

CONTENTS

From the Editor	4
------------------------------	---

Newell Prize: 1991

"Adolescent Legend Trips as Teenage Cultural Response: A Study of Lore in Context" <i>Patricia M. Meley</i>	5
--	---

International Perspectives

"Strategy in Counting-Out: Evidence From Saint-Nazaire, France" <i>Andy Arleo</i>	25
"The Concept 'Toy' and Cultural Research" <i>Bo Lonqvist</i>	31

CFS Invited Essay

"Books for Children" <i>Edith Fowke</i>	39
--	----

Notes and Announcements	43
--------------------------------------	----

Directory of Members	45
-----------------------------------	----

Cover: This issue's cover is a photograph of a painting by Madeleine Carpentier entitled "Les Chandelles."

Life Achievement Award

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

The American Folklife Center and
the Children's Folklore Section of
the American Folklore Society
cordially invite you to a coffee
honoring

Iona Opie

Recipient of the
Children's Folklore Section's
Life Achievement Award

Friday, April 19, 1991
9 - 10:30 a.m.
Montpelier Room
James Madison Building
The Library of Congress

R.s.v.p.
(202) 707-1616

Life Achievement Award



Left to Right: C. W. Sullivan III, *CFR* Editor; Iona Opie;
Priscilla Ord, CFS Immediate Past President; Alan Jabbour,
Director of the American Folklife Center

FROM THE EDITOR...

The highlight of the spring for me was traveling to Washington, DC, and, with CFS Immediate Past President Priscilla Ord, presenting the Children's Folklore Section's Lifetime Achievement Award to Iona Opie at the American Folklife Center and, that evening, hearing her deliver the Arbuthnot Lecture. The face of the medal awarded to Ms. Opie was on the cover of the last **CFR** (13.2); a copy of the invitation to the award ceremony and a picture of us all there are included in this volume.

The lead article in this issue is Patricia M. Meley's "Adolescent Legend Trips as Teenage Cultural Response: A Study of Lore in Context," the 1991 Newell Prize Paper. Meley is a student of Simon Bronner's. In addition, this issue features articles from CFS members in countries other than the US. Bo Lonnqvist's "The Concept of 'Toy' and Cultural Research" is the final paper from the 1989 CFS panel at Philadelphia (see 13.1 and 13.2 for the other papers). Lonnqvist is a Senior Research Associate for the State Commission for Humanistic Research at the Academy of Finland. Andy Arleo's "Strategy in Counting-Out Evidence from Saint-Nazaire, France" continues fieldwork begun for his 1982 doctoral dissertation. Arleo is a folklorist at the Institut Universitaire de Technologie de Saint-Nazaire and Centre d'Etudes Métriques, Université de Nantes. The third article, "Books for Children" by Edith Fowke, is the first CFS invited essay. At the 1990 CFS meeting, the Executive Board and the members present suggested that Canadian folklore scholarship, and especially that of Edith Fowke, needed to be more widely recognized and asked her to review pertinent books (see 13.2 for her review of Cosbey's All in T o!ether Girls) and to write an essay about her own work.

Desktop publishing continues to have advantages. The photograph in this issue is more affordable than it would have been in a type-set publication. There are some inconveniences with desktop publishing, however. Editors who once blamed the printer for errors now must deliver perfect camera-ready copy or take the blame themselves. In the last issue, Armand Szainer's name was misspelled. His design for and work on the CFS Lifetime Achievement Medal were, in a large part, donated to us; and I apologize for the error.

C. W. Sullivan III

Adolescent Legend Trips as Teenage Cultural Response: A Study of Lore in Context

Patricia M. Meley

One warm evening in June 1989, Jason, a fifteen-year-old boy who lived next door, called through my open window, "Can I come in and smoke a cigarette?" I welcomed him in, and as he sprawled his six-foot frame across the couch, he began to earnestly relate an account of a "trip" he had taken. To hear him tell it, it was a journey that took him far in emotion if not in distance:

We went, you know, because Duane told us about it. There's this trailer where this guy shot his wife--shot her dead, y' know--she's gone-dead. And we stopped at this trailer and sat there and stared at it and we were all scared shitless. 'Cause it's just this narrow dirt road; trees surround it. And we sat there and this blue light goes on in this abandoned trailer where this man killed his wife. And if we didn't get out of there like nothing--I mean, we were gone. And then this car, it's a one-way road, there's no way to get out on it, this car just turned out of nowhere. There's a cliff--you fall off, you die--turned out of nowhere, just nowhere. I will never go back. I was so scared, I didn't sleep.

About two weeks later, while he was sitting outside waiting for a friend, Jason's seventeen-year-old brother, Paul, told me a brief, but equally strange tale:

There's a crazy man back there. He catches you--he hangs you upside down and cuts your balls off. There's a light that comes on and if you stare at it, you will be blind. Yeah, we go back there. We walked it--me and a bunch of my friends.

The teenagers who related these accounts to me are not juvenile delinquents; they are not drug addicts or mentally disturbed. They are healthy adolescents, and the activity that they describe, the legend trip, takes place near their hometown of Columbia, Pennsylvania. It also happens in sites all over America.

Legend trip research is a relatively new field of inquiry in folklore. The attention of earlier collectors centered on the textual analysis of adolescent legends. Recent trends in

contextual analysis have refocused the research on the performance of the legend. Legend trip research has focused rather exclusively on the trip's function in the coming-of-age process of white, suburban, middle-class adolescents. Yet there are indications that the legend trip is an urban phenomenon as well, and as my own study shows, the trip is a multi-racial experience.¹

Kenneth A. Thigpen, Jr.'s, "Adolescent Legends in Brown County: A Survey," published in 1971, is an early study of adolescent legends that comments on the link between the narrative legend and its performance--the legend trip. Central to the ritual performance in Thigpen's opinion is the trip's three part structure: the introduction, the enactment at the scene of the phenomenon, and the retrospective memorate. The introduction takes place before arrival at the legend trip site and "includes relating the past event and describing the current phenomenon" (204). The story is told by an experienced legend-tripper "in a manner that will heighten the anticipation of uninitiated and initiated alike, thus enhancing the receptive psychological state of all involved" (205).

The second part, the ritual enactment at the scene, is considered by Thigpen the "crucial" aspect of the trip. During this phase, teenagers "attempt to merge the supernatural realm described in the first part with reality" (205). The third and final aspect involves the telling and retelling of the event that the participants have experienced. These stories may in turn "be added to the basic legend complex to be told as the first part of the performance" (205). Thigpen concludes that the legend trip's primary function is the introduction of the "uninitiated to the realm of the supernatural" (204).

Gary Hall coined the term "legend trip" in his study, "The Big Tunnel." Hall concentrates his discussion on the legend-telling aspect of the trip. The telling sets the scene for the trip. Hall concludes that the legend trip's function is "primarily recreational" and sees the "willing suspension of disbelief" as a crucial element of the trip's success (256). Similarly, William M. Clements' investigation of another Indiana legend trip in "The Chain on the Tombstone" concludes that the trips "provide a supernatural thrill as an escape from boredom" (264).

An extensive survey is Bill Ellis' "Legend-Tripping in Ohio: A Behavioral Study." Ellis proposes that adolescent legend trips are in part a "ritual of rebellion" in which the participants escape the reality-based, moralistic, and authoritarian world of parents, school, and police (64). Legend trip sites are often physically remote, and the trips Ellis surveyed are opportunities for illegal activities like under-age drinking, taking drugs, vandalism, and illicit sexual behavior. The presence of these activities reinforces his thesis that the trips function as "deliberate escapes into altered states where conventional rules do not operate" (65). In addition, Ellis

Adolescent Legend Trips

examines the trips as a way for teens to confront adolescent anxieties of mortality in psychologically safe ways. He concludes that the "trip. . . is from start to finish a way of 'giving the finger' to adult rationality;" (69).

My study contributes to adolescent legend trip research because I worked with a single peer group over a six-month period; as a result, my fieldwork is an in-depth study of a normally closed folk group. I attempt to place my informants' experiences against the larger backdrop of legend trip scholarship in order to draw comparisons and identify characteristics of a ritualized adolescent activity. By concentrating on the context of this ritual and by focusing on the folk group and its use of culture, I have been able to interpret the trips with a sense of the subtleties and complexities the study of adolescence demands.

I conducted my fieldwork in my hometown of Columbia, a small, working-class town located in south central Pennsylvania. Columbia's position on the Susquehanna River made it a natural gateway to the west, and early in the eighteenth century, a trio of English Quakers established a ferry there. Known as "Wright's Ferry," the settlement grew in prominence and was formally founded as the borough of Columbia in 1788. Reaching its zenith in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Columbia was a bustling center of river and railroad transportation, and home to many industries, including foundries, rolling mills, and lace mills.²

Columbia has, throughout its history, stood in marked contrast to its neighboring towns. In a region best known for its German Mennonite and Amish groups, Columbia's 10,000 residents are largely of German Catholic and Scots-Irish ancestry. A Democratic bastion in conservative, Republican Lancaster County, the industrial town lies among many agricultural communities.

Today, like many other small towns in America, Columbia must combat the stagnation brought on by unemployment, population decline, and lack of morale. Although Columbia has been in slow decline over the past few decades, many older residents show a fierce pride and are quick to point out the town's advantages. Colombians still sit "out front" on stoops and porches where they greet their neighbors by name, and the borough remains a relatively safe and appealing town in which to raise children. Children still gather to play in neighborhood groups, and the town is virtually surrounded by the natural playgrounds provided by wooded lots, and the banks of streams and the Susquehanna River. For adolescents, however, the community offers little entertainment and with many familiar, watchful eyes upon them, the town can seem repressive.

Teenagers in Columbia complain of the lack of places to congregate and of the absence of youth-oriented activities. Those that do exist are predictable or typically adult-run. During the winter months, social events tend to revolve around the school calendar and are most often limited to

Meley

weekends. High school sporting events are well-attended, and occasional school dances help break the monotony. Teens go to one another's homes (especially if parents are away or working) to watch MTV, play video games, and party--drink beer and occasionally smoke marijuana. Columbia has two video arcades where teenagers gather, "but you have to spend money or they throw you out." "Going to the mall" (Park City Mall in Lancaster) is a favorite cold weather pastime, but one that requires cash, typically in short supply among Columbia's teens.

In warm weather, Columbia adolescents are out of doors as much as possible, away from adult eyes and interference. A local pizza parlor serves as a meeting-place, and the town's centrally located park is a favorite hangout. Up and down Columbia's "main drag," Locust Street, teenagers gather in small groups, though the local police's efforts to crack down on loitering and cruising has put a damper on the crowds. In the summer, the town boasts a drive-in theater which specializes in horror and adventure movies and is popular as a party spot rather than a "passion pit." "Car parties," when teenagers drive to isolated country roads to drink, remain popular, as does cruising. It is during the summer months that legend trip activity is at a peak.

It has been this way since at least 1965, the earliest date that I have been able to trace legend trip activity. Although older Columbians related stories of cruising and other automotive activities, it appears that the legend trip is, in Columbia, a post-1950s teenage pastime.

I interviewed forty-one teenagers from July 1989 to January 1990. My informants composed a loosely affiliated peer group, racially and sexually mixed. The teens ranged in age from thirteen to nineteen; all were raised in Columbia and attended Columbia High School. Some were honor students, active in school activities such as sports and band; others were in trouble with parents, teachers, and the law. Most of the teenagers were of German ancestry, but I also talked with Black and Hispanic teens. The majority of the teenagers were from lower-income families though at least two had professional parents. I was at first surprised at the diversity within the group; but in a school with a class size average of under eighty, everyone knows everyone else, and though cliques do exist, their boundaries are often blurred.

