



PROJECT MUSE®

---

## Healing Logics

Erika Brady

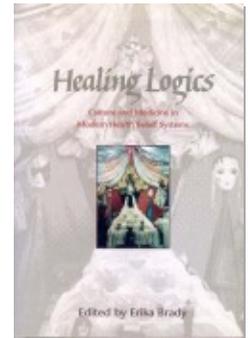
Published by Utah State University Press

Brady, Erika.

Healing Logics: Culture and Medicine in Modern Health Belief Systems.

Utah State University Press, 2001.

Project MUSE.[muse.jhu.edu/book/9398](https://muse.jhu.edu/book/9398).



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/9398>

---

Access provided at 29 Mar 2020 08:00 GMT with no institutional affiliation



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.

-----

*The Poor Man's Medicine Bag:*  
THE EMPIRICAL FOLK REMEDIES OF  
TILLMAN WAGGONER

RICHARD BLAUSTEIN, ANTHONY CAVENDER,  
AND JACKIE SLUDER,  
WITH COMMENTS BY TILLMAN WAGGONER

-----

**PART I: BECOMING AN HERB DOCTOR**

As the old saying goes, Tillman (Tim) Waggoner of Knoxville, Tennessee, is a “man of many parts.” Born in 1940 and raised in the Marble City community in the formerly rural Third Creek section of west Knoxville, at various points in his life Tim Waggoner has been a moonshiner (very briefly), soldier, Missionary Baptist preacher and radio evangelist, folk healer, blue-collar laborer, folk festival performer, university guest lecturer, and also author and publisher of several collections of local folktales, recipes, and home remedies, including *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* (1984). Tim Waggoner wrote *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* “to help people who couldn't afford to go to the doctor” and to preserve some of the traditional knowledge of southern Appalachian folk medicine still current during his childhood. Realizing that he “just got in on the last of this great thing” (meaning traditional Appalachian folk medicine), Tim took on the role of native folklorist, interviewing approximately one hundred of his friends and neighbors concerning herbs and home remedies. *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*, however, is much more than simply a compendium of Appalachian folk remedies; it represents the confluence of diverse streams of medical tradition, old and new, local and exotic, distilled from popular literature as well as oral tradition, all of which Tim considers to be empirical therapeutic alternatives.

Tim Waggoner still lives in the Third Creek section of Knoxville where he was born and raised. His parents, Tillman Hollis Waggoner and Lillian Omeda Waggoner, were hardworking east Tennessee country people who moved to Knoxville from small rural communities in Union and Sevier Counties, respectively, in the late 1930s. The third of seven children, Tim nostalgically remembers his formative years as a time when a genuine sense of community still prevailed, an era when neighbors helped out in time of need. Following the old pioneer adage of “make do or do without,” Tim recalls that his family and their neighbors made extensive use of botanicals and other traditional *materia medica*. However, medical knowledge in the Marble City community was not exclusively passed along via oral transmission, contrary to prevalent romantic stereotypes of southern Appalachian folk culture. Some of the Waggoner family's herbal knowledge came from official rather than folk sources: Tim's mother (actually his aunt: see afterword) often referred to a U.S. Department of Agriculture monograph dealing with the collection, preservation, and medicinal uses of botanicals. Practical in all aspects of their lives, Tim's family and neighbors were by no means opposed to official medicine, as long as they could afford to pay for it. Tim notes that he was hospitalized twice during his childhood, at the age of two for diphtheria and again at five for spinal meningitis. Two of Tim's sisters are now practicing nurses.

During his teenage years, Tim became acquainted with two older men, Doc Harris and Dewey Lincus, who sparked his budding interest in herbs and their medical uses. Not a licensed physician, Doc Harris was a self-taught herbalist who sold his botanical concoctions on Market Street in downtown Knoxville. According to Tim, Dewey Lincus was “an old mountain man from Rogersville” (the county seat of Hawkins County, Tennessee), who was well known around south Knoxville as an especially adept herb doctor. Lincus made the greatest impression on the young Tim Waggoner. He recalls that Doc Harris was somewhat secretive and unwilling to reveal the ingredients of his herbal preparations, which he prepared and sold commercially like so many other old-fashioned herbalists and medicine-show men. Dewey Lincus, however, was a generous and amiable old soul who was glad to have the young Waggoner accompany him on his forays into the nearby Great Smoky Mountains to gather herbs. Tim spent countless hours on the front porch of Lincus's shack soaking in the older man's knowledge of herbs and home remedies. Seemingly a reclusive folk mystic, Lincus was “close to nature” and could communicate with animals, bringing to mind St. Francis of Assisi, who could allegedly talk with birds. Tim Waggoner insists that “Dewey talked to animals like I talk to you . . . I have sat down on his porch with him and they would come in to be healed” (1995a).

