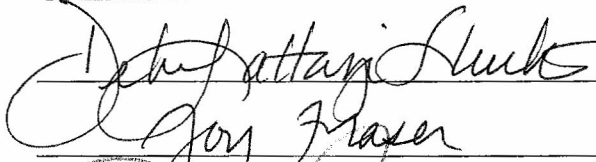


THE OTHER MOUNTAIN DANCE: CLOGGING TRADITIONS OUTSIDE
APPALACHIA AFTER 1970

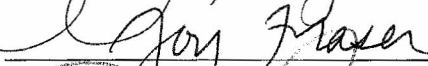
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Amy Slade
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of
George Mason University
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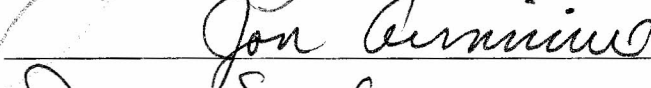


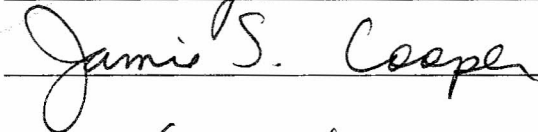
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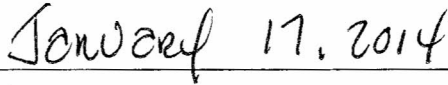


Program Director





Dean, College of Humanities
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The Other Mountain Dance: Clogging Traditions Outside Appalachia After 1970

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts Interdisciplinary Studies at George Mason University

by

Amy Slade
Bachelor of Arts
Brigham Young University, 2011

Director: Debra Lattanzi Shutika, Professor
Department of English

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George Mason University
Fairfax, VA



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ABSTRACT

THE OTHER MOUNTAIN DANCE: CLOGGING OUTSIDE APPALACHIA AFTER 1970

Amy Slade, MAIS

George Mason University, 2014

Thesis Director: Dr. Debra Lattanzi Shutika

Although Appalachian clogging has been studied and explored in depth with regards to early history and supposed beginnings of the dance form, little has been done to consider the spread of clogging to areas outside of the Appalachian region of the United States. In investigating the more recent movement of clogging to states like Utah, as well as the current styles and forms of clogging, I explore how dancers today negotiate changing ideas about tradition, identity, and community. I show that this uniquely American dance form continues to develop and change in similar patterns to its initial evolution. I argue that the footwork, movement styles, costuming, shoes, music, performance and competition involved in clogging today is a manifestation of how individuals use heritage and tradition to form an identity and create a community. Past and present Appalachian clogging practice is a reflection of how tradition is both a resource and a process.

INTRODUCTION

I still get asked if I wear wooden shoes. No. I do not. Clogging today is not quite what it used to be. At first, I would wonder how anyone still thought of clogging in the way that it began—the crinoline dresses, the square dance figures, the general old-fashioned stereotype. Some groups still dance like this, but it has been thirty years since the majority of cloggers have danced like that, I would think to myself.

It wasn't until I began researching Appalachian clogging that I realized it was not just my personal acquaintances that thought this way. Academia to date has primarily been concerned with clogging that does fill the wooden shoes, puffy dress, old-time style mold for American vernacular dance (Duke 1984, Nevell 1977, Seeger 1987, Spalding and Woodside 1995). Scholars have investigated clogging and other mountain dance traditions. They explore the early origins of percussive solo dancing like buck dance and flatfooting, as well as the form of clogging that emerged from these styles around the 1920s. Some discuss the dance tradition as it developed into the early 1980s. But what about clogging traditions today? What about clogging that has left the Appalachian Mountains to find homes in other mountain ranges—like the Rocky Mountains or even the Carpathians? And how exactly has clogging changed in this spread of the dance form in the past thirty to forty years?

This rather significant gap in scholarship is understandable, until recent years there were rigid ideas about authenticity, tradition, and innovation within cultural

practices. Early definitions of folk dance describe it as any dance form that is transmitted in a traditional manner, based on an inherited tradition, and that is danced by amateurs, generally at social events (Brundvand 1998, 437). A traditional manner would include informal learning, generally one-on-one, similar to how games and language are learned. An inherited tradition is one that comes from a long history, like family or community practice.

Early forms of Appalachian dance fit easily into this rigid definition of American folk dance. Older solo percussive footwork styles like buck dance and flatfooting and group dances like Kentucky Running Sets and Big Circle dancing fall clearly under the umbrella of basic folk dance definition. With very specific ideas about what could be deemed worthy of the title “traditional”, trends in clogging over the past forty years were ignored, considered inauthentic because of the innovation associated with it. Authentic folk dance referred primarily to social and recreational dance forms. Any traditional dance that was performed in front of an audience specifically for tourism or national representation was characterized as inauthentic. Thus, not appropriate for academic research.

Anthony Shay explores this issue in his book *Choreographic Politics*. Beginning in the 1940s national folk dance ensembles were born (Shay 2002, 10). These groups—first starting in Europe and later developing in countries like Turkey, Iran, and Egypt—used dance to represent the folk art traditions of a nation. Dance scholar Anthony Shay explains, each folk dance ensemble maintains that the founding artistic directors and choreographers conducted “prodigious amounts of field research in order to present the

most authentic choreographic products possible” (Ibid., 13); but, because of the “highly stylized, carefully choreographed and staged genre of dance that differs from among nonprofessional populations of villagers and tribal people, most dance researchers have shunned serious analyses of these companies as ‘unauthentic,’ ‘slick,’ and ‘theatrical’” (Ibid.). Early dance researchers positioned themselves as protectors of a national heritage—a “Keeper of Truth” (Ibid.). As such, they avoided studying “any representation of traditional dance outside its customary context” (Ibid.). Performance based folk dance was inauthentic, artificial, adulterated versions of the true form. Even in America, where no official national ensemble exists, the revivals of square dancing and other traditional forms are not considered purely traditional as they are not “part of a pure folk process” (Brunvand 1998, 438).

Two interesting developments arose from this scholarly avoidance; a large void in dance research literature, and a cyclical process of influence between “authentic” folk dance in the field and the repertoires of performance teams (Shay 2002, 14). The gap in dance and folklore research extends to American folk dances. The little research that has been done concerns early origins of country dance in the Appalachian Mountains and tap, the more popular form of vernacular percussive dance in America. Folklorists have noted this missing portion of folklore study, as American folk dancing has long been a minor field of research: “Despite recent interest in folk dance and drama, including those of immigrant and ethnic groups, there are questions that remain unanswered, reference works that should be compiled, theories awaiting better analysis, and further collecting that might be done, even in the Anglo-American field” (Brunvand 1998, 436-437).

The fact that there exists such a large gap in folk dance research—throughout the world, but especially in America—is unfortunate because, as Shay discusses, performance based folk practice “have influenced the way in which dance is performed ‘in the field’” (Shay 2002, 14). Shay elaborates, scholars may frame their studies as though the traditions in a village or tribal area have been unaffected by the professional national folk dance companies, but “In this age of widespread availability of electronic media, broadcasts of appearances of national companies can be seen in even the remotest village” (Ibid., 16). Those performing folk dances “authentically” or “in the field” often emulate elements of the “inauthentic” professional ensembles. It is a cycle; professional teams pull from traditional dance forms to present the most authentic representation of a people or nation (Ibid., 36) and the choreographic and staging elements of the national ensembles are adopted by those practicing “in the field” (Ibid., 17).

This adoption may seem odd, but many individuals consider the performing ensemble to be “an important resource for authenticity” (Shay 2002, 17). Shay discovered that many, if not most, audiences that see professional ensembles “feel that the choreographic representations made by these companies are ‘authentic’” (Shay 2002, 34). Other scholars have found this to be true as well. Andriy Nahachewsky, in his exploration of folk festivals in Canada, explained that when asked about Ukraine’s traditional dance styles, Ukrainian individuals were more likely to point to a staged theatrical version than to the recreational forms found at community events like weddings (Nahachewsky 2002). The social form of dance found in spontaneous practice at community and family events is what many scholars see as far more traditional and

authentic. However, as Shay concluded, many “intellectuals, as well as the majority of the urban population, largely accept [a performance] company’s claims to authentic representation” in performing traditional dance (Shay 2002, 232).

The Emergence of Clogging

Clogging is a fairly new dance style. It wasn’t until after the 1930s that the terms “clog dance” or “clogging” were used to describe certain forms of percussive footwork dancing performed in the Appalachian region. Most individuals in the Appalachian Mountains referred to it simply as “dance”. Terms for dance in the Appalachian region were flatfooting, jig, hoedown, and surefooting—usually describing solo dancing. Group dances included the Appalachian Square, Kentucky Running Set, Contra, Barn Dance and Play-Party Games (Duke, 1984, 19).

In Mike Seeger’s interviews for his project Talking Feet, he discovered that “the word clog. . . was not used by any of [the] older traditional dancers to describe their style. . . Most of [the interviewed] dancers said that they first heard the term after about 1970” (Seeger, 1992, 10). Other scholars explain mountain dance terminology similarly. Jerry Duke quotes dancer Flossie King as explaining the origin narrative of clogging as a defining term:

Clog dancing is a synthesis of two old forms of dancing, the square dance and the ‘buck and wing’ or ‘buck dance’. . . [T]he term ‘clogging’. . . may have originated [in the Appalachian dance] when Sam Queen took his Soco Gap Dancers to Washington D.C., in 1939 to dance for President Roosevelt, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth of England. The Queen saw the (dancers) perform and commented, ‘That’s just like our clogging,’ and the press picked up on the term and popularized it. (Duke, 1984, 21)

For the sake of clarity, old-style footwork dancing will be referred to as buck dance or flatfooting, and the newer percussive footwork forms beginning to develop in the late 1930s to early 1940s will be designated as clogging.

The advent of the folk festival and subsequent national interest in mountain dance forms produced a distinctive rhythmic footwork dance form: clogging. The changes that began in the early twentieth century foreshadowed more dramatic changes in clogging, including performance and competition, costuming, and changes in the footwork and movement styling (Whisnant 1995, 102). This time period also brought the separation of different dance forms that once developed in tandem in the mountains. Smooth square dance, buck dancing, flatfooting and other mountain dances began to develop separately. From this point on, clogging began to develop and change independently—even developing different styles within itself. The most significant changes at this time were the definition of a new dance form, footwork moving from a typically solo dance to a team form, and from individually decided dance steps to a synchronized performance.

The dance form that developed in the 1930s and 40s was truly a new dance form, though derived from solo and group traditions in the Appalachian Mountains. Solo footwork dancing, like buck dancing, flatfooting, jig, hoedown, and surefooting was not a new thing—as seen in English and Irish influence, among others. The uniquely American development was to take the footwork and combine it with partner and group figure work. Individuals in the country, or Appalachian region, would incorporate more enthusiastic solo footwork forms while performing group dances. It was the folk festival that brought this before unseen combination to the stage; circle and square dance figures

while dancing intricate footwork. Initially dancers would dance their own footwork while performing figures with a team of dancers. Every dancer maintained their own individuality, danced their own style and footwork, all while listening to a caller announce what figure they were to do next. Today that is called freestyle or hoedown.

The 1940s and 50s was also a time of standardizing steps, costumes, and shoes; Mark Knowles describes, “The first codified set of terms was put down on paper in the 1930s by physical education teachers who wanted to include rhythm movements in their curriculum. Clog and tap dancing attained considerable success in schools and colleges during the 1920s and early 1930s” (2002, 207). Footwork terminology was fairly standardized between 1930 and 1950, however there remain many variations of terms (Ibid., 208). Different regions of the United States, even different valleys within the Appalachian Mountains, have varying names for the same or similar steps.

A traditional costume also developed in the 1940s and 50s. Men wore button-up, collared shirts with pants. Women wore dresses with fitted bodices and fluffy, crinoline skirts. Teams would either use coordinating patterns and colors, or costume the whole team in one color and pattern. There was nothing particularly traditional about the costume form, as Matthews-DeNatale notes, it developed from the fashion of the day (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 118). Shoes were also standardized; a tie-up character shoe for the men, and a single strapped character shoe for the women. As technology advanced, dancers began putting taps on their shoes as a practical endeavor in order to be heard above amplified music. Some teams chose to remain more traditional and not wear taps or matching costumes, while others embraced the added noise and flare of costumes

and taps. As the years went on, the most radical development appeared—synchronized footwork with predetermined figures, also known as Precision clogging.

Precision team dancing is not necessarily a recent development. Apparently, “some minstrel show troupes were performing elaborate synchronized clog routines as early as the 1880’s” (Blaustein 1995, 197). However, the first clogging teams coming out of Appalachia were initially freestyle teams. During the late 1950s, the seemingly newer change to synchronized dancing developed. Precision clogging was “reportedly invented in the Piedmont during the late 1950s by James Kesterson, a dance choreographer who felt that it was time to update and modernize this traditional dance” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 121). Precision dancing is characterized by dancers performing the same footwork, at the same time, in the same style. Other alterations that came with the adoption of precision dancing were higher kicks, using popular music over traditional tunes, and an emphasis on speed and technique over individual expression (Ibid.). Routines also began to abandon the big circle or square formats, instead opting for line dances where formations are no longer traditional square and circle figures, but straight lines and columns.

In 1971, the Green Grass Cloggers formed. They attempted to maintain the traditional spirit of flatfoot and buck dancers in the wake of growing popularity of precision clogging in the Appalachian region. The Green Grass Cloggers drew from precision teams as well as freestyle teams and individual buck and flatfoot dancers. They claimed that their style was a new innovation that harkened back to the original roots of footwork dancing in the Appalachian Mountains, accomplishing this mainly by

maintaining ties to solo footwork dance forms, more use of circle and square dance figures, and less flashy costumes.

These dancers would perform in festivals outside of the region, and also teach workshops—teaching the basics of clogging, Green Grass Clogger style. Jamison states, “Before long, dozens of new clogging groups formed all around the country in the many places where the Cloggers had given performances and conducted workshops” (Jamison 1995, 172). Jamison claims that this group was the only model for clogging development outside of Appalachia. New dancers far from the Appalachian region only had the Green Grass Cloggers as models. While the Green Grass Cloggers did influence the spread of clogging outside of the Appalachian region and continues to tour today, it is unrealistic to credit one group with being solely responsible for the international popularity of clogging since the 1970s. Many others helped in developing interest in clogging throughout the nation and world (Driggs; Lloyd Shaw Foundation; Cobia 2012; Larsen 2012).

Clogging began as a blending of traditions in rural America, truly emerging as folk festivals brought dancers out of the mountains to perform. Since then, it has already developed into several different forms: freestyle, precision, competition, and perhaps more. It is in the late 1970s, however, that the majority scholars conclude their inquiry because of the limiting definitions about authenticity and tradition.

These definitions and ideas about authenticity, tradition, and innovation with regards to folk dance are contradictory in my mind. For one, is tradition found in the dance form itself or in the continuation of the dance form? Does a folk dance need to remain stagnant in steps, styling, costuming, music, and method of transmission in order

to be defined as such? Why is clogging practice today not defined as a traditional folk dance? Because of the large gap in research and the majority of people considering performance based folk dance groups to be presenting authentic folk tradition, including dancers themselves, some scholars felt that the concept of authentic tradition needed to be reexamined. Early ideas also began to change when general discussion about authenticity was reframed. Regina Bendix was one who helped to redefine the folklore scholars' endeavors to distinguish between authentic folklore and "fakelore" (Bendix 1997). Rather than endless debates on definitions and determinations of what could be considered authentic, researchers instead began to redefine what dance forms could be deemed as traditional, and the theories surrounding folk dance itself.

One of the redefinitions of folk dance theory introduced the idea of "first existence" and "second existence" folk dance. "First existence" describes folk dance found in the field, and "second existence" refers to the revival folk dance movement including recreational dancing finding participants in other countries and performance ensembles. The main differences between the two are method of transmission and spontaneity. "First existence" traditional dancing is passed down thru communities and families, learned in social situations, and are unrehearsed and spontaneous. Shay describes, those learning folk dance in the field "learn dances primarily in a one-on-one situation similar to the way in which games and language are acquired" (Shay 2002, 19). "Second existence" dancing is taught by a teacher, in a classroom or studio environment. Many times individuals participating are learning and rehearsing with the purpose of performing for an audience.

In the case of Appalachian clogging, this theory could describe solo percussive footwork dancing like flatfooting and buck dancing and Big Circle or square dancing as “first existence” folk dance. The styles of solo footwork dancing and group figure dancing were learned in families and communities, and junkets or barn dances. Learning came from observation of others and individual practice. Dance historian Richard Nevell described talking with a dancer about buck dancing:

I asked the dancer what he had done and he said; “Buckdancin’ is what you call it when one person does it, but when you get a whole bunch of people together they do the figures like we were just doing, and that’s just called plain old dancin’.” Then I asked him where he learned buckdancin’ and he laughed and said, “Oh I don’t know; I guess I just kind of picked it up”. I asked him if he could teach me how to do it and he just laughed, looked at me in a funny way, and didn’t say anything. (Nevell, 153)

For “first existence” practitioners, the concept of teaching someone how to buck dance or flatfoot is a foreign one. Dance is just something you do, something you pick up. But for many competitive cloggers today, and for many dancers in general, dance is something you primarily learn from a teacher in a dance studio. Because of this, clogging would be considered the “second existence” of mountain dance traditions, especially since clogging emerged as a performance based dance form. This theory, however, does not encompass all the intricacies and styles within mountain dance styles today.

Perhaps a more productive way to study Appalachian solo percussive traditions and clogging could be to characterize the two types of performance as “parallel traditions” (Shay 2002, 17). Anthony Shay explains, “These parallel traditions can often approach one another in the use of ‘authentic’ elements found in the choreographic output of the professional companies as well as in the degree of theatricalization found in

‘traditional’ performances” (Ibid.). The two dance traditions are not mutually exclusive. They influence and are influenced by each other. Dancers in the field adapt the choreography and staging techniques of the performance groups, and these groups acquire steps and figures from dancers in the field. By considering the two types as related but separate genres of folk dance, Shay points out that “the dance researcher is not required to make invidious comparisons of authenticity and theatricality” (Ibid., 18). Within the theory of parallel traditions, clogging is separate from the other percussive and figure dancing styles in the Appalachian Mountains, and can be studied independently.

Andriy Nahachewsky looks at the original theory of “first existence” and “second existence” and also found that Felix Hoerburger’s categories did not fully cover the dance culture he was familiar with (Nahachewsky 2001, 19). He goes on to describe that an important aspect of dance traditions is the “reflectiveness” of its practitioners. He defines reflectiveness as “the perceptions of the members of the subject culture themselves. It deals with the self-consciousness WITHIN the emic worldview of the participants” (Ibid., 20). Reflectiveness, according to Nahachewsky, is something that needs to be further investigated—understanding the “implications of the dancers’ historical self-consciousness for the practice of dancing” is one way to further explore folk dance theory.

Folklorists and dance scholars have spent years discussing traditions of dance, forming opinions about tradition and authenticity, and these ideas are even discussed among dancers. As Nahachewsky would point out, those dancers who are aware of the tradition behind the dance are exhibiting a reflectiveness, a self-consciousness about the

dance form they are practicing. Those who practice early styles of clogging often have very strong opinions about other styles of the dance. In an interview with Gail Matthews-DeNatale, Bob Phillips, a freestyle clogger and competition judge, expressed his views on precision clogging: “It’s getting far afield. You see [precision clogging] spreading, and the people take it, and they’ll make up a figure, and they’ll do this and they’ll do that. It’s just so mixed up... Because this [freestyle clogging] is what it is—it’s a square dance with clog footwork” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995b, 130). Phillips believed that groups practicing precision clogging, or other forms of modern clogging, were “diluting and polluting” the original form of clogging (Ibid.). His definition of precision dancing was “artificial”. True mountain dance is a dance that is unique to individuals; everyone has their own style. In freestyle clog dancing, Phillips feels that they are “carrying on something that has meant so much over the years to so many people in the original form, without diluting it and polluting it” (Ibid.). He explained his criteria for judging the level of tradition involved in a dance group is “what did your daddy or great-granddaddy or mother do?” (Matthews—DeNatale 1995a, 122). Gail Matthews-DeNatale explains that advocates of older dance styles in the Appalachian Mountains “hold to a conservative definition for ‘mountain dance,’ one that excludes newer forms such as precision clogging” (Ibid., 114).

Precision cloggers, however, generally see themselves as carrying on the mountain tradition that began with freestyle clogging. For precision team director Barbara Bogart, as explained to folklorist Jane Harris Woodside, the steps and figures that her team practiced made it so they were still a traditional group. Dance tradition is

maintained, but some innovation is also embraced. It seems that many clog dancers today are less concerned with the “pollution” of clogging, embracing both the conservation and evolution of clog dance forms. Dennis Cobia considers himself to be traditional—“I’m a hoedowner!”—but also encourages the innovation of precision and competitive clogging. Jeff Driggs states, “As with any form of expression, I hope that clogging will continue to put us in touch with ourselves and our heritage, and render upcoming generations with the same joy it has provided us. The Double Toe Times magazine is dedicated to preserving the heritage of this art form and also share its innovations as it continues to grow” (Driggs).

With the many changes and rapid evolution of clogging in the last century, I am left wondering if clogging can really fit into the theories that are currently surrounding folk dance scholarship. If clogging is merely considered to be a “second existence” of solo percussive and group figure dancing from the Appalachian region, then yes, it fits that mold. It emerged as a staged form. Certain footwork and stylistic movement pulled from mountain dance, but a new dance form was born on the stage of Appalachian folk festivals. Clogging does not, however, easily remain solidly categorized in most other current folk dance theory. For one thing, clogging can conceivably be detached from its roots and considered its own traditional dance traditional form. Clogging also has many different styles that fall under the umbrella of the term clogging. Freestyle or hoedown, precision, and contemporary competitive clogging all have similarities, but are also very different in footwork and movement styling.

The question also arises also if all of the styles of clogging can be called traditional within these theories—can they all be considered folk dance? Freestyle or hoedown, and some precision styles will possibly never be questioned as being a traditional form. However, many individuals, scholars and dancers alike, will be quick to dismiss competitive clogging styles from being a folk dance. Competitive clogging is learned formally, generally not from family or social events; it is danced at performance and competitive venues; it is generally not danced to traditionally based music; and it is no longer anchored to a specific region or place of origin. However, I believe that clogging is a folk dance, a traditional dance form. Rather than dismissing competitive clogging practice as a popular trend, or even “inauthentic,” perhaps the definitions and theories surrounding folk dance need to be reexamined to include the complex issues of tradition; is tradition found in method of transmission? Is it found in the dance form itself? Or is it found in the people that are practicing it? My short answer; yes. The long answer; a deeper look into the dialogic nature of tradition within contemporary clogging practices is needed to fully understand more about tradition. In looking for the answers to these questions we can perhaps create a more inclusive definition of folk dance.

