it looks to me like the first thing we need to deal with is the fact that Mo is dying and you want to get Folkways.” And we had a meeting the next day with his management.

And they agreed with Columbia to co-produce with me a record of all those people singing Woody and Leadbelly songs—A Vision Shared. And that raised about four hundred thousand dollars, which was half the ticket. And then I got someone else to give two hundred thousand dollars, so we only had to pay back two hundred thousand. So that worked out very well.

Ralph Rinzler called himself an intermediary between artists and audiences, and indeed, during his career he at one time or another played every role, from artist to producer to audience. Although in a sense his final job at the Smithsonian was the pinnacle of his career, all of the earlier steps were tremendously valuable to him:

All the administrators that I’ve ever dealt with in any institution and elsewhere, the best of them have always started at the ground, in the field. And whatever decisions they made bureaucratically were informed by their field experience. So I think the success with what happened at the Smithsonian came from the fact that by the time I got there, I had really traveled an enormous amount, and really worked intensively documenting people’s repertoires and the meaning of those repertoires to those people. So it wasn’t as if you were trying to figure out what to do next. What to do next just made sense because it grew out of the mistakes you were making.
Ralph Rinzler died on July 2, 1994. After the rescue of Folkways Records in 1987, he stayed involved with the company, and he convinced Tony Seeger to leave his post at Indiana University to run it. He continued to work with the Smithsonian Office of Folklife Programs. And he kept producing occasional recordings, including a retrospective live album spanning Bill Monroe's entire career.

In April of 1995, a folk festival was held in Rinzler's honor. The "Ralph Rinzler Memorial Celebration" took place at the Highlander Research and Education Center in Newmarket, Tennessee. Performers included the Greenbriar Boys; a fine array of Seegers (Pete, Peggy, and Mike); Sol Broudy; Dave Grisman; Bernice Johnson Reagon; Mick Moloney; Balfa Toujour; Hazel Dickens; and many more.

Much of this biography is based on the interview which Ralph granted me on July 29, 1993. My debt to him, however, does not end with that pair of cassettes. Like his own mentor Charles Seeger, Ralph was attentive to young folklorists and ethnomusicologists. We would play Irish music in his kitchen, and in between the tunes came the talk that would keep me thinking long afterwards. Thank you, Ralph.

APPENDIX I: EXPLANATION OF PROJECTS

A. Irish Music Fieldwork

When Rinzler was in London in 1957 and 1958, he made field recordings of Camden Town Irish pub sessions. In 1965 he released these as *Margaret Barry & Michael Gorman: Irish Music in London Pubs* (Folkways Cassette Series 03575; Washington DC: Smithsonian Folkways Records, 1965). In its liner notes, he advocates the contextual study of folk music:

> When it [folk music] is removed from its habitual framework and exhibited apart from the whole, it loses that sense of urgency and direct communication which, along with style, improvisation and other characteristics, set it happily apart from the world of art music.

In this album, Rinzler evocatively reproduces the atmosphere of a pub session filled with great Irish musicians. It is a contrast to sterile studio recordings. Rinzler also compiled extensive documentation for the album, including biographies of the musicians, commentary on their style, and notes on the tunes and songs. As a folklore scholar, Rinzler studied performance, and preserved context with text. Applying these scholarly concerns here, he improved the format of the album for the general listener as well as the scholar.
B. Doc Watson

Ralph Rinzler first met Doc Watson in 1960, while visiting another old-time musician, Clarence Ashley. (The field tapes which Rinzler made during this visit became an album on the Folkways label entitled *Old Time Music at Clarence Ashley's.* ) Rinzler began to act as an agent for Watson, and within a year the guitarist was touring widely. Rinzler worked with Watson until 1966, by which year he had released five albums. Watson has since released eight more albums, two of which have won Grammy awards. In Watson’s words:

I can tell you what Ralph did for me. When Ralph heard me play, it was 1960, and he persuaded me that I had something to offer in the way of entertainment and folk revival. And I said, “Well, Ralph, I don’t know why anyone would want to hear me.” I’d been playing a dance band, you know. But he—he persuaded, and he went on the road with me. This is something I’ll be indebted to him for as long as I live. (Zwerdling 1994)

In his work with Watson, Rinzler made a success of a previously unknown and unrecorded musician. He also helped to attract public and scholarly interest in old-time music.