Shortly after graduating from high school in 1958, Tim joined the U.S. Army. Returning home from the service, he married Joyce Ann Boles and began working for a grocery chain and later took a job with TRW Plastics, where he worked for thirty-three years. A few years after his marriage, Tillman Waggoner received a spiritual call to preach the gospel and was subsequently ordained as a Missionary Baptist minister. From early childhood, he was intensely religious and a regular churchgoer, even though his own parents were not always so inclined. He has ministered to a small congregation in the Marble City neighborhood for many years and at one time had a religious program on a Knoxville AM radio station. Though profoundly religious in orientation, Tim's philosophy of medicine (described in detail in part II) is both highly eclectic and pragmatic. Rather than relying solely on faith healing as do adherents of radical fundamentalist sects, who are actually only a small if highly sensationalized segment of the southern Appalachian population, Tim's predominantly naturalistic and empirical medical beliefs and practices are arguably closer to the Appalachian norm and the American cultural mainstream in general.

Tim Waggoner is hardly typical in any other respect, however. Few ordinary people could have mustered the energy required to work a regular industrial job, minister to a small church, conduct his own radio program, help raise a family of three children, and still find time to read about herbs and healing. Tim began frequenting an area health food store in the late 1970s, where he acquired books, monographs, and pamphlets dealing with herbs and nutrition. *Prevention* magazine remains one of his most valued sources of alternative health care information. Three popular health books particularly influenced Tim's ideas about health and natural diet: John Lust's *The Herb Book* (1974), Jethro Kloss's *Back to Eden* ([1939] 1970), and D. C. Jarvis's *Folk Medicine* (1958).

*The Herb Book* introduced Tim to a wider range of medicinal herbs than those customarily used in southern Appalachian folk medicine. Written by a Vermont physician, D. C. Jarvis's national best seller *Folk Medicine* extolled the salubrious health benefits of honey and vinegar. Though popularized by a Vermont Yankee, the honey and vinegar regimen was quickly incorporated into contemporary southern folk medicine, not only by Tim Waggoner in *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* but also by an Alabama entrepreneur who promotes a commercial honey-vinegar health drink called "Jogging in a Jug." (Recent TV ads repeat the statement that honey and vinegar have no official proven health benefits, strongly suggesting that the FDA may have warned the makers of "Jogging in a Jug" to tone down their advertised health claims.) However, Jethro Kloss's *Back to Eden* had the greatest influence upon Tim Waggoner's

personal philosophy of health and healing, highly consonant with Kloss's contention that "the fundamental principle of true healing consists of a return to natural habits of living" ([1939] 1970, iv). The return to natural habits of living has been a recurrent theme of health reform movements in the United States and elsewhere at least since the early nineteenth century. Early health care reformers such as Sylvester Graham and authors of popular home health guides like Wooster Beach and John C. Gunn espoused what would now be termed a "holistic" approach to preventive health care, largely based upon diet (primarily or exclusively vegetarian), rest, exercise, and stress management. Some early health care reformers were purely naturalistic and rationalistic; others, like the founders of the Seventh Day Adventist Church and the Latter-day Saints, equated return to natural diet with spirituality and the rejection of worldly corruption, artificiality, and impurity. *Back to Eden* by Jethro Kloss is a twentieth-century expression of this ongoing tradition of American religious health care reform. Health reform is defined in religious terms. According to Kloss, "natural habits of living" were established by God to enjoy a life free from illnesses which stem from the rejection of divine wisdom. If humans would only follow the principles Kloss terms "simple laws of health," including pure food, pure water, fresh air, sunshine, rest, nature's remedies, herbs, etc." ([1939] 1970, ii), then natural good health can be restored.