My first interview occurred at Marisa's Sweet Sixteen birthday party, held in her backyard in July, 1989. Subsequent interviews took place in my home under a variety of circumstances: sometimes a lone teen, sometimes a group of twenty or more. Often these interviews were spontaneous, for in the course of my research, my informants came to look upon me as a "big sister." That, coupled with the fact that winter arrived and my apartment was warm and dry, gave me a unique opportunity to get to know the teenagers well. Although my original encounters with the teenagers were

Adolescent Legend Trips

focused on legend trips, the interviews were characteristically informal, and we quickly expanded the relationship to include discussions about school, teachers they hated, relationships with parents, and their current love interests. When a large group showed up, the quality of my research suffered, and the meeting would quickly deteriorate from an impromptu "bull session" to a loud, unmanageable gathering.

I interviewed informants on many occasions under more advantageous conditions. They included Jason, a fifteen-year-old boy who was ambivalent about school and had a strained relationship with his parents. Jason's ultimate goal was to "get the hell out of this town." Paul, Jason's seventeen year-old half-brother, was a more dedicated student and was involved in high school activities, like the football team. Paul was shy than his exuberant younger brother, blushed easily, and often drove during the legend trips that the teens told me about. I had known both boys since they were toddlers, and for the last three years, they had been my neighbors. It was through Jason and Paul that I gained access to the peer group. The brothers served as a bridge between the various elements in the large peer group; Jason's friends were the wild bunch, while Paul's were more likely to maintain the status quo. La was a sixteen-year-old Black girl, soft-spoken and mature. La was always matter-of-fact in tone, even when she told me outrageous stories. She recently began vocational training in horticulture and was pleased that she only had to attend Columbia High for half-days.

I chose to concentrate on two of the five legend trips sites my informants described. Known as "The Wall" and "Haug's Road," the two spots were cited by virtually all informants as the most popular and will be discussed in detail. The minor sites surveyed included "Toad Road" in York County, Pennsylvania. The site was identified by only three seventeen-year-old males who told me that they had gone there with "a bunch of older guys one night." According to several young men from Columbia, the site was an especially popular one in the early 1980s, but has apparently passed out of vogue. The "Gates of Hell" are located on the road; teenagers foolish enough to enter the gates are never seen or heard from again.

The other two legend trips identified by my informants are complex and deserve separate discussion. They are both "harassment trips," a type that Ellis describes as a trip where the object is to torment or abuse an elderly, eccentric, or handicapped individual. The "Midget House" was such a site. Only about fifteen of the teenagers told me that they had been there; four of the girls who went insisted that they only accompanied their boyfriends and did not "get out of the car and knock on the windows." One sixteen-year-old male told me that his friend had "run over one [a midget] in a cornfield one night," but most of the teenagers told me they thought this type of trip was "stupid." Jason asked, "Why would I want to bother them?"

Meley

They never did anything to me."

Another harassment trip site was at the house of "The Troll," described as a "nut who will shoot you if you beep and holler." The site was known to virtually all of my informants because of the notoriety of an incident that occurred there in December of 1988 when Ralph Longenecker, "The Troll," shot at a carload of teens and injured one boy. Longenecker's story of years of harassment made the national press, and he was later acquitted of any wrongdoing.

"The Wall" is an early nineteenth-century graveyard on a lonely road on the outskirts of Marietta, Pennsylvania, another small town in Lancaster County, located about twenty minutes away from downtown Columbia. The cemetery is small, measuring about fifty feet by thirty-five feet, and is enclosed completely by a three foot high wall. A stone plaque on the wall reads, "Within this God's acre rest the descendants of Hans Graft."³ Columbia teenagers contend that the cemetery is guarded by Indian ghosts who reside in the surrounding woods and cornfields. On nights with a full moon, or on any night at midnight (depending on the version), teenagers describe a ritual said to be performed at the site: "You walk around the wall seven times and spit, and you will die." Other versions vary the ritual: some say you must walk the wall thirteen times, some eliminate the spitting, and some say that death is not immediate, but comes in the future without warning.

The ritual of circumambulation, though important to the site, does not have to be performed in order to make the trip successfully scary. In fact, not one informant admitted to completing the trek; most vehemently stated that they never even tried. Phil, fifteen, told me that he had heard of "a guy and some girl who walked it, and they disappeared; nobody ever found out what happened to them." Some of the more adventurous teenagers reported acts of vandalism; tombstones were overturned and tossed around. Most of the adolescents, however, are content to simply drive to the site, and they report strange sights and sounds.

The wind is held responsible for many scary experiences; on an otherwise calm night, the legend trip site is described as being unnaturally windy. For instance, one teenager reported that "a gust of wind nearly pushed the car off the road." Others claim to have had unexplainable car trouble and report that the car stalled repeatedly though "nothing was wrong with the engine, 'cause we checked." A group of teenagers referred to "the night we saw the gas cans," but when pressed for details, they could not tell me why the gas cans frightened them.

La's account of a legend trip to The Wall describes her first experience with legend-tripping:

I went about two years ago, me, R.J., and Mike. We weren't scared or

nothing. You know, we just wanted to go over there and see what was goin' on--see if it was scary or whatever. So we went over and as soon as we got to the road that it was on this big gush of wind pushed the car back--it was scary. We were really scared. We weren't even there yet. We didn't know where it was so . . . we seen it and, urn, we just like looked at it for a while and this wind was pushin' the car and stuff. "I don't know if you want to get out of the car" [they said] and this one guy got out of the car--R. J. got out. And he, you know, looked over it and stuff, you know, and, you know, he was scared. And they're like, "Walk around it seven times." He never did. We just--the car stalled right in front of it--it was wild.

La's trip to The Wall was typical in many ways. Like many teens, she describes the unnatural wind and unexplainable car trouble, which, she told me later, continued to plague them until they were back in Columbia. None of the participants attempted to walk on the wall, although all three were aware of the existence of the ritual. The trip was typical, too, in that it included both male and female teenagers, though the group of three was relatively small.

Larger trips to The Wall were more common, like the one related to me by Paul, seventeen, and his eighteen-year-old friend:

- B: Yeah, we go over there all the time. The last time was great. It was Paul and Phil and Helen. . . we had a whole carload of people.
- P: Was that the time we thought we saw the gas can people? I was driving, yeah. And we pulled in real close to the Wall. And, uh-
- B: Tara was there, too, 'cause she got out.
- P: Oh, we were in the "Big Boat," weren't we? We had about ten people in there. Everybody was carrying on and shit. Did I get out that time? They paid me money to go 'cause I needed the gas money. It was after a football game. I was driving my dad's car.
- B: The car was slidin'. And you kept puttin' that back thing down. P: Yeah, the back window, and I got real close. And the girls were all screaming. I picked a tombstone up. We were driving away, and I like, I don't know, but you-
- B: We saw those gas cans-
- P: I don't know why we got scared, but the girls were sure screamin'! It was cool.

Like most of the trips related to me by older teens, Paul and his buddy stressed the social aspects of the trip. The gang had piled into his father's station wagon after the Friday night football game, and Paul described it for me as a celebratory occasion, with "everybody carrying on." Larger trips

taken by older teenagers are related in an upbeat, joking tone. The teenagers are less serious in tone about the supernatural phenomenon and less emphatic about the details of the trip—who was there, what was seen, and how they were scared.

"Haug's Road" is the second trip surveyed, and it has a more complex legend cycle, with significant discrepancies among stories collected. The winding, partially paved road in York County, Pennsylvania, was for years the site of a harassment trip. Haug's Road was home to "an albino hermit who lived in a shack"; the site was popular among Columbia teens at least as far back as 1971.⁴ As a teenager, I vividly remember trips to Haug's Road. My first legend trip was in the summer of 1977, when I was fifteen years old. Four friends and I rode in the back of my brother's pick-up truck. After our initiation to the site, we returned many times, and though we never laid eyes on the hermit, our greatest fear (and the reason we went) was that he would shoot at us. The hermit died soon after I graduated from high school in 1979, and I assumed the lure of the site was buried with him. Yet teenagers report a variety of uncanny activity on the road: mysterious blue lights; houses that move and disappear; half-cat, half-fox animals with glowing eyes that run in front of moving cars and disappear over the road's steep sides. They also offer differing reasons for the road's haunted nature. Some teens claim that a "crazy man" lives on the road; some allude to the hermit, or his ghost; some maintain that the road was the site of a murder and attribute the haunted happenings to the victim's ghost or to the murderer (usually identified as a husband).

A fifteen-year-old female informant related to me the following account of a trip to Haug's Road:

A friend and a couple of other friends went--Stan, Michelle, Tara, Courtney, me, and Mike. Stan drove. They were all there before. It was a Friday night last summer. We were just driving around town and Stan said, "Let's go over to Haug's Road." I said, "Where's that at?" He said, "Just come on. We'll all go there." I said, "all right" and all these people were in the car. And we're just on this dirt road. And it's all bumpy and we were driving on this bumpy road--real bumpy--and then we came upon this house. And there were no lights on and he [Stan] stopped the car and turned out his lights. And all of a sudden this light came on in this house and we tried to start the car and his car wouldn't start up. And we were all screamin' and shakin' the car. And then, urn, and then. . . Stan said, "Look, what's that comin' out from the trees, walkin' down?" I said, "What is it?" We were all screamin'--we were so scared. And then we finally got the car started and we moved on. Then we came upon this like, little shack. And then he [Stan] said, "Get out and go see what's in there." And we said, "No,

Adolescent Legend Trips

we ain't getting out." And I think that they already knew what was goin' on but I didn't. He said, "Go ahead, go ahead," and I said, "No, someone go with me," 'cause they were all pushin' me to go. I said, "I don't want to go." And so I got out *of* the car and like there was this door and I heard this creepin' noise. I run back in the--I tried to get back in the car and they had the doors locked. I was sittin' there banging on the doors and it was so scary. And then we made a U-turn and we came back. And we kept hearin' these noises outside the car and then he [Stan] got out. Someone musta been pretendin' like there was a flat tire and he got out and there was no flat tire. And he said, "Come on out here and look at this. Come on out here and look at this." We went out and he took off--left us standin' there for like ten minutes--me, Michelle, Courtney, and Tara. And we were by that house. So we start walking down the road and, uh, we saw this light flashin', but it was him in the car and he kept scaring us and we started runnin' down the road. And, uh, he was waiting like at the beginning where we were at. We were cursing him out and screamin' at him. On the way home we were talking about it and they were laughin' at us. I haven't been back since.

In this narrative, the informant tells her story in a standard form, with a clear beginning, middle, and end. It is a story that she has told before, and one that she will repeat. Typical among my female informants, this teenager paid particular attention to detail, especially in noting who was there and the reactions *of* all participants.

The informant makes note of her status as an initiate: "... they already knew what was goin' on but I didn't." Because she was new to the trip, she was tricked by the group into performing a special task. Similarly, the boys, who were much older, "pranked" the girls by stranding them there.

Once initiated, teenagers take subsequent trips, and though they now know what to expect, the fun, and the scare, are in no way diminished. Describing what he later told me was "about my twentieth" trip, a sixteen-year-old boy included an account *of* what happened once the group returned to town:

Oh yeah, sure, we go over there all the time. We went about a month ago-right after school started. It was me and RJ. and Marisa and Julie. I drove Marisa's car. It was a Friday night and there was nothing going on so he says, somebody says, "Hey, let's go over to Haug's Road." And we went and everybody kept saying that whoever was in that trailer shot his wife and killed her. And this, this really freaked me out. We drove back there, you know, to Haug's Road, and all the

Meley

windows fogged up. This is a dirt road in the middle of-like it hadn't rained for a week. We came out with mud all over the car and the windows steamed up. There was no mud on that road 'cause it hadn't rained for a week. The car was muddy-it was full of mud. Right up the road there's a barn and this blue light came on. Well, we got out of there quick. So we got back to town and go to the pizza place and saw this, uh, this group of people we know. And like we start telling them about what happened, you know, with the mud and all. And they could see it. So they said that they were gonna go and check it out.

Despite the divergent tales that surround the sites, teenagers are in agreement when describing the performance of the trips. Indeed, legend trips to both sites share many of the same features. That the physical trips are consistent and exhibit a pattern of behavior is significant, for the trip itself appears to have functions independent of the legends and may well be the more important aspect in uncovering adolescent motives and behavior.