C. Bill Monroe

Bill Monroe, the “father of bluegrass music”, is known for his high tenor singing, his driving mandolin style, and his synthesis of musical influences into what is now called bluegrass. Born in 1911, he began to play professionally in the 1930s, and his musical career crested in the 1940s (Larkin, 1992 s.v. Bill Monroe). He released four respectable albums, but by 1962, when Rinzler met him, his popularity was waning, and he was a bitter man. In Rinzler’s words: “He felt that everyone had stolen bluegrass from him. Flatt and Scruggs were making thousands a night, and he was making hundreds.”

Rinzler worked with Monroe from 1962 to 1966. During those years, Monroe released ten albums. Another 27 albums followed between 1967 and 1991. In the case of Bill Monroe, Rinzler revived the career of the founder of an entire musical genre. He helped bring bluegrass, as well as old-time music, into the fold of the folk music revival.
D. Jugtown Pottery

The Jugtown Pottery was founded in 1921 in Seagrove, North Carolina by Jacques and Juliana Busbee. They hired potters to produce traditional South Carolina pottery. The Busbees promoted and sold their wares in New York City for nearly fifty years. After businessman John Maré bought out Jugtown in 1960, however, it suffered financial hardships, and nearly closed.


Rinzler and Sweezy foresaw that high-quality traditional pottery still had a place in a country increasingly dominated by mass-market goods. They made a financial success of Jugtown, and then sold it to the man who produced its wares. They provided a model for a generation of traditional craftsmen in North Carolina.

E. Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife

Rinzler founded this festival at the Smithsonian in 1967. His attempts to enliven and humanize the work of the Smithsonian were immediately successful. On July 2, 1967, the day after the first festival opened, the Washington Post reported:

The marble museums of the Smithsonian Institution are filled with beautiful handworn things made long ago by forgotten American craftsmen. Nostalgic reminders of our folk craft heritage, the museum exhibits are discreetly displayed, precisely labeled, and dead.

But the folk craft tradition has not died. Yesterday it burst into life before the astonished eyes of hundreds of visitors on the Mall. (Richard, 1967:D1)

Through Rinzler's efforts, the festival has become a perennial success. It has become a major celebration of the diversity of American culture. Furthermore, it has served as the model for many other festivals throughout the country and abroad. By 1993, the Washington Post evaluated the festival in this way:
The venerable Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife kicked off its 27th year on the Mall yesterday... In its nearly three decades, there isn’t much the Folklife Festival has missed in the way of mores. The Smithsonian staff has developed programs of indigenous American cultures, blue-collar occupations, immigrant lore, urban culture, and just about every other stitch in the patchwork quilt that forms America. The event drew an estimated 1.25 million people over two weeks last year. (Vest, 1993:B1)

F. The Meaders Family

Two works have emerged from Ralph Rinzler’s fieldwork with this family of potters in Georgia. One is the short film documenting Cheever Meaders’s potting operation, described above. Rinzler completed the film in 1967, intending it as a set of moving illustrations for a monograph. The monograph was finally published in 1980 in book form entitled *The Meaders Family, North Georgia Potters*, and co-authored by Robert Sayers. Rinzler and Sayers offer a superlative study of individual craftsmen. They studied not merely the form of the Meaders’s finished products, but the entire potting process in detail. They cover the manufacturing of tools, digging of clay, grinding of glazes, throwing of the pots on a wheel, and the construction and firing of the kiln. They also discuss the social aspects of this multi-generational family business, and its place in the community.