The more interesting question though, is not whether or not current clogging practices can be considered authentic tradition, but how dancers today use tradition to approach the dance form. How tradition adds value to the dance in the eyes of dancers and scholars alike. Clogging is a style that presents a dialogue between the past and the present. Dance practices in the Appalachian mountains have always been intertextual. Clogging and other forms of dance there evolved by incorporating the dance styles of

those living in the region. Clogging continues today through an identical process—dancers continue to draw from past practices and current dance trends including tap, Irish hardshoe, Canadian step dance, and even hip-hop and jazz. This habit of integration is standard practice now, a trademark of the form.

Exploring the shift from old-time tradition to contemporary practice shows how heritage and tradition are used in forming identities and creating communities; how individuals perform identity; how communities shape and reshape tradition; how dancers use vernacular dance forms to establish continuity between the past and present; and how tradition is both a resource and a process. Deeper consideration of changes within clogging also reveals a tradition that is reflective of the changing ideals of a society that practices it.

PART I: THE HISTORY AND SPREAD OF APPALACHIAN CLOGGING

Drag-Slide: 1. A clogging term describing the slide forward and back on a weight bearing leg, while free foot executes footwork like shuffles or doubles, scuffs, brushes, toe knocks, etc. 2. The aspect of clogging that establishes it as a unique footwork form—separate from tap, Irish hardshoe, Canadian step dance, Lancashire clog, Welsh clog, and other footwork dance forms.

I danced for six years before I learned what a drag slide was. I laughed, sliding my left foot backwards at the same time as I shuffled my right toe, “This is called a what?” It seemed so foreign to my competition clogging legs. I felt like I was trying to do “the running man” as I created rhythms with my feet. But this simple step is what made clogging distinct from all other dance forms. Tap doesn’t do it. Irish hardshoe doesn’t do it. Nor Canadian step dancing. It is unique to Appalachian clogging.

Trying to determine the origins of this peculiarity has been the subject of many scholars’ research. Clogging is practiced all over Europe and North America—in French Canada, Nova Scotia, and New England. It is the distinct history of America, particularly the Southeastern region, that has established clogging as a strong element in Southern vernacular dancing (Nevell 1977, 49). However, documentation regarding the discussion surrounding the beginnings of Appalachian mountain dance is scarce. There are few written descriptions of Southern solo step dancing, which leads scholars to rely on conjecture (Seeger 1992, 10). Recognizing this, it is helpful to investigate the history of the region and country in general, then we can begin to understand how and perhaps why clogging evolved in the Appalachian Mountains.

CHAPTER 1: ESTABLISHED HISTORY

It is difficult to separate the early history of the Buck, Clog, Jig, and Step dances from that of the Big Circle dances because they developed simultaneously and together (Duke 1984, 26). Early history of American dance does not attempt to separate solo footwork dancing from group figure dancing until the mid-nineteenth century. Before this, however there were several factors that influenced dance in America. One of these influences was a book published in 1620 by John Playford, *The English Dancing Master, or Plaine and Easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to Each Dance*. The book was the first of its kind, community dances printed in a manual containing 104 dances, all of them “country dances” including rounds, squares, and longs for four (Nevell 1977, 22). Playford’s book was a big success. It introduced country, or folk dances, to more urban populations in England and America. Dance became a commodity; for the first time this part of rural English folk life was salable. As a result, the dances changed and evolved (Ibid., 24). New dancers meant new influences on the continued practice of a dance, which in turn meant new forms and styles developing out of an established one.

The majority of settlers were familiar with popular and country dance forms, but early on, harsh living conditions kept recreational activities at a minimum. But being too busy to entertain themselves does not necessarily mean that everyone opposed it (Ibid.,

28). General opinion was that dancing was a wholesome activity for young and old, providing the occasions for social visits and courtship (Ibid., 22). There were settlers however, who did oppose such activities. Several communities condemned the practice of dance, stating dance was immoral and the fiddle was “the devil’s own instrument” (Randolf 1929, 15). On one side, there were Puritans and other individuals who could not excuse dancing for any reason. On the other were immigrants who clung to their dance practices. In the middle were those who, as Richard Nevell describes, “probably thought dancing was fundamentally acceptable, so long as it did not interfere with one’s work or religious life” (1977, 31).

Those who were not opposed to dancing developed ways of circumventing any prejudices. One way that some communities did this was by holding “play-parties”. These, it appeared, were not harmful. The play-parties were really dances, Jan Brunvand explains, “usually organized as rounds rather than squares and were performed to songs sung by the participants themselves rather than to instrumental music and a caller” (1998, 443). Dancing was redefined as a game, and music was not a problem since there was no orchestra. Vance Randolph describes, participants furnished their own simple music “by singing lustily as they [went] thru the intricate figures, while the spectators clap[ped] their hands and stamp[ed] their feet” (1929, 15). These party games later contributed to the development of square dance and big circle dance figures, and presented opportunities for practicing percussive footwork while performing figures.

Later in the eighteenth century, a shift occurred in general attitudes toward dance. More immigrants coming to America were drawn by economic rather than religious

freedom and brought their dance practices with them (Nevell 1977, 31). More immigrants began to settle further into the country, preferring the rural Appalachian Mountains to the urban coastal cities. Nevell describes that as immigration increased, “more people from the rural and highland areas of Britain came to America and naturally sought to settle in similar areas,” particularly in the mountains (1977, 32-33). The Appalachian region was first occupied by Native Americans until the first half of the eighteenth century when immigrants arrived—primarily Germans, Scotch-Irish, and English. Other groups who came to the region, though much fewer in number, included Polish, Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Swiss, French, Hungarian, Russian, and Welsh (Duke 1984, 7). This shift in majority population created a country that embraced community dances and called for dance masters.

The dancing master generally followed the customs of a traveling tradesman—going wherever he was wanted or allowed. Nevell describes that like a craftsman, “the dancing master would arrive in the community and make it known that he was available. He would be rented space in a home or possibly a town hall if one existed. He might stay in the town for just one night or longer depending on the size of the community” (Nevell 1977, 33). Wealthy communities in the South especially desired these teachers, as not knowing how to dance showed a lack of good breeding (Ibid., 32). Dance was also seen as a means of teaching poise and composure to children (Duke 1984, 10). Dancing played an important role in the social life of settlers and eventually came to be viewed as an integral aspect of training of ladies and gentlemen (Nevell 1977, 32).

Discussing the early history of the Appalachian region is a significant part of understanding the development of clogging. However, scholars have also relied on analyzing the various dance styles of residents in order to determine early influences on dance in the area. Settlers in the new world came from England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Bohemia, and Africa, living on land originally inhabited by Cherokee Indians. The dance styles of all these people include body movement and specific steps that are similar to aspects of Appalachian Clog Dance (Duke 1984, 62). Scholars have found that dance practices from European immigrants, as well as Native American and African American styles, have similarities with buck dancing, flatfoot dancing, and early styles of clogging.

European Influences

The dance and music traditions of many European cultural groups, along with the Native Americans and African Americans contributed to developments in dance in the Appalachian region. Immigrants from England, Ireland, and France, in particular, brought movement with them that made noticeable impact on American dance practices.

English Influence

The English immigrants brought many dances to America, including Hornpipe, Egg-dances, and Morris Dances (Knowles 2002, 15-21). These dances were influential in the formation of an American folk dance form, bringing circle formations and complicated figure work. Jerry Duke states, “Dancing ‘In-the-round’ seems to be the source of the ‘Big Circle’ figures of the Appalachian mountain dance during which Clog steps are executed” (Duke 1984, 62). These figure and “in-the-round” dances were

adapted for “Play-Parties” and continue to serve as the basis for basic square dance figures today. But perhaps the most influential English dance was the Lancashire clog.

In his analysis of English influence on Appalachian dance, Jerry Duke describes solo clog dancers, “Dancers in England also perform a solo Clog Dance during which the wooden sole shoes are hit together and hit on the floor in front, to the side, or to the rear of the body in many improvised ways” (Duke 1984, 63). These dancers typically stand in place and make small foot movements. Large leg movements are rare. The influence of this style on clog dance is easily noticed in the percussive footwork dances in Appalachia, like flatfooting where there are generally smaller movements in the footwork than buck dance or clogging. Interestingly, the practice of executing footwork while performing the circle figures developed only in Appalachia, not in England.

Irish Influence

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, Irish immigrants were settling throughout the Appalachian region (Nevell 1977, 40). Early Irish influence on mountain dance can mostly be found in the footwork of Irish hard-sole jig. Irish figure dancing has no emphasis on foot noise. The hard sole jig has fast, syncopated, and varied rhythms and is done on the balls of the feet while the body remains relatively still and perpendicular. Sound is made by striking the floor with the heel or the toe. Jerry Duke explains that, “Rarely, if ever, is a stamp or step done on a flatfoot as is the case in the Appalachian Clog dance” (1984, 63).

Duke also compares the Irish leg whip with the cross leg swing of Appalachian clog dance (Duke 1984, 64). Irish hardshoe includes a step where dancers whip one foot

up to their hips across their other leg, while keeping their knees together. Similarly, in clogging there are steps that include a crossing leg swing, although the foot never crosses all the way up to the hip. The aspects of Irish hard-shoe dancing that influenced mountain dance included dancing with the weight on the balls of the feet, fast and varying rhythms, and a vertical body position. Dancers dance upright, similar to the English Lancashire clog. It is easy, then, to conclude that Irish immigrants had a lasting influence on Appalachian dance.

French Influence

French influence is limited, but they brought one important change to American dance, the quadrille. The quadrille utilized four couples dancing in the shape of a square, and was the predecessor of American square dance (Knowles 2002, 194). After the Revolution, Americans were building a new future, and were more apt to adopt French customs than British ones. French dancing masters came to the United States and taught sophisticated versions of country dances from England, and after their own revolution brought new dances quite different from the courtly dances of former years (Nevell 1977, 34-35). The square formation of quadrilles was not an invention of the French, but as Nevell notes, “it was their enthusiastic importation of the dance to America that sowed the seeds for great changes in dancing in America throughout the nineteenth century” (Ibid., 35). The square dance remains one of America’s well-known vernacular and recreational dances.

Native American Influence

Native American nuances come from interaction between early European immigrants and the indigenous peoples throughout the Appalachian region. Captain John Smith described Native Americans performing a welcome dance, comparing it to European dances that he had seen. Dance historian Mark Knowles explains that Smith referenced the jig and hornpipe, comparing the Native American footwork with the footwork he had seen. His references do not necessarily mean Native Americans had absorbed European influences, but the steps were similar. Knowles further explains how the dances that Smith saw were danced flat footed instead of on the balls of the feet: “These dances were performed in a crouch with a bouncy feel, and contained wild twistings of the neck and body, unlike the stiff, erect bearing used in the jig and hornpipe” (2002, 182-183).

Most dance historians and clogging experts have concluded that Appalachian clogging incorporated stylistic elements and steps from Native American dancing. Cherokee “flat foot,” “flat-foot trot,” “skip back,” “double stomp,” and “double flat-heel” steps suggests similarities with certain steps within clog dance. Mark Knowles states that there are at least three clog steps that can be traced to Cherokee dance movements: “the single, which is a shuffle followed by a step. . . the stomp, which is simply stamping the shoe foot against the floor and transferring the weight onto it; and the Indian, which consists of a chug forward, a chug back, a chug forward, and then a step” (Knowles 2002, 187). Other stylistic elements of Native American dance can be compared to clogging, including stomp dancing footwork, flat footed stamping, toe-heel action, and raising the knees forward (Ibid.). The distinctive backward drag step found in flatfooting, buck

dancing, and clog dance steps—now known as the ‘drag slide’—is found in certain Cherokee steps, as well as in African American dance.

African Influence

West African dance has perhaps been the most consequential influence in the development of American dance forms, transforming it from simply another European style dance form into a truly unique one. Dance was one of the most highly developed and respected art forms in West Africa, serving as an artistic means of communication. Mark Knowles describes, “Through the subtlety of their movements, dancers could address social and religious issues, and express gratitude, friendship, or hospitality” (2002, 22). Dance was a central part of life and was associated with all significant occasions. Jerry Duke explains, “Transported as slaves to the United States, the new Afro-Americans were forced to give up their religion, their language, their customs, their political institutions—all the formal structures that had held their communities together” (1984, 17). The cultural structures had been removed, but the impulse to dance continued. This natural desire to retain dance and music traditions from Africa transformed American dance, producing new dance forms in the United States—uniquely American forms (Stearns 1968, 17).

The blending of African dance forms with European ones began early, beginning on ships to America and continuing with interactions with white society. Slaves brought over from Africa were forced to dance on shipboard to keep healthy, and according to Marshall and Jean Stearns, before reaching the United States many had already adopted aspects of British and European dance (1968, 16). White slave owners initially supported

the use of dance for healthy slaves and entertainment. They were also aware that slave rebellions were often planned or scheduled for events that included dancing and music. The 1730 Stono Insurrection used drums and dancing prominently, and revolts had been planned under the guise of planning a “dancing bout.” As a result, the laws enacted by the Negro Act of 1740 prohibited any African American from beating drums, blowing horns, or anything that might be used to arouse slaves to rebellion (Knowles 2002, 38-39). A wary attitude towards African dance forms developed. Individuals of the same tribe were generally not placed in the same plantations and their own dance and music began to develop as hybrids.

Even with some restrictions on dancing, the African American dance that developed on plantations and among the inhabitants of some cities was an important element in the development of dance in the Appalachian Mountains. Marshall and Jean Stearns, dance historians and experts on American vernacular dance, explain that in New Orleans the dancing of jigs, fandangos, and the Virginia Breakdown was popular among the slaves in Congo Square before 1837. What is more significant is that dances with both black and white people in attendance were common in New Orleans between 1800 and 1850 (Ibid., 20). Whether together with the white population or on their own, after 1800, the fashionable dances from the courts and salons of Europe were popular and slaves imitated them (Ibid., 16-17).

Early minstrel shows in the 1840s studied original “Negro folk sources” in presenting dance and music traditions, bringing the banjo and African American dance to towns where the influence of slavery was not as prevalent (Winans 1976, 421). Other

penetration into the Appalachian Mountains came from railroads that relied heavily on African American labor (Ibid., 419). Individuals in the mountains assimilated the folk traditions of the African Americans into their own. While the complexities of these interactions are not well documented, it is apparent in looking at the style of Appalachian clogging that African American dance and music traditions had a notable influence on dance and music in the Appalachian region, specifically in the heavy stamps and bent posture of Appalachian footwork styles.

After the Emancipation, African Americans were able to express their culture more openly as well as move North, some ventured into the field of commercial entertainment, performing in minstrel shows and eventually vaudeville (Knowles 2002, 68-69). Mobility was seen as the greatest expression of freedom (Ibid., 65). African Americans traveled North bringing their traditional and popular dances with them.

As American vernacular dance forms continued to evolve, African American influence changed European dance forms. Marshall and Jean Stearns explain the most important influence that African dance exerted in America was improvisation. African Americans struggled to adapt strictly to the codified European forms of dance, choosing instead to infuse their own rhythms, steps, and styles; European dances then were Africanized and transformed (Stearns 1968, 39). African Americans adopted European forms of dance, incorporating their own stylistic elements. In general it was a two-way blend. African American dance elements became more formal and diluted, while British-European dance elements became more fluid and rhythmic (Ibid., 24). This process is a reversal of usual diffusion patterns, where majority cultures generally swallow up the

culture of the minority, as a people who came later to the United States as slaves, the African American forms and styles demonstrated a “rare vitality” (Ibid.).

There are many aspects of African dance that can be traced into American vernacular dance. Jean and Marshall Stearns go into greater detail about the characteristics that affect American dance forms, but they describe two that especially affected the development of clogging. One characteristic is the emphasis on flatfooted gliding, dragging, or shuffling steps. The second is the importance of improvisation and freedom of expression (Stearns 1968, 15). Flat footed movements and heavy stamping of the feet combined with individual improvisation are two of the most important aspects of African dance that influenced the development of clogging in the Appalachian Mountains. These characteristics translated easily into rhythmic footwork dancing and soon African Americans were renowned as the “best jiggers in the South” (Nevell 1977, 49). African Americans did not definitively invent what we now call clogging, but the rhythmic talent and fluid styling of Africans clearly influenced the evolution of all dances developing in America.

The Appalachian Mountains

Having an idea about many of the cultural groups that inhabited the Southeastern United States, we can see how dance forms may have evolved. The Appalachian Mountains remained mostly rural throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many scholars maintain that the Appalachians were isolated, including Nevell (Nevell 1977, 40-41). However, this idea has been widely contested in more recent scholarship about the region (McNeil 1977, Noe 2002, Winans 1976). Communities in the mountains

had more opportunities to create social dance forms unaffected by the influence of what Knowles terms as “drawing room manners” (2002, 193). The nineteenth century brought with it a division between the “cultured” town and city dance forms and social country ones. In more urban areas, new dances were constantly introduced by the professional dancing masters, who introduced increasingly complicated and refined style while the country dance remained basically unchanged (1977, 39).

At “junkets” or “barn dances”, as country dance events came to be known, dancing style and forms were determined by dancers. According to Nevell, these community events in the rural mountains were held “sometimes in conjunction with some kind of work activity such as a barn raising or a husking bee and sometimes merely for fun and recreation” (Nevell 1977, 39). Dancing would carry on until everyone was satisfied. The dances that were practiced most often were reconstructed from memory, drawing from practices of immigrant folk and popular English and French court dances of earlier times (Duke 1984, 11). Unlike the delicate contra and quadrille dancing that was refined in urban America, dancing at a junket was vigorous and untrained (Nevell 1977, 39). Town dancers walked lightly or glided, but leaping or stamping was considered vulgar. But in the country feet stamping and percussive footwork separated the good dancers from everyone else (Ibid, 46). Those dancing in the rural Southeast encouraged the use of rhythmic footwork while dancing. They also prompted the development of solo percussive dancing like buck dancing or flatfooting, the forerunners of clogging.

One specific traditional dance form that developed in the Appalachians was the Kentucky running set. Folklorist and collector of English traditional music and dance, Cecil Sharp believed that the dance was “the link between modern square dancing and the old pagan ceremonial dances of Britain” (Nevell 1977, 41). The basic step was a rapid, smooth, gliding walk (Knowles 2002, 193). The arms were held loosely, moving in natural walking motions as dancers walked thru circle formations and couple figures. Other dances included round and square dances that developed into Big Circle dances, and play-party dances continued to be practiced.

Another tradition in the mountains was solo footwork dancing, referred to as buck dancing, but there were also other terms that described it—flatfooting, buck and wing, jig, hoedown, and surefooting. Buck dancing or flatfooting has many different supposed origins, including coming from Cherokee stomp dance, or ceremonial dances where Native Americans would wear the antlers and skin of a male deer (Ibid., 42). The blending of influences from British and Irish clog dancing with Native American and African American dance elements created a percussive footwork form that was promoted by those living in the Appalachian Mountains. The blending of dance styles was natural in the mountains (Ibid., 192). As Nevell explains, dancing “was not restricted to whites or blacks, or Southerners and Northerners; rather it was continued by the non-wealthy, so-called ‘uncultured’ people of rural America who continued country dancing in the country” (1977, 50.).

It is impossible to ascertain the exact path of Appalachian dance development, but the evolution of clogging may be assumed by comparing steps, styles, and descriptions of

dance (Duke 1984, 70). Over the many years of increasing immigration from Europe, traveling dance masters, traveling minstrel shows, traveling vaudeville shows, railroads, and Western migration through the mountains it can only be surmised that dance styles were mixing. Diverse groups of people interacted, maybe just minimally, but according to Duke this minimal interaction, “this kind of transmission of learning appears to be the source of the many steps and styles of the Appalachian Clog Dance” (Ibid., 71).

The combination of a variety of dance traditions introduced into the Appalachian region produced unique dance traditions—ranging from solo flatfooting, jig, and hoedown, to group Running Sets, Contra, and Barn dance. What was perhaps the most significant and singular in the mountains was the combination of rhythmic footwork with groups dancing.

Early Westward Movement

As settlers moved further West to states like Colorado in the early 1800s, dance traditions of the Appalachian Mountains were adopted by frontiersmen. One of the favorites was the “cotillion”—derived from a French quadrille, but was danced vigorously in the style of the mountains and was danced to jigs and reels from Scotland and Ireland, adapted into an unique American music style (Nevell 1977, 50). Western cotillions were more of a spontaneous affair, where figures were determined on the spot by a “caller”—who sometimes turned out to be the fiddler shouting out directions as a dance was performed. Nevell explains that calling became a tradition, “the trademark of American square dancing, a tradition that began with the cotillions and has carried on to the present day” in 2014 (Ibid.).

More settlers moved West and the dancing began to change, reflecting the backgrounds of those settling; wealthier and urban communities developed who preferred more fashionable dancing than boisterous country dancing. Popular dance forms took the place of country dance forms that originated in the South Eastern rural United States. Instead of quadrilles, or square dances, you would find the polka and waltz (Ibid., 51). Some dances forms from the Appalachian Mountains may have continued to be practiced, but it wasn't until the mid-1900s that country dancing saw a real resurgence in the West.

Cultural Intervention

It wasn't until the last part of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth when individuals began to take an increased interest in the Appalachian region: ballad collectors, handicraft revivalists, folk festival promoters, and other cultural missionaries came to the mountains in search of the true American folk. The intentional and systematic cultural intervention of this time period impacted the region in many ways, including the evolution of mountain dance forms and emergence of clogging as a new dance form. Individuals and institutions defined and shaped the perspectives and agendas for cultural change (Whisnant 1983, 15).

Folk Festivals

The introduction of festivals and other performance opportunities for dancers was a revolutionary influence in the development of Appalachian dance forms like clogging. Appalachian folk festivals were introduced in the early 1920s and 30s, simultaneously attempting to conserve mountain culture while presenting it to outsiders (Whisnant 1983,

185). One such festival was the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival in Asheville, North Carolina, started in 1927. Bascom Lamar Lunsford founded the festival. He was a lawyer who collected folk songs and dances from Western North Carolina, and wrote a small manual on Appalachian square dancing (Nevell 1977, 182). His festival in particular had a significant impact on the footwork dances of Appalachia, contributing to the emergence of clogging, both as a defining term and new style of dance.

Initially, dance in this area of America was recreational, a social event. Individuals in the mountains had most likely seen traveling dance masters or touring minstrel shows, so the idea of performance was not entirely new. Folk festivals presented those individuals who were not performers by profession an opportunity to showcase their talent, whether it was in musical ability or dancing skill. Instead of performing for family and friends, dancers and musicians began to perform for tourist audiences unfamiliar with mountain music and dance practices. The dance's context changed which eventually altered the nature of the dance.