The trips are described as either spontaneous or planned. A spontaneous legend trip usually occurs on a weekend night when "nothing else is happening." A group of teenagers, bored with cruising around town, suddenly decide to drive in the countryside, and someone suggests a trip. More commonly, however, legend trips are planned. Teenagers who have been to the sites will often plan to take an initiate to the site: "They heard I never was there," one informant told me, "so they took me." Occasionally a group will go to the site without an initiated teen: "We heard about it in school, so we went to look for it."

According to my informants, the mood inside the car as the trip begins is often rowdy and excited. The kids laugh and joke and talk about general topics: school, families, and members of the opposite sex. Once outside the town limits, however, the mood grows more serious. The topic of conversation switches to the approaching site, what happened there, what they saw the last time, what they heard happened to someone else. "If I was taking someone who's never been there," Jason explained, "I'd bullshit it up. You know, I'd tell them what had happened, but I'd drag it out and shit." By the time the car has reached the site, the teenagers are engrossed with the situation. They are quiet, tense, apprehensive.

Both legend trip sites have a central focus. The cemetery itself is the obvious place to stop in the first trip, and the old blue trailer on Haug's Road is reported as the focus in the second. The event itself may vary, depending on the audacity of the driver and the passengers. Some teens report getting out of the car, blowing the horn, even performing a Chinese Fire Drill to taunt the Fates. Some teens are more timid, and sit passively in the car.

When asked if he got out of the car at the Wall, a fifteen-year old boy

Adolescent Legend Trips

told me, "No way! I wouldn't even look out the window. I was buried deep in someone." The central focus of the legend trip, the event at the site, is also the basis of most of the teenagers' narratives. They include many details of what happened at this central point, and they appear to vividly remember events, even if they occurred two to three years ago.

Leave-taking is usually abrupt and is markedly uncontrolled. Something happens, someone sees or hears something, and kids jump into the car, bury their faces, scream, and speed away. The frenzy inside the car generally lasts until the teenagers are back on the main highway; everyone talks at once, in bits and pieces of, "Oh my god" and "Did you see?" As the teenagers calm, they begin to reconstruct the trip among themselves. They talk about what happened, and who saw what. Sometimes, a teenager will attempt to rationalize a scary event, but most of the teenagers remain shaken. On the way back from Haug's Road one night, Jason maintains that they were so scared that he was, "prayin' the rosary. La had this 'angel on her shoulder'⁵ and she kept sayin, 'I'm prayin' to my angel.' And I said, 'The hell with your angel, I'm prayin' to God.' I kept asking for a sign, and we passed this guy on a motorcycle and he gave me a thumbs-up sign. After that we all felt better."

By the time they approach Columbia again, the mood is subdued, and the teenagers begin to talk of other topics. If it is earlier in the evening, however, the story is repeated several times; by the end of the night, it has taken a standard narrative form, to be repeated for the benefit of others and among themselves, and especially for the next trip.

The return to the hometown marks the end of the trip to the teenagers. One boy told me, "You know, you get home and go, 'Phew!'--like, 'I made it!' It feels good--it's fun." Another teenage boy offered: "At the time it's not fun, but when you get out of it, then it's like, you know, 'Ain't that cool?'"

The teenagers typically go on legend trips in the summertime; autumn, especially around Halloween, is also a popular time. During the winter, legend trip activity usually subsides. Weather conditions are sometimes a factor in deciding to go on a trip; foggy nights are ideal, and "on a night with a full moon," Jason tells me, "you almost have to go." Some teenagers had been at the sites as early as age thirteen; fifteen was more commonly named as the age for the first legend trip. The trips continue throughout adolescence, though older adolescents report less frequent visits. The seventeen-, eighteen-, and nineteen-year-old male informants interviewed offered different reasons for going as well: they were often enlisted as drivers for the younger crowd, or accompanied their younger girlfriends. Teenagers also report that the group can be as small as three or as large as ten; no one ever goes alone or as a couple; the group is usually mixed, male and female, though some boys sometimes go with a "gang of guys." No all

Meley

female groups were ever reported.

In my interviews with the teenagers, I was continually impressed by the similarities in the information on legend trips they were sharing with me. I heard account after account that was virtually identical in content, form, and tone. The teenagers themselves were aware of this and grew impatient, insisting, "We already told you everything that happens." When asked to characterize the trips, the teens made sweeping generalizations: "You always go at night"; "You never go alone"; "Everyone knows what happens there." There appeared to be rules to follow and roles to play, and a list of necessary ingredients for a successful trip. Trips were taken at night, usually on the weekend; dark, gloomy nights, nights with full moons, and around midnight all enhanced the atmosphere. Trips were taken by groups, and "the more people you can cram in the car, the better." Boys act cool, girls scream a lot. Tricks are played on either newcomers or on the females. A sixteen-year-old boy, weary of my interminable questioning, succinctly summed up adolescent legend trips in Columbia:

You know, you all get into the car and go over there. And you do something--something happens, like--and everybody gets all scared and stuff and you get the hell out of there and come home. That's all. It's just fun. Okay?

The ritual structure of legend trips parallels the model of rites of passage suggested by Arthur van Gennep. Viewing traditional rites as cultural responses to "life crises" among tribal groups, Van Gennep's The Rites of Passage (1908) focused on the transitions in social identity that individuals and groups face: the passage from childhood to adulthood or from single to married status. Van Gennep distinguishes three phases within ceremonial rites of passage: separation, when initiates are figuratively or literally removed from the society, representing a break with the past status; transition, a liminal state when initiates must meet with tasks or challenges that symbolically prepare them for their new life; and incorporation, the ritual "welcoming" of the newly initiated into the membership of the community

This three part framework is still valid in modern, industrialized societies, as Ray Raphael explicates in The Men from the Boys: Rites of Passage in Male America (1988), because the functions of ritual initiations remains the same. Raphael writes,

The primary role of an initiation is to dramatize . . . change, and thereby to facilitate it. A rite of passage places a difficult problem of personal growth into a social context; it gives a public dimension to private problems; it calls upon the combined forces of a culture and all its

traditions to help the individual get through this time of crisis. (12)

In our modern, individualistic society, rites of passage may not be immediately recognizable. Ceremonies like Confirmations, Bar Mitzvahs, and high school graduations may appear to be rites of passage for adolescents in America, but are often rendered impotent. Solon Kimball, in his introduction to Van Gennep's The Rites of Passage, states that "perfunctory ritual may be pleasant but meaningless" (xvii). Yet there is still a need for transition particularly from extended adolescence into adulthood, as Raphael points out. This transition, according to Raphael, Bronner, and others, is not met by public, uniform ritual in America. It is therefore privatized, differentiated, and spontaneous.

A comparison of trips from various sources with the trips of Columbia teens establishes the legend trip tradition as a ritualized activity of modern American adolescents. The physical location of documented legend trip sites is consistently rural or isolated, thus requiring a passage from home and community to a liminal area or state. Legend trip sites, in addition to having a rural setting, are usually an extended distance from the teenagers' homes. To reach their destination, teenagers must make a twenty to thirty minute drive away from the sanctuary of their hometown (Ellis 66; Hall 233). The trips that Bill Ellis surveyed were "invariably rural. . . located along sparsely populated roads" (61). Gary Hall describes a "winding road . . . shrouded invariably in dense fog" (233). Another legend trip site in Abington, Indiana, stands "on the edge of a dense woods" (Knox 1). And Stewart Blankenhorn's description of a popular legend trip site near suburban Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is virtually identical to Columbia teenagers' accounts of Haug's Road: "... the paved road stops. . . . At this point, there are no more street lights. . . . The roads, which are only a carwidth, are dirt roads that seem to wind without any particular destination" (2).

Another consistent feature of a legend trip is that it is a communal activity shared by adolescents. A "typical" trip almost always includes a mixed-sex group of adolescents. Stewart Blankenhorn relates, "The typical carload is at least three people, not necessarily all of the same sex. However a carload of boys is common and a carload consisting of only girls has not been recorded. I recall one situation when I went there in a station wagon packed with twelve boys" (2). Gary Hall reports that the trips are usually practiced by "a carload or two of young people. . . . Usually boys and girls ride in the same car, but seldom as couples" (232-33).

Informants in recorded trips generally mention drugs and alcohol as an ingredient of a successful trip. In The Rites of Passage, Van Gennep also reports mood-altering substances as a frequent feature of the symbolic, vivid nature of rituals. An informant related the circumstances leading to a

Meley

legend trip to collector Mark Knox: "We had been drinking one night during our junior year and he took me to the bridge where he said the Moss Man lived" (1). Similarly, Stewart Blankenhorn reported, "People who visit Pitcarin usually are drinking or have been drinking" (1).

Unlike many of the sites collected by Bill Ellis, the Wall and Haug's Road were not used by teenagers as party or parking spots. Ellis notes that the sites were marked by the great number of beer cans strewn around, and many sites were identified as lovers' lanes (64-65). Yet my informants were adamant about this point: no one ever went to the legend trip sites to drink or to neck. One informant asked, "Are you crazy? We go parking where it's safe." He offered the local high school parking lot as a prudent site. Among my informants, moreover, the consumption of alcohol on a legend trip was seen as unimportant; many teens claimed to have gone on trips "stone cold sober."

The three-part structure that Kenneth Thigpen discusses was found to be a valid pattern in my research. The same structure--introduction, ritual enactment, and retrospective memorate--parallels the structure of the rites of passage and is apparent in other legend trip accounts. Stewart Blankenhorn relates, "[On] the journey. . . legends about the Pitcarin family and area are exchanged adding suspense to the ride" (2). Gary Hall's "The Big Tunnel" contains a transcript of a taped ride to a legend trip site that clearly demonstrates the role of legend-telling as an introduction to the site. Further, Linda Dégh discusses the cyclical aspect of how each successive performance evolves into a narrative which is then added to the extant legends of the site (77-78).

The legend trip functions as a response to the stresses of generated by the transitions inherent in adolescence, transitions that must be managed without adult guidance. The age segregation of American teens, coupled with the lack of socially-approved means of ritual transition, results in adolescents finding their own standards of behavior and their own rites of initiation.⁶

The legend trip is an initiation into the family of the peer group, a sign of acceptance by other members and a sign of acceptance by the initiate of the rules and customs that govern that group. It is an initiation into adulthood, a ritual "trying on" of adult roles, and a means of internalizing the demands of adulthood. Finally, it is an initiation of identity, a rite of passage into a self awakening in adolescence.

The role of ritual in the development of adolescent identity is related to the role of the crisis during the adolescent years (Erikson 17). A crisis--a conflict or choice--is a necessary impetus to identity definition. The legend trip is a self-induced crisis, deliberately sought by teenagers, for it compels the peer group to contemplate behavior and to emerge transformed. Invoking rituals such as a legend trip, teenagers make the crisis more manageable

Adolescent Legend Trips

(Bronner, "Devices" 101-115). It becomes a safe way to experiment with various ideologies and feelings, to deal with issues of sexuality, mortality, and autonomy, and a viable means of asserting independence and maturity.

Legend trips serve to strengthen and bind the society of a peer group; teens are adamant about "who went which night." Being invited to go on a legend trip can be a sign of acceptance into a group; my youngest informant, Bill, thirteen years old, was proud of his inclusion on several trips and, among his younger peers, enjoyed a certain notoriety and elevated status by virtue of his acceptance by the older teens. Another teenager who was not well-liked asserted her status as a member of the group by the fact that she had been included on a certain legend trip. She silenced the cries of derision and dismissals of "You weren't there," and "No, you weren't with us" by describing a specific incident from the night in question. As a result, her precarious, fringe status was improved, at least for the moment.

In addition, the trips facilitate the preservation of the group's collective identity. As a group, teen boys and girls think of the legend trip sites as private domain, belonging exclusively to them. All of my informants were surprised to learn that Haug's Road was a popular legend trip site throughout the 1970's. By naming and renaming sites, teenagers indicate their sense of ownership of a site. Similar to the impulse of pioneers setting out away from the "old" community, teenagers, by virtue of naming a spot, claim it as their own. Moreover, they exert control over their environment and reserve the site for themselves. Grownups may know of the Hans Graft Cemetery, but they do not recognize the appellation "The Wall." Even Haug's Road shares a subtle element of this. "Haug" is a common name in the area and is pronounced "howg"; teenagers go legend-tripping on "Hog's Road."