Kloss's influence on Waggoner is evident in this excerpt from a taped interview Jackie Sluder recorded with Tim:

You see, a lot of people don't understand this but everything comes from God. Every disease, they don't come from the devil. The devil didn't create anything; they come from God. Of course, Satan uses the law of nature to let you catch them. (1995b)

Tim's statement echoes Kloss's theories concerning the divine nature of healing clearly expressed in the following excerpt from *Back to Eden*:

God has provided a remedy for every disease that might afflict us. Satan cannot afflict anyone with any disease for which God has not provided a remedy. Our Creator foresaw the wretched condition of mankind in these days, and made provision in Nature for all the ills of man. Many who violate the laws of health are ignorant of the laws of living (eating, drinking, and working) to their health. Until they have some kind of sickness or illness, they do not realize that their condition is caused by the laws of nature and health. ([1939] 1970, ii–iii).

Waggoner elaborates on his view of some of the basic tenets of the law of Nature in his preface to *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*:

First, let me say that I believe in doctors and the medical profession. Now, let me say that I want to go to heaven as bad as anyone else, but I will take every pill that I can take to help me stay longer. This is the will to survive that God has placed in man. Without it, a person would not want to overcome the second death either. It would be stupid to say that there is no divine healing, just as it would be stupid to say that there is not natural healing which includes the aid of doctors and the medical profession. Go to a hospital and see for yourself. It happens everyday. It doesn't matter whether it is divine healing with God's intervention, or whether it is natural healing with the aid of doctors. God does all the healing. He made our bodies and it would be stupid to say that He cannot heal them. The world in which we live is ruled by the law of nature. This is God's law in which he lets nature take its course except where He would intervene. Nothing can break the law of Nature except God. (1984, 2)

Tim promoted his philosophy of health on his radio programs, encouraging listeners to acknowledge and conform to the divine law of Nature while dispensing practical advice concerning the health benefits of herbs, fresh air, exercise, proper nutrition, and the like. Occasionally, he advertised some of his herbal preparations (tonics and liniments) on his radio show. Seeking to expand his audience, Tim also became a regular contributor on health advice to the editorial pages of Knoxville's two daily newspapers.

By the 1970s, Tim began taking what he calls his "traveling herb wagon" to local fairs, flea markets, and community festivals in and around Knoxville. He assembled a portable table display including herbs, tonics, liniments, and—after its publication in 1984—*The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*, and offered advice concerning healing through following God's law of Nature. Tim finally gave up traveling around with his herb wagon around 1985, but not before he had attracted the attention of folklorists who first recruited him as a participant in the Stokeley Folklife Festival at the Knoxville World's Fair in 1982, which in turn led to his selection as a member of the Tennessee contingent at the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C., in 1986. Today, Tim looks back at his traveling herb wagon as an effort to educate the public concerning the law of Nature. Following the example of his old mentor Doc Harris, Tim's herb wagon and his radio advertisements for tonics and liniments represent a continuation of an old entrepreneurial medicine show tradition which still survives here and there throughout the southern United States, despite the advances of modern medicine and the regulatory efforts of the Food and Drug Administration. While making the circuit with his traveling herb wagon, Tim came to know and learn from other vernacular healers. He particularly respected and admired Chief Two Trees, a Native American

healer from Old Fort, North Carolina, who claimed success in treating various forms of cancers. Waggoner attended several seminars by Chief Two Trees and was so impressed by him that he referred several friends and acquaintances to him for treatment. Though Chief Two Trees eventually succumbed to prostate cancer, this did not diminish Tim's confidence in him. As he told Jackie Sluder, "He could have probably cured himself. Knowing him, he smoked, he ate what he wanted, he lived like he wanted, and he died like he wanted" (1995c).

Though Tim began receiving a degree of official validation for his herbal work in the mid-1980s, not only appearing at major folk festivals but also giving guest lectures on herbalism at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville on several occasions, he actually quit taking his traveling herb wagon to area gatherings by 1985. Holding down a full-time job while promoting natural healing on the side was becoming too stressful; besides, Tim's herb business was never profitable enough for him to support his family. Nonetheless, people kept seeking him out for advice on herbs and healing, and he would not turn away anyone in need. *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* became his primary instrument for educating people about the law of Nature and common-sense, God-given knowledge about maintaining health.

