

and many an urban group of folk-club dancers gathers weekly to learn what they understand to be "southern mountain" dances from their Berea- or folk school-trained teachers.²¹⁵

The ripples appear to move forever: Danish singing games and sword dances; puppet shows and recorders; designer-craftsman pots and enameled copper ashtrays. Meanwhile, we are given to understand, mountaineers sit placidly in some magical living sepia-toned photograph, carving an infinite series of ducks and mad mules, oblivious to and untouched by the periodic expansions and contractions of a Rube Goldberg economic system. Culture has become not the deeply textured expression of the totality of one's life situation—hopes, fears, values, beliefs, practices, ways of living and working, degrees of freedom and constraint—but a timeless, soft-focused, unidimensional refuge from the harsher aspects of reality.

Even in the Hayden Hensley story, some of the contradictions surfaced as the years passed. After ten years of full-time carving, "our first boy" found that he was bored by it, that it was "just like going to a job"—"the same old grind every day" he called it forty years later. So he quit carving altogether in 1941, took a job firing a boiler for a local veneer plant, and didn't carve another piece for twenty-five years. Only after retirement did he begin again, and then at the local community college instead of at the folk school. His students are not the local young people that Olive Dame Campbell hoped to keep on the land, but mostly retirees looking for a way to occupy their leisure.

What is at issue, finally—as it was with Hindman Settlement School earlier and the contemporary White Top festival—is the politics of culture. Why and how did Campbell, who understood the transformation of Denmark from a feudal to a democratic society and who put so much of her energy into organizing cooperatives—which at least had some potential for improving the economic facts of life in Clay and Cherokee counties—allow herself to be boxed at last into the corner of Southern Highland Handicraft Guild and folk school culture? And how did she allow such a romantic concept of "culture" to divert her from her larger social concerns?

Of her *knowledge* of certain of the economic and political facts of life in the mountains—and in Denmark—there can be no doubt. In *The Southern Highlander and His Homeland* she wrote of the "commercial shortsightedness and greed" that had destroyed mountain forests (p. 231), the "lumber syndicates," and the control of hydroelectric power in North Carolina by a few corporations (p. 235). In her book on Danish folk schools