When I ask teenagers, "Why do you go?" the younger teens invariably answer, "It's the thing to do," or "Everybody goes." Again, this indicates the need for approval from outside of oneself. Older adolescents are better able to internalize their approval, and do not need the peer group's permission to act or make choices. Older teenagers commented on the "fun" aspects of the trip more, and talked about the trips as big, crazy social gatherings, similar in tone to parties.

Participants in legend trips around Columbia have expectations for socially appropriate behavior according to gender. Teenagers insisted that girls never, under any circumstances, went on legend trips "alone," in an all-female group. In addition, I did not encounter a single episode where a girl drove a mixed-sex group, though many of the girls I interviewed had access to a car. Rather, boys drove the girls to the spots, and at the sites, the girls often exhibited different reactions. They screamed more and as one boy explained, "They grab you and stuff. It's kind of neat."

When boys go on legend trips by themselves, it is a different kind of

Meley

experience. In all-male groups, the object of the trip is to contain the fear, to dismiss the anxiety, and to belittle the frightening aspects of the trip. Paul bragged about walking the length of Haug's Road with his buddies, and one teenage boy told me, "When just the guys go, it's a macho thing."

When describing trips in general, the older male adolescents tend to describe their exploits in a confident tone. The boys perform more daring acts, such as getting out of the car, walking on The Wall, and throwing tombstones. One sixteen-year-old boy told me, "Me and Webby got on top of the car and rode on the roof' at Haug's Road. Girls of all ages and the younger boys focus on the supernatural elements of the trips. The youngest informant interviewed told me that just talking about the trips gave him the "creeps," and after about twenty minutes he refused to go on.

As a rite of passage that serves to socialize an individual, the legend trip's rigid gender roles suggest that boys and girls must learn different lessons in their process of becoming men and women. The girls stressed cooperation and interdependence in the performance and narrative of the legend trips; they elaborate on the details of the trip—who went along and what kind of interaction took place during the trip. While the teenage boys brag about their bravado in the face of danger, the girls discuss the trips in terms of "we": "we were scared," "we all screamed," and "we all saw it." The girls also exhibit a passivity and dependence on the males of the group; they never go alone and seem to rely on the boys for both protection and to tease them about their fright.

The boys, on the other hand, display a competitive denial of fear. Many times in my interviews, boys would point out that while others were losing composure, they themselves remained calm: "You know, they were all screaming and shit, I told them to chill out." When describing trips, they tended to use words like "neat," "wild," "crazy," and "great" compared to the female's "scary" and "awful." Male teenagers use the trips to test and prove their masculinity; only the boys talked about attempting daring feats at legend trip sites.

The legend trip also helps to alleviate the sexual anxiety of both the boys and the girls. Despite the apparent sexual sophistication of my informants, the fear of rejection remains intense. The nature of the trips--mixed-sex groups crammed into close quarters--gives teenagers an opportunity to be physically close without having to express the desire to touch. In the frenzy that takes place inside the car, both boys and girls have a chance to satisfy needs for physical contact without excess, commitment, or fear of rejection.

Newly acquired skills in reasoning enable teenagers to contemplate death in a new way. Adolescents can become almost obsessed with death, drawn to the morbid and supernatural, or indulge in fantasies about their own deaths. Paradoxically, to the outside world, teenagers may appear

Adolescent Legend Trips

completely unconcerned with death, and may actually tempt fate with reckless, death-defying behavior. "The way I figure it," one informant told me in an offhand manner, "is we all have to die sometime."

This nonchalant attitude belies the sometimes profound fear that adolescents have of their own mortality associated with independence. In a world like ours, death and destruction are daily fodder for the media. At the same time, adult society does not condone open discussion of death and dying. This point was especially apparent in the course of my research. A sixteen-year-old informant with leukemia died in March after a long struggle with the disease. The other teenagers were visibly shaken and several gathered in my apartment after the viewing. One boy related that in school that day there were counselors to assist the students. "I went to talk with one," the boy told me. "She told me to go and eat lunch and that was supposed to make me feel better." He was openly disgusted with adult guidance.

In lieu of a support system and an acceptable method of dealing with death and dying, teenagers are once again left to their own means. The ritual of the legend trip is an aid in helping teenagers confront issues of death and mortality in a psychologically safe way. Without risking their lives, teenagers can simulate the experience of looking death in the face, and this helps them to "exorcise" their fears about dying.

My informants expressed an ambivalence about their hometown. Well aware of Columbia's "black sheep" status among neighboring communities, the teenagers are distrustful of outsiders and are easily and often provoked into fighting to defend their town's honor. At the same time, among themselves, they complain bitterly about Columbia. "This town sucks," one boy casually summed it up. Most teens express a desire to "get out" as quickly as possible. For many of my informants, the chance will not come. For these teenagers, the legend trip may be a symbolic escape out of town.

Ellis interprets the legend trip as a ritual of rebellion. The trips include features of acts against social norms and expectations, demonstrated by the under-age drinking and acts of vandalism, but the rebelliousness is more an outcome than a purpose of the ritual. Because the rebellion is ritualized, it is transformed; through the ritualization of the challenge to adult authority, teenagers make their challenge both manageable and comprehensible. The activity takes place deliberately away from the locus of adult power and control, and is guarded against the possibility of adult interference or even knowledge. The legend trip, though superficially incorporating the face of anti-social activity, is not a delinquent behavior. It is not an overt challenge to society but is rendered a private ritual in which teenagers assert their independence from adult control innocuously.

The search for independence is a primary motivation for legend trips. This is reinforced by the physical structure of the trips. Legend trip sites are

Meley

removed through time and space from the adolescents' hometown. Unlike party or parking spots, which are chosen for their convenience as well as their seclusion from prying adults, the legend trip site requires a journey of considerable distance from the town. Although a number of cemeteries and sites could be characterized as "spooky" within the town's limits, teenagers deliberately travel away from what they consider to be the locus of parental and societal control in order to have a chance to try on adult roles for themselves.

The legend trip provides teenagers with a setting in which to test their new found, adult courage. It gives teenagers a opportunity to prove their ability to take care of themselves in a crisis. Finally, the legend trip also offers teenagers the chance to return to the sanctuary of home when they have had enough of the adult world of risk and responsibility. Without a chance to test the limits, to question authority, to live and learn, teenagers cannot incorporate the values, the lessons, the judgment, and, essentially, the integrated identity they will need to cross the threshold to maturity, able and willing to meet the stresses and challenges of adulthood in modern American society.

In the absence of meaningful, adult-sanctioned rites of passage, teenagers must create their own. The legend trip serves this function in modern society, for unlike tribal cultures, which celebrate initiation rites rarely in an individual's lifetime, modern American teenagers must repeat the ritual over and over again. Because their incorporation into adult society is not acknowledged by that society, teenagers must, on an individual basis, make a judgment about their own level of maturity. The repetition of the legend trip throughout the adolescent years reinforces and validates the teenagers' growth as individuals and as young adults.

The vitality of the teenage tradition of the legend trip is thus strengthened, and the continuity of trips is assured. A sixteen-year-old girl shared the story of her first legend trip with me and revealed how the trips will continue in Columbia. Having never been on a legend trip, she was ambivalent about going, but yielded to peer pressure: "They said they couldn't believe that I wasn't ever there before. They kept telling me all this weird stuff about it, you know, and man, I didn't want to go. But they were all saying, 'Oh, you gotta go' and all." Once at the site, she reports that the boys "showed off" by getting out of the car, and they teased the girls for their timidity, saying, "'C'mon, get out and walk the wall.'" The girls, true to their legend trip role, "wouldn't, you know. We were just sitting in the car saying, 'You're crazy.'" The event climaxed when "this dog, it sounded like a wolf, it started barking and somebody said that it was twelve o'clock midnight, and we started screaming and flipping out. So the guys get back in the car and we got out of there real fast." But that was not the end of the trip for my informant. She now had a story to tell, and, im-

Adolescent Legend Trips

portantly, an experience to share: "When we got home I was still shaking, but it was cool, you know, because the next day, I told my girlfriend about it, and I told her that she had to go. So we're gonna take her, maybe this weekend."

The context she provides for her adolescent folklore helps to uncover the base, compelling reasons why teenagers "have to go" on legend trips. Ultimately she, like others, speaks of transition from adolescence to adulthood, a transition made all the more stressful in a fragmented, individualistic society. The legend trip provides teenagers with a culturally appropriate and comprehensible response.

Heritage Center of Lancaster County, Lancaster, PA

Notes

¹Though published literature on the urban legend trip is scant, brief interviews reveal that the tradition is found within the city limits. A thirty-five-year-old Harrisburg man told me that, as a teenager, he and his friends wallced to a city graveyard to see "Fidget Widgets," creatures that he described as "outer spacemen." Teenagers at the Harrisburg Middle School report going to the same cemetery to see the Fidget Widgets, but they claim the scary creatures are video game characters.

² A thorough, recent history of Columbia, Pennsylvania, remains to be written. One available source is History of Lancaster County, by Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, published in Philadelphia by Everts and Peck in 1883. An invaluable glimpse of Columbia at the height of the town's prosperity was provided by James D. Slade's A Complete Business Directory of Columbia, Lancaster Countv, Pennsylvania. Together with a Few of the Most Important Events of the Borough's Past, and a Correct Pen Picture of Columbia in 1887, published in Columbia by the Evening Star Job Office in 1887. I also relied on the information I acquired at Wright's' Ferry Mansion, a private museum in Columbia where I worked as a tour guide in 1988.

³ I have been unsuccessful in my attempt to identify "Hans Graft."

⁴My brother, Nick Meley, born in 1955, told me that his first legend trip to Haug's Road was as a high school sophomore in 1970 .

⁵"Angel on my Shoulder" refers to a tiny angel pin worn on the shoulder for a blessing or as a good luck charm. The pins are popular in Columbia among both children and adults.

^oSimon Bronner discusses how children in modern America similarly use folklore in lieu of adult guidance in American Children's Folklore. Ray Raphael argues similarly for young males in American society in The Men from the Boys.

Works Cited: Published Books and Articles

Bronner, Simon. American Children's Folklore. Little Rock: August, 1988.

---- "Left to Their Own Devices: Interpreting American Children's Folklore as an Adaptation to Aging." Southern Folklore 47 (1990): 101-115.

Meley

- Clements, William M. "The Chain on the Tombstone." Indiana Folklore: A Reader Ed. Linda Degh. 258-264. Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1980.
- Degh, Linda. "The Haunted Bridges Near Avon and Danville and Their Role in Legend Formation." Indiana Folklore 2 (1969): 55-74.
- Ellis, William. "Legend-Tripping in Ohio: A Behavioral Study." Papers in Comparative Study 2 (1983): 61-73.
- Erikson, Erik. Identity: Youth and Crisis. New York: Norton: 1968.
- Hall, Gary "The Big Tunne1." Indiana Folklore: A Reader Ed. Linda Degh. Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1980. 225-257.
- Raphael, Ray. The Men from the Boys: Rites of Passage in Male America. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1988.
- Thigpen, Kenneth A., Jr. "Adolescent Legends in Brown County: A Survey." Indiana Folklore 4 (1971): 141-215.
- Van Gennep, Arnold. The Rites of Passage. Trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1960.

Works Cited: Unpublished Sources

- Blankenhorn, Stewart. "Pitarin." Unpublished manuscript, The Penn State Harrisburg Folklore Archives, 1983, Accession #83-024.
- Knox, Mark. "The Moss Man." Unpublished manuscript, Indiana University Folklore Archives, 1971, Accession #71-321.