Directors of festivals, like Bascom Lamar Lunsford, promoted participation in these festivals by offering prizes to the best performers (Whisnant 1983, 188). Footwork dances initially were performed simply for fun, but Nevell notes that "eventually this activity took on competitive characteristics" (1977, 49). Dancers naturally were competitive about their skill and ability, but festivals were some of the first events that folk performers were judged based on an outside measurement of quality and authenticity. These standards were established by the directors of the festivals, based on their own ideas about culture of the Appalachian Mountains. From the beginning of

performance and competition, “hints of irony and manipulation” were noticeable in performance standards; performers would alter their performance in order to fulfill the qualifications for performance (Whisnant 1983, 205). The changes brought about by the advent of the festival increased interest outside of the Appalachian region for traditional American dance forms, and ultimately brought about the emergence of clogging as it is known today. This is further explored in Chapter 3.

Later Westward Movement

Clogging and other mountain dances began to really spread outside the Appalachian region at about the same time as folk festivals were gaining popularity in the mountains. In the mid-1930s, Dr. Lloyd “Pappy” Shaw—a teacher and superintendent at the Cheyenne Mountain School in Colorado, and collector of dances and square dance calls—formed a team and began to tour the United States, traveling to Los Angeles, Boston, New York, and New Orleans (Nevell 1977, 73). While initially touring with European dances, Shaw continued to collect old American dances. He later became acclaimed for sharing American folk dance. Nevell explains, “These were square dances, closely related to the Southern mountain running sets, but were always restricted to the four couples. But, most importantly, they expressed uniquely the folk life of the West, primarily through the patter calls laced with cowboy slang and the new figures with names that symbolized the West” (Nevell 1977, 73).

The Cheyenne Mountain Dancers helped to create more interest in Appalachian traditions, including clogging. Shaw published “Cowboy Dances” in 1939, and by the next summer of 1940, educators from all over the country were coming to learn about

“American Folk Dance” from Shaw. One summer over five hundred people were in attendance at one of his workshops (Nevell 1977, 74). After World War II, he began to offer classes at his Cheyenne Mountain School in old time dancing and instruction (Driggs; Lloyd Shaw Foundation). In 1964, the Lloyd Shaw Foundation was organized to perpetuate his work.

The work of Lloyd Shaw was only a small step. In the late 1950s and 1960s, a Western Square Dance revival gained popularity that also helped spread clogging outside of the Appalachian region (Driggs). Individuals like Bob Osgood published magazines, and learned to call and teach square dancing. Many callers learned from Lloyd Shaw and individuals were anxious to learn square dancing. Nevell states, “The square dance boom was on. Clubs, associations of clubs, and callers sprang up everywhere, not only in Southern California, but across the entire country” (1977, 76-77).

More and more individuals were interested in mountain dance forms like square dancing and clogging. In an effort to standardize square dance calls, dancers and callers would travel back to the mountains of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Northern Georgia to participate in square dance conventions and workshops. They would see demonstrations of local dances, like freestyle clogging to square dance figures, and want to learn more (Larsen 2012). One of the most famous teachers who came from these workshops was Bill Nichols. Dancer, choreographer, and dance professor Gary Larsen explains,

The most famous of these [square dancing] events was when Bill Nichols (the grand-daddy of clogging) was working as a photographer at a North Carolina mountain resort known as Fontana. He had grown up just a few miles away, across the border in Tennessee, and had danced (buck dancing and clogging) all

his life. He started teaching square dancers these moves, which before that time had no names or codified execution. So he made up names and taught the tourists what he knew. Many of these tourists started teaching their friends back home, and then returned year after year to learn more from Bill. (Larsen 2012)

Those who learned from Bill Nichols took that knowledge West. More and more dance groups formed across America practicing freestyle clogging or hoedown, as well as “smooth” square dancing and precision clogging. These individuals were key to spreading Appalachian dance to areas outside of the region, however each place has a unique story and new individuals who contributed to the spread of clogging.

CHAPTER 2: SPREAD OF CLOGGING TO UTAH

My mother drove my twin sister Emily and me to our first private lesson. She sat on the bench at the side of the room while Brandi Gollinger taught us. We learned many of the basic steps: doubles, singles, buck steps, gallops, scuff-ups. It was a fast lesson, but something clicked. Clogging was easy. It fit how Emily and I already moved. We looked like Brandi when she danced, which gave us confidence that we were doing well. She wrote what steps we learned and how to do them on a scrap of note paper, and we left. The next week, we were back at her studio to try out for a team. A few days of work shopping where we learned more steps and pushed our very elementary skill level. By the end of the workshop, we found out we were placed on the advanced level team at that studio—Xtreme Star Power. That was the beginning. For us anyway.

The beginning of clogging in Utah is less than simple. It is not well documented. Those who dance there have a basic idea of clogging genealogy; who their own director learned from and perhaps further back. However, to this point in time in 2014, there are no other written accounts of clogging's spread to the West or its widespread popularity in Utah. Perhaps it was first seen by those in the West because of individuals like Lloyd "Pappy" Shaw and Bill Nichols. And perhaps there were small groups here and there in the West, individuals who practiced square dancing and clogging (Tucker 2012). The general consensus of my informants, though, leads back to one gateway; the beginnings of the Brigham Young University (BYU) International Folk Dance Ensemble and its founding director Mary Bee Jensen (Larsen 2012; Tucker 2012; Peay 2013).

Mary Bee Jensen—The Gateway to the West

Beginning in 1956, Mary Bee Jensen started small with a group of six couples dancing traditional folk dances from Europe and “building it up to world renown” (Jensen 2013). She was invited to take a team of dancers and represent the United States in international folk dance festivals in Europe in 1964. Mary Bee Jensen recalls that was the first time her group represented the United States and its dance forms. She needed a two hour program of American dancing, and found that no other dancer or director had really done that since the 1930s (Jensen 2013). She stated, “As I researched the Appalachian mountain area for clogging, that’s where we first brought the clogging in to BYU. That was 1964” (Jensen 2013).

Jensen researched the dance forms that came out of the Appalachian Mountains and created a program of American vernacular dance—including everything from square dancing to clogging. In representing the United States, Mary Bee Jensen wanted to be true to the people stating, “If we did an Appalachian clog, I wanted to become—I wanted it to come from the Appalachian Mountains, and to represent them in the truest form” (Jensen 2013). In order to maintain that true form, the initial clogging that the folk dancers toured with was the flatfooted style that teams like the Soco Gap Dancers were performing in the Southeast in the 1930s and 40s (Ibid.).

The international folk dance program at BYU grew every year, with more and more students participating. “The students”, according to Jensen, “made as great an impact on that program as I did. You had to have somebody, one voice was the voice. But the students added every bit as much” (Jensen 2013). Dancers like Robert Lee brought

more clogging innovations to Jensen to be taught in folk dance team classes (Jensen 2013; Peay 2013); Don Allen went with Jensen to Fontana Village and Maggie Valley in North Carolina, choreographing new clogging routines for the folk dancers (Peay 2013). Delynne Peay, Dennis Hill, Shawnda Bishop, Bonnie Romney, George Frandson, and Ed and Vickie Austin are just a few of the folk dancers in the 1970s and early 1980s that helped to expand the folk dance program at BYU and clogging in the West.

Competition Clogging Emerges in Utah

Mary Bee Jensen's students in the initial years of the program formed the "first big Western group of cloggers" (Tucker 2012). However, it was not until the 1970s that clogging really gained momentum in Utah. The first student dancers left BYU and several continued to clog, choosing to teach others the dance style they had learned and performed. Some of these dancers even formed studios: Mark and Debbie Williams, Terry Tucker, and Dennis Cobia being a few (Ibid.). These dancers were the gateway to all clogging in the West (Ibid.). Dancer, choreographer, and director Greg Tucker explains, "I would think that the grand gateway of everything came from BYU's folk dancers. Only because almost all clogging roots as you go back can trace their way back to those students in those initial groups. . . I don't know of a person who can't actually trace their clogging roots back through Mary Bee in some broad way" (Tucker 2012). Since the early years in the 1960s, clogging has changed, both nationally and in Utah. There are many individuals who were instrumental in the evolution of clogging in Utah, and three specifically have been significant in directing the changes: Terry Tucker, Dennis Cobia, and Bryan Steele.

Terry Tucker—The “Traditionalist”

Terry Tucker is one dancer in Utah that has created a family legacy of clogging that continues today. He began clogging while at BYU in the early 1960s, dancing with them for several years and graduating with a degree in music education. He worked in Southern Utah for a bit before going back to BYU to complete a master’s degree in administration. Once finished, he began to teach music at Pleasant Grove High School. As his work at Pleasant Grove High grew in the late 1970s, he started a clog dancing group (Tucker 2012).

Terry Tucker’s cloggers grew to be very popular. He taught high school students thru Pleasant Grove High School. His son, Greg Tucker recalls, “They did perform quite a bit around the state, [LDS] ward shows. And they began traveling nationally; they’d go do Disneyland, and they were out in New York City, they did the world’s fair in ’82. I mean they were traveling a lot, as did a lot of groups” (Tucker 2012). They performed locally and nationally, and also began competing in 1982. Terry Tucker formed one of the first competitions in Utah, held at Pleasant Grove High School and called the “Intermountain Clog Championships” (Tucker 2012). Later he also began to have junior clogging groups, “that were younger, kind of a clogging school. . . that would feed into [his high school group]” (Ibid.).

Eventually the group was traveling internationally. In 1985, Mary Bee Jensen called Terry Tucker and offered an international folk dance and music festival invitation (Tucker 2012). Terry Tucker took his group to France, beginning years of touring Europe. About this same time, his group quit competing primarily because they were

practicing an older style of clogging, as his son Greg recalls, “they didn’t get more innovative with some of the newer styles, they just stayed traditional” (Ibid.). It was this aspect that made them ideal for folk dance and music festivals in Europe. They continued to tour extensively; for a few years after 1992 they toured almost every single year (Ibid.). Terry Tucker retired in the late 1990s. His children took over teaching his students, forming independent studios rather than teaching through an high school. He did, however, continue his involvement with groups and events around the state of Utah, including judging (Ibid.). He passed away in 2007. Terry Tucker’s son, Greg and his wife Maria, continue the Tucker legacy with their own studio, running Utah’s clogging organization, and directing BYU’s clogging program.

Dennis Cobia and Bryan Steele—The Innovators

Dennis Cobia is another student of Mary Bee Jensen that had an impact on clogging developments in Utah. After leaving BYU, for several years in the early 1970s Cobia attended and taught at workshops in Southeastern states, such as Georgia, bringing back steps and movement he learned to teach to students in Utah (Cobia 2012). His group formed another one of the first clogging groups in the West. As more individuals became involved, new groups formed all over Utah, and Southern Idaho, started or helped by Dennis Cobia or his students. He also helped a young dancer, Bryan Steele, from Weber State University, and his wife start their own group (Larsen 2012).

Bryan Steele first was interested in clogging when he saw a group of Dennis Cobia’s dancers perform (Michael Steele 2013). He learned how to clog from a former folk dancer at Weber State University (Tucker 2012). His wife, Bonnie, had also been a

part of the folk dance program at BYU before transferring to Weber State (Michael Steele 2013). Bryan and Bonnie Steele formed their own clogging studio. Bryan Steele eventually became the face of Utah clogging and either trained or mentored most of the teachers in Utah today (Larsen 2012). It was the combination of Bryan Steele and Dennis Cobia's emerging groups and expertise that formed the clogging organization: America On Stage (AOS).

Bryan Steele and Dennis Cobia teamed up to organize AOS in 1981. Their goal was to build a program of competitions in the West, and share clogging with more and more individuals throughout the country. One of the first competitions in Utah, called the "Utah Open" was organized by Dennis Cobia. The next year, Terry Tucker began his "Intermountain Clog Championship". The organization grew as more and more dancers began to clog, under Dennis Cobia, Bryan Steele, or any number of other clogging studios that were springing up across Utah and Southern Idaho.

Cobia and Steele each had different strengths. Cobia was more "traditional", in dance style and approach to innovation. He claims the innovation of combining hoedown and precision duets: "I did it at a competition. The rule book didn't really say that you couldn't. And so that's why I pushed the envelope" (Cobia 2012). Generally, precision dancing, duet or group, was never performed together with a freestyle hoedown—they were considered separate styles of clogging. However, now you will find instances of putting a synchronized duet in a hoedown routine (Ibid.). Cobia enjoyed innovating, but also maintained a more historical appreciation. He wanted dancers to participate in competitions and workshops and focus on the community aspect of clogging—on having

fun, preserving and adapting the style (Ibid.). Bryan Steele was more innovative, taking clogging in different directions than other dancers and building the competition circuit in the West. Steele enjoyed novelty and production clogging routines, “the show style things” (Cobia 2012; Tucker 2012). Because of the emphasis Steele put on energy and showmanship, the showy style of competitive clogging is found more in Utah and other Western states than other areas of the country.

The strengths and preferences of Cobia and Steele affected their students who went on to form their own teams and studios. Cobia’s students focus more on older styling, while Steele’s students have shared his love for new and entertaining showy routines (Tucker 2012). Eventually, Denis Cobia left the expansion of competitions to Bryan Steele, who continued on to facilitate the development of the more modern, competitive style of clogging (Larsen 2012). Cobia continued to teach and run workshops and competitions, both in Utah and across the country for many years. It was the beginning of competitions in Utah that marked a turning point in clogging tradition in the West, affected by the various approaches of Terry Tucker, Dennis Cobia, and Bryan Steele.

The Competition Circuit in Utah

Beginning with the competitions Utah Open and Intermountain Clog Championships the competition scene in Utah grew each year. Now the organization boasts thirteen events in Utah, Idaho, and Arizona, and is expanding with the addition of new dancers every year (Tucker 2012). One thing that really pushed competitive clogging to prominence in Utah was partnering with the local theme park, Lagoon, in Farmington,

Utah. Bryan Steele “didn’t treat it [AOS] as a competition, he treated it as a business” (Tucker 2012). In creating a large competitive event at a theme park, he created a partnership that would thrive. Dennis Cobia explains, “Bryan and I got going, and that is where competitions really got going, ‘cause he decided to go to Lagoon and meet with Lagoon. . . You combine a theme park with a competition, and everybody wants to go” (Cobia 2012). The competition at Lagoon, “Western Nationals,” is now the largest competition of the year for AOS: three weekends long, over thirteen thousand competitors, and now the biggest performing arts competition in the country (Michael Steele 2013; Tucker 2012).

AOS has done more than simply organize and promote competitive clogging events. It has furthered clogging developments in the West by prompting new innovations in footwork and styling. Dennis Cobia explains, “If we would have just done workshops and camps. . . we would never have the. . . cloggers that we have. The competitions drove that. . .” (Cobia 2012). Tucker describes that as a result, much of the newest creative efforts in clogging come from the West, “not all of them, but a lot of them do” (Tucker 2012). Clogging is practiced all over the country, but “Utah holds its own in being a leader in clogging” (Jensen 2013). The innovations and new styling that clogging in the West has established over the last forty years is a result of the combination of this competitive environment and creative directors.

Why Utah?

Having grown up in Utah, I never regarded the popularity of clogging in Utah to be an abnormal phenomenon. I realized as I learned more about contemporary clogging

that it is just that; an abnormal phenomenon. The question then remains, why is clogging thriving in Utah, of all places? Is it simply because of BYU's promotion of traditional dance? Or is there more at work than just the institution's influential history? According to dancers today, there are several theories.

The first theory is just that Utah is a dance capital (Jensen 2013; Peay 2013; Michael Steele 2013; Hulse 2013; Tucker 2012; Rawcliffe 2013). All forms of dance are popular in Utah, as Mary Bee Jensen observed, "And clogging went wild. Yes, I definitely feel Utah, you'd almost say the core. It's prevalent all over the United States, but in my observations, Utah—from two year olds up to eighty year olds—clogging has become popular" (Jensen 2013). Dancer, choreographer, and director Bethany Hulse explains, "I think something that is very different about clogging here [in Utah], is that we have multiple large studios in the same state. Which you don't find that back East... You don't find studios of a hundred cloggers back East" (Hulse 2013). Cloggers in Utah find ways to run dance studios that only teach clogging, which is unheard of in most states (Rawcliffe 2012, Hulse 2012a). Perhaps one reason that clogging specifically is able to thrive is because of BYU's folk dance and clogging programs (Hulse 2013). Perhaps it is because there are so many opportunities to perform and compete (Ibid.). Or maybe it is because there are so many influential individuals that are strong catalysts for evolution in clogging (Peay 2013).

Another theory as to the popularity of clogging in Utah is because of the competition scene. In Utah the majority of cloggers learn in a studio, taught by a teacher—most likely unrelated to their students, although there are many families that

have established clogging studios: the Steele family, the Tucker family, and the Whittier sisters being among them. Bethany Hulse maintains that the primary reason that these studios are able to thrive is because of the competition scene in Utah. The many clogging studios are able to attract dancers because of the way competitions are organized in Utah. Other competition circuits and clogging organizations began with only three awards to give out; first, second, and third. According to Hulse's reasoning, with a limited amount of awards for hard work and talent, there are many dancers who get frustrated and quit before they are able to ever place. Hulse describes, "You don't stay dancing for a really long time, if you're a really tiny kid and you have, you're against thirty freestylers—one first, one second, one third, and nobody else places. Like, that doesn't foster kids who want to dance" (Hulse 2013).

AOS has developed an award system where lower levels and younger aged dance teams have multiple awards based on a point system. That way, according to dancer and adjudicator Michael Steele, "basically everyone leaves with some sort of award. And it's somewhat cliché to say 'Every one's a winner'. . . But it means a lot to the kids growing up. When they're young. It really does" (Micheal Steele 2013). If attracting dancers to compete and perform is a goal of dance organizations like AOS, then as Bethany Hulse stated, "America On Stage got it totally right when they decided to do multiple awards" (Hulse 2013).

The final theory for the popularity in Utah is the culture of the state. Much of the population belongs to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS), which has created a different environment for a dance form like clogging to develop and thrive. Not

everyone who clogs is LDS and the church has nothing to do with competitions or promotion of the dance style, but perhaps it is the LDS promotion of cultivating talents that has contributed to a general culture of developing many skills. Bethany Hulse explained, “There are a lot of people who have been taught their entire life that they should excel and be really good at a lot of things. And so that creates a situation where there are a lot of kids looking for dance forms” (Hulse 2013). Maybe it is that, as Bethany noted, parents in Utah are “looking for cleaner dance forms—more modest costumes, less suggestive moves, less suggestive music” (Ibid.). Clogging, even with the innovative trends in the West, still remains different from other dance forms in that way—maintaining more modest attire and less suggestive moves mainly because of the nature of the dance form, rather than the cultural choices of those that practice it (Tucker 2012).

Whatever the reason clogging continues to thrive and expand in Utah, be it institutional influence, creative individuals, competitive events, or general culture of the state, clogging is not a native dance practice to the majority of dancers in Utah. Clogging came from the South Eastern states, the Appalachian Mountains, and yet it is becoming more popular in a state on the other side of the country.

PART II: THE CURRENT STATE OF CLOGGING

Many changes in clogging evolution happened simultaneously. Performance was staged for outsider audiences. Dancers began to compete, not just individually but as teams. Costumes were adopted and more performance opportunities emerged. Movement styles and footwork were standardized, and performance was rehearsed. Recorded music was chosen over a live band. This necessitated the need for taps on shoes, which then affected movement style and steps. Dancers wanted to try older dance steps with newer styles of music. As a result costumes and steps were adapted to fit new performance opportunities. Everything happening in tandem makes it hard to dissect the intricacies of change within clogging.

Looking specifically at the developments in competitive clogging over the past century, especially in the last thirty years, it is evident that the evolution of dance forms described as “traditional”, Richard Blaustein explains, is “a result of continuing dialogue between popular and traditional styles, between elite and folk influences, and between the past and the present” (1995, 200). Appalachian clogging is an ideal example of the dialogic nature of folk dance forms. In order to better understand the continually evolving nature of this dance style, we must do as folklorist Michael Jones suggests and “investigate the circumstances that obtained before their existence, the processes by which they came into existence, and the consequences of their existence” (1997, 209). The next few chapters attempt to dissect the intricate evolution of clogging of the last

thirty to forty years. The changes are divided into specific categories: Footwork and Movement Styling, Performance and Competition, and Costuming and Shoes. Each area affects and is affected by the other, each working together to transform clogging into what it has become today.

CHAPTER 3: COMPETITION AND PERFORMANCE

All competitions were the same. I was always really nervous. I would get stomach aches and feel jittery as I stood backstage with my team. We would review more difficult step patterns, make sure our hair and make-up looked good. And then we were on stage. Hot lights. Loud announcers telling the judges who we were and what category we were dancing in, and waiting for the moment the music started. And almost as soon as it began, it was over. Legs and lungs burning. Faces shining. Walking offstage with either elation at how you performed or disappointment because of mistakes. But always with a rush of adrenaline from dancing in front of judges and hundreds of audience members.

Performing is one of the primary functions of clogging, and it has always been that way. Before clogging, there was flatfooting and other footwork styles that were primarily only performed in social gatherings, for fun. Junkets and barn dances, play-parties and husking bees, most community events would have some sort of dancing involved, whether it was spontaneous competition between flatfooters or a group dancing Big Circle figures. Perhaps the most significant factor in the evolution of clogging is moving from the spontaneous social occasion to the stage. This began with folk festivals occurring in the 1920s and continues today in competition clogging.

Folk Festivals and the Emergence of Clogging

Clogging emerged on the stage at a folk festival. The purpose behind the advent of a folk festival was bringing performers out in front of an audience. The folk festival began as a way to present traditional culture, as well as elevate the practitioner in the eyes

of outsiders. Festivals would help not only those who participated in them, but the audiences as well. Participants would feel proud of the culture and practices they were sharing. Audiences would be educated. A win-win situation, it seemed.

Four large festivals were inaugurated between 1928 and 1934—Bascom Lamar Lunsford's Mountain Dance and Folk Festival in Asheville, North Carolina (1928), Jean Thomas's American Folk Song Festival in Ashland, Kentucky (1930), Annabel Morris Buchanan's White Top Folk Festival in Southwest Virginia (1931), and Sarah Gertrude Knott's National Folk Festival (1934) (Whisnant 1983, 185). These festivals were created to preserve the culture that had developed in the Appalachian Mountains through presenting material culture, music, and dance of the region. Interestingly, and perhaps ironically, festivals began to change the practices that they were initially seeking to preserve. In simply creating a venue for performance and competition, the dance and music practices of the Appalachian mountain region began to transform.