Though Tim says that he believes in doctors and official medicine, his attitude towards official medicine, like that of many other unorthodox healers (see Gevitz 1978, 18–21), is highly critical. Basically, Tim's attitude to official medicine is in accord with the adjuration to Christians to "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's." While he does accept the value and efficacy of conventional medicine in coping with critical life-threatening ailments, particularly sexually transmitted diseases, he believes along with Jethro Kloss that healing ultimately comes from conformity to God's law of Nature, not from human cleverness or ingenuity. In Tim's estimation, official medicine is fundamentally misdirected; its technological achievements have had the unfortunate consequence, he believes, of further alienating humankind from the law of Nature. Like many Americans, he considers professional medicine corrupt, motivated by monetary gain rather than the desire to ease human suffering. Doctors are less interested in curing people than in making them drug-free. In Tim's opinion, the United States is "a nation of drug addicts." Hospitals are "slaughterhouses" where much unnecessary surgery is performed. Doctors would not be needed if people would only follow the law of Nature. Like Jethro Kloss, Tim Waggoner firmly believes that medical science ought to devote itself to understanding the therapeutic powers of God's law of Nature, which is the basis of healthful living.

## PART II. ANALYZING THE CONTENTS OF *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*

Published in 1984, two years after Tim presented his program on herbs and natural healing at the Stokeley Folklife Festival at the Knoxville World's Fair, *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* includes a variety of remedies, recipes, useful advice, and homespun philosophy leavened with Tim's tongue-in-cheek humor. Part I of *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* is devoted to remedies; part II includes recipes for food and wines, also advice on planting by the signs of the zodiac, bringing to mind *The Old Farmer's Almanac* and that longtime southern favorite, *Moore's Almanac*. Waggoner includes a few astrological health care tips as well. When is it best to break bad habits such as smoking, drinking, or overeating? "When the signs come down out of the bowels, quit the next day. It will be easier than you think" (1984, 74).

Similarly, Tim recommends puncturing a burn or blister after sundown to promote healing. This is analogous to healing by signs of the zodiac, based upon belief that there is a natural rhythm and order pervading all of God's creation. Following the natural order leads to healing and increase; disorderly living leads to sickness and decay. Possibly the principle of sympathetic magic links the setting of the sun and the dwindling of the burn or blister, which is congruent with a literal belief that to everything there is a season, including the correct time of day or month to undertake the sowing of a field or the healing of a wound.

Though Tim does not use the term, his approach to health and healing can be characterized as holistic. This is particularly evident in his discussion of alcoholism and alternative treatments for it. Tim recognizes that alcoholism is a complex condition, entailing psychological and social factors as well as chemical dependency. He recommends that the alcoholic needs to be kept busy, but also suggests that goldenseal tea, eating apples, and drinking apple cider vinegar, or an infusion of Virginia creeper leaves, can also help kill the craving for strong drink.

Reading like a nineteenth-century domestic medical book, *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* is a compendium of homely knowledge derived from a variety of sources, including oral tradition and popular publications. One indication of Tim's wide-ranging reading of health care literature is his use of exotic medicinal plants such as archangel root and palmetto berries, not typically associated with southern Appalachian folk medicine. Use of exotic botanicals by southern Appalachian herbalists is not necessarily a recent development. In the nineteenth century, domestic medical books typically included sets of botanical illustrations and descriptions of the curative properties of various plants. One of the oldest established commercial botanical

companies in the United States, the Indiana Herb Company (established in 1910 and now known as Indiana Botanical Gardens), not only bought medicinal roots and herbs in bulk from pickers in various parts of the U.S., but its founder and proprietor Joseph E. Meyer (1878–1950) even published his own pocket-sized herb-picking guide, *The Herbalist*, first published in 1918 and reprinted as recently as 1960, which doubled as a mail-order catalogue, including advertisements for exotic medicinal botanicals and also magical roots and aphrodisiacs. Here again, it is important that scholars concerned with nonofficial medicine recognize the importance of various forms of vernacular (non-professional) literature in addition to oral transmission in the continuing evolution of pluralistic health care belief systems like those converging in *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*.

Some of the popular health theories Tim advocates include finger acupuncture (1984, 7), reflexology for headache (7), and color therapy to calm emotional distress (24 and 75). While some proponents of official medicine might be tempted to laugh off some of the medical theories Tim espouses, at various points Tim appears to have picked up a few ideas through his reading in health care literature which have since been validated by systematic scientific research, especially his advice to drink red wine daily to lower high blood pressure.