Informants: Oral Sources

1. Jason, 15, German, Catholic
2. Paul, 17, German, Protestant
3. La, 16, Black, African Methodist
4. Julie, 15, German, Catholic
5. Charlie, 16, German, Catholic
6. Rob, 16, German, Episcopalian
7. Jen, 16, German, Episcopalian
8. Hosee, 16, Filipino, Catholic
9. Kathy, 15, German, Lutheran
10. Danielle, 16, Italian, Catholic
11. Brandi, 16, German, Catholic
12. Marisa, 16, German, Lutheran
13. Amita, 17, Indian, Hindu
14. Angie, 16, German, Catholic
15. Bill, 17, German, Catholic
16. Wolfgang, 16, German, Lutheran
17. Randy, 16, German, Methodist
18. Faith, 16, Black/German, Baptist
19. Duane, 19, Black/Hispanic, African Methodist
20. Bill, 13, German, Catholic
21. Bucket, 17, Black
22. Tara, 18, Black
23. Helen, 14, Irish/Italian/Black
24. Nestor, 15, Black/Hispanic, Baptist
25. Amy, 16, Mexican, Pentecostal
26. Evie, 17, German, Atheist
27. Chris, 14, German, Protestant
28. Latrease, 18, Black, Baptist
29. R.J., 18, German
30. Phil, 15, German, Lutheran
31. Michelle, 19, Black/German
32. Scott, 17, Black/German, African Methodist
33. Heidi, 15, German, Catholic
34. Bo, 18, Black
35. Carol, 17, German, Mormon
36. Tiekey, 17, Black, Baptist
37. Emily, 14, German, Catholic
38. Jeff, 15, Black/Hispanic, African Methodist
39. Mike, 18, Black, Baptist
40. Phil, 17, Black, Baptist
41. Kurt, 17, Black, Baptist

Strategy in Counting-Out: Evidence from Saint-Nazaire, France

Andy Arleo

In a study based on the ethnography of speaking approach, Goldstein described and analyzed various strategies used in counting-out by four- to fourteen- year old children in the East Mount Airy section of northwest Philadelphia in 1966-67. Goldstein observed that, although he had been informed orally of similar or other counting-out strategies employed in other parts of the United States, Canada, Europe, and Africa, there were to his knowledge no published accounts of these (178, n. 15). The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the cross-cultural investigation of children's folklore by providing data on counting-out strategies used in Saint-Nazaire, France.¹ My field work was initially undertaken for a doctoral dissertation (Arleo 1982) involving the comparative study of counting-out rhymes in French and English. Research methods included observation, interviews and recording in play areas and in the classrooms of several elementary schools, as well as the collection of written documents (texts, drawings, descriptions, questionnaires) from children and adults. Additional collecting of counting-out and other children's rhymes has been carried out since 1982 to the present time in Saint-Nazaire and the surrounding areas.²

The Counting-Out Ceremony in France.

From my own data and that of other researchers it appears that counting-out is a widespread activity among schoolchildren of both sexes.³ Certain counting-out rhymes are learned from parents, siblings or peers at an early age (around 2 or 3 years old), but are not actually used for selection purposes until the end of the Ecole Maternelle, roughly at the age of 4 or 5. At this stage performance is usually awkward, often marked by poor coordination between the rhyme and the gestures. Counting-out really blossoms in elementary school, but by Cours Moyen 2 (grade 5) many children consider it to be a somewhat "babyish" occupation. The function of counting-out is to choose an "It" (often called le Loup, "the Wolf", or "le Chat", "the Cat") in popular children's games like tag (jouer au Loup) or hide and seek (cache-cache). The counting-out procedure used in Saint-Nazaire is similar to that described by Goldstein: the players are seated in a circle and a

counter, often self-appointed, taps each player's foot on each syllable or each beat of the rhyme, almost always in a clockwise direction. Occasionally, as with "One potato, two potato. . .", fists rather than feet are designated and in this case a special rhyme is employed. According to some reports, counting-out also occurs with all players standing and the counter pointing at or tapping each person's chest.

The Use of Strategy in Counting-Out.

A survey on counting-out was conducted in 1981 at the Bibliotheque Municipale in Saint-Nazaire. 67 children (45 girls and 22 boys) filled out questionnaires, occasionally with the help of the librarians. Most of the respondents (nearly 70%) were in elementary school; only 2 children were still in nursery school (Ecole Maternelle) and 16 were in secondary school. Among the questions on counting-out were two related to the use of strategy. It was decided to frame these questions with the verb tricher, "to cheat," as this is an easily understood word employed frequently by children. Thus, the first question on strategy was formulated "Est-ce qu'il y a des enfants qui trichent en 'pouffant'?" (Are there children who cheat when counting-out?). The verb "pouffer" is a term used by children to mean "to count out". It is derived from the nonsense syllables "pouf pouf" spoken before counting-out begins. The second question was "Si oui, comment font-ils pour tricher?" (If yes, how do they cheat?).

55 (82.1 %) of the 67 respondents answered that children do cheat when counting-out, against 9 (13.4%) who answered that they do not, and 3 non-responses. It seemed interesting to look into possible correlations between the answer given to this question and the age or sex of the respondent. Specifically, I investigated the hypothesis that awareness of "cheating" would increase with age. It turns out that among the youngest informants (age 6 or 7) 10 answered "yes", i.e. children do cheat, and none answered "no" (one person did not answer). In fact, it was in the 8-9 age group that the "no" rate was highest, reaching 26.3% (5 out of 19 informants). Surprisingly enough, 4 informants aged 10 or above, all girls, also answered "no". My hypothesis was therefore not confirmed, at least for this limited population. The correlation between the answer to this question and the sex of the respondent seems tenuous as there was only a slight difference between male and female informants: 10% of the boys (2 out of 20) answered "no" compared to 15.6% of the girls (7 out of 45). The three non-responses all came from boys.

There were a variety of answers to the second question on how children cheat. The most frequent response (16 out of the 44 informants who answered the question) was "ils 'sautent' des joueurs" (they "skip over" players). This was followed by 7 respondents who said "they think it over

Counting-Out

ahead of time" (variants: they calculate, they "count in their heads"). A related response, mentioned six times, was "they start with themselves." Other techniques noted less frequently were: the same person is counted twice (4 informants), "by going fast" (3 informants), "they forget to include themselves in order to avoid being the Wolf", "they skip a turn", "they count out twice", "they add words" (2 informants for each of the last four techniques). Although some of these answers are difficult to interpret, it is nevertheless clear that the "skipping over" technique, whether applied to the counter or to another player, is quite widespread.

Regarding the technique of adding extra words, mentioned twice, it should be added that there is a special rhyme, or coda, which is used for this purpose. This is illustrated by the following example:

Pouf pouf. Ca sera toi le Loup, mais comme le roi et la reine ne le veulent pas, ça ne sera pas toi.

Pouf pouf. You will be the Wolf, but as the king and the queen don't want this (to happen), it won't be you.

Source: 9 year old boy, in 4th grade, Ecole Primaire Minot, La Laule, recorded in 1985.

In the numerous examples of this type, the clause beginning with mais ("but") always follows a short counting-out rhyme which could stand on its own. Here then is an example of a linguistic device (as opposed to "skipping over" or "calculation") used for strategic purposes. It may even be argued that this coda contributes to language development by increasing awareness of the contrastive function denoted by the conjunction mais. Moreover, by invoking the "king and the queen" to preclude the choice of a particular player, the counter shifts his or her responsibility to a higher authority, thus making it more difficult for the other participants to challenge the final outcome.

Conclusion.

The results of the above survey, although based on a small population, show that strategy is a part of the counting-out procedure used in Saint-Nazaire, France, and that, even at a young age, children are generally aware that liberties can be taken with "an idealized set of rules" (Goldstein 172) through the use of different verbal or non-verbal devices. Furthermore, a number of techniques mentioned by Goldstein, such as "skipping over", "calculation" or "rhyme extension" appear to be practiced in France as well.⁴ Data from other folklorists suggest that similar ploys are utilized

elsewhere.⁵ It has long been known that counting-out, a game in itself and a preparation for other games, is a widespread genre of children's folklore. The use of strategy in this context implies that cross-cultural similarities involve performance as well as textual features and also raises questions about how this form of children's play contributes to social and cognitive development. Our exploration of this field, however, has barely begun: in order to pursue research on these and related issues in a fruitful way, it will be necessary to obtain data from children's folklorists working within a wide range of cultures.

Institut Universitaire de Technologie de Saint-Nazaire and Centre d'Etudes Métriques, Université de Nantes

Notes

¹Saint-Nazaire (1990 pop. 65,380), located on the mouth of the Loire River (60 kilometers southwest of Nantes), famous for its shipbuilding industry, is traditionally perceived as a working-class town. In recent years, however, there has been a diversification of economic activities and as a result most of my informants could be described as coming from both working class and middle class families. Although there are social differences from one neighborhood to another, these do not seem to be reflected in the material I have collected or in the way it is performed.

²For further details see Arleo (1988) and Arleo & Flament (1988). The latter is an experimental study based on the acoustic analysis of the French counting-out rhyme "Une poule sur un mur".

³The standard work on French counting-out rhymes is Baucomont et al (1961). More recent data can be found in Brinton (1985) and Hazael-Massieux (1987). Laforte (1987) is a very complete compilation of published texts of children's songs and rhymes in French.

⁴As far as I know, few researchers have explored the use of strategy in counting-out among French-speaking children. Picard (1970), in her interesting book on mathematics and children's games, devotes a chapter to "Counting-out rhymes, or how to cheat" (66-75). This is a description and formalization of the "calculation method" mentioned both by Goldstein and my informants.

⁵ According to folklorist Erik K. Nielsen (letter dated Nov. 1 and 15, 1981), Danish children sometimes use strategy by extending the counting-out rhyme or by putting in an extra word or line. This is usually done by older or more sophisticated children with younger participants. Ase Enerstvedt (letter dated Nov. 8, 1981) writes that some Norwegian children "know how to manipulate the rhymes to get a certain outcome". Furthermore, all children are aware of this possibility and even small children (age 5, for example) may master the technique. Devices include manipulation of stress and rhythm, place-changing and rhyme extension. Finally, Bengt af Klintberg (letter dated Oct. 26, 1981) has heard that children in Sweden often use strategies to influence the result of counting-out.

Works Cited

Arleo, A. Une étude comparative des comptines françaises et anglaises. Doctorat

de troisième cycle, Université de Nantes, 1982.

Arleo, A. Fonnuettes d'élimination recueillies à Saint-Nazaire, en Brière et dans la Presqu'île Guérandaise. Université de Nantes (Centre d'Études Métriques), 1988.

Arleo, A. and B. Flament. "Une poule sur un mur...": rythme et mélodie d'une comptine à partir d'une analyse mingographique". Le Français Moderne 56.5 (1988): 33-59.

Baucomont, J. et al. Les comptines de langue française. Paris: Editions Seghers, 1961.

Brinton, R. The Southern French Child at Play: A study of his traditional lore. Diss, University of Bath, 1985.

Goldstein, K. "Strategy in Counting Out: An Ethnographic Folklore Field Study." The Study of Games. Ed. E. Avedon and B. Sutton-Smith. New York: John Wiley, 167-178.

Hazaël-Massieux, M.-C. Chansons des Antilles, comptines, fonnuettes. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1987.

Laforte, Co Le catalogue de la chanson folklorique française V" Chansons brèves (Les enfantines). Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1987.

The Concept "Toy" and Cultural Research

Bo Lonnqvist

In Finland and Sweden, the 1980s discussions on the harmful influence that so-called military toys were said to have on children evoked a pronounced interest in the overall form and function of the toy in today's culture. The great collectors' interest in toys and recurring reports on rising auction prices for old toys have also contributed to making the subject topical. Critical voices maintain that today toys express the consumer society's predilection for fashion, meaning the predilection for change.

The "toy," as it is understood in public debate and in Western culture in general, is above all a product of the adults' view of children, of physical objects, and of children in relation to physical objects. This approach has developed simultaneously with the golden age of the European toy industry, between 1860 and 1930, a period when toys quite tangibly reflect the ideals of the bourgeois society. The toy is an object manufactured by adults, and it has one unequivocal function that the child is supposed to realize in play. This definition has coloured public consciousness, expositions, collections in museums, and scientific research. This goes to show how strong the impact of the adults' view of children's culture has been for over a hundred years.