Bascom Lamar Lunsford's Mountain Dance and Folk Festival, as David Whisnant explains, "evolved out of and was supported and fed by the local village and rural community social gatherings that had performed their traditions and oral literature in America for two hundred years" (1995, 96). Lunsford created a venue for individuals in the Appalachian region to showcase their abilities to outsiders, wanting to draw attention to the cultural value of the music and dancing, and the honor of the Appalachian people (Ibid., 98). However, Lunsford had his own opinions about Appalachian culture. Whisnant explains that "Lunsford made a clear separation between material culture, and music and dance. He never displayed any interest in the former, and his presentations of

the latter were weighted heavily toward string music and its associated dance forms” (Ibid., 99). Lunsford’s ideas about Appalachian culture heavily influenced the shape of his festival, which in turn affected the image of culture he was projecting to the public. Audiences were seeing Appalachian traditions through Lunsford’s lens of ‘authenticity’, and musicians and dancers would conform to those standards in order to perform and compete.

White Top had similar circumstances, but developed even more strict guidelines. Started by Annabel Morris Buchanan in 1931, it only ran until 1939. This festival had fulfilled its initial intentions in the first year, it had attracted local musicians and a large and appreciative audience, while rewarding the musicians who held to past practices rather than being swept along by popular music fads of the time (Whisnant 1983 191). But already in the first year there were rigid standards that performers had to conform to in order to participate. David Whisnant outlines how Francis N. Atkins won the dulcimer competition in 1931, but he was persuaded and “coached to play the kinds of tunes they wanted” (Ibid., 191). In later years, there were an increasing number of ballad singers, and many string bands were eliminated from participating because they were playing in styles of the then popular “hill-billy” music on the radio (Ibid., 197). The 1935 festival introduced sword and Morris dances, but as Whisnant points out, sword and Morris dances “had not been in evidence in the United States for three centuries, if ever, and had certainly never been recovered from tradition in the Southern mountains” (Ibid., 200-201). Whisnant also explains that musicologist Charles Seeger wrote that White Top presented “some fine music. . . But there is very little of it. The girl who won in her class

learns the ballads especially for the festival. Her mother vouchsafed her daughter never sings them at home—except to practice for the festival and never sang them before the festival’s first year” (Ibid., 206).

The White Top Folk and the Mountain Dance and Folk Festivals present some interesting comparisons. According to Charles Seeger, Lunsford’s Mountain Dance and Folk Festival was a “very worthwhile affair,” and White Top was “self-contradictory to a degree and that possibly instead of furthering their aim they are destroying the possibility of its realization” (Whisnant 1983, 205). All festivals maintained standards for those performing traditional music and dance, but it seems that some were more manipulative of local culture while others influenced the music and dance in more subtle ways. White Top, according to Whisnant, was plagued with manipulations of the folk culture, while Lunsford’s festival “reflected many aspects of local culture with considerable dignity, integrity, and fidelity” (1995, 105).

Perhaps one of the primary reasons performers were willing to conform to the folk festival standards was because of the competitive nature of the festivals. Flyers were distributed in local and regional newspapers announcing the White Top festival and prizes for participating: “harmonica playing (\$2.50), dulcimer (\$5.00), singing (\$5.00), fiddling (\$10.00), banjo playing (\$10.00), ‘group’ (\$10.00), clog dancing (\$5.00), and ‘highland fling’ (\$5.00)” (Whisnant 1983, 188). The Mountain Dance and Folk Festival similarly announced that “prizes of \$35, \$25, \$15, and \$10 were to be awarded to the winning dance groups and musicians” (1995, 95). Festivals advertised prizes in order to attract participants. Bascom Lamar Lunsford’s first festival was explained in local

newspapers, “Dance groups were limited to eight couples and were given twenty-five minutes each to perform. Performances were to be competitive, and prizes of \$35, \$25, \$15, and \$10 were to be awarded to the winning dance groups and musicians” (1995, 95). The competitive nature of these festivals eventually contributed to the more dramatic changes in the dance form.

The participants were judged based on a set of standards that the directors of the festivals determined, judging the authenticity and skill level of performers. Music was “confined strictly to mountain tunes” at the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival (Ibid.), and White Top warned, “Only old-time music considered in contests. . . No modern songs, tunes, or dances” (1983, 188). Considerable amounts of performers responded, and the festivals were well attended from the beginning.

The creation of festivals aimed at simultaneously preserving and presenting Appalachian culture were also driven by economic concerns of the time. The changes coming from industrialization and declining agriculture sparked individual attempts at preservation. Tourism grew out of a natural need to make culture and rural land an economically viable resource. Tourists want entertainment that is distinctly regional, which is why some forms of percussive footwork are still performed in the Appalachian Mountains. According to folklorists Susan Eike Spalding and Jane Harris Woodside, this then changed the dancing: “in order to play to these visitors, the dancers become more concerned with presentation, with how the dance looks to ‘outside eyes.’ As a result, what were once social forms become increasingly performance oriented” (Spalding and Woodside 1995, 88).

Festival directors and outsider audiences both played a role in the subtle changes in dance practice becoming evident in the early stages of festival performance. Within a few years of festival participation, these subtle changes were enough to form a completely new dance form. Clogging emerged as a performance dance style combining solo buck dance and flatfooting with group Big Circle or square dancing. At Lunsford's Mountain Dance and Folk Festival clogging was born.

Before festivals, David Whisnant explains that there were no "teams", no organized competition, and "no informant reported having danced in public at a county fair or similar event before Lunsford's 1928 festival, or having seen anyone else do so" (Whisnant 1995, 100). Just ten years later in 1938, Sam Queen organized a team of dancers that performed mountain-style, or Big Set, figures at a caller's command, while each individual dancer danced their own footwork (Duke 1984, 31). The Soco Gap team, as they were called, was the winners of the first recorded team clogging competition in 1938, held at Asheville's Mountain Dance and Folk Festival. The Soco Gap dancers went to the White House the following year, where the press popularized the name "clogging" for that style of team dance.



Figure 1 - Soco Gap Square Dance Team dancing at the Mountain Music Festival, Asheville, North Carolina. Date: between 1938-1950. Part of Lomax collection of photographs, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Call Number- LOT 7414-A, no. N168 [P&P]. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2007660191/>

The advent of competitions has had a far reaching effect on clogging, contributing too many changes in clog dance styling and performance. Dancers originally only used a smooth step while dancing big circle dances (Whisnant 1995, 102). As clogging emerged in the 1930s, dancers performed circle and square dance formations while also using their feet to create intricate rhythms. Instead of individuals performing old-style buck and flatfooting as a solo performance, groups of dancers would perform footwork while dancing thru different figures. This particular practice became known as freestyle

clogging—freestyle, meaning that each dancer was performing whatever footwork they chose to fit the figures. Freestyle clogging has also become known as hoedown.

As clogging gained popularity and continued to be performed by more and more individuals through the 1940s, there was another shift in clogging style. Instead of dancers performing different footwork while dancing in a group, dancers would execute the same steps at the same time in the same way. This has since become known as precision clogging. Gail Matthews-DeNatale states that precision clogging was “reportedly invented in the Piedmont during the late 1950s by James Kesterson, a dance choreographer who felt that it was time to update and modernize this traditional dance” (1995a, 121). Precision clogging began by using the typical square dance and big circle formations that freestyle teams were practicing, but dancers all performed the same steps. Also, unlike previous forms of footwork found in the Appalachian mountain region, precision clogging involved high kicks, and began to emphasize speed and technique. Precision teams focused on making every dancer look stylistically the same in order to unify their movement. This development, however, does not seem to be a new one. Though it had not been a major factor before the 1950s, Richard Blaustein describes that “some minstrel show troupes were performing elaborate synchronized clog routines as early as the 1880s” (1995, 197).

Both freestyle or hoedown and precision clogging grew in popularity across the United States during the 1950s and 60s. The square dance revival in the late 1940s introduced Appalachian dance styles to dancers across the country and individuals like Lloyd Shaw helped to present those dances styles to national audiences. It was a Utah

university team that took these dances to an international audience in the 1960s. Brigham Young University's International Folk Dance Ensemble's director Mary Bee Jensen took a two-hour program of American traditional dances, including clogging, to Europe in 1964 (Jensen 2013). The group represented the United States in international folk dance festivals in Denmark and Belgium and also performed in Germany, Austria, France, and Italy over the course of six weeks (BYU Folk Dance Tour 1964). Mary Bee Jensen noted that BYU was doing "running sets, the flat-footed clog, even before 1964. So we [were] doing that kind of shuffle clog that is so prevalent throughout the Appalachian mountain area. We were doing that before 1964" (Jensen 2013). After that first tour, the BYU folk dancers continued to learn clogging, refining their own style and researching the styles in the Appalachian Mountains. The students of Mary Bee Jensen continued to dance as they left BYU, and many students were significant figures in the development of competition clogging in the West.

Competition Organizations

Since the 1970s, several national competition circuits have formed, produced by various organizations. The longest running organization is the National Clogging and Hoedown Council (NCHC) formed in 1972. Jerry Duke writes that Bill Nichols, Violet Marsh, and Sheila Popwell introduced clogging into modern square dance clubs, eventually forming NCHC: "One of the primary goals of the Council is to standardize steps of the Precision Clog Dance and the names of traditional figures. . . . A large majority of the members of the council belong to precision teams, members of which develop their own steps and figures" (Duke 1984, 62). The Clogging Champions of

America (CCA) split off from NCHC in 1998, and according to Greg Tucker, “that was almost ugly. People only did CCA, or they only did NCHC. They were never going to mix” (Tucker 2012). Greg goes on to explain that now, “things have really tempered back East. . . they mix and match quite a bit” (Ibid.). The American Clogging Hall of Fame (ACHF) formed in 1981 and in many ways is the most conventional, offering competition categories that the other organizations no longer offer and holding competitions in birthplaces of clogging like Maggie Valley, North Carolina. America On Stage (AOS) formed in 1982. Across the nation there are many other regional clogging organizations, but these four are the organizations that host and promote the majority of competitions.

AOS, Utah’s clogging organization, serves more as a regional organization as the majority of events, and groups that participate in them, are based in Utah (Rawcliffe 2012). Groups from other states do participate in AOS competitions, but they tend to be from Western states. The same goes for competitions that are run by NCHC, CCA, and ACHF; dancers in Utah and other Western states tend to not participate in the competitions held out East. The reason is mostly because of time and money—dancers from all areas of the country tend to want to travel only to the competitions that are easier and cheaper to get to. Greg Tucker explains,

For us to go anywhere back East, is a flight. So the cost and the difficulty getting there is much greater. So almost nobody flies East. Unless it’s once for a trip or a tour, right? Whereas back East, they almost always see each other at every event. They can get there very quickly. Out here, if you call the Rocky Mountains, whatever it is, boundary you can’t go, we also have the same issue. We can drive to almost any event. But we don’t drive back East, nor do they come out here, because they have to fly out here. (Tucker 2012)

Dancers from the West rarely travel to competitions in the East, and dancers in the East rarely travel to the West. There is less interaction between dancers, and consequently fewer characteristics of competition production in common. Utah has developed a competition circuit that, while based on the general idea of clogging competitions hosted by ACHF, NCHC, or CCA, is unique in many ways.

Competition Categories

The best way to see the specific organizational differences in NCHC, CCA, ACHF, and AOS competitions is in direct comparison. See Table 1.

The categories for competition in each organization all have specific standards and requirements that individuals and teams are expected to fulfill in order to compete a routine under a specific category. Each of the different categories require different things, for example Standing Line requires dancers to remain in one formation the entire dance, Show requires a themed dance with costumes reflecting the theme, and in A Cappella there is no music. Traditional Line is a relatively new category, where dancers remain in one formation while executing specific steps; “Traditional drag slide steps only. No Canadians/hop double steps. No arm movements or yells-in-sync. Some Buck steps allowed” (*AOS Clogging Rules*). In the case of Traditional Line, “traditional” steps are steps that were done before about 1980.

Two dancers compete together in duet categories. In the solo individual events, dancers dance alone, though not necessarily on stage alone. In Freestyle dancers performs 4-5 steps of their own creation, and in A Cappella solos dancers perform dance steps without music, focusing on interesting rhythms for 20 seconds. Bethany Hulse, while

dancing and directing a studio, has created a relatively new solo event at AOS competitions—All Around Solos.

Table 1 - Competition Organizations

	ACHF	NCHC	CCA	AOS
Age Divisions	0-6, 7-9, 10-12, 13-15, 16-18, 19-29, 30-50, 51+	0-6, 7-9, 10-11, 12-14, 15-18, 19-29, 30+	0-6, 7-9, 10-12, 13-15, 16-19, 20-29, 30+	0-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 11-12, 13-14, 15-16, 17-18, 19-21, 22-25, 26-29, 30+
Levels		Amateur, Masters	Amateur, Challenge	Novice, Beginning, Intermediate, Advanced, Championship Professional
Team Events	Country Hoedown, Southern Appalachian Hoedown, Smooth, Precision, Running Set Hoedown, Running Set Precision, Hoedown, Precision, Traditional Line, Line, Exhibition, Line Formations, Small Team Exhibition, Props Exhibition, Show, A Capella	Line, Formations Line, Small Team, Exhibition, Show Team, Precision, Hoedown, Traditional Line,, Precision, So. Appalachian Trad., Running Set Hoedown, Running Set Precision, Smooth Mtn. Sq. Dance, Country Hoedown	Standing Line, Open Line, Precision, Hoedown, Artistic Expression, Exhibition, Traditional Line, Small Team	Small, Open/Exhibition, All-Guys, Show, Line, Standing Line, Traditional Line, Precision, A Cappella, and A Cappella Production

	ACHF	NCHC	CCA	AOS
Duet/Individual Events	Buck and Wing, Traditional Duo, Contemporary Duet, Show Duet, Choreographed Solo, Short Duet, Traditional Solo, Contemporary Solo, Flatfoot Solo, Solo	Contemporary Duet, Traditional Duet, Show Duet, Short Duet, Freestyle, Traditional Solo,	Contemporary Duet, Show Duet, Traditional Duet, Short Duet, Choreographed Solo, Amateur and Challenge Solos	Short Duet, Traditional Duet, Exhibition Duet, Show Duet, Freestyle, A Capella Solo/Duet, All Around Solo

All Around Solos are an intriguing development. Each level of competition in AOS competitions have 5 All Around Solos, each choreographed by a different director from around the United States. Each solo consists of 32 counts, (4 counts of 8), and is danced to pre-recorded music. Dancers are judged based on the execution of the steps—including styling of upper body and arms. If a dancer were to simply dance the footwork of an All Around Solo, they most likely would not do very well in the competition. Each solo has a different clogging style, based off of who choreographed it, and must be executed in a particular manner. It is reminiscent of Irish dance competitions, where in the lower levels of Irish competitions, the dancers are all performing the same dances. These dances have been taught for decades, and dancers are judged on their ability to perform the routines with perfect Irish technique (Morgan 2012).

The All Around Solo program presents an interesting debate. On the one hand—it can be seen as stifling to young dancers' creativity. They are not creating their own style, they are merely dancing a style that was taught to them formally. Creating a standard styling of clogging can also be seen as going against the spirit of individuality that is part of Appalachian dance. On the other hand—it is a program that encourages sharing ideas. Every year, the majority of solos are re-choreographed by various studio directors and teachers. That means that every year, dancers can learn from new directors—learning different steps and styles than the ones they are familiar with, even learning from directors across the country, without needing to fly or drive to a workshop or other competition to do so. If someone wanted to start their own dance studio, they could get a solo packet and already have twenty steps to work from: 160 counts, at each level (from

beginning to pro) (Hulse 2012a). It can be argued that the program fosters innovation—in learning different styles, dancers are trying things they may have not thought of, and it can stimulate new ideas in dancers. However, it can also be argued that since the inception of All Around Solos clogging across the nation is starting to lose regional stylistic differences, becoming more and more similar to each other. More research into this particular aspect of competition will need to be done in order to see the effect that All Around Solos are having on clogging today.

Perhaps the most unique aspect of competitions organized by AOS is found in the award system. NCHC, CCA, and ACHF all give three awards for every category, first place, second place, and third place. In AOS, they state that “Every dancer receives an award each time they compete” (*AOS Clogging Rules*). Rather than give only three awards for each category of competition, every team, duet, and individual event—in Novice through Championship levels—is given an award. Whether the award is first, second, or third is based on a point system. Often times there are multiple firsts, seconds, and thirds, and there is an overall winning award in each level—equivalent to the first place in other competition circuits. The Professional level is judged similar to NCHC, CCA, and ACHF, with only one first, one second, and one third award given for each category.

This multiple award system started early—Terry Tucker’s Intermountain Clog Championships started in 1982 had multiple awards given (Tucker 2012). Bryan Steele is credited with making this system possible for all AOS competitions, but that competition was the first to introduce the concept of every dancer going home with an award (Tucker

2012). Dancer and adjudicator Michael Steele feels like this is a good development, “it’s somewhat cliché to say ‘Every one’s a winner’. . . But it means a lot to the kids growing up” (Michael Steele 2013). According to Michael Steele and Bethany Hulse, this is the reason that AOS is so successful.

But AOS is not without its critics. Some feel that there are too many different levels of competition. Dancer Thomas Rawcliffe explains, “That’s what cracks me up about the Utah competitions, is that they always kept coming up with new levels that were supposed to be higher... There are too many levels” (Rawcliffe 2012). Too many levels of competition, awarding every dancer an award, it can seem cliché. And it generally is not until later that dancers realize that this multiple award system has its place. Having an upper level category—Masters, Challenge, Professional—with only a one first, second, and third place has its place too, but as Michael Steele points out, AOS has organized their competitions in such a way that “the people who really want that over all type feeling, and want to know how they can get better and be the best, they have their place and they can do it in Pro. All the others, though we have overalls and high scores, everyone is going to walk away with some sort of award. And it’s good for them” (Michael Steele 2013).

Not all cloggers today are even aware of or concerned with competitions. The majority of groups that clog across the United States dance for many reasons—ranging from wanting to exercise, to making friends, to building a community. Some individuals continue to practice old-style buck and flatfooting. Some groups perform the older style forms of clogging like freestyle or hoedown. There are individuals and groups that

continue to be concerned with keeping footwork traditional, making sure that dancers perform traditional figures and emphasizing a drag-slide (Brame 2012). Many continue to dance in order to preserve the tradition (Cobia 2012). And then there are those teams that are adapting other styles of dance to incorporate different movement into clogging, these generally tend to be competitive teams.

Groups that are not competitive typically meet to learn steps and styling in studios, just like competitive teams. They are more likely to participate in workshops. Clogging workshops are held across the nation—choreographers and teachers teach other dancers various routines at different levels and they are generally very social events. Utah, however, has only had one workshop successfully continue to today, BYU's Clogging Camp. Bethany Hulse explains, "Here, people don't want it. Well, they want to go to a workshop where they get more than just lower level stuff" (Hulse 2013). She continues to explain that at workshops the level of clogging taught is not always challenging for competitive cloggers and the competitions take precedence. Workshops, however, "help kids know that clogging is just fun. . . It helps kids want to clog" (Hulse 2013). The aspects of clogging in Utah—including the competition system and lack of workshops—have created a unique environment for clogging to evolve and change.

How Performance and Competition Have Affected Clogging

Bringing percussive footwork and square dance figures to the stage meant the birth of a new dance form, and competitions today have a very significant influence on the evolution of the dance. Clogging emerged from festival performance, and as dancers increasingly became concerned with performance of the dance form for audiences, the

dance began to change, subtly at first. Early festival events attracted participants by offering prizes for the best performances (Whisnant 1983, 188). Festivals like White Top and the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival were some of the first events that folk performers were judged based on a measurement of quality and authenticity. These standards were established by the directors of the festivals, based on their own ideas about culture of the Appalachian Mountains, and performers altered their performance in order to fulfill these qualifications for performance (Ibid., 205).

Standards for qualification continue to affect folk dance and music festivals today. The International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts (CIOFF) is an organization that sponsors many folk dance and music festivals worldwide today. They maintain that specific standards must be upheld by performing groups if they are to participate in a festival. There are different levels of authenticity and performance, and each level can affect what performance groups can participate in specific festivals (CIOFF “Definition of Traditional”). Competitive clogging today generally does not fit the standards for most folk dance and music festivals; very few teams even know about these festivals, and even fewer participate in them. However, this same idea about performance standards is carried over into competitive clogging.

Today, competition standards are determined by the dancers, directors, and choreographers who are a part of the organizations that sponsor the competitions. These individuals who determine the rules and standards for difficulty levels and performance categories have a direct effect on how clogging has developed over the last forty years—similar to the effects that Annabel Morris Buchanan and Bascom Lamar Lunsford had on

the early years of clogging's emergence. Creating standards or guidelines for dancers to conform to can be argued as stifling the natural creativity and evolution of the dance form. Individuals who have such an influential position are altering the path that the dance tradition would have gone if standards were not introduced. But it is also arguable that without these guidelines, clogging would not have evolved into the style it is today, with new innovative footwork and movement styling.

The introduction of performance and competition is also a key factor in the spread of clogging to areas outside of Appalachia. Without festivals, performance groups, and competitive clogging could not have gained nearly the same popularity in the West as it has. In Utah alone there are around 25 different clogging studios, each with a several different performance and competition teams, and all within a two hour drive of each other. Outside of Utah, Bethany Hulse explains, "You will find maybe one modern clogging studio per state. A couple in Idaho, but out East, there is like, a team from Nebraska, a team from Indiana" (Hulse 2013). In the Appalachian region, there is more old-style buck dancing and flatfooting, but relatively few studio based clogging groups that dance similar to cloggers in the West. Bethany Hulse points to this as another reason why clogging has evolved differently in the West. There are more competitive cloggers out West. The close proximity of various studios creates many opportunities to perform for and compete against those dancing with other teams. This creates many opportunities to be inspired by other dancers, while also creating a drive to come up with something creative and new (Hulse 2012a).

Competitions are where new innovations spread. The evolution of a dance form through practice and observation at social occasions is still found in environments like modern workshops and competitions. It is at these events that dancers watch, learn, compete, and create new movement. The difference between initial dance styles forming and the evolution happening today is the venue and speed with which ideas are shared. Dancers in the Appalachian Mountains practiced their own styles and watched others dance at social gatherings, incorporating elements that they liked from what they saw. Cloggers today have the opportunity to do the same thing. But instead of community dance parties, dancers and teachers can watch other dance forms and styles through reality television and the internet. Dancers can also watch other dance forms at festivals and competitions, learning from what others have done.