An exhaustive item-by-item survey of 650 remedies listed in part I (see appendix) reveals the pluralistic character of Tim Waggoner's empirical health care options, summarized below:

- herbal: 276
- home remedy (nonherbal): 246
- over the counter: 42
- diet: 18
- consult professional: 16
- inhalation (steam, vapors): 9
- conventional first aid: 7
- conventional medicine: 7
- magical: 6
- massage: 4
- fumigation: 3
- popular health theories: 3
- cold therapy (ice packs, et cetera): 3
- warnings against traditional remedy: 3
- avoid strenuous exercise: 2
- mind, body, and health: 2
- old folk remedies or medical history: 2
- environment: 2

- warning regarding dosage: 1
- warning against popular remedy: 1
- emetics: 1
- enemas: 1
- exercise: 1
- heat therapy (heating pads, et cetera): 1
- prayer or faith healing (recite Ezekiel 16:6 or blood stopping): 1

## DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Our analysis of these items listed in part I of *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* shows that the ten leading types of remedies advocated by Tim Waggoner fall into four major categories:

- A. *Noncritical naturalistic*
  1. Herbalism
  2. Home remedies
  3. Over-the-counter remedies
  4. Diet
  5. Massage or physical therapy
  6. Popular health theories
- B. *Critical naturalistic*
  7. Conventional medicine
  8. Conventional first aid
- C. *Noncritical supernatural*
  9. Magical remedies
- D. *Critical supernatural*
  10. Prayer or faith healing

Tim believes people ought to use their God-given intelligence and common sense to take care of their ailments and infirmities. For the most part, *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* provides naturalistic remedies for noncritical health care problems. Herbal remedies are the leading category, closely followed by nonherbal home remedies making use of items normally used for cooking or other domestic purposes or generic nonprescription materia medica such as castor oil, Epsom salts, and mineral oil. In accord with his eclectic, empirical approach, Tim also recommends over-the-counter remedies he believes to be effective as convenient alternatives to herbal preparations or nonherbal home remedies. Over-the-counter medications Tim particularly advocates include Pepto-Bismol and Save the Baby, a patented expectorant he discussed at considerable length in a taped interview with Jackie Sluder. Tim consistently advises his readers to seek professional attention and to use conventional first aid techniques in critical situations.

Despite the predominantly naturalistic orientation of *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*, Tim does advocate a few magical cures, though he is well aware that many people dismiss them as superstitious nonsense. He prefaces these magical remedies by saying, "Now some people may laugh at this . . ." before proceeding to give well-known cures for warts, including rubbing warts with sliced potato and tying knots in wool, rubbing nine times on each wart, and then burying the wool, a form of sympathetic magic.

Having a seventh son or an orphan blow into an infant's mouth to cure thrush is also another well-documented Appalachian folk remedy. Tim's eclecticism is clearly evident in the various alternatives he offers as cures for this condition: "Thrash is a yeast infection which causes small white blisters in the mouth. For a cure have a seventh son of a seventh son to blow in the mouth, or someone who has never seen their parents, then use over-the-counter gentian violet or purple medicine" (1984, 74). Tim also gives these alternative cures for the same condition: "Drink water from a shoe, or go to a doctor" (74). Tim seemingly makes fun of belief in the inherent magical healing power of seventh sons in his humorous parody of a well-known traditional folk remedy: "For headache, have the seventh son of a seventh son blow in ear and then take two aspirin" (7).

From the folklorist's point of view, it is ironic that Tim describes vernacular medical practices he considers bizarre and outmoded as "old folks remedies," such as putting warm urine in the ear to ease earache, or cutting off a black chicken's head and smearing its blood on the affected skin to cure shingles. Variations upon the motif of killing or drawing blood from a black animal (generally a hen or cat) and using its blood to cure shingles can be found throughout the South (Hand 1980, 192; Waller and Killion 1972, 87; Clark 1970, 78). Waggoner finds these medical curiosities amusing, but he does not recommend them to his readers; they are not effective therapeutic alternatives in his view.