I will start by discussing various ways of treating the toy in anthropologically-oriented cultural research. I will then, as cases in point, refer to studies on children's play in a modern urban environment in Finland. I will project this against a background of examples from earlier centuries. I will finish by discussing the concept "toy" in the adult world and in the world of the children. In my view the concept mirrors different aspects of the cultural pattern, on the one hand the position of children in society, on the other hand their position in culture. I dare maintain that children's culture, including the tools used in play in a way which expresses a specific type of formative creativity, has been generally overlooked. This opens up new vistas for both field studies and theoretical reasoning focusing on the cognitive dimensions of physical objects and on specific group cultures.

Toys were for the first time assembled as a group of their own at the Christmas exhibition of the Germanisches National museum in Nuremberg in the 1890s. As late as the 1880s, dolls, for instance, had been put on show as part of the costumes exhibition. The spread of toys in Europe in the 19th century was largely coupled with bourgeois Christmas celebrations. The scientific view of toys was likewise coloured by this fact: toys were seen as a pastime and as connoisseur objects.

For research on cultural history, and for collectors, the toy became an instructive object bearing witness to cultural varieties, different stages of civilization, the history of crafts, and the need for social and aesthetic representation throughout history. As far as type selection and design were concerned, it was maintained that these remained unchanged through the centuries (Grober 1928, Groos 1899, Boehn 1929). This view is historical. In his global overview Peepshow into Paradise in 1953, Lesley Gordon divided his exposition into a section on chronology and a section on types and regions. This evolutionary view of toys also contains an inventory of the function of the toy at celebrations and as cult objects, such as painted eggs and dolls. Most studies on and exhibitions of specific types of toys reiterate this historical-geographic approach. The toys of Greek antiquity as well as exotic and prehistoric toys have been described typologically, even though an often stated difficulty is the distinction between toys used simply for playing, and toys with a double function: ritual-religious, and as components in children's play (so the doll). As late as The Encyclopedia of Toys (London 1978), Constance Eileen King divided the material as follows: 1) Miniature Living, 2) Toys purely for pleasure, 3) Wheeled toys & children's transport. 4) Metal toys, 5) Board and table games, 6) Educational toys and pastimes.

Towards the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th, research on children's play was based on Kant's definition of the spirit of play as partly a free, individually chosen activity, partly an end in itself, which had its roots in a biological play instinct characterized by such factors as superfluous energy, imitation, repetition, and supplementary activity. Parallels were drawn between art and the creative urge of the child (Paul Hildebrandt, Das Spielzeug im Leben des Kindes, 1904/1979).

Ethnographic research has focused particularly on tradition and imitation. Early anthropological monographs on the cultures of various tribes mention toys briefly in connection with games and sports, songs and dances. The general consensus was that toys imitated the objects used in everyday life, or that the small figures could be connected with magic. Examples of this kind may be found

in the classical studies of the Siberian Tjuktji and Korjaks, led by Franz Boas (Bogoras, Jochelson, 1904-09, 1908. The Jesup North Pacific Expedition). Functionalist studies in social anthropology have also dealt with playing, and the tools used therein, as a means of forming and adopting the individual to social life (Granqvist 1947, Klepzig 1972, Itkonen 1941: Arabs in Palestine, African children, Sami people). Moreover, ethnological studies have described the manufacture of toys as crafts and home industry, in a wider perspective of ecology and economy, art history and cultural history.

After the 1920s, the influence of historical-geographical and functionalist views and structuralist and paedagogic-psychological theories has slowly brought about a problemization of the concept "toy." The overall tendency has been to fit the "inconspicuous" toy into a wider context, as an illustration of cultural attitudes in general, and as a: meaning-carrying tool in the entity of the play situation. Classical studies of children's play, written by Yrjö Hirn (1916) and Johann Huizinga (1938), are forerunners of psychological research on toys.

As early as 1957, the ethnologist Reinhard Peesch, in Das Berliner Kinderspiel der Gegenwart, directed attention to the great variations of form in children's play, and to the restructuring of play as a continuous process. In his 1959 study of children's play and its changes on New Zealand, Brian Sutton-Smith expressed similar thoughts. The structure of the play repertoire showed the children as being both conservative and innovative, and their need for patterns was supplemented by a flexibility which was based on their actual experiences. The Danish psychologist Jens Sigsgaard has in his definition of the toy (1982) introduced the concept "imagination," the capability of transferring observations from the "level of reality" to conceptions of a more "unreal" character, a creative quality specific to children. By this approach the symbol-carrying function of toys acquires central importance. With the aid of play, and the tools of play, reality may be both negated, deepened, and accorded continuous changeability (Lili E. Peller). In paedagogics, Hans Scheuerl says that earlier game theories treated play as a definite course of events, an "internal-subjective" process. But in play, "external-subjective" objects, rules, and partners are equally needed, and thus play must also be seen as symbolic interaction. This leads us to the theories (Erikson, Wygotzki) in which the structure of play is seen as a particular type of abstraction. In anthropological research on play, the relations between reality and imagination, the qualities attributed to objects, and their symbolic variations in meaning also acquire focal interest (Buytendijk 1973).

Lonnqvist

When reality is made to vary in the course of play, there arises a peculiar relation between the meaning and the significance of the toy. The object will maintain its factual significance (in an operational sense), but a new act provides it with new meaning, or "additional meaning." This relation is borne out by a child "playing around" an object (Alexander Leontjew, Jean Piaget). What fascinates me personally is the repertoire of meanings of objects and the cultural arrangements that the children express in their symbolical treatment of the objects during play, and I will give you an example. Here we must expand the concept "toy," and I would prefer to talk about "play tools."

*

An approach having close affinities to a more cognitive anthropological view of the objects in the child's world will prove fruitful in the interpretation of illustrations dating back to the 16th and 17th centuries. It will also gainsay the common misconception that children did not possess toys in the olden days, especially not the children of common people. The well-known picture by the older Pieter Brueghel of children playing in a small Dutch village in 1560 shows that the components of the playing consist of the children's own bodies and the entire surroundings: fences and beams, sand heaps and bricks, barrels, trestles, sticks and stones, trees and animals. Of what is conventionally regarded as toys there are only a cock-horse, whirligigs, balls, stilts and barrel hoops, a few dolls and a doll's cradle. Similarly, in Jacques Stella's illustrated publication Les jeux et plaisirs de l'enfance (1657), most of the play tools are things deriving their meaning from the process of playing: there are masks to frighten others with, an earthenware jug for breaking hung on a tree branch, a fire to be jumped over, the body of another child to ride upon.

Oral tradition reflecting Finnish urban and rural popular culture towards the end of the 19th and in the early 20th century also bears out the fact that practically all objects in the physical surroundings could be used to play with. Tools, household utensils, and above all the domestic animals functioned as projections for the children's view of the world.

A game known in various parts of the Nordic countries as "Jacob's ladder," "the Sheep's Heaven," or "the Celestial Ladder," was played for instance by shepherd boys in Satakunta in Western Finland. This game illustrates the principle of the staircase or ladder in culture, the connection between things heavenly and things of the earth. This shows that the objects produced by the children them

selves are not exclusively imitations of the tools of the adults. There is a collection of bricks dating back to the 15th century, from the Tavastehus (Fi. Hameenlinna) castle, which bear the imprints of children's and animals' feet--they have probably run across the bricks while they were drying, or else jumped on them. The footprints show that the children were of different ages. It may have been a forbidden game, but nevertheless it shows an activity linked to the work of the adults, and the children have played in a group, together with the animals.

Quite recently a girl of twelve (my daughter) informed me that "on a beach," she had found a beautiful boat of polystyrene with a sail made out of a plastic bag. "You could photograph that for your collection" was her judgement, and we went to find the place. This is in the very heart of Helsinki, a stone desert where one does not expect to encounter children at play. "The beach" turned out to be a small strip of sand under a narrow quay of planks. Under this plank structure, which an adult person could not enter, the boat lay. It was a somewhat formless rectangular piece of expanded polystyrene with a piece of wood tucked in as keel, half a plastic bottle as boathouse, and a sea bird plume as a bowsprit. The mast lay beside the boat, with a plastic bag over it as a sail. At the end of the jetty there were traces of a "harbour," two pieces of planks laid across stones. The playing children would probably come back and possibly even produce other things, as the edge of the water was laden with all kinds of "refuse" that had not yet been cleaned away by the harbour authorities.

Consequently children's play is still alive, in a form unorganized by adults, in hidden places, with objects that derive their meaning from the play situation--not with the one-dimensional aspect given to it in advance by adults. It is obvious that the play tools will reflect the physical environment. But in all its occasional character, imitation is a creative process directed by those playing, and the properties for play have a role integrated in the playing itself.

Topical studies on children's play behaviour in urban environments in the Nordic countries have criticized the extremely limited aspects of the children's environments. Studies of children's behaviour in modern housing areas in Helsinki, for instance, have shown that the play areas do not attract children as long as there are other alternatives such as pedestrian streets, market squares, and unbuilt areas. However, play with stones and trees in the natural environment as well as ball games and role play are disappearing. Do children lack inspiration from the world of the adults? Are children so strictly programmed for adult-directed games in planned play areas that their own initiative and creative urge are drying up? Will certain games

Lonnqvist

simply disappear, without being superseded by others? Will children's relations to objects in play be changed due to a formally perfect selection, though restricted in types, of industrially produced toys?

Previous analyses of toys have viewed the objects as paedagogic and instrumental in the learning process, the objects influencing the children. But objects have also been studied in a ritual-emotional-magical perspective, as objects of knowledge for children. Both aspects bear witness to children's position in the community.

Anthropological study of toys could focus on the unlimited repertoire of meaning of objects in play, and the unlimited forms of adult life in the play world of the children. As a process of reflection and consideration, the transformations of the objects will then reveal the central structure of the world of physical objects in play. Children's culture, the true domain of the children, offers us samples of another world, other "narrating" and "figurative" (Umberto Eco) traditions than our conventional ones. It is difficult to document the actual semantic relations within children's culture, as this culture is elusive in the extreme. The principle of transformation, which is the characteristic form of abstraction in children's culture, works at the flash of an eyelid, and the attraction of play seems at least partly to reside in the fact that it is beyond the reach of adults.

*

An extremely topical question comes to my mind concerning children's play and play tools in today's world—a world where overconsumption and hunger, refugee camps, children in war, child prostitution, child labour, and where a harsh, urban, and technocratic environment are realities. This question is: On whose conditions do children really play?

Academy of Finland

Works Cited

von Boehn, M. Dolls. New York: Dover, 1972.

Bogoras, W. The Chukchee. The Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Ed. Franz Boas. Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History. Vol. VII. Leiden-New York. Reprint 1975.

Buytendijk, F.J.J. Das menschliche Spielen. Kulturanthropologie, Neue Anthropologie herausgegeben von Hans-Georg Gadamer und Paul Vogler. Band 4. Stuttgart, 1973. 88-120.

Eco, U. "Ett foto." Vad kostar ett masterverk? Malmö: Brombergs Bokforlag AB, 1987. 220-224.