It is the competition driven clogging teams that stimulate the newer innovations and transformations found in clogging today (Cobia 2012). What once took a century to develop and refine, now happens over the period of ten years, or even less. Further investigation into changes in footwork and styling can help illuminate the ultimate impact that the introduction of performance and competition has had on clogging.

CHAPTER 4: FOOTWORK AND MOVEMENT STYLING

Western Nationals. The biggest clogging competition of the year. I was waiting on stage in a line of a dozen or so girls stepping back and forth and clapping to the beat. We had all just rushed the front of the stage to showcase our dancing skills, pushing less energetic individuals to the side and fighting to be noticed by the judges. I stepped to the right and left, catching my breath until it was my time to dance. Freestyle solo music was always the same, a jarring bluegrass tune with a consistent beat. It will be my ninetieth birthday before I forget the deafening moments on stage with that song, despite never knowing the title.

I watched as one by one dancers took their turn, displaying their talent. The first girl had complicated steps, but was not very loud. Another lifted her knees high and stomped loud but had simplistic footwork. I thought thru my steps, waiting for the last few girls to dance before I was up. Jessica Steele was dancing. She lifted her knees. She spun. She created intricate rhythms with tapped feet as she moved across the stage. She walked on her toes.

She walked on her toes. How in the world was I supposed to dance after that?

Early percussive footwork dancers did not go on to their toes or do fast spins or lift their legs really high. Their arms and upper bodies were not rigidly stylized to match another dancer. These are modern additions to clogging. Earlier forms of percussive dancing, like buck dancing and flatfooting, were unique to whoever was performing them—true mountain dance was an individual creation. The footwork, or what steps were performed, was improvised. Rhythms and steps were created on the fly, sometimes to music and other times a cappella. Every dancer had their own movement style, or way of

dancing (Matthews-DeNatale 1995b, 128). Movement styling is determined by a number of factors—including how far in front or to the side a step is performed, how high the knees are brought up, how pronounced the drag slide is, and even extends to how a dancer holds their arms and uses their upper body while dancing.

Percussive footwork forms like buck dancing and flatfooting were sources that clogging drew from, for rhythms and steps as well as styling. Buck dance and flatfooting are similar in many ways, and to the majority of observers may seem the same. Many people get buck dance, clogging, and flatfooting mixed up. Gussie Lane, in an interview with Mike Seeger for his production *Talking Feet* explained how the difference is in the small details of footwork and styling: “Buck dance is a dance you get up higher. And it’s, not much of your feet is gonna be on that floor patting like flatfoot. And clogging, you swing your feet around a lot. . . And this here regular old flatfoot, down on the floor. There are three different dances there that I can see” (Seeger 1987).

It seems that the main difference between buck dance and flatfoot is in footwork. Buck dance uses more toe knocks and heel stamps, while flatfooting is generally more about brushing the heel forward and the ball of the foot back while sliding on the weight bearing leg. This sliding, the drag-slide as it is now known, is prevalent in both styles and the drag-slide is the factor that makes clogging unique from other percussive dance forms.

Movement styling for buck dance and flatfooting is similar as well. Jerry Duke describes, “dance movements are executed with a sharp earthward thrust of the body. This movement appears to originate with a contraction of the hips and knees augmented

by a simultaneous arch of the back” (Duke 1984,39). Dancers generally stand upright, but with a hip flexion that takes the torso slightly forward. Arms are free and swinging. Each dancer has their own way of holding their arms and body—whether it is leaning more forward or standing more straight, bending the arms, or swinging them back and forth more often. The footwork and movement styling of buck dance and flatfooting formed the basis for clogging. But as clogging has evolved it has developed new steps, rhythms, and styling.

Freestyle and Precision Clogging

Freestyle clogging developed initially in the late 1930s, influenced by the introduction of performance venues and competitions. Freestyle cloggers generally continued to dance similar, if not the same, footwork as buck and flatfoot dancers. The styling was similar too, although cloggers were beginning to add a little more theatricality to the dance form—kicking legs higher, lifting knees higher, or stomping louder. Freestyle cloggers continued to execute traditional figures from Big Circle dancing while each dancer executed their own unique footwork.

The primary difference between freestyle and precision clogging initially began with performing figures with synchronized steps rather than with individualized footwork. However, as precision clogging became more popular in the 1950s and 60s, the figures began to drift away from traditional big circle formats to line formations, and bluegrass music was no longer the main accompaniment, dancers choosing instead to dance to more popular music of the time (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 121). Clog dancers also began to be more unified in their movement styling as a result of competitive

performance. Some cloggers, like James Kesterson wanted to modernize the dance form and did so, as Duke notes, by “emphasize[ing] simultaneous and identical footwork by all of the members of his performing teams” (Duke 1984, 61). Styling was regulated simply. Having all dancers emulate a specific style—lifting knees up to a certain point, holding legs in a particular position, or having arms unified and placed on hips or behind the back. Precision teams also more often performed rehearsed choreographies in line formations rather than dancing to a caller like freestyle teams generally did.

Precision clogging also distinguished itself from freestyle clogging with the use of taps on shoes. According to Duke, “In the 1930s, many dancers wore horseshoe style taps on the heels of their shoes and no toe taps. Taps on the toes and heels became common in the mid-1950s” (Duke 1984, 60). The introduction of taps profoundly changed the styling of clogging. With taps, the music began to speed up because, as Gail Matthews-DeNatale explains, “they only sound good when the music is fast (160 beats per minute or faster)” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 120). Matthews-DeNatale also notes that “in order to ‘work’ the taps, the body weight must be centered over the heel. . . Movements that match the music without taps may not sound good with taps. This resulted in shifting the dancer’s center of gravity from the toe to the heel” (Ibid., 120-121). The style of precision cloggers began to change as shoes changed. This began a cyclical process of footwork affecting shoes, shoes affecting styling and footwork—also necessitating a change in costuming and music, contributing to further innovations and changes within competition and performance, which affected styling and footwork again.

These changes began with the introduction of festivals; and more changes came when clogging organizations formed and promoted other competitions. In discussing precision clogging, Phil Jamison explains, “National precision clogging organizations promote this form in part by sponsoring and sanctioning competitions. Since contests require consistent judging criteria, these competitions have, in turn, resulted in a standardization of steps and routines” (Jamison 1995, 173). Instead of having a unique way of dancing, precision dancers began to emulate popular styling from an area or from a particular teacher usually because that style was winning competitions. One could tell where a dancer was from based on their style. Different areas in the mountains began to develop their own stylistic tendencies. Dancer Bob Phillips, in an interview with Gail Matthews-DeNatale, explains, “Each area [has] a characteristic type dance footwork. . . Now I’d say fifteen years ago, I could go hear a team, I don’t care where it was. . . Put ten teams up there, and I could pick out the ones from Haywood county. They had a characteristic beat. You have to hear it. You feel it” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995b, 127-128). These stylistic differences evolved as a result of competition and performance driven dancing, and the ensuing popularity of precision clogging.

As freestyle and precision clogging began to spread across the nation beginning in the 1950s and 60s, more groups began to form. The BYU International Folk Dance Ensemble toured internationally, dancing American vernacular dances at international folk festivals beginning in 1964, and the Green Grass Cloggers began in 1971. This particular group formed in response to the competition precision clogging that was becoming so popular. The Green Grass Cloggers put elements of precision clogging

together with buck dancing and freestyle clogging to form their own style, as Duke explains, “This team developed a loose-limbed style of dance and invented some steps to accentuate the style” (Duke 1984, 58). Phil Jamison notes that the Green Grass Cloggers would name the steps they learned from others as well as create new ones, resulting in steps involving head-high kicks and other unconventional movements” (Jamison 1995, 171). Unlike older forms of buck dancing and freestyle clogging, the Green Grass Cloggers also wore taps on their shoes, and made use of short energetic routines with fast footwork and figures (Ibid., 171). The Green Grass Cloggers developed a new style of clogging, claiming to hearken back to the roots of the dance form, and spreading their singular style to groups across the nation.

In Utah, about the same time, new innovations were happening as clogging gained popularity and spread across the western United States. The 1970s brought national changes to the dance form, but from the 1980s on, with competition circuits forming, the dance was directly affected. Individuals forming AOS in particular furthered clogging developments in Utah, primarily by organizing and promoting competitions, thus prompting new innovations. Competitions drove the evolution of clogging. The innovations and new styling that clogging established over the last thirty years is partially a result of the competitive environment built up across the country.

The Last Thirty Years, 1980-Present

Up until the mid-1980s, clogging across the United States was still what was termed “traditional” meaning it was like clogging that had been done since the 1930s. The costumes had changed little since the 1940’s and the formations of dances were still

commonly circle and square dance figures, with a few line formations for precision dancers. Some dancers in the Appalachian region were still practicing solo buck dancing and flatfooting styles, while others were dancing freestyle or precision team styles. Outside of the Appalachian region, the predominant style being danced was precision team or freestyle team clogging. The footwork was virtually the same as well. Basic clogging steps in freestyle or precision clogging had not changed dramatically. The most modern development was that precision clogging was sometimes performed to pop, country, and rock and roll instead of traditional Appalachian music.

The 1980s brought a lot of changes for clogging, from music and costumes to footwork and styling. Footwork wise, buck styling saw a national resurgence—adding heel stamps and toe knocks to the double-toes and drag slides (Tucker 2012). Dancer, choreographer, and editor of *Double Toe Times*, Jeff Driggs wrote, “In the 1980's a dancer named Burton Edwards of Maggie Valley, North Carolina began winning competitions with his ‘buck’ style of clogging where the weight is carried on the ball of the foot and a pitter-patter is produced with the heel clicking the floor and returning to the ball of the foot” (Driggs). Buck styling was not new. It was prominent in the Appalachian region for generations, but Burton’s re-introduction of traditional steps and movement styling became the new trend among competitive dancers.

The buck dance style of steps was re-introduced around the same time that dancers began incorporating Canadian step dance steps into clogging. Driggs explains “Ottawa Valley step dancer Judy Waymouth of Ontario, Canada made an appearance at the Possum Trot Workshop at Fontana Village, North Carolina and did an exhibition of

Canadian Step dancing” (Driggs). Cloggers quickly embraced the “hop-double-hop” style and step now called “double-doubles”. This shift in clogging steps and style was the most dramatic the clogging world had seen to date (Ibid.). However, the adoption of old and new percussive steps and styling in the 1980s was just the beginning.

Since the 1980s, there have been a number of dance forms that have influenced the transformation in footwork and styling, throughout the nation. Tap in particular has heavily influenced the rhythm and step work of clogging. Tap and clogging came from the same roots—immigrant dances mixing with African practices. But tap became a performance style earlier than clogging, appearing in minstrel shows in the 1840s and moving to vaudeville and eventually Broadway. Tap has influenced clogging footwork throughout their histories, but in recent years tap is more significant a factor in clogging development.

Clogging rhythm, especially as it developed after the 1930s, was primarily even—meaning the steps took the same amount of time in a phrase of music, and emphasized the underlying beat of the music, rather than the melody. Tap introduced more intricate and complicated rhythms and steps (Park 2012). Over the last twenty years, clogging has incorporated pull-backs, riffs, cramp rolls, toe-stands, and other steps from tap. Now, clogging steps are less about what older style steps can be done, and more about the innovation of new percussive rhythms. As a result, fewer competitive dancers in the West are using the one movement that distinguishes clogging from all other footwork forms—the drag-slide (Brame 2012; Micheal Steele 2013).

The majority of influential footwork has come from tap dance, but Irish hard-shoe has also made a small resurgence in clogging rhythms and steps. Up until 1995, it appeared that Irish hard-shoe dancing was only an influence in the early styles of chuck dance and flatfooting. After the inception of “Riverdance” Irish hard-shoe began again to have impact on precision clogging. With regards to footwork, it seems that Irish hard-shoe has not brought specific steps into clogging in the last twenty years (Morgan 2012). It does, however, have an influence on rhythms. Like tap, Irish rhythms are complicated and intricate. Irish hard-shoe is also danced at different time signatures, which contributes to some different percussive rhythms now incorporated in clogging (Ibid.). The dancers, teachers and choreographers in Utah, as Bethany Hulse notes, “try to stick to the Tap/Irish realm” when incorporating different rhythms and footwork into contemporary clogging—“because there’s not much else that is really helpful” (Hulse, 2012a). Contemporary cloggers have incorporated footwork forms like tap and Irish hard-shoe to develop new steps and rhythms, and have assimilated movement from other dance forms like hip-hop more in their upper body stylization.

New Footwork

Early steps in buck dancing and flatfooting always included the drag-slide; sliding forward and backward on the weight bearing leg as the other foot creates added rhythms. While sliding forward, dancers bend their knee, and then straighten it when sliding backwards. When doing the drag-slide on both feet at the same time, it is called a chug. Different dancers and different groups have variations in this, the most basic step in clogging; some will slide more noticeably, while others seem like they are only bending

and straightening their knees; some remain completely flatfooted while performing a drag-slide or chug, while others will lean back on their heels before sliding backwards, adding a small flap of the ball of the foot to the backward sliding motion.

Other common steps found in buck dancing, flatfooting, and early clogging are brushes, scuffs, knocks, and double toes. Jeff Driggs defines the brush: “the foot is allowed to swing from the knee with a pendulum action. The ball of the foot produces a click by striking the floor and continuing in the direction of the swing (which may be to the front, to the rear, or crossing in front or in back of the opposite leg)” (Driggs). A brush can be done with the ball of the foot, the heel, or even the tip of the toe. A scuff is a short forward brush of the heel. A knock generally means tapping the very tip of the toe on the floor. Driggs also describes a double toe: “The ball of the foot strikes the floor during the forward motion of a short kick and the knee straightens (ankle is relaxed and foot angles downward). The knee bends upward immediately and the same foot swings backward with the ball of the foot striking the floor again in the same spot. The heel should not touch the floor” (Driggs). The clicks of the ball of the foot normally are placed in front of the body, but can be done other directions too.

The double toe is found in other footwork forms like Lancashire clog, Welsh clog, Canadian step dancing, Irish hard shoe, and tap. Basic clogging steps are made up of double toes and rock steps, transferring the weight temporarily from a base foot to the other ball, generally slightly behind the base foot. When a double toe is performed alone, with no rock steps, it is called a double. When a double is combined with one rock step—“double-step rock step”—it is called a single. When two doubles are combined with two

rock steps, it makes a fancy double, and when three doubles are done with one rock step it is called a triple.

The resurgence of buck dancing brought more common steps. Toe knocks were used more often and buck style steps became known by most cloggers. When I was learning to clog, a buck was a sharp hit of the heel on the floor with no transferring weight. This could be added to any number of other steps, like singles; instead of “double-step rock step” it became “double-step step-buck-step”. The single with or without the buck happened in the same amount of time, the buck was just a fancy addition. Another dancer and teacher, Jenn Garrard learned that a buck was a combination of a heel hit and a toe knock; for example, stepping on the left foot, knocking the right toe, stepping on the right foot, hitting the left heel, and stepping on the left foot—“step-toe-step-heel-step”. Terminology, it seems, is not the same for many dancers, whether it is across the nation or even different studios in Utah.

Along with buck steps and styling came Canadian step dance influences. The most revolutionary was a “hop double hop” style and double-doubles. The “hop double hop” is as it sounds, hopping on one foot, doubling the other toe, and hopping on the first foot again. Three steps came into clogging with this introduction: Canadians, round Canadians, and double-doubles. A Canadian, named for the inspiration country, is done by stepping on the left foot, doubling the right, stepping on the right, doubling the left, hopping on the right foot while the left leg raises in front of the body, then touching the left foot on the ground with the weight still in the right leg—“step-double-step-double hop touch”. It can be done beginning on either leg. A round Canadian can be seen in

different forms, but will always contain for example, a step on the left foot, doubling the right in front of you, hopping on the left, doubling the right to the side, hopping on the left, knocking the right toe behind, stepping on the right foot, doubling the left foot in front, hopping on the right, doubling the left to the side, and perhaps continuing in the same way—“step double hop double hop-knock-step double hop double”. This step can also be performed beginning on either leg, and is generally a slower rhythm, with the hop-double-hop-double taking two counts.

Perhaps the most revolutionary introduction of Canadian step dancing into clogging is the double-doubles. These consist of hopping on one foot, doubling in front with the other, hopping on the first foot, and doubling to the side with the other—“hop-double-hop-double”. These are done quickly, taking one count to execute both doubles on one foot. They are generally done in quick succession of one another, sometimes for a full count of eight; four doubles on the right, four on the left, two on the right, two on the left, and finishing with two on the right and a finishing double toe on the left, for example. They can be done in any combination. Introduced in the 1980s, this particular step was extremely popular in the 1990s competition scene and continues to be the mark of an accomplished clogger. To be able to execute this step with quick, clean, and sharp sounds and movements takes practice. Once they were popular, dancers across the nation were incorporating double-doubles into their own solo and team routines (Tucker 2012).

Tap has increasingly influenced new steps in clogging for the past decade. Dancer and teacher Emily Park described what she felt, as a dancer, were general differences in tap and clogging:

Tap is really low to the ground, and your weight—it's totally different from clogging. Because in clogging, your weight is almost always completely in your toes. . . you are always up on the ball of your foot. And that's where all of your moves come from. . . there are exceptions, obviously. But in tap, your feet are almost always flat to the ground, unless you are doing a specific step that lifts your heel or that requires you to be on your toe. And so, the steps are just a lot more intricate, because it is not counting on the jingle tap to make extra sound, it is counting on you making all the different sounds between your toes and your heels. (Park, 2012)

This corresponds with Gail Matthews-DeNatale's article stating that "according to the accounts of older dancers, old-style buck dancers in Haywood County danced with their weight centered on the balls of their feet. Kyle Edwards speaks of early competitions in which chalk was drawn onto the dancer's shoe heel, and any dancer who rubbed the chalk off during the dance was disqualified" (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 118).

More recently, specific tap steps have been incorporated into clogging. Dancer and teacher Emily Park mentioned cramp rolls, pull-backs, and toe work. A cramp roll is when a dancer puts weight into, say, the ball of the left foot, then the ball of the right foot, then the heel of the left foot, finishing with the heel of the right foot. When done in quick succession, it is called a cramp roll. Dancers are adding cramp rolls into their footwork, whether it is specifically as described, or in putting weight on the toe and heel at separate times to make separate sounds.

Another step included in clogging now is pull-backs or slap-backs. This step is when a dancer has all their weight on one foot, and slightly jumps—slapping the ball of their foot on the ground before landing on the same ball of the foot. This can be done on one or both feet. In tap, the dancer will go from the ball of the foot, slapping back to the same ball of the foot. Cloggers have adapted pull-backs to where they will lean a little on

the heel of the foot before pulling their feet back to slap and land on the same ball of the foot.

Toe work is the most recent development in clogging steps—toe stands and walks. Toe stands are just that—putting all of the weight on the very tip of one or both of the toes. Walking on the toes is walking with all the weight based on the tip of the toe, similar to ballerinas on point. These steps were most likely pulled from tap and Irish hard shoe. Standing on the tips of the toes began around 2000 in the West, when dancers were beginning to put weight into their toe knocks.

My first recollection of seeing toe work done was at the America On Stage competition Western Nationals. Michael and Jessica Steele, siblings and children of well-known dancer and director Bryan Steele, walked on their toes in the freestyle solo category of competition. Rather than just putting weight on their toes for a split second of time, they actually walked on their toes. Michael Steele recalls,

We were some of the first ones to put it in out here. And we'd seen one or two people do it before. . . And we'd seen in videos, one person out East. I've forgotten his name. He was really good. And he did a freestyle that we saw, and it was great. And we just decided to try and not just do toe stands, but do different things. (Michael Steele 2013)

True to the Steele family legacy, Michael and Jessica Steele brought new innovations into clogging out West. The introduction of All Around Solos into competition also influenced the use of more toe work in clogging, when directors like Bethany Hulse put in toe stands and jumps into solos that were distributed to dancers across the Western states.



Figure 2 - Toe Work

With these new steps, dancers began altering their shoes in order to be able to dance them better. This created a need for a new standard shoe, and one emerged—the split sole. The split-sole shoe then helped all cloggers be able to attempt the newest steps with toe work. Since then, toe work has become a large and very popular component of competitive clogging. In the upper levels of competition, Greg Tucker stated that “you don’t see freestyle without toes. . . it’s just, almost a requirement” similar to the phenomenon of double-doubles in the 1990s (Tucker 2012).

Rhythms in clogging have also changed dramatically. Other dance forms influenced more intricate and complex rhythms, but clogging has continued to change beyond the influence of tap, Canadian step, and Irish hardshoe. Greg Tucker explains that clogging today is about “incredibly fast amounts of sounds being put together in as short

a time as you can” (Tucker 2012). The steps are becoming increasingly technical in recent years, as dancer and adjudicator Michael Steele puts it, “there are a lot more sounds in the steps” (Michael Steele 2013). He continues to explain that “it’s all about the rhythm that you’re making and how you’re making it, rather than—this is the step, and everyone knows the step and how it goes” (Ibid.).

New Movement Styling

Clogging footwork has changed dramatically in the last thirty to forty years. However, what adds to the appearance of new footwork is the styling of the dancers, or *how* they dance. Competitive clogging as it is now found in the West has had many different influences affecting style—ranging from Irish to drill team to hip-hop. Director Bethany Hulse describes, what started as a “super loose, very folky, kind of dance, with just your feet,” has now “evolved into an entire body dance” (Hulse 2012).

Precision clogging was popularized in the 1950s with the purpose of making every dancer look the same. The once unaffected manner of freestyle cloggers was being standardized and reformed. Since the 1980s, the emphasis in unification of a dance team has gradually increased. Today, competition cloggers have extremely precise body movement and control. Clogging teams will have every movement of the body defined, from footwork, to leg lift height, to arm and head movements. When routines are performed, every dancer should be in unison with the others. Precise movements and varied stage formations illustrate the increasing influence from drill teams (Brame 2012). Competitive and performance cloggers will also typically dance using different

formations, like lines or columns, rather than traditional circle and square dance figures (Ibid.).

Other stylistic changes in clogging concerns what happens in the upper body and arms while dancing. Percussive footwork in the Appalachian Mountains was influenced by European, Native American, and African traditions—this is apparent in the footwork and styling of early footwork descriptions of clogging, as well as some current practice. Buck and flatfoot dancers stand straight generally, but also are characterized by a forward bend from the hips. As teams became more concerned with appearance and unity on stage, clogging became more and more upright. Competitive cloggers today dance straight, only bending forward or using their upper bodies for specific movement incorporation like cheer, jazz, or hip-hop moves, which include using arm movement.