Surveying the individual items included in Tim's remedies reveals the open-ended eclecticism of his approach to healing. Honey plays an important therapeutic role as an ointment and for other healing properties. Honey appears twenty-four times, in six cases mixed with vinegar following the practice of D. C. Jarvis. Vinegar appears twenty-eight times, used for a wide variety of purposes. Sassafras is mentioned five times, once with the warning that some doctors believe it may cause cancer. Ginseng is mentioned twice, as a remedy for impotence and also rheumatism. Kerosene occurs three times, as a mosquito repellent, applied as a poultice for croup, and once with the warning *not* to apply it to cuts or wounds as an antiseptic but to use hydrogen peroxide instead. Tim advises against the medicinal use of kerosene, once a common southern folk practice, along with turpentine. The burning, astringent properties of kerosene and turpentine are of positive value according to the antiquated medical

doctrine known as counter-irritant theory. Like the use of purgatives to which it is historically and conceptually related, counterirritant theory is quite literally the medical expression of the idea of fighting fire with fire, sometimes by deliberately raising blisters and creating irritations believed to draw out the noxious humors causing various diseases, particularly congestion of the lungs, which is remedied by the application of poultices. Regarding the empirical therapeutic validity of counterirritant theory, it is worth noting the increasing use of capsicum oleoresin found in chili peppers as an active ingredient in over-the-counter liniments and rubs, which creates a mild topical irritation stimulating the production of pain-relieving endorphins.

Red clover is recommended for use as a healing ointment and as blood purifier. Waggoner also advocates drinking a gallon of red clover tea daily for a year to cure cancer (1984, 80), a treatment he likely acquired from Kloss.

Some other items recommended in *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* and their respective frequencies include:

- castor oil: 8
- plantain leaves or sap: 8
- baking soda: 5
- sage: 9
- slippery elm: 9
- goldenseal: 2
- vitamins: 2
- aspirin: 3
- foxglove (*digitalis*) tea (for heart condition, with warning regarding over-dosage: 1
- WD-40 lubricant spray (to relieve arthritis): 1

Though Tim advocates WD-40 for arthritis pain in *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*, he later disavowed it on the grounds that the lubricant spray intended for use on mechanical joints contained harmful substances which go into the bloodstream. Researchers have recorded use of WD-40 as an arthritis remedy in southern Appalachia. (Lang et al. 1988; Cavender and Beck 1995). The most common herbal remedy for arthritis and rheumatism in the southern Appalachians is to drink pokeberry tea or wine (see Waggoner 1984, 69).

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This brief overview of the healing knowledge contained in *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* illustrates the diversity of Tim's materia medica, his consistent ethical concern for the welfare of readers making use of these remedies, and his critical evaluation of traditional home remedies. Tim points out ill-founded or

harmful traditional remedies and consistently warns his readers against common practices such as putting butter on burns or daubing insect stings with moist tobacco. Though his remedies are largely naturalistic, Tim advocates prayer as the last resort in case of severe bleeding. This set of remedies from *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* graphically illustrates Tim's fundamental hierarchy of beliefs:

1. Stop bleeding: apply instant tea to wound
2. Stop bleeding: in dire cases, apply spider web to wound
3. Stop bleeding (serious wounds): apply tourniquet
4. Stop bleeding: as last resort, recite Ezekiel 16:6, inserting the name of the victim as directed. (1984, 17)

Tim Waggoner believes that critical health problems call for professional care and conventional first aid techniques, or if all else fails, prayer. Noncritical health problems can be treated with inexpensive home remedies, herbal infusions, or commercial over-the-counter preparations. A few magical remedies are effective; some traditional naturalistic remedies are harmful and should be avoided. Proper diet, stressing fresh fruits and vegetables as well as vitamin and mineral supplements, is also essential to good health.

Like modern people in general, many people in the southern Appalachians today probably share a largely but not exclusively naturalistic attitude towards health care. Cavender and Beck's recent systematic survey of remembered and current health care beliefs and practices of a rural community in Scott County, Virginia (the home of country music's original Carter family), strongly indicates that these longtime residents of southern Appalachia are quite pragmatic concerning their health and consistently seek out the most effective care they can afford (1995). Though most older community members were well acquainted with herbs and home remedies like those described in *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*, few still relied upon them, nor would very many hesitate to avail themselves of official medicine if they felt they needed it, regardless of romantic, misinformed stereotypes of Appalachian antimodernism and fatalism.