The Concept "Toy"

- Gordon, L. Peepshow into Paradise. London: George Harrap, 1953.
- Granqvist, H. Birth and Childhood Among the Arabs. Helsingfors: Soderstrom, 1947.
- Groos, K. Die Spiele der Menschen. Jena: Verlag Gustav Fischer, 1899.
- Grober, K. Kinderspielzeug aus alter Zeit. Eine Geschichte des Spielzeugs. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1928.
- Hildebrandt, P. Das Spielzeug im Leben des Kindes. 1904. Dusseldorf-Köln: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1979.
- Hirn, Y. Barnlek. Helsingfors: Soderstrom, 1916.
- Huizinga, J. Den lekande manniskan. Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1945.
- Itkonen, J. "Die Spiele, Unterhaltungen und Kraftproben der Lappen." Journal de la Societe Finno-Ourgrienne 51. Helsinki, 1941-42.
- Jochelson, W. The Koryak. The Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Ed. Franz Boas. Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History. Vol. VI. Leiden-New York, Reprint 1975. .
- King, C.E. The Encyclopedia of Toys. London: Robert Hale, 1978.
- Klepzig, F. Kinderspiele der Bantu. Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1972.
- Leontjew, A.N. "Realistik und Phantasie im Spiel." Das Kinderspiele. Texte, herausgegeben von Andreas Flitner. München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1978. 133-138.
- Peller, L.E. "Modelle des Kinderspiels." Das Kinderspiele. Texte, herausgegeben von Andreas Flitner. München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1978. 93-107.
- Peesch, R. Das Berliner Kinderspiele der Gegenwart. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Volkskunde. Band 14. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957.
- Piaget, J. and Inhelder, B. "Das symbolische Spiel." Das Kinderspiele. Texte, herausgegeben von Andreas Flitner. München: R. Piper, Verlag, 1978. 130-132.
- Sigsgaard, J. and Varnild, I. Det legede vi med. . . Gammelt legetøj i Danmark. København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1982.
- Sutton-Smith, B. The Games of New Zealand Children. Folklore Studies no. 12. Berkeley: U of California P, 1959.
- Scheuerl, H. "Alte und neue Spieltheorien." Das Kinderspiele. Texte, herausgegeben von Andreas Flitner. München: R. Piper & Co., Verlag, 1973. 32-52.
- Stella, J. Games and Pastimes of Childhood. Trans. S. Applebaum. Illus. C.B. Stella. New York-- Dover, 1969.

Books for Children

Edith Fowke

My best known children's book is Sally Go Round the Sun: 300 Songs, Rhymes, and Games of Canadian Children (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart; New York: Doubleday, 1969). This is a large-size volume beautifully illustrated by Carlos Marchiori. It won the Canadian Association of Children's Librarians' Award for the best book of the year, and it continues popular. All the items were from oral tradition, collected in 1958-1964 from Canadian children plus a few from adult friends who remembered them from their youth.

I started collecting with some of the children on my own street and then began going to various Toronto schools where I arranged to tape the students in Grade 3 classes, which I found the best age-group for this type of material. I asked them for the games and rhymes they knew, and had no trouble getting a wide variety. Children's lore is probably the easiest kind of folklore to collect today.

When I had assembled a number of tapes, I transcribed them, picked the best versions of the various items, arranged them in categories, and cited the sources and references to other versions. I was lucky in the artist whose delightful color illustrations made the book very attractive. He used two unusual techniques: many of his pictures included fingerprints, others looked like lace.

This book is still in print, still popular, and still representative of the children's lore common in Canada. Students in my introductory folklore classes at York University collected children's rhymes and games as an annual assignment during the seventies and eighties, and found very few that were not in Sally. In 1989 Virginia Caputo, a graduate student in anthropology at York, did her masters' thesis comparing the songs in my collection with those she collected in the same schools some twenty-five years later. An article on her study, which showed a remarkably close parallel, appeared in the Canadian Folk Music Journal for 1990.

Keith MacMillan, who had transcribed the music, brought a group of children into a studio and recorded some of the songs and games. This was not a field recording, as the children had to be rehearsed: They knew the songs, but some of their versions were slightly different from those in Sally, and Keith's piano or guitar accompaniments were used. However, it was children singing children's songs--an

improvement over most children's records which are sung by adults. Later, the record was replaced by a cassette.

Partly because of the lovely illustrations and the record, Sally is much the best known of my books. At various gatherings parents still come up to tell me how much their children enjoy it, and many adults liked being reminded of their childhood. I was pleased to find that it was the only North American book on the reference list in the Opies' The Singing Game (Oxford: New York, 1984) except for Newell's Games and Songs of American Children from 1903.

Jay Rahn, a leading Canadian ethnomusicologist, used my collection as the basis for an analysis of the tunes of children's songs, "Stereotyped Forms in English-Canadian Children's Songs: Historical and Pedagogical Aspects" in the 1981 Canadian Folk Music Journal. It compares the tunes in Sally with those of similar items in Britain and the States. This seems to be the first attempt to analyze English-language children's tunes.

A sequel, Ring Around the Moon: 200 songs, tongue twisters, riddles, and rhymes of Canadian children (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart; Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977), was designed for a slightly older group and contains some material for children rather than from children. Because of its smaller format and black-and-white illustrations, it proved less popular than Sally and was out of print for several years, but it has recently been reprinted (Toronto: NC Press, 1987).

Both those books gave sources, comparative references, and indexes. A smaller and less scholarly book, Riot of Riddles (Richmond Hill, Ont: Scholastic-TAB, 1982), was published by one of the major companies selling to schools. It contains a wide variety of riddles and puzzles: true riddles, conundrums, riddle jokes, crossword puzzles, guessing games, etc. Of course riddles are tremendously popular among children; any group will gladly produce a number, and some make up their own.

More recently, I assembled a book of children's street games. Red Rover. Red Rover (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1988). The material came largely from my students' assignments over a dozen years supplemented by some from Robert Cosbey, who had collected them from his folklore class at Regina University, Laurel Doucette, who sent some from an Ottawa class and some she remembered from her childhood, and Philip Thomas, who collected some in Vancouver, plus a few from Helen Creighton's collection in the Folklore Archives of the National Museum.

Again I went through a voluminous mass of game descriptions, selected the best versions, organized them in the eleven classes used by Iona and Peter Opie in Children's Games in Street and Playground (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), and added four extra sections: Pretending, Miscellaneous, Marble, and Word Games. When I told Iona what I was planning, she wrote: "I think it would be excellent if you used the analytical arrange

ment of Children' Games in Street and Playground. . . I think Peter would be pleased. He was justifiably proud of his analysis, which caused him many skull-cracking hours."

In addition to those books designed specifically for children, some of my others are also useful for children. One, published originally as Canada's Story in Song (Toronto: Gage, 1965), and long out of print, came out later in a new edition as Singing Our History (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1984). This began as a series of radio programs for which I wrote the scripts and Canadian folksinger Alan Mills narrated and sang the songs. All the songs are related to events and periods in our history, and we hoped it would be used in history and social studies classes. Alan recorded a two record set of the songs (Folkways 4000), and the New York Times listed it as one of the hundred best records of 1956. Singing Our History is a revised and enlarged edition, containing eighteen additional songs found since 1965.

Another book that came out of a radio series, John D. Robins' Logging with Paul Bunvan, originally published in 1967 (Toronto: Ryerson), was reissued in a somewhat different format designed to appeal to children as Paul Bunvan. Superhero of the Lumberjacks (Toronto: NC Press, 1980). Dr. Robins, a professor at the University of Toronto, had worked in the northern woods where he heard many lumbering songs and stories. (Incidentally, he was instrumental in getting me interested in folklore, and my first book was dedicated to him.) We had collaborated on a radio series about Paul Bunyan in which Dr. Robins, impersonating an old lumberjack, told the stories and I supplied songs from records. After Dr. Robins died, Mrs. Robins turned his manuscripts over to me; I edited them, adding an introduction and notes. When it had been out of print for several years, NC Press issued the revised version aiming at a children's market

Folktales of Canada (Toronto: NC Press, 1979) has also been used with children, although it is not primarily for children. It is translations of varied French-Canadian tales (mostly from Marius Barbeau's collection) illustrating the different types of folktales. I did this book because most French-Canadian tales available in English had been rewritten, and I kept my translations as close as possible to the original texts.

My folksong anthologies, Folk Songs of Canada I and II (Waterloo: Waterloo Music, 1954, 1967), and The Penguin Book of Canadian Folk-Songs (Harnsworth, England, 1973; rpt. Markham, Ont., 1986), while not designed for children, have been used in school music programs and at summer camps.

Folk Songs of Canada, produced with a musician, Richard Johnston, was my first book. I began to realize the need for such a book as a result of my radio series, "Folk Song Time," which was then being aired on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. When I played records of Canadian

Fowke

songs, listeners would inquire where they could find them, but no general Canadian collection of folk songs existed, only regional collections from Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.

We also produced a small volume of French-Canadian songs, Chansons de Ouebec/Folk Songs of Ouebec (Waterloo: Waterloo Music, 1957) with the original French and singable English translations, hoping to make the beautiful French-Canadian songs better known among Anglo-Canadians. Also, as singing French is much easier than speaking it, the book would be useful in teaching French to English-speaking children.

Then in Canada's Centennial Year, 1967, we added the second volume, originally published as More Folk Song-s of Canada. It gave some less familiar songs and some from Ontario and Western Canada collected since 1954. When working on the first book, we found practically no songs from west of Quebec, which led me to begin my own collecting.

My other general anthology, The Penguin Book of Canadian Folk Songs, was prepared with the hope of making Canadian songs better known in Britain and the United States, and allowed me to present a substantial number of Ontario songs I had collected.

Later I scripted The Audio-Visual History of Canadian Folk Music, issued by Mead Sound Filmstrips as a combined filmstrip and cassette for sale to schools. The Canadian singer Stan Rogers (tragically killed in a plane crash a few years later) narrated the script which was illustrated by short excerpts from songs and some well-chosen paintings and photographs. One delightful book I edited came from my friend Alice Kane, a children's librarian who supplied some of the items for Sally and Ring Around the Moon. She is a founder of The Storytellers' School of Toronto and the best storyteller in Canada. She has a phenomenal memory, and every time I saw her she would be quoting a song or a poem or a saying she remembered from her childhood. I kept telling her to write these down, they were folklore; eventually she did, but instead of simply writing the songs and rhymes, she quoted them as part of the story of her childhood years in Belfast, and gave me the manuscript as a Christmas present! I was so charmed by it that I arranged to have it printed as Songs and Savings of an Ulster Childhood (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1983). This is a beautifully written narrative incorporating an astonishing wealth of folklore drawn from Alice's amazingly complete memory of her first twelve years in Ireland. I added an introduction, notes, comparative references, and bibliography.

In 1985 I received the Vicky Metcalf Award of \$2,000 "for a body of work inspirational to Canadian youth," a prize administered by the Canadian Authors Association.

Toronto

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The *Children's Folklore Review* is available only to members of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society. To become a CFS member, send \$10.00 yearly dues to Danielle Roemer, Literature and Language, Northern Kentucky University, Highland Heights, KY 41076.

Round River Records is delighted to announce that three of its children's releases received Honorable Mentions at the NAIRD (National Association of Independent Record Distributors and Manufacturers) Convention awards ceremony held in Los Angeles in mid May. The awards were given to Bill Harley's *Come on Out and Play* and *Grownups are Strange* and to Sally Rogers' *Piggyback Planet: Songs for a Whole Earth*. Round River Records has received a variety of national awards for its ten releases of family music including several from NAIRD and the Parent's Choice Foundation. Debbie Block, President of Round River Records notes, "We are thrilled to receive this honor and vote of confidence from the Independent Record Industry . We are very proud of these recordings and are committed as ever to producing top quality releases that parents and kids can share." For further information, contact: Debbie Block, Round River Records, 301 Jacob Street, Seekonk, MA 02771. Phone: (508) 336-9703.

The Goldfinch is a folklife magazine subtitled *Iowa History for Young People* and is published through the State Historical Society of Iowa. Unlike *The Children's Folklore Review*. *The Goldfinch* is written especially for young readers, but in such a way that older readers will find much of interest in it as well. Each volume focuses on folklore and folklife to show what life was like in Iowa and how life there has changed in the past century. For further information, contact: Deborah Gore, Editor, 402 Iowa Avenue, Iowa City, IA 52240.

The H.W. Wilson Company announces the publication of Margaret Read MacDonald's *Look Back and See: Twenty Lively Tales for Gentle Tellers*. This collection of MacDonald's favorite stories includes tales from Native American, African European, Asian, Latin American, and Middle Eastern Traditions which are lively but non-violent. The tales are accompanied by substantial critical apparatus for the prospective story teller.