Generally, in older forms of clogging, the arms were held loosely at the side, swinging naturally as the dancer tapped rhythms with their feet. Some dancers would keep arms straight as they would swing, others would bend them periodically. After the beginning of precision clogging, dancers would sometimes have their arms swing naturally, but typically had their hands on their hips or held behind their back. Irish hard-shoe dancers generally hold their arms straight down at their sides—and this stylistic element of Irish dancers was incorporated into clogging beginning in the 1990's. While it may not have been the only reason that arms began to be held at the side, it definitely is a part of the reason (Morgan 2012). This trend is still popular to use today, however, more recently the upper body is being moved in more creative ways.



Figure 3 - Figure 3: Movement Styling of Cloggers 2013

Instead of keeping hands on hips or arms at sides, cloggers in the West have been incorporating more arm movement—similar to jazz, drill, and cheer teams (Brame 2012). While executing intricate footwork, dancers will move their arms in complex patterns, reminiscent of cheerleading—raising arms above the head, to the side, both straight and bent, clapping, etc. (Park 2012). Emily Park compares her current team, Extreme Rhythm, and another dance team she witnessed at a competition: “the team that I dance with, there is a lot of cheer arms. She’s into more cheerleading arms, and really clean footwork. But there was one team there. . . They’re really sassy hip-hop influenced. . . And they’re style, they have all of this harder footwork, but their upper body style is a lot more smooth. . . subtle movements” (Park 2012). She explains that while the two teams both have difficult footwork, they each have their own style of upper body movements—one more influenced by cheer and drill team, another more influenced by hip-hop. Some dance teams in the West will combine clogging footwork with the popping and locking of hip-hop dance styles, and some have incorporated acrobatics—gymnastic tricks and breakdancing—into their routines (Park 2012). The movements of hip-hop dancers and drill teams have not only affected movement styles of cloggers, but also influence what music is used in performances. The majority of music used in clogging in the West is pop or hip-hop, and the tempo has slowed because of the addition of new body movements to an increasingly complicated and technical footwork (Ibid.).

Continuing Tradition or New Dance Form?

Utah cloggers have developed a style and footwork independent from the rest of the United States; the prevalence of studios and the organization AOS both contribute to

stylistic differences in Utah clogging. Different competition categories and standards require that dancers and choreographers tackle the challenge of creating original, innovative dances that still meet the constraints of competition requirements.

Competitions held in Utah create many opportunities to perform for and compete against other teams. There are chances to be inspired by other dancers, but it also creates a drive for directors and dancers to come up with something creative and new (Hulse 2012a).

These AOS standards for competitions have been the parameters that Utah directors and dancers have worked with to further innovate and transform clogging into the dance form it is today. Utah teams are typically only competing with other Utah teams at AOS competitions, while teams competing at CCA, NCHC, or ACHF competitions interact with teams from all over the Eastern United States (Tucker 2012; Rawcliffe 2012). As a result, Utah cloggers have developed a relatively different style of dancing.

The majority of studios in Utah also have enough clogging students that they do not necessarily need to teach other dance forms—in fact many do not. In other states, a studio would not succeed if only offering clogging (Hulse 2012a). Dancers in Utah, then, have a unique way of incorporating hip-hop, jazz, and other dance forms; the general incorporation of things like hip-hop into clog routines is more forced (Hulse 2012a). Dancers outside of Utah have these dance styles taught in the same studio as clogging, making it easier to learn jazz or hip-hop than dancers in Utah who may dance at studios only offering clogging. Cloggers outside of Utah, as a result, tend to be more natural in their incorporation of these other dance styles (Rawcliffe 2012).

Perhaps the biggest difference between Western clogging teams and Eastern clogging teams is the emphasis on performance versus precise execution. In the West, performance qualities like showmanship and energy are highly valued, while in the East footwork and extreme precision is more important. Greg Tucker explained, “Out West we have a much freer style. Mostly influenced by Bryan [Steele]. Bryan loved the show style things. And almost all of his teachers took that with them, and it rubs off on us” (Tucker 2012). The West coast bias, as Tucker notes, is that “energy and showmanship out-trumps perfection” (Ibid.). This does not mean that Western competitive cloggers do not emphasize clean and mistake-free routines, or that Eastern competitive teams are perfect in execution of steps but are not good performers—Tucker just explained a general feel to the subtle differences between Eastern and Western competitive cloggers.

Michael Steele felt that this showmanship bias in the West is a measure of acceptance to change:

But out here in the West, I’ve just really noticed how people were adept to change. People like evolution and seeing new things. And it’s kind of been the attitude of most people around here—in Utah and California especially—that they see things new and they try to make things new. And that’s what dad did, and that’s what a lot of people who competed with dad liked to do. So, they always tried to make things better. And so all of the people were taught by those revolutionaries back in the 80s, really just kept it going in the 90s. And now, just, everyone likes the attitude of change. So whenever someone thinks of something new or tries something new, it’s a lot different. It’s not, now a lot of the traditional roots have kind of mixed with other things, new and modern. (Michael Steele 2013)

Michael feels that clogging in the West is more accepting of new innovations and new influences than clogging in the East that holds to the roots of the dance form. With the early dancers like Bryan Steele and Dennis Cobia introducing new elements into the

dance form in the 1970s, their innovative spirit has continued to filter down through their students. There are the more “traditional” dancers found in the West, like Greg Tucker and Brandi Gollinger (Tucker 2012). However, Utah cloggers are more accepting of the changes that are happening in clogging and more likely to instigate the change themselves.

The general consensus seems to be that Eastern competitive cloggers are more tied to previous practice and the Western dancers are more apt to try new things, incorporate new dance styles. However, Eastern cloggers are still influenced by other dance styles, integrating things like hip-hop into precision clogging more naturally than dancers in the West. This is an interesting contradiction—that Eastern cloggers have a more natural incorporation of styles like hip-hop and still hold to their “tradition” and precious practice, their roots. Cloggers out West incorporate other dance movement in different ways. The biggest difference between East and Western cloggers, according to Michael Steele, is “in the ability to evolve” (Michael Steele 2013). Nationwide, however, there is one thing that is becoming less and less of a strong element in clogging; the drag-slide is disappearing.

The drag-slide presumably developed from early Native American and African American dance styles, involving sliding one foot backwards as the other foot creates other percussive movements. The drag-slide is a step that distinguishes clogging from other footwork styles, and is found in various steps from old-style buck dancing and flatfooting to freestyle and precision clogging. Many precision clogging directors, especially those in the Appalachian mountain and surrounding regions, stress the use of

the drag-slide in order to keep their movement traditional (Brame 2012). The competitive scene, however, is a different story.

As a result of more intricate footwork since 2000, and the revolutionary “hop-double-hop” Canadian styling introduced in the 1980s, fewer competitive cloggers are performing the drag-slide in their footwork. Michael Steele stated, “you see a lot more people doing hops, and the drag slide has basically disappeared” (Michael Steele 2013). The only time you may see the drag-slide emphasized, in Western competitions especially, is in the category Traditional Line. Traditional Line was introduced to keep older style footwork involved in competitions. In this category, there is no figure work, dancers are in one position the entire dance. Cloggers are restricted to specific “traditional” steps, which only include steps and variations of steps done before Canadian step dance styling and steps were introduced in the 1980s.

And yet, even with the introduction of a new, more “traditional” category, Western cloggers are still not always executing the drag-slide. The arguably most important aspect of clogging is missing. Micheal Steele described judging this category at competitions:

One of my favorite categories now, that is relatively new, is traditional line. I love traditional line. But when I judge it, it’s hard for me to judge sometimes because I know how to do a drag slide. I was taught. And then we do it at BYU, we do drag slides all the time. And then when I watch them [competitive cloggers], they can’t do it. A lot of people just don’t know how to do it. And so, it’s hard. And I’m not sure the teachers even know how to teach it as much anymore. ‘Cause it’s not the style. You’ll only use it, basically, for traditional line. And maybe a little bit in your precisions. (Michael Steele 2013)

The more complex and intricate rhythmic style that is popular for cloggers today is leaving little room for an older step to continue.

Some directors do not agree that the drag slide is gradually disappearing. In discussing what he sees in the future for clogging, Greg Tucker stated, “You [will] see people do more advanced doubles more than you will see more of a base drag slide” (Tucker 2012). He explained that he feels that clogging is heading to a “style much more reminiscent of advanced tap” (Ibid.). However, Tucker also feels that the drag-slide will not disappear, “I think the drag slide will always exist in clogging, that’s kind of its signature” (Ibid.). And perhaps this is true. Competitive clogging is not the only avenue that cloggers have open to them—many cloggers across the nation are learning a more traditional style of clogging in studios and workshops. They continue to learn clogging from dancers like Jeff Driggs and Scotty Bilz who emphasize innovation around older style steps and styling, including the drag-slide.

Competitive clogging in Utah seems to be at the forefront of innovation in clogging, pulling from older percussive sources as well as contemporary ones. Performance and competition has driven clogging to continue to assimilate and change throughout the years, but seemingly insignificant elements of clogging like costuming and shoes have made a large impact as well. Exploring the history and development of performance and competition clogging costuming and shoes will further clarify the tandem influence and evolution of performance, competition, footwork, and movement styling in Appalachian clogging.

CHAPTER 5: COSTUMES AND SHOES

I have a closet at home that is full of old clogging costumes. In a milk crate on one shelf are all my shoes. I have at least five pairs of clogging shoes, mixed in with half a dozen or more dancing shoes. Two pairs white scoop. One pair black scoop. One pair of white tie-ups. My favorites are my newest pair, the tan tie-ups. They are my only pair with split soles. The others all have the sole worn down and bent. The white shoes are almost grey now from the years of scuffing and re-polishing, the leather soft and pliable.

My costumes hang next to the wall. Pink feathers mix with red and gold glitter tops. Silver pants, black and white fringe. There is a bright green and pink disco outfit next to the “Vote for Pedro” T-shirt, which is next to the Spiderman ensemble. One cowboy hat, one fedora, and one shirt with red mesh wings connected to the sleeves. In all my years competing, I never wore a skirt. Ever. Skirts were only worn if you were dancing a precision choreography, and even then you could get away with wearing pants. I do have clogging costumes that were not used for competition. These fill the traditional clogging costume category. Large fluffy slippers—one red, one white—go under cotton dresses, blue and white or red gingham. I wear these when performing more traditional styles of clogging at folk dance and music festivals with the group Clog America.

Before now, these costumes represented two different styles of dance for me. One was older, the other contemporary. Now I look at them and see a conversation. These costumes represent more than an outfit worn while dancing. They speak of heritage, fashion, and theatricality; linking past practices with present performance.

The beginnings of costume in Appalachian dance can be pinpointed to the organization of folk festivals in the 1920s. Initially, festivals sought to preserve and present Appalachian traditions and culture. However, as seen in previous chapters, in

creating a venue for performance and competition, the dance and music traditions of the Appalachian mountain region changed. Footwork was standardized. Movement styling was rehearsed. Costumes were adopted. Specific shoes and taps developed. Festival and other competition opportunities ultimately transformed the dance style they were initially seeking to preserve and celebrate.

Despite early manipulation of standards, dancers, it seemed, felt no sense of stereotyping or exploitation. Whisnant explains, “several said they ‘enjoyed it [dancing] more’ after becoming involved in the festival” (1995, 101). In any case, there were few conscious or intentional changes in dancing and performance in the early years of festival events. Dancers would present square and circle dance figures, sometimes with a smooth step, other times with simple clogging steps, and dancers typically wore their best clothing to perform (Ibid.). As the festivals continued, those participating became more concerned with how outsiders viewed their performance. and small changes were made. Steps were adapted. Presentation was practiced. Similar dresses and shirts were worn. In a photograph of the 1930 Candler team, dancing at the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival, the men dressed in non-matching business suits with both bow and four-in-hand ties, and the women are in dresses in many styles and colors (Ibid., 101-102). Then in a 1933 photo, the men have on white open-necked shirts and light colored pants, and the women wear more formal looking light colored dresses (Ibid., 102). These subtle changes in dress, presentation, and some aspects of movement foreshadowed later, more dramatic changes, including competition and development of standard costumes and shoes.

After winning the first clogging competition in 1938 at the Mountain Dance and Folk Festival, the Soco Gap dancers went to Washington D.C. and performed at the White House for President Roosevelt, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth of England. Sam Queen's son, Richard, remembers that the White House performance was the first time a clogging team wore costumes (Ibid., 21). This probably consisted of matching shirts and pants for the men, and women in similar dresses; in fabric choice, color, and style. This was only the beginning. Jerry Duke quotes Richard Queen as stating, "As interest in clogging increased, and as more and more teams were formed, the . . . dance began to change, especially during the 1940s. Taps (for the shoes) and costumes became increasingly common as the dance became more performance oriented" (1984, 21). According to David Whisnant, "It seems reasonable to infer that these changes in dress and the form of the step were strongly related to the increasing intensity of competition fostered by Lunsford's festival" (1995, 102). The introduction of performance and competition and accompanying use of costumes were some of the first changes in clogging that led to the development of more theatrical elements of clogging seen today.

A "Traditional" Costume

Early costuming generally meant "Sunday Best"; Men wearing shirts, ties and slacks, women wearing a nice dress. In the 1940s and 50s a standard costume developed with the gaining popularity of performance based clogging. Women wore a dress with a tailored bodice and full skirt supported by crinoline petticoats. Men wore matching pants and collared shirts. The costume was deemed "traditional", but it could be argued that it was anything but. Gail Matthews-DeNatale explains, "There was nothing traditional

about these outfits; they were in accordance with the fashions of the day. Yet what began as a very contemporary costume has become a clogging tradition” (1995a, 118).



Figure 4 - Women's Traditionally Based Clogging Costume

This type of costuming is typically what is referred to when dancers today are asked about “traditional” clogging costumes. The female dress generally had a multilayered skirt that came to the knees of the dancer, and was made of cotton fabrics like gingham (Garrard 2012). Men and women had distinctly different costumes that were generally characterized by the fashion of the day; men danced in pants, women in dresses. Little changed in the traditional costume form for some thirty years.

Another standard developed in the 1950s as metal taps were attached to dancer’s hard soled shoes. With technology advancing and the use of amplified music, dancers added the tap to their shoes in order to be heard above the music—whether it was live or pre-recorded. This varied between individuals and groups of course. Some teams chose to remain “traditional” and not use taps on their shoes, some put a single tap on each ball and heel of their shoes. Others used jingle taps—two metal taps attached to the balls and heels of dance shoes, being extra loud because the second metal tap clinks against the other with every movement, not just being heard when the taps hit the floor. Jingle taps began as a practical endeavor, but soon became a trademark of the dance form (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 120).

Taps did more than make intricate footwork louder. The added sound ultimately changed the style of clogging. The addition of taps sped up dancing, and shifted the dancers’ center of gravity from the ball of the foot to the heel—giving dancers more stability as they speedily performed steps (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 120-121). As dancers began to shift their center of gravity, the highly recognizable style that is familiar to many today emerged, characterized by heavy stomps and grounded movement styling.

Taps also added to the theatricality of clogging. Which then contributed to the use of unified costumes, brighter colors for shirts and dresses, and possible embellishments. This cycle continued past the 1950s; music choice affected style, footwork transformed to match music choice, costumes were adapted to fit changes in footwork. The costumes also affected what dancers were able to do, effectively altering footwork and styling. Shorter skirts meant higher kicks and lifted knees, and flashy costumes needed fancy footwork. This tandem evolution continues today.

Changes in Costume in the Past Thirty Years

I recently went to a clogging competition. The Kick Off Classic at Thanksgiving Point in Lehi, Utah. The first event I observed was female freestyle, a solo event. Twenty or so girls lined up at the back of the stage, and once the music started, they proceeded to circle around the stage as they danced. Reaching the front of the stage, they would dance with more energy. Higher kicks. Louder sounds. Bigger smiles. This was their opportunity to catch a judge's eye. Once everyone had circled the stage, each girl had a short time to dance solo for the judges. One by one each girl came forward and danced. The girls all wore similar outfits; glitzy fitted tops with tight shiny pants. Each was different. Some had long sleeves, more opportunity to fit more glitter or rhinestones on a shirt. All were colorful and bright. Pants were the same. Stretchy shiny fabrics of every color. There were no dresses or skirts. This may seem revolutionary for a folk dance form like clogging, but it has been the norm for most of the last thirty years.

As clogging spread to areas outside of the Appalachian Mountains, the style of dress established in the 1940s and 50s has generally was regarded as the standard outfit

for cloggers. As early as the 1960s, subtle changes were apparent. Costumes were made with different fabrics. Dresses and shirts were made with brighter solid colors, and embellishments like sequins and fringe trim were being added to the basic traditional form. Then, in the 1980s, girls started wearing pants more often as they performed (Tucker 2012). Since then, clogging formations and costumes are more reminiscent of jazz and drill teams. Fewer costumes followed the older style form of crinoline skirts. In discussing these changes in costuming and clogging shoes, it is clear that costumes affect the development of movement in dance forms (Keali'inohomoku 1979, 77).

Dancer, director, and choreographer Greg Tucker explains the evolution of clogging performance and costuming as it relates to decades. In the 1970s, recorded music became more popular. New technology was making it easier for groups to perform without live bands, since music projection became more portable (Tucker 2012). The use of recordings and popular music had been seen earlier, but it was not common practice until the 1970s and later. It was the 1980s that buck styling became popular again, and pop music was trendy (Ibid.). These trends brought newer costumes, including pants for women. The 1990s was revolutionary, bringing Irish Hardshoe influenced steps, and military, hip-hop, and cheerleading armwork (Ibid.). The “traditional” dress had not completely disappeared, but was seen less and less in clogging performances and competitions.

According to Tucker, influences on clogging costumes in the last thirty years range from new music and dance styles, like Irish hardshoe and hip-hop, to changes in the footwork of clogging itself. With developments in the intricacies of clogging steps, it

became a priority to see a dancer's feet (Garrard 2012). This was deemed by many to be more important than continuing to dance in a "traditional" costume. Instead, the costume should showcase and enhance the footwork. It is much easier to see exactly what movement a dancer is executing if they do not have a multilayered skirt covering their legs (Tucker 2012). As a result of this idea, the basic female costume has changed dramatically.

The standard costume for girl dancers today is a flashy top paired with pants. Tops range from being sleeveless to long sleeves, a solid color or multi-colored pattern. Any pattern. Fabrics are generally stretchy and shiny. Some are embellished with designs in glitter, sequins, or rhinestone trim. Others will be completely covered in anything that glitters. Pants are no different. Brightly colored and shiny is the standard. All are stretchy to allow freedom of movement. While dancers do continue to dance in skirts and dresses, the basic form has been redesigned; sleeves are fitted, and skirts no longer use fluffy slips, are shorter, and generally do not have the traditional ruffled form. There are exceptions, but in performances and competitions today, female cloggers will more often wear pants than skirts.

Costume today extends beyond outfit. It includes hair and makeup. Originally, hair and makeup was natural, however the dancer wore it every day. As costumes have become flashier and more incorporated into the dance form, directors began to regulate how dancers did their hair for performances. When I began dancing I was required to put my hair in a slick bun, with a small curly wiglet that attached around the bun, giving the appearance of a tightly curled ponytail. The curly wig is no longer a trend and dancers

usually are putting their hair back in simple ponytails or buns. Each director decides what their team will do, but generally they choose to have hair pulled back so it is out of the dancers face. Makeup for the girls is also used mainly because dancers are performing on stages with lights; without makeup, dancers look like they are washed out, pale and featureless. Dramatic makeup and clean hair styles contribute to a unified team, one that audiences are able to see.

Costumes worn by boys have some similarities with girls' costumes. If dancing in a team choreography, they may have a similar colored or patterned shirt and the same color of pants as the girls. They either match or compliment the girls' costumes. More often than not, guys will still dance in a button-up collared shirt and tie, with pants like slacks. The shirts can be any color, ties any color and pattern. Pants are usually black. In general, the male costume is pretty much the same as it developed in the 1930s.

Costumes like these are chosen specifically for audience appeal. They arose out of the evolution of competitive dancing. Costumes are meant to attract notice. Greg Tucker described, "The flashier a costume becomes, I think it contributes to how much you are noticed. A girl up there [on stage] dressed up in all sequin top probably has more of a chance of being noticed in a competition than a girl that's in all cotton" (Tucker 2012). Having a glitzy costume in solo performance is standard. If a girl is competing against twenty other girls, a flashy costume is going to attract notice. Matched with impressive dancing skill, a girl has a winning combination. Boys, it seems, do not need a flashy costume. With fewer boys clogging across the nation, it is less about what they are

wearing. Some boys even end up wearing all black. Boys are noticed mainly because they are boys, not always because of a flashy costume.



Figure 5 - Extreme Rhythm: Thanksgiving Point Competition 2013

Team performances have different objectives however. One of the goals of directors is to unify a team of dancers. Costumes are one way of accomplishing this. Directors today with teams made up of boys and girls, will sometimes chose costumes that both the boys and girls can wear, with very little difference for the genders—making costumes more unisex in appearance (Hulse 2012b). Costumes then become less gender specific—a reflection on the emphasis of drill-like precision in competition and performing clogging teams. If there are gender specific costumes, it is meant to enhance

the choreography. In themed show dances, costumes are based on the theme of the dance. These numbers are generally large productions, requiring very specific costumes and sometimes props; for example, a witch-themed dance with broomsticks and all different witchy costumes, a retro clambake dance with wigs, dresses, and beach props, or even routines based on popular movies, television shows, music videos, and now YouTube videos. These types of production numbers are less popular than they were before 2000, but they are still done mostly in the Western states (Micheal Steele 2013).

This being said, I noticed a changing trend in costumes at one of the competitions I observed. As team events began at the Thanksgiving Point competition, I expected to see more of the same costuming—girls in pants and glitzy top, guys in matching or complimentary outfits. I was surprised to find that there were a lot more numbers that used skirts as part of a costume. Two categories of competition require a “traditional looking costume” be worn, which generally means girls in skirts. However, that didn’t explain the use of skirts over pants in other categories.

Perhaps one of the most influential authorities determining clogging costume trends is popular fashion, or the clothes that people are wearing every day. This is obviously not a new pattern in clogging costumes since the first clogging costumes emerged from the fashion of the 1940s and 50s. Fashion trends like skirt length have also been incorporated into clogging costumes over the years. Dresses started knee length, and hemlines crept up and down thru the 1960s to the 1990s following the predominant fashion trends. Recently, skirts are becoming longer again. And it was noticeable at this competition. One team I observed had a 1950s rock and roll theme for one choreography,

and the girls wore skirts that were to their knees. Before today, the style would have been shortened; the theme could still come across with a mid-thigh length poodle skirt. But it seems that as skirts and dresses lengthen and become more popular in general fashion trends, more directors are choosing skirts for a team costume.