G. Folkways Records

Folkways Records was founded in New York in 1948 by Mo Asch and Marion Distler. They first achieved large commercial success with albums by Leadbelly (Huddy Ledbetter), who put 900 songs on tape for the company. Folkways proceeded to put together a huge archive of eclectic recordings, and to popularize highly varied traditional music. Among other successful Folkways artists are Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger (60 albums), Dave Van Ronk, the New Lost City Ramblers, Bob Dylan, and Phil Ochs (Larkin 1992, s.v. Folkways Records). Rinzler bought Folkways for the Smithsonian with the help of Bob Dylan. Their 1988 benefit album *Folkways: A Vision Shared* was more than a means to an end. It celebrated Folkways’ 40th anniversary, and brought together Bruce Springsteen, U2, Brian Wilson, Little Richard, Taj Mahal, and Emmylou Harris, among others to celebrate the songs of Leadbelly and Woody Guthrie. It also netted Rinzler a Grammy award. The larger result is that the Folkways archive is in safe hands and the company is on sound financial footing and continues to promote traditional music.
APPENDIX II: GLOSSARY OF NAMES


**Cooney, Michael.** Folksinger. Specialist in songs for children. See his album *Pure Unsweetened*.

**Earle, Eugene.** Ethnomusicologist. See his work with Archie Green on the old-time album *Carolina Tar Heels: Ballads and Songs* (Sharon, CT: Folk Legacy Records FSA-24, 1965).


**Flatt, Lester.** Bluegrass guitarist and singer. Got his start playing with Bill Monroe. Played with Earl Scruggs from 1945 to 1969.


**Greenbriar Boys.** Bluegrass band. John Herald and Bob Yellin were founding members. Ralph Rinzler was a member from 1959 to 1963. See their *Best of John Herald and the Greenbriar Boys* (Vanguard, 1972).

**Green, Archie.** Folklorist. See his *Only a Miner: Studies in Recorded Coal-mining Songs* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972).


International Folk Music Council. This Non-Governmental Organization encourages the practice and study of folk music under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

Kittredge, George Lyman. 1860-1941. Eminent Shakespearean critic, champion of Francis James Child’s work on popular ballads, and scholar of New England customs.


Lloyd, Albert Lancaster (Bert). English folksinger, music scholar. For his Indiana University lecture/concert on 22 April 1964, see I.U. Archive of Traditional music recording 66-141-F ATL 4885.


Musée des Arts Traditionnels et Populaires. Correct full name: Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires.

Niles, John Jacob. Folksinger and dulcimer player.


Ritchie, Jean. American folksinger and dulcimer player. For her Indiana University concert on 20 February 1960, see Indiana University’s Archive of Traditional Music recording 70-173-F.


Scriabin, Aleksandr Nikolayevich. 1872-1915. Russian composer and pianist. He sought to fuse classical music with philosophy and the visual arts.


Seeger, Mike. Folksinger, banjo, guitar, and mandolin player, member of the New Lost City Ramblers. For his Indiana University concert on 22 November, 1963, see Indiana University's Archive of Traditional Music recording 66-139-F.


Seitel, Peter. Folklorist. See his *So That We May See: Performances and Interpretations of Traditional Tales from Tanzania* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, c.1980).

**Sing Out.** Folk song magazine. (New York: Sing Out, Inc., 1950-present.)

**Stanley Brothers.** Old-time music band, 1942-1966. Ralph Stanley (born 1925), Carter Stanley (1927 to 1966), and several non-Stanleys. For their Indiana University concert on 16 February 1966, see Indiana University’s Archive of Traditional Music recording 66-029-F, ATL 4530-4531.


**Watson, Doc.** Old-time singer and guitar player. For his concerts at Indiana University on 20 March 1965 and 16 October 1965, see I.U. Archive of Traditional Music recordings 66-143-F and 66-145-F ATL 11785-11786.


**References Cited**


Washington Post, July 2.

National Public Radio, July 3.