Notes and Announcements

Wilson also announces the publication of Judy Sierra's *Fantastic Theater*, a collection of thirty plays for puppets based on the poetry, folk songs, fables, folktales, and myths of various cultures. *Fantastic Theater* also includes complete instructions for making puppets, puppet stages, props and scenery, and suggestions for music and sound effects. For further information, contact: Michael Page, Advertising Department, The H.W. Wilson Company, Bronx, NY 10452.

DIRECTORY OF MEMBERS

Jean Day Alexander
1425 4th St S.W. A415
Washington, DC 20024

Caroline Feller Bauer 9696
Quail Canyon Road El
Cajon, CA 92021-6712

Hannah Beiter
77 Middle Road
Bryn Mawr, PA 19010

Simon Bronner
American Studies
Penn State-Harrisburg 777
West Harrisburg Pike
Middleton, P A 17057

Arnold E. Burkart
704 E. Washington St.
Muncia, IN 17057

Pack Carnes
23 Maplewood
Lake Forest, IL 60045

John Cech
English Department
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611

Hope B. Connors
4 Cantitoe Lane
Englewood, CO 80110

Mary Gay Ducey
2808 Hillegas
Berkeley, CA 94705

Joseph Edgette
509 Academy Ave.
Glenolden, P A 19036

Bill Ellis
Pennsylvania State Univ.
Hazleton Campus
Highacres
Hazleton, PA 18201

Gary Alan Fine
Department of Sociology
University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602

Kathleen Forrest 453
Wendell Terrace
Syracuse, NY 13203

Sean Galvin
Brooklyn Arts Council
200 East Parkway
Brooklyn, NY 11238

Susan Gordon
Sorehon Glen Assoc.
4436 Jamesville Rd.
Jamesville, MD 21754

Libby Tucker Gould
136 Meeker Road
Vestal, NY 13850

Sylvia Grider
Anthropology Department
Texas A & M University
College Station, TX 77843

Eve Harwood
710 W. Vermont Ave.
Urbana, IL 61801

Herbert Halpert
Dept. of Folklore
Memorial University St.
John's Newfoundland AIC
5S7 CANADA

Directory of Members

Judith Haut
2733 Halsey Road
Topanga, CA 90290

Margaret MacDonald
1507 NE 104th
Kirkland, WA 98033

Bess Lomax Hawes
3800 N. Fairfax Dr. #410
Arlington, VA 22203

Amy MacDonald-Persons
24 Cedarwood Drive
Queensbury, NY 12804

Kay Hill
167 Todd St.
Harnden, CT 06518-1510

Jean M. MacLaughlin
107 E. Dunedin Rd.
Columbus, OH 43214

Linda Hughes
RD #2, Box 67
Cochranville, PA 19330

Margy McClain
1314 West Elmdale
Chicago, IL 60660

Ted Humphrey
421 Baughman Ave.
Claremont, CA 91711

Virginia McKee
68 Fisk: Street
Providence, RI 02905-01414

Thomas Johnson
Department of Anthropology
California State University
Chico, CA 95929-0400

Priscilla Manwaring
4040 Grand Ave.
Bloomington, IN 47401

Marilyn Jorgensen
8083 Caribbean Way
Sacramento, CA 95826

Signe & Patricia Marton
1114 E. Grove Street
Bloomington, IL 61701

Catherine H. Kerst
1107 Tiffany Road
Silver Spring, MD 20904

Phyllis May-Machunda
Multicultural Studies & Humanities
Moorhead State Univ.
Moorhead, MN 56560

Kathy Kravits
1028 Nordica Drive Los
Angeles, CA 90065

Alan Mays
1212 Nissley Road
Lancaster, PA 17601

Tim Lloyd
American Folklife Center
Library of Congress
Washington, DC 20540

Jay Mechling
American Studies
822 Sproul Hall
University of California
Davis, CA 95616

Directory of Members

Richard E. Meyer
Dept. of Humanities Western
Oregon State College
Monmouth, OR 97361

Kathleen Scholl
Dept. of Elementary Ed.
SUNY -New Paltz
New Paltz, NY 12561

Linda Morley
308 Sagamore Street
Manchester, NH 03104

Alvin Schwartz
505 Prospect Ave.
Princeton, NJ 08540

Priscilla A. Ord
Department of English, Philosophy,
and Modern Languages
Longwood College
Farmville, VA 23901

Elizabeth Simons
969 Hilldale Ave
Berkeley, CA 94708

Alison Patman
844 Gretna Green Way
Los Angeles, CA 90049

Doris Smith
338 South Road
Bedford, MA 01730

Barbara Reed
Old Quarry
Guilford, CT 06437

George Stromeyer
Ascot Square 1603
3850 Woodhaven Rd.
Philadelphia, PA 19154

Rosalind L. Reichstein
832 Asbury Terrace
Philadelphia, PA 19126

Ruth Stotter
2244 Vistazo E.
Tiburon, CA 94920

Danielle Roemer
Language and Literature
Northern Kentucky Univ.
Highland Heights, KY 41076

Brian Sutton-Smith
612 Harwick Rd.
Wayne, PA 19087

Jane Rose
624 Village Blvd. N.
Baldwinsville, NY 13027

Sally Anne Thompson
7015 E. San Miguel
Paradise Valley, AZ 85253

Joan Sauvageau
310B Horseshoe Drive
Greenville, NC 27834

Tad Tuleja
c/o Nolen
410 West Alpine Rd.
Austin, TX 78704

Sandra Schector
P.O. Box 366
New York, NY 10185

Elizabeth Wein
5933 Wayne Ave #2R
Philadelphia, PA 19144

Directory of Members

INSTITUTIONS

Association of Folklorists in the
South

Folk & Intercultural Studies
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, KY 42101

Blue Ridge Institute Newsletter
Ferrum College
Ferrum, VA 24088

Center for Folklore and Mythology
University of California
405 Hilgard Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90024-1459

Central Serial Records University
of Kentucky Libraries Lexington,
KY 40506

Cooper Library
Serials Department
Clemson University
Clemson, SC 29631

Folk Arts Coordinator
Folklife Program Archive
State Arts Council, Room 640 Jim
Thorpe Building Oklahoma City,
OK 73105-4987

Folklore Archive
448 Purdy Library
Wayne State University
Detroit, MI 48202

Folklore Archives
English Department
University of Oregon
Eugene, OR 97403

Folklore Archives
English Department
Utah State University
Logan, UT 84322

Folksong in the Classroom
Laurence I. Seidman, Editor
140 Hill Park Avenue Great
Neck, NY 11021

Gift & Exchange Division
Library of Congress
Washington, DC 20540

Hesser College Library
3 Sundial Ave.
Manchester, NH 03103-7230

Joseph C. Hickerson, Head
Archive of Folk Culture
Library of Congress
Washington, DC 20540

Indiana University Libraries
Serials Department Indiana
University Bloomington, IN
47407

Joyner Library
East Carolina University
Greenville, NC 27834

Judith E. Lokenvitz
Program Assistant
Museum of International Folk Art
P.O. Box 2087
Santa Fe, NM 87504-2087

Motif
Department of English
Ohio State University
165 West 17th Ave
Columbus, OH 43210

Directory of Members

New Jersey Folklore Newsletter
P.O. Box 747
New Brunswick, NJ 08903

North Carolina Folklore Journal
Appalachian State University
Boone, NC 28608

Ralph Brown Draughton Library
Serials Dept/LABW9561
Mell Street
Auburn University
Auburn, AL 36849-3501

Serials Librarian
Country Music Foundation
Library and Media Center 4
Music Square East
Nashville, TN 37203

Judy Sierra
Library/Info. Service
One Washinton Square
San Jose State University
San Jose, CA 95192-0029

State Documents Assistant
Documents Unit
J. Murrey Atkins Library
UNC-Charlotte
Charlotte, NC 28223

The Museum
Michigan State University East
Lansing, MI 48824-1045

Wheelock College Library
132 Riverway
Boston, MA 02215

FOREIGN AND OVERSEAS

June Factor
P.O. Box 1063
Ivanhoe 3079
Victoria Australia

Gwenda Davey
13 Kambrook Rd.
Caulfield 3161
Victoria Australia

University of Melbourne Library
School of Early Childhood Studies
Private Bag 10/Kew
Vic 3101 Australia

Universiteitsbibliotheek-Kul Lvol
Mgr. Ladeuzeplein 21
B-3000 Leuven
Belgium

Canadian Museum of Civilization
Library
Asticou Centre Block 1600
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0M8 Canada

Carole H. Carpenter
172 Roselawn Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
M4R 1E6 Canada

Edith Fowke
5 Notley Place
Toronto, Ontario
M4B 2M7 Canada

Delf Hohmann
Folklore/Memorial University
St. John's, Newfoundland
A1C 5S7 Canada

Directory of Members

Paul Smith
Folklore/Memorial Univ.
St. Johns, Newfoundland
AIC 5S7 Canada

Library of the Society of Finnish
Literature
Hallitusk
SF-00170, HKI 17
Finland

Danmarks Paedagogiske Bibliothek
Tidsskriftafdelingen
Lerso Parkalle 101
DK-2100 Copenhagen 0
Denmark

Osterbottens Traditionsarkiv
Handelsesplanaden 23A
SF-65100 Vasa
Finland

Erik Kaas Nielsen
Rypevaenget 16
2600 Gelostrup
DK Denmark

Andy Arleo
Chemin du Bignon Baguet
44600 Saint-Nazaire
France

Ruth Canonico-Webster
15 Park Street
Crediton, Dexon
EX 17 3EQ England

Niedersaechische Staats-&
Universitaets- Bibliothek
Zugang II A-ZSS
Prinzenstr. 1
3400 Goettingen
Germany

Iona Opie
Westerfield House
West Liss Hampshire
GU33 6JQ England

Rainer Wehse
Kapitan-Lechmann-Str. 6
3400 Gottingen Germany

Stephen Roud
18 Amberley Grove
Addiscombe, Surrey
CR06NO England

Ase Enerstvedt
Etn-Folkloristisk Instituit
Olaf Ryesvei 19
Postboks 23
5014 Bergen-Universitet
Norway

Akateeminen Kirjakauppa
Periodicals Department
P.O. Box 128
SF-00101
Helsinki 10 Finland

Norsk Senter for Barneforskning
v/ Bjerg Helgemo
Universitet i Trondheim
N-7055 DRAGVOIL
Norway

Helsingin Yliopisto
Kansanrunoustiet Laitos
Fabianinkatu 33
SFD0100 Helksinki 17
Finland

Directory of Members

Ivar Selmer-Olsen
Donning Mauds Minne
Hogskile for For
Skolelaererutdanning
Th. Ovesengt. 18 N-
7044-TRONDHEIM
Norway

Menna Lloyd Williams
Children's Literature Research
Center
Castell Brychan
Aberystwyth
SY232JB Wales

Christer Dominder
Homgatan 21B
S-602 34 Norrkoping
Sweden

Bengt af Klintberg
Vendevagen 13
18131 Lidingo
Sweden

Per Peterson
Timmermansgantan 6F
S-753 33 Uppsala
Sweden

Dr. Maria Osorina
Dept of General Psychology
Leningrad State University
Universitetskaya Nabereznaya
Leningrad USSR

Tecwyn Vaughan Jones
Welsh Folk Museum St.
Fagan's, Cardiff CF5
6XB Wales

Niclas L. Walker, Librarian
Welsh Folk Museum
St. Fagans, Cardiff
CF5 6XB Wales

CFR will accept manuscripts on 3 1/2" disks if the manuscript was typed using Microsoft Word or MacWrite on a Macintosh computer.

We request that, if possible, authors using typewriters or dot-matrix printers have their manuscripts redone and a laser printed copy made. This will enable us to scan the copy, thereby eliminating rekeying the manuscript.

Please send manuscripts to:

C. W. Sullivan III, Editor
Children's Folklore Review
Department of English East
Carolina University
Greenville, NC 27858-4353

Children's Folklore Review is published twice a year and sent to all members of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society.

Published by East Carolina University ISSN:
0739-5558 Copyright © 1991 Children's
Folklore Section Printed by Morgan Printers,
Inc.