Beyond the shift from skirts and dresses to pants, fashion determines subtleties within costume trends. Dancer and teacher Jen Garrard explains how modern fashion has affected women's pants, "You used to have straight cut pants. . . But now it's like skinny jeans. It's like skinny all the way down [the leg]" (Garrard 2012). Tucker agrees that "the skinnier tapered [pants] comes from the fashion industry, as opposed to clogging's desire for it" (Tucker 2012). If costumes are related to fashion, dancers are more comfortable in them. In some respects, this attempt to make clogging costumes relate to popular fashion, no matter what the time frame, can be seen as an attempt to make clogging "cool" (Ibid.).

Each studio handles costuming differently—depending on directors wishes and dancers financial circumstances. The studio that I danced with introduced new costumes every year, with each new dance that was choreographed. As dancers, we would buy the costumes; they were ours to keep. Depending on changing teams and who continued dancing from year to year, there were a few times that we would use the same costume for a different dance a following year. Other studios will use their costumes differently. Bethany Hulse runs her own studio, Extreme Rhythm. Her method of continuing costumes is based on her desire to keep costs low (Hulse 2012b). A new costume is bought each year, but old costumes are reused. Costumes are rotated every year between teams, and dancers will also wear costumes for more than one choreography. For

example, this year Hulse's top team performed two numbers in the same costume. They used one skirt for two dances, switching tops for different categories. They also used the same top twice, once with a skirt, once with a pair of pants. They also have one boy on their team who danced in black pants and a black, long-sleeved, collared shirt for the few numbers he danced in. Dancers will buy costumes for their own solo competitive events, but can spend as much or as little as they choose.

Clogging Shoes

Perhaps the most important part of a clogging costume is the shoes. When taps became a more established practice, a standard shoe emerged. For men, it was a basic black or white character shoe—a lace up shoe with a short wide heel and solid sole—with jingle taps on both the ball and heel of the shoe. Women's character shoes were also a solid sole, black or white character shoe, with one buckled strap across the arch of the foot close to the ankle—generally called a scoop. Sometimes women also danced in lace up character shoes. These shoes were ideal for the style of clogging that developed in the 1940s and 50s—with simple basic steps and square dancing figures.

Shoe color has been one way that cloggers have differentiated themselves from other footwork dance styles. Since the 1980s, white has become the standard color for clogging shoes and is now a unique aspect of clogging. Even with this standard however, dancers do have a choice as to what color shoes they use in performing solos and duets. Directors typically chose one color of shoe in order to unify their team for performances. Directors will also choose one color for the majority of their choreographies so that dancers do not have to buy more than one type of shoe. Bethany Hulse explained the

reasoning behind the majority of directors choosing white as a standard color: “a long time ago, we wore black shoes. . . it was really sleek, but now that the footwork—there is so much more focus on the footwork and how intricate it is—that I think that that’s why everyone uses white shoes” (Hulse 2012b). While some dancers and teachers will continue to use black shoes, sometimes tan, the majority of cloggers across the United States will use white shoes because of the way they look on stage. Black shoes blend with black pants, tan shoes blend with tan tights. White stands out, bringing added emphasis to the percussive footwork being done.

Beyond shoe color, dancers have the option of choosing the type of jingle tap they have on their shoes. The majority of Western cloggers use Steven Stomper jingle taps—characterized by two, separate taps, attached to the shoe with rivets. These jingle taps have a bright clear sound. Others choose to dance with Bell Taps, which are two taps connected like a sliding tab and then nailed to the sole of a shoe, which has a deeper, hollow sound. Dancers choose taps based on their personal preference for look and sound (Tucker 2012, Larsen 2013).

Other innovations include girls beginning to use lace-up shoes in order to keep up with the newer steps and movement. With more intricate footwork introduced after the 1980s, some girls felt that it was particularly hard to keep scoop style shoes on their feet as they danced because they only had one strap across the foot (Garrard 2012). I began with scoops. It wasn’t until I moved up to a professional level team that I was required to get tie-up shoes. Bethany Hulse explains that “the reason, especially, that they pushed away from scoops is because you cannot do any toe work in scoops. . . it’s just not the

same. There's just not the same support in your foot, because the shoe was not made to do that [type of footwork]" (Hulse 2012b). The changes in the intricacy of clogging steps as well as a widespread shoe altering ritual necessitated the demand for a new type of clogging shoe (Tucker 2012).



Figure 6 - Jingle Tap

As clogging footwork developed after the 1980s, dancers began to use their shoes differently—pushing shoes to the limit of what they could do. Dancers would alter the solid soles of their shoes in order to more easily perform the footwork they were learning. Many dancers would find a way to break the sole of the shoe somewhere along the ball or arch of the shoe. My personal process was wearing the shoes to warm up the sole, then bending the sole back and forth when I took them off. Bending them in the places I wanted a really flexible break in the sole. Making a break in the sole of the shoe allowed for more advanced toe work in clogging. Where the break would be depended on each individual dancer and how they liked their shoe to feel while they danced.

Dancer, director, and choreographer Bethany Hulse relates, “I used to take a screw driver and break—so I could slip a screwdriver in here, in my shoe, all the way thru so I could bend my shoe. Like, I would break them, and bend them the wrong way, so it would snap and so I could go up on my toes” (Hulse 2012b). Some, like Bethany Hulse, would use a screwdriver to separate the sole from the leather of the shoe, and snap the sole that way. Others would actually cut the sole of their shoes and bend the shoes backwards and use a band of some sort to hold the shoes in their backwards position for a day in order to make a solid soled shoe more flexible.

Today, the majority of performance and competition cloggers dance in white, lace-up, split-sole clogging shoes. A split sole shoe is a shoe that looks like a character shoe, but the sole is only solid on the ball and heel of the foot. The arch of the shoe is flexible and made of leather, facilitating toe work and other new complex steps. The toe area of the shoe can also have a box in it, similar to ballet point shoes, in order to help

dancers support dancing on their toes. Dancers began altering their shoes in order to do more complex footwork. Now, dancers don't need to alter their shoes. The leather of the soles and the shoe is more malleable, making it easier for cloggers to dance.



Figure 7 - White, Lace-up, Split-Sole Clogging Shoes

With the introduction and wide-spread popularity of a new type of shoe, clogging movement became even more intricate. Bethany Hulse describes the advance in clogging steps as a direct result of the split sole shoe's debut: "Because you could actually, like you saw people doing cool things with their feet, and you would think, "I can try that". Rather than, "Dude, my shoes won't ever let me do that. I can't get on my toe". . . I feel like that has definitely facilitated and made it so everybody can try to do toe work"

(Hulse 2012b). Costumes and shoes changed as a result of newer dance movement, while also contributing to other changes in clogging footwork and styling.

Costumes, Shoes, and Tradition

At the end of this exploration of costumes and shoes, the question arises; so what? Why is costuming important? Why do costumes even matter in discussing a dance form? Perhaps these questions cannot be fully explored here, but some answers can be introduced.

The incorporation of costumes in a dance form is a choice. Dancers and directors have the option to dance with or without costumes, even when performing for audiences. Square Dancer Madeline Allen wrote in an October 1856 essay in a magazine called *Square Dance, Where?* her reasoning for choosing costumes: “We feel that as long as a person chooses clothing with the mental reservation that they can also be worn for other things than Square Dancing, he or she is not really with it. As long as you keep one foot in the bottom of the pool you are not really swimming. . . .” (Nevell 1977, 234). Costuming is one way that dancers connect to performing a dance style. Beyond enjoying learning movement and exercise, even beyond enjoying performance, the costume is a final acceptance that the dance form is a part of a dancer’s identity. It is not simply something they do, it is who they are.

There are other reasons for choosing to follow costume traditions and trends. One is that competition clogging is always done in front of an audience. Either a crowd or judges are watching a performance. Greg Tucker explains one of his reasons by stating, “if you see somebody up there who’s not in a costume... You don’t tend to look at it as

serious or accomplished. Once somebody is in a costume, I think you look of it more as, ‘Oh, they maybe have tried a little bit harder’” (Tucker 2012).

Costumes are an important part of performance. This is true for every dance style. Costuming is a significant factor in being able to communicate with an audience. Costumes help to explain a performance. Outsiders may not be able to catch the intricacies of a show, they may not be able to tell if a dance is Appalachian clogging, tap, or French Canadian step dancing. Costumes help an audience understand differences. Not only that, audiences appreciate when effort is apparent, when performers look like they have prepared. If dancers, including cloggers, want to be taken seriously, costuming can be one way of communicating their preparation and accomplishment to an audience. As Bethany Hulse put it, “Costumes can make or break a dance” (Hulse 2012b).

Costumes help unify a team. It enhances solo performance. It connects movement to music. The general presentation that dancers want to convey is elevated thru the use of costumes. When a dancer or a team looks prepared and professional, expectations are raised and performance is enhanced. Greg Tucker discusses more about costuming contributing to an overall presentation: “I always say you never see an ugly girl win freestyle. Not because there’s ugly girls up there, but because once you get your hair, your make-up, and your costume, and you smile on stage, you become instantly pretty. You just do. . . I think costume is an enormous benefit for that” (Tucker 2012). When music and costumes and choreography don’t match, like wearing a modern costume with a traditional bluegrass music choice, there is a “conflict on the stage” (Ibid.). Tucker further explains, “When you see some of the best teams who dance, and they have a pop

song, and they've got really contemporary costume, they just look and feel the part. And I think it comes out in the performance" (Tucker 2012).

One example of elevated performance is in a recent trend of spray painting clogging shoes. It began with Fab Five appearing on the television show "America's Got Talent". Fab Five is a group of sisters who all grew up clogging in Utah and now each have their own clogging studio. While performing on TV, they spray painted their shoes with bright red glitter to go with a firefighter themed performance. Since then, cloggers in Utah have tried doing different things with their shoes again; different colored shoes, covering them with a costume, and also spray painting them with glitter paint. It is one way to add glamour and glitz to just one more aspect of a clogging costume, which then can contribute to the overall presentation of an individual or group.

Perhaps one of the most important uses of costumes is in producing confidence in dancers. Greg Tucker explains, "I'm a big believer that energy from a team comes off the stage, and you can feel it... If you all feel very good—you're comfortable in your dance, you're comfortable in your costume, you like your team—then I think you tend to exude energy off, that the crowd picks up" (Tucker 2012). The "chemistry" of a team comes from feeling confident with team members, with costumes, with music, with movement. Costuming is one important part of making dancers confident on stage. Tucker states, "I think if you can make yourself look good on stage, your energy really shines. And I think that's one of the keys of costuming" (Tucker 2012). Beyond being taken seriously as a performer, unifying performance teams, and contributing to overall presentation, costumes can contribute to dancers' confidence. In a great costume dancers exude

confidence. This affects choreography overall, solo or team; dancers execute steps with more precision, energy is palpable, and individual performance is more engaging.

Bethany Hulse echoes Tucker when explaining the importance of costuming in helping dancers be confident on stage, “When you feel like you look good, you dance better” (Hulse 2012b). Feeling comfortable in what you are wearing is something I can relate to as well. I had danced for a year or two and seen some very cool routines, including a Middle Eastern themed show number with fun costumes. When I learned that my team was going to be doing a genie-type routine one year, I was super excited; the dance was cool, the movement was great, and the music was fun. But then our costumes came. Too-tight purple leotards with sheer puffed sleeves, sequined wristbands and high collar, and silver hanging beads across the front. Pants were puffed in three separate sections—loose enough to see the different puffed sections, but tight enough to not look right. I never wanted to get in the costume, let alone dance in front of people in it. What could have been an opportunity to stretch my talent turned into an embarrassing year of competitions. Bethany Hulse shared a more inspiring costume story:

We have one girl on a team who is crazy tall. She just turned thirteen and she is 5’11”. So she’s crazy tall. And we got skirts for their team, and I have spent probably like an extra five hours on her skirt. Because I want her to feel comfortable, and I want her to feel confident in it. Because when you get on stage and you’re embarrassed to be wearing what you’re wearing, or you feel like it’s too tight, or it doesn’t look right on you, you’re self-conscious. And you don’t dance the same. And so, I feel like for this girl, she danced in her costume just barely last night. And she was like, “Beth—it was good”. Which I had been working so long—adding inside pieces, adding length. . . so she could feel confident on stage. (Hulse 2012b)

Costuming boosts confidence which improves a dancer’s ability and performance.

The Future of Costume and Shoes

Costuming is an important aspect of clogging today, from head to toe. And as the footwork continues to evolve and change, we can be certain that dancers will develop new rituals for making costumes and shoes their own. Greg Tucker predicts that in the future, cloggers will incorporate more tap technique and push the current design of split sole shoes to their limit, which will again necessitate a newer clogging shoe that will address the needs of dancers—eventually contributing to future developments in the dance form (Tucker 2012). This prediction may be happening sooner than he predicted.

Cloggers across the country buy their shoes from a variety of sources. However, in Utah the majority of cloggers get them from one place, Backstage Dancewear, run by Bonnie Steele. She orders shoes from one of many companies and then distributes them to dancers from studios across the state. In the past, one company has served as the source for white split-sole clogging shoes. These particular shoes are a favorite of dancers in Utah, specifically because of the toe box in the shoe to help with newer intricacies in clogging (Hulse 2012b). However, recently this company has stopped manufacturing their particular style of split-soled shoe in white, which according to Hulse “is actually kind of a big controversy right now. . . They just stopped making them right now. . . It’s not a big enough deal. Five hundred shoes is not a big deal to the [company’s] corporation apparently” (Hulse 2012b).

Cloggers in Utah are now looking to other companies that will make white shoes for them. They have sent another dance shoe company a prototype of a clogging shoe to test produce—“for cloggers, designed by cloggers” (Hulse 2012b). The goal is to get a comfortable, light weight dance shoe with a sturdy toe box and strong shank in the arch

of the shoe (Ibid.). I just wonder, if another company starts making white shoes for cloggers, what will change in the design? Will this change spur more developments in footwork and movement styling? Will standard color change in the next few years if dancers are unable to get white? And if the definitive clogging shoe color changes, how will it affect the standard costume that has developed over the last twenty years?

Cloggers are not overly concerned with problems like discontinuance of a particular shoe. A new company can make it, and it is not a huge deal that a new design will need to be developed (Micheal Steele 2013). Clogging has always been changing. Perhaps it always will. New practices formed today will be the resource for future dancers, like how dancers today continue to pull from creativity in the 1970s and 80s, and even earlier. Tradition as a process and a resource is evident in clogging, and is especially made manifest in the evolution of costuming and shoes of clog dancers over the last thirty years. The costumes and shoes of clog dancers are a material representation of dialogic interaction between elite and folk customs, and will continue to be influential in the development of clogging practices.

PART III: NEGOTIATING TRADITION

Tradition is, like authenticity, a problematic word to define and use. Tradition initially has been defined as passing something from one individual to another with little or no change. Folklorists Ray Cashman, Tom Mould, and Pravina Shukla explain, “This informs the problematic notion that any alteration in the object during or after the transfer amounts to tradition-breaking apostasy” (Cashman, Mould, and Shukla 2011, 3). If this were the case, individuals could only choose between replication and preservation or rebellion and deviation. Cashman, Mould, and Shukla discuss how tradition is more complicated than that: “For T.S. Elliot, tradition cannot be reduced to mindless repetition, nor is unprecedented novelty the highest goal; inspired creativity is only possible through working within a tradition, both a process and a resource that is not inherited but acquired only through great labor” (Ibid.). Tradition is more than a repetition of something that was done before, and is not something that is handed down whole cloth. It is adapted and altered to fit the current needs of practitioners. Folklorist Richard Blaustein states, “The evolution of the forms of . . . dance often described as “traditional” is the result of a continuing dialogue between popular and traditional styles, between elite and folk influences, and between the past and the present” (Blaustein 1995, 200).

Dance, then, need not remain the same over time in order to be considered traditional. Folklorists Susan Eike Spalding and Jane Harris Woodside discuss, “Dance we now call ‘traditional’ exists in the present as the result of generations of change” (Spalding and Woodside, 1995, 7). In looking at any traditional dance, one way of exploring the significance of the form is to look at what can and cannot be changed from the dancer’s point of view, or in Matthews-DeNatale’s words, “what is and isn’t essential to the spirit” of the dance (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 115). Mary Bee Jensen explained her opinion, “there’s theatrical clogging which they are doing now, but you can’t take that to a European folk festival and say ‘This is clogging.’ Because it really isn’t. It doesn’t depict the true clogging that came out of the Appalachian Mountains” (Jensen 2013). Jensen feels that in order to be able to present a dance under the name of folk, you must “attribute where it all started” (Ibid.). For her, the important part of maintaining the “tradition” is that dancers recognize that there is an older form, the simple flatfooted clogging that began in the Appalachian Mountains.

For some dancers and scholars the method of continuing a dance form is a significant factor in determining if the dance is essentially “traditional.” By early definitions, a folk dance must be learned informally, like language—dance as a tradition is something you just pick up, it is something you just do. Contemporary clogging at first glance would not be considered a “traditional” dance form if method of transmission were the only determining factor. However, a closer look at clogging practice today refutes this idea. For one thing, while general footwork and styling is learned in a studio, the traditional process of learning has not disappeared entirely. Early percussive dance

steps were handed down from dancer to dancer or simply by observation and imitation. Mark Knowles describes how tap dancers initially learned steps: “most dancers created their own steps and developed their own style, often watching each other and doing what they called ‘stealing steps.’ . . . to get the idea of the step of the feel of the rhythm, and use one’s imagination to create a new step” (Knowles 2002, 207). There were no formal tap or clogging schools, so early on observation was one of the only ways to learn new steps and styles. Imitation of others and informal teaching of steps and styling is the traditional process of learning a folk dance, and continues to be one way dancers learn clogging today.

While competitive cloggers begin with a formal studio based learning experience, as dancers become more comfortable and able to execute increasingly difficult steps there is an informality to learning. Dancers borrow from others, they see something that another dancer does and adapt it to fit their own style. For dancer Michael Steele, the emulation of other dancers came from a competitive attitude, “. . . me losing, it was disappointing, but it wasn’t like, heartbreaking. It was motivation for me to know how I could be better and what I need to do to become—what that person’s doing that’s beating me that I can do to make myself better” (Michael Steele 2013). To reach the point he is at today, Michael observed and imitated others in order to improve his skill, adapting steps and styling to match his own personal style. Michael was also one of the dancers that were influential in bringing toe work into greater prominence in the West. His incorporation of toe walks and the step called the “toester” came from watching another dancer and trying it himself (Ibid.). Since then, many other cloggers are using toe walks

and other toe work in their team and individual performances. And this is not a singular occurrence, dancers often observe others perform and adapt particular steps to their own repertoire. Emily Park explained how one dancer, Amanda Austin, performed a double spin in her solo event and since then many other dancers are using a double spin in their own individual performances (Park, 2012). It is a natural part of clogging, traditional or competitive, to observe and imitate other dancers.

The difference in adaptation of steps and styling between old and new forms of percussive dance is found in the setting. Rather than social gatherings or family functions, dancers are adapting steps and movement from things seen at performances or competitions. It is because of this informality in creating new steps that the terminology of clogging steps has not been standardized. Bethany Hulse described how a decade ago, several dancers and directors from across the nation gathered to write an index of clogging steps. The result was, as Bethany put it, “ridiculous” (Hulse 2013). Each region, sometimes each individual dancer, has their own terms for each step; a double toe is also known as a shuffle step; a “Georgia” or “Joey” step can be done a dozen different ways. As Bethany states, “Everybody has their own version of what clogging is and everybody can kind of make it their own” (Hulse 2013).

Even studios within Utah, which have developed closer to each other in steps and styling, do not have a standard terminology. Micheal Steele described, “back in the day you could say what a “Joey” was and most everyone could do a full count of eight. Now, the only step that everyone knows where you could just do a full count of eight is if you say a single, or a double, or double-doubles. That’s about it” (Michael Steele 2013).

Bethany even described how Greg Tucker’s studio has named different kinds of toes after their kids—other studios have their own names for different toe knocks like “knock-its” (Hulse 2013). There are basic terms that everyone understands as clogging terms, but for different dancers they generally refer to different movements. Bethany explains it best, “when I have done step sessions with people. . . you would notice that none of us taught with our mouths. We always taught with our feet. ‘And then you go, Bah-dah-duh-dah-duh-dah-duh.’ You know? Because the terminology is not the same” (Ibid.). Competitive cloggers may begin by learning steps and styling in a studio, but as they continue, the dance is learned informally—like more “traditional” percussive dance forms.

Interestingly, while clogging has undergone some major changes in the last century—from innovations in footwork to method of transmitting the dance—there are characteristics of early mountain dance that have resurfaced in clogging today, the most obvious being the assimilation of various dance forms. Viewing competitive forms of clogging in this light, brings them closer in purpose and style to mountain dance traditions of the past. Buck, flatfoot, Big Circle, running sets, and square dances all occurred because individuals in a community were incorporating many different types of dancing. Originally, mountain dance formed from the merging dance traditions of European immigrants, Native Americans, and African Americans. And now clogging is assimilating tap, Irish hard-shoe, hip-hop, jazz, and more into its tradition. In this light it can be argued that competitive clogging is the more “traditional” of percussive Appalachian dance; it pulls from “traditional” folk dances as well as popular; it is continuing to evolve through formal and informal transmission; and it is maintaining the

spirit of early mountain dance traditions, a “tradition of freedom and innovation” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 114).

The adaptation and innovation of new steps and movement styling is problematic for some dancers however, as they see “tradition” as being part of the dance form itself; the movements, steps, styling, figures, or even costuming is the “tradition”. Changing the dance means that it is no longer “traditional”. In an interview with Gail Matthews-DeNatale, Bob Phillips, freestyle clog dancer and director, was asked about stylistic differences in styles of clogging and stated, “You can spot a precision dancer [snaps his fingers] usually that quick. They’ve got a characteristic about them. They’re not free-flowing. . . precision dance versus your freestyle. One’s an artificial type dance, and one’s a free-flowing individual type dance” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995b, 130). In Phillips mind, the styling of precision clogging was too foreign—standardized and restrictive—which meant that it was not a continuance of freestyle clogging tradition. Matthews-DeNatale explained that old-style dancers like Phillips will frown at competition categories that even include freestyle and buck dancing as a competitive event simply because “dancers who compete in these categories regularly wear taps, perform recognized precision steps, and engage in high kicking”, which is uncharacteristic of freestyle or hoedown cloggers (Ibid., 124). These dancers feel that clogging which includes certain stylistic modern elements is a “pollution of the original style” (Ibid., 122).

For some the continuance of styling is important, while for others it is more important to maintain steps. This idea is not just found in opinions of buck dancers or

freestyle cloggers. In competition circuits today they are continuing to reshape categories in order to maintain “traditional” steps and styling. All of the current competition circuits, including America On Stage added the category of Traditional Line when traditional footwork was being lost in all of the new innovations. Traditional Line routines require traditional attire be worn, and steps are restricted to the steps that were practiced before about 1980. The “tradition” of the dance form is continued because certain steps are continuing to be performed. There are stylistic elements that are modernized—how high dancers lift their knees, synchronized movement, and unified costumes—that some would consider to be non-traditional, but the steps themselves are regarded as “traditional”.

So is “tradition” found in the transmission of the dance, or is it found in the steps and styling itself? I say both, that “tradition” is both a process and a resource. As Cashman, Mould, and Shukla state, “tradition is both a resource used by the individual, and a process enacted by the individual” (Cashman, Mould, and Shukla 2011, 4). Tradition can both be found in the continuation and preservation of buck, flatfooting, and freestyle or hoedown clogging, and in the use of these dance forms as groundwork for current practice and future developments within clog dance. The process of “tradition” also includes the dialogue between the past and the present. Clogging is a dance form that is “traditional” while also being modern. Bethany Hulse explained, “I feel like that one of the things that makes it so cool about clogging is that it continues to modernize itself. Because it just pulls in new things. . . it’s what modernizes it over and over again because it takes in all of these other forms of dance and so that keeps it alive” (Hulse 2013). This balance of preservation and innovation is a needed component for clogging to continue.

Folklorist Pravina Shukla states, “A balance of preservation and innovation is necessary to keep any custom alive, flowing along thru history, like a stream, experiencing robust and lean moments. For tradition to survive. . . it requires actors—ideological and visionary outsiders, as well as motivated, dedicated leaders from within” (Shukla 2011, 161). These actors are the individuals who enact a tradition, pull from tradition, and thereby carry tradition farther into the future; individuals who clog, continuing in older styles and creating new ones. Individuals are needed within the Appalachian region to perpetuate this dance tradition, but there also needs to be outsiders—other Americans and even international dancers—for the tradition to persist.

In this sense, the “tradition” of clogging is found in the dancers themselves. It is found in the personal style of each dancer; in their choices in footwork; in their recognition that clogging has a heritage, a history behind it. It is also found in the repeating evolutionary patterns that clogging exhibits. Another, more subtle similarity between clogging in the last thirty years and early footwork in the Appalachian region is the development of various styles between different areas of the country. Early dancers each developed an individual style. As freestyle teams became more popular, regional styles developed—one valley danced a slightly different style than others (Matthews-DeNatale 1995b, 127-128). Today there are regional differences as well. One can see by the style of dancing if a team is from California, or Tennessee, or Georgia (Rawcliffe 2012).

These regional differences are also seen in competitive clogging in Utah—as each studio in Utah has a unique way of dancing. While outsiders may not see a huge

difference between studio dancers, it is possible to determine what studio a dancer has learned from by how they dance. Dennis Cobia maintains that he is able to do just that: “I can go watch a team perform, and I can almost tell you if I know their instructor, just by watching them. Especially in Utah... Cause they have the nuances and style of their instructor, and their biases. It’s all in the team, it’s all right there” (Cobia 2012). These stylistic differences are similar to comments made by Bob Phillips about freestyle clogging groups in the Southeast, “Put ten teams up there, and I could pick out the ones from Haywood County. They had a characteristic beat. You have to hear it. You feel it” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995b, 128).

Continuing a specific styling is a choice made by each individual clogger, whether freestyle or competitive. The choices made about what is continued, like choices about steps and style, say a great deal about the individual. Spalding and Woodside note that these choices say a lot “about the degree to which [dancers] are willing to abandon the old and adopt the new; they say a great deal about where individuals stand regarding issues of continuity and change” (Spalding and Woodside 1995, 89). Those who value continuity in culture are typically the ones who desire a tradition like clogging to continue as close to the original version as possible. Individuals that more comfortable adopting change can typically be found in those that practice new and assimilated styles of clogging. This freedom to choose is inherent to Appalachian dance, according to dancer Kyle Edwards, who argues “that the heritage of ‘mountain dance’ includes a tradition of freedom and innovation—dancers should therefore be free to embrace precision styles if they so choose” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 114). Individuals and

groups today are embracing the freedom of expression afforded them in clogging, and incorporating the things they see as valid to their own expressions of creativity and individuality.

Other scholars have determined that the changes that have occurred within Appalachian dance are, as Matthews-DeNatale describes, “congruent with the many changes that Appalachian people have witnessed during the past sixty years as they have become increasingly connected with the non-mountain world” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 115). Communities of dancers do not just passively hand on the dance forms as they have received them. Dances change as communities change. Change within a dance form mirrors change within a society, Knowles notes, “. . . dance is a readily observable microcosm of what is happening in a larger social and cultural context” (Knowles 2002, 206). Changes within Appalachian percussive footwork dance forms are a direct result of the choices made by individual dancers. Some cloggers have chosen to maintain tradition by only practicing the style and steps that were initially done when clogging emerged. Others chose to take the style and steps and use them as a basis for creative expression. As Ray Cashman, Tom Mould, and Pravina Shukla discuss, the tradition, “enacted by individuals, is shaped by past performances and contributes to future ones” (Cashman, Mould, Shukla 2011, 6). The evolution of clogging over the past century can be argued as a natural occurrence as individuals continue to practice it, influenced by the past and ever changing present circumstances.

Choosing to Dance

But why clogging? What is it about this dance form that encourages people to continue dancing? Scholars and dancers alike have many answers to these questions. Andriy Nahachewsky presented a theory that there are four categories of individuals who choose to perpetuate traditional forms of dance—enjoyers, preservers, presenters, and creators (Nahachewsky 2008, 41-57). His theory is easily applied to clogging, both within and without the Appalachian region.

People in the category of enjoyers participate in traditional dance forms for fun. They look for the social interaction, the exercise, and the fun in dancing (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 122). Groups can be found all over the United States that are clogging because they simply enjoy it. Typically these groups participate in workshops and only perform a few times a year, as opposed to the competitive cloggers who perform and compete about a dozen times a year or more. Preservers, however, are those who are concerned with continuing tradition. In this category fall those who are aware of the tradition they are involved in and want to maintain a historical dance form. There are clogging instructors nationwide intent on maintaining the ‘traditional’ way of dancing, stressing specific steps, figures, and styling (Brame 2012). Preservers see clogging as a connection with the past; older steps and styles should be remembered and performed, whether or not they are entertaining to an audience.

Similar to preservers, presenters are concerned with issues of conservation, but are more interested in presenting that heritage to others. Steps and styling are important in sharing a traditional dance form, but above all, the dance is directed towards an

audience, and should be entertaining. This leads to alteration of steps and styling, and an adoption of stage performance. A good example of a group that was drawn to both preserving and presenting traditional clogging is the Green Grass Cloggers. The Green Grass Cloggers were a deviation from other traditional dance groups—inventing some specific steps, and also borrowing from some precision clogging innovations—but are now seen as a group that continued in the spirit of Appalachian dance. They were intent on sharing that Appalachian culture with others, traveling around the country and the world for many years. More than maintaining steps or styling, the spirit of the dance form must be kept alive. The Green Grass Cloggers, as Phil Jamison explains, embrace “the importance of individual expression, the appreciation of live traditional music, and the enjoyment of noncompetitive clogging, all important aspects of traditional Appalachian dance” (Jamison 1995, 174). The Green Grass Cloggers presented clogging that was a reflection of the spirit of traditional mountain dance. Mary Bee Jensen’s International Folk Dance Ensemble at BYU also would fall under both categories of preservers and presenters. These groups that perform traditional dance forms combine the goals of preserving the essence of clogging, while also maintaining a certain performance standard for audiences outside of the tradition.

The last category that Nahachewsky presents in his theory is creators, or those primarily interested in creating expressive dance within the realm of traditional style. Competitive cloggers are the best example of this—dancers who pull from a wide range of inspiration to innovate and create new clogging steps and routines. Typically, these dancers are less concerned with maintaining or preserving a tradition, and more interested

in the ways they can express themselves (Nahachewsky 2008, 47). Spalding and Woodside explain that “they may be attracted to a particular form of dance because it is consistent with their culture or because it mirrors how they see themselves. They then proceed to fine tune that dance form in accordance with their experience, values, ideals, and needs” (Spalding and Woodside 1995, 252).

Whether it is for preservation or presentational purposes, Matthews-DeNatale explains, “the choice of mountain dance style has become one way for individuals to make a statement about their preferred lifestyle, world view, and relationship to change” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 114-115). Choosing a particular style of clogging is one way individuals assert an identity. Woodside agrees, “Even if traditional forms themselves have evolved and their functions have changed, one purpose remains constant. . . dance and other traditions [are used] to help articulate and maintain a sense of identity” (Woodside 1995a, 122). Dancers in the Appalachian Mountains have come to see the dance as “representative of their Appalachian identity” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 113). It embodies the values and ideals of the region—a freedom of expression, love of traditional music and dance, and enjoyment of performance and social interaction. But outside the region, clogging is just as much a part of a dancer’s identity. Dancer Jen Garrard describes, “I can’t imagine my life without it. I don’t know what I’m going to do when I break my knees someday because of clogging and I won’t be able to dance. . . I hope I can stay and do it forever, like my whole life” (Garrard 2012).

Clogging is a dance tradition that presents opportunities for individuals to assert and perform their identity. It is a dance that Matthews-DeNatale describes as “an

interaction between the opposing forces of restraint and freedom” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 122). Dancers work within a set framework—whether it is the commands of a caller or requirements of a competition category—but also are given opportunities for individual expression. There is a balance found in competition clogging. Dancers are given parameters that they must follow, but are given the creative license to be innovative, and even encouraged to push the limits of what can be done within them. Dennis Cobia recalls, “I was the first person to combine precision duets with a hoedown. And I did it in a competition. The rule book didn’t really say that you couldn’t. And so that’s why I pushed the envelope. But the judges. . . They’d never seen that in a hoedown” (Cobia 2012).

The interaction of individualism and group cooperation is another balancing act found in clogging. Dancers simultaneously create lines, circles, and other figures while executing intricate rhythms with their feet. They have their own styles. Micheal Steele notes, “Me, I always had my own style of dance because I learned hip-hop and jazz along with doing a lot of production and show routines. And so I always had my own style of dance” (Micheal Steele 2013). Matthews-DeNatale discusses this interplay, “In this stylistic fusion of freedom and group cooperation, traditional mountain dance celebrates the possibility of community members working together to achieve a goal while allowing each person to maintain and develop his or her unique identity” (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 123). In many ways, clogging contributes to individuality while also establishing a sense of community.

Communities are created and strengthened by the repeated participation in dance traditions like clogging (Matthews-DeNatale 1995a, 123). Folklorist Paul Tyler states that a community comes from “shared memories and from practices that reenact those memories and reinforce people’s commitment to their shared identity and common past” (Tyler 1995, 44-45). The repeated practice and interaction that comes from learning traditional dance forms like buck, flatfoot, hoedown, or competition clogging builds solidarity. According to Tyler, “Solidarity is produced by people acting together, not by people thinking together” (Ibid., 45). The creation of a community through dancing enables dancers to accomplish other goals, besides learning a dance form.

Perhaps the best example of this is in Bethany Hulse’s experience. Her involvement in clogging began as a love of the dance, a love of performance, a love of competition. She recalls, “I came to a point a long time ago where I had to decide if it was more important to be a really good clogger, or more important to be a really good example” (Hulse 2013). As she began to teach, she recognized that the example she set was more important than a dance award. She now wants her students to learn, through clogging, that “they’re good dancers but that they’re also good people” (Ibid.). She goes on to explain, “I try to create an environment where what we think as a studio is more important than any score that they get. Or any award they do or don’t receive. That if we are proud of each other and we are proud of them, that that’s more. And that matters more” (Ibid.). If she is able to contribute to a student’s confidence, to a sense of shared identity, Bethany feels it “is worth any time, worth any sacrifice that I’ve made to do it” (Ibid.). Because traditional dance forms, such as clogging, can easily create the sense of

community and solidarity, directors like Bethany are able to help build the confidence of their dancers.

Through the practice of traditional dances, cloggers have the opportunity to establish a community based on values, rather than on geographic proximity or a shared history. Some have even stated, “‘It’s the closest thing I have found to a neighborhood or community’” (Spalding and Woodside 1995, 167). Being part of something larger than an individual is particularly important to those who dance with these clogging groups. Traditional dance, according to Spalding and Woodside, “creates this sense of community through the personal relationships formed by becoming part of the group and by the very act of dancing itself” (Ibid., 252). Those who dance together remain close. Mary Bee Jensen recalls, “We were family. All my friends. . . It’s still a family” (Jensen 2013).

Through dance communities connect to the past while also addressing current needs and beliefs. Clogging has a rich history and heritage. It is a tradition deeply rooted in innovation. Each dancer connects with that heritage by adapting steps and styling in a way that makes it their own. How much the tradition is altered depends on the dancer, but it is clear that in clogging traditional does not mean stagnant (Spalding and Woodside 1995, 9). Indeed, tradition—like clogging—is ever changing. For that reason, clogging is perhaps the most traditional of folk dances.

Conclusion

After all this discussion, a working definition of folk dance can be determined. Folk dance, or traditional dance, is dance that is transmitted informally, is danced at

social functions by amateur dancers, to traditionally based music. But, as communities and societies have changed, folk dance is also taught formally, to highly skilled performers, and is at times performed and competed. Folk dance is an avenue that individuals use to form an identity and create a community, to connect with the past and cope with the ever changing present. A folk dance is also based on an inherited tradition—whether the tradition is in the steps, movement, styling, or even in the spirit of the dance. And in the case of clogging, that spirit is one of assimilation and innovation.

The practice of percussive dance today, be it buck dancing, flatfooting, freestyle clogging, precision clogging, or the topic of this research—competitive clogging—can illuminate many areas of folklore research, including authenticity, performance, formation of identity, creation of community, preservation of an art, and the process of tradition. It also can redefine concepts of continuity and change within culture, and even what draws individuals to continue shaping and re-shaping tradition. Clogging is a uniquely American art form, and as such is reflective of the society we live in. Further investigation regarding all aspects of traditional percussive dance in America is necessary to understand the process of tradition and the implications of evolution on the dance form as well as the dancers themselves. As Cashman, Mould, and Shukla discuss, this relationship between individuals and tradition is “central to the dynamic of culture, implicit in any study of humanity, and most explicit in the contemporary study of folklore” (Cashman, Mould, and Shukla 2011, 1).

APPENDIX A: CLOGGING TERMINOLOGY

Clogging terminology is still not entirely standardized, though many terms are understood by the majority of cloggers across the United States. Jeff Driggs states, “The National Clogging and Hoe-down Council adopted the "Eight Basic Movements" of clogging on May 13, 1978 as a means of standardizing teaching methods, cueing and step notation” (Driggs). The eight movements are: step, heel, slide, toe, brush, rock, drag, and double-toe. This appendix attempts to describe most basic clogging movement, but is by no means all inclusive. All definitions are written by Amy Slade.

Eight Basic Movements:

STEP: Place the entire foot on the floor, transferring weight to stepping foot. Heel and toe are placed at the same time.

HEEL: When weight is on the ball of one foot, snap the heel of the foot down. Weight is transferred from the ball of the foot to entire foot when heel is placed down.

SLIDE: Down and forward movement. Legs begin straight. As legs bend and body moves forward, feet slip forward, catching full weight of body. Can be done with one or both feet at a time.

TOE: Ball of foot is placed on ground, producing a click. Weight is transferred to the ball. Also known as a TOUCH, BALL.

BRUSH: One leg swings, sliding the ball of the foot across the ground, producing a click in the direction of the swing. Can be done forward, backward or crossing.

ROCK: Beginning with weight on one leg, the ball of opposite leg is placed on the ground. Momentarily transfer weight to the ball of the foot and then step again on first weight bearing leg.

DRAG: Up and backwards movement. Legs begin bent. As legs straighten and body moves backward, heels lift slightly and feet slide back. Can be done on one or both feet at a time.

DOUBLE TOE: Two clicks produced by two brushes of the ball of the foot. Generally the leg swings forward and back, brushing forward and back as the leg swings. The heel should not touch the floor. Both clicks of the ball of the foot are considered the one movement of the Double Toe. Also known as a DOUBLE, SHUFFLE.

Other Basic Clogging Terminology:

BUCK: Hitting the heel of the foot on the ground, no transfer of weight. Is sometimes added to Singles, Fancy Doubles and Triples to add syncopated sounds.

CHUG: Sliding forward and dragging back while weight is on both feet.

CLICK: Either the sound the clogging shoes make on the ground, or hitting the heels of the clogging shoes together.

DIG: Stepping onto the heel of the foot, transferring weight just to the heel.

DOUBLE DOUBLES: Advanced clogging step. Hopping on one foot, double the other, hop on first foot, double the other. “Hop Double Hop Double” is generally one beat of the music, and is usually done in quick succession.

DRAG SLIDE: Combination of basic drag and slide movements. The slide forward and back on a weight bearing leg, while free foot executes footwork like shuffles or doubles, scuffs, brushes, toe knocks, etc. The aspect of clogging that establishes it as a unique footwork form—separate from tap, Irish hardshoe, Canadian step dance, Lancashire clog, Welsh clog, and other footwork dance forms. When done on both feet it is called a CHUG.

FANCY DOUBLE: Basic clogging step, double step one foot, double step the other, rock onto first, step on second, rock onto first, step on second. “Double Step Double Step Rock Step Rock Step” usually done to the rhythm of “and-a-1-and-a-2-and-3-and-4”.

FLANGE: Rolling onto the top of one foot, heel aimed upward. Weight is on the other foot, rolled foot can be behind or to the side of weight bearing foot. Also known as ANKLE BREAKS.

FLICK: Brush of the ball of the foot as leg swings backwards.

HEEL WALK: Placing weight onto one heel, then snapping down on the ball of the same foot.

HOP: Jumping from one leg to the same leg, producing a click each time the foot hits the ground. When both feet hop, it is called a BOUNCE.

KICK: Swinging leg forward, backwards, or sideways without foot taps hitting the floor.

KNOCK: Hitting the very tip of the toe on the ground, no transfer of weight. Generally done behind, but can be done when swinging leg is crossing in front of weight bearing leg.

PULL-BACKS: Advanced clogging step. Stepping weight is on full foot. As body moves slightly up, weight rises off the heel as the ball of the foot flicks back slapping the floor and then landing on the same ball of the foot. “Step Flap Ball” usually done in the rhythm of “1-and-2”. Can be done with both feet, or one foot at a time. Also known as SLAP-BACKS

SCUFF: Forward brush of heel as leg swings forward.

SINGLE: Basic clogging step, double step on one foot followed by a rock on the other, and a step on the first. “Double Step Rock Step” usually done to the rhythm of “and-a-1-and-2”.

STAMP: Accentuated step, without transferring weight to the stamping foot.

STOMP: Accentuated step, transferring weight from one leg to the stomping foot.

TOEWORK: Advanced clogging steps that include any placement of the tip of the toe on the ground and then placing full weight onto the tip of the toe.

TRIPLE: Basic clogging step, double step on one foot, double step on the other, double step on the first, rock onto the second foot, step back onto the first. “Double Step Double Step Double Step Rock Step” usually done to the rhythm of “and-a-1-and-a-2-and-a-3-and-4”.

APPENDIX B: CLOGGING STEPS BY LEVEL

NOVICE LEVEL <i>Definition: Competed less than 12 months and danced less than 2 years</i>	BEGINNING LEVEL <i>Definition: Competed less than 2 years</i>	INTERMEDIATE LEVEL <i>Definition: Competed more than 2 years</i>
Step Kick Step Drag Step Heel Step Slide Chugs (drag slide) Step Kick Kick Pullbacks Rock Steps Heel Steps Toe Step Knock Steps Knock Hops Scissors Hit Hops Front & Back Double Hit Hops Pixi's Heel Up Rock Steps Toe Tap Chugs Hop Hop Lift	Scuff up Double Steps (shuffles) -back, forward -cross left/right -cross front/back COMBINATIONS Stomp Basic Stomp Backs Triple Stomp Double Steps Kick Steps Double up, Double down Singles Triples Fancy Doubles Fancy Triples Out House Chain Rock Push Offs Rocking Chair Grapevine Mountain Goat Pause Basic Drag Single Karate Turn Joey Single buck (no ¼ beat sounds) -kick outs, heels, knocks, toes Triple buck (no ¼ beat sounds) -kick outs, heels, knocks, toes Burton Shuffle Toe Lifts (opposite heel lifts)	Double Ups Step Scuff Up Step Knock Up Time Bomb Beg Canadian Pause Step Traveling Shoes (pivot) Scotty Heel Clicks Toe Tap Double Step (base foot) Samantha Carolina Burton Step Double up Scotty Basic Arms Slide Step Basic Arm Work Ankle Breaks Heel base Slow Pull Backs Chains

ADVANCED LEVEL <i>Definition: Qualify after winning 1st in Intermediate</i>	CHAMPIONSHIP LEVEL <i>Definition: Qualify after winning 1st in Advanced (Voluntary)</i>	PROFESSIONAL LEVEL <i>Definition: Qualify after winning 1st in Championship (Voluntary)</i>
Swings Flatfoot (heel scuffs) Rapid Doubles Get It Double Get It Rapid Runs Slap backs – heel, knock, air Double Doubles -4 count, 8 count SYNCOATED Single Touch Double Touch Triple Touch Spanks (toe, heel) Pullbacks Toe – heel – knock - slam - jump – air Hop Toe Kicks Revis (hop double hop) Weedpullers Junior More Difficult Arm Work Style	Buck (with ¼ sounds) heel based Train Wings Canadian Walkover Toe Trick Double Double Heel Base Drum Tech Scoop slap backs (Gary Larsen 8 kinds) Toe Knocks Pullbacks (Slapbacks) -side, double Doubles -base foot changes (drum beat) Swing Knocks Spins New Rhythms Syncopation timing Irish -basic, triple, singles -trebles, toe poppers Creepers Sharpness Body Angles and Arms	Toe stands -single, double, stilts Trick Toes Knock Quads Twist Heel Rolls Double Slapback Quicken Doubles Syncopation

* Level Breakdown for competition levels in AOS documented by Bethany Hulse.

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BIOGRAPHY

Amy Slade, MAIS received her Masters degree in Folklore from George Mason University and her Bachelors in Art Education from Brigham Young University. She has traveled widely throughout five continents as a folk dancer and loves playing the mandolin, cooking television shows, and her husband Colin.