Tim Waggoner is definitely not fatalistic, nor is he necessarily antimodern, though he, like many modern Americans, is critical of official medicine. However, as our analysis of *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* shows, Tim is also critical of ill-founded and dangerous folk or popular remedies which are not empirically beneficial and effective. Rather than being fatalistic and antimodern, Tim Waggoner's medical beliefs and practices are actually both pluralistic and dynamic, deriving from a diversity of cultural traditions and sources and open to innovations with demonstrable therapeutic value. In this regard,

Tim Waggoner is like many other Americans for whom official medicine is neither their first nor their last therapeutic option but rather only one of a range of alternatives (see Blaustein 1992). Waggoner's eclectic and empirical approach to healing is shared by other notable folk herbalists in the region, including the late A. L. Tommie Bass of northern Alabama (Crellin and Philpott 1990) and Clarence "Catfish" Grey of West Virginia (Green 1978). Earlier we described Tim Waggoner as a man of many parts. A close reading of *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* reveals its author to be a true populist educator, a man of the people without advanced formal education who has nonetheless become a self-taught scholar whose mission it is to bring beneficial knowledge to the community he serves. Interpreting Tim Waggoner's ideas and practice within the broader history of the American health care reform movement and the particular context of the Christian naturalist movement in the United States helps us to better appreciate the pluralistic and dynamic character of unofficial medical beliefs and practices in the modern world in general.

#### AFTERWORD: A CONVERSATION WITH TIM WAGGONER

We thought it would be valuable to invite Tim Waggoner to read our essay and comment upon our interpretation and presentation of his medical theories and practices. Happily for us, Tim also thought this was a worthwhile idea. On Friday, 15 May 1998, we visited Tim at his home in Knoxville where we taped our conversation with him. Tim had anticipated our questions by preparing the following written notes:

1. The main reason I quit seeing people medically—people will not do what you tell them. I still lecture.
2. One of the main reasons for my driving effort for knowledge is that I am a poor man, and I hate to pay someone to do something I can do myself. People today have become lazy. There are over 5 million people who weigh over 500 pounds. Don't take me wrong, because being a few pounds overweight can be healthier than being underweight, but people are getting so lazy that they cannot function. Others will not work simply because it takes less energy to steal. This I blame on John F. Kennedy who put millions on welfare instead of requiring people to work. A person will not let himself starve. He will work if he is made to.

My driving force which has caused me to work has been a Bible verse which says that a man who will not provide for his family is worse than an infidel. I'm here to tell you. I have made many blisters.

My approach to medicine is God. God made this world, and he has told us in the Bible what we should & should not eat to make us healthy.

He has also told us to work. I believe in exercise, but I believe in it in the form of work. Put your energy to good use, and something gets accomplished. You may not like this, but if you don't ever accomplish anything, there is really no need for you to be in this world. You are a disease carrier of a different kind.

Many people only get in tune with God when they need something, such as a miracle. They throw the ball into God's court, and many people have died praying for a miracle, but it was not God's will that they should receive it. Probably due in part to broken promises, etc. However, this is not the approach I take. I let God throw the ball into my court, which he has done. God has said, "My grace is sufficient to overcome all things." I let the church pray for a miracle, mainly because I feel unworthy of one but since I have the ball instead of God having it, I play the game to test God's grace. Read and study about the ailment. Quit eating things that are bad for it, and start eating things that help cure it, etc.

In his taped conversation with us, Tim elaborated on these key principles of his medical beliefs and practices for nearly an hour. Edited excerpts of this transcribed conversation follow below:

*[TW=Tim Waggoner; TC=Tony Cavender; RB=Richard Blaustein]*

**RB:** . . . for the sake of the record, Tony [Cavender] and I have gone ahead and written this piece about your work and have sent you a copy in the mail. You've been very charitable with us: it looks like we have a few typos and a few spelling mistakes that you also helped us identify. Otherwise I would be very interested to know what you think of how we have described you, how we have described your approach to medicine and such things.

**TW:** Well, my approach hasn't changed a whole lot. It's still religiously based, which needs some more clarification: I think God made the world, I think he created the body, and I think it's up to him to cure it. Now, I talk to you in the book about the law of Nature, which is God's law, and nothing can stop the law of Nature except, of course, God. And when he stops it and reaches down and heals the body, it's a miracle. That's what we call a miracle.

Now there are people dying every day—they do nothing but pray for a miracle. Seemingly the doctors cannot help them, and they die praying for a miracle. And you wonder why that happens: well, personally, I don't feel worthy of a miracle. I don't think I'm going to look for one when there's something medically wrong with me.

I take God's other approach. Rather than dying begging God to perform a miracle, I take the approach that God's grace is sufficient to help me overcome all things. And I believe that. In other words, when you pray for a

blessing—I mean a miracle—you throw the ball in God’s court. When you believe that God’s grace is sufficient to help you overcome all things, the ball’s in your court. You see what I am saying? The thing for you to do is not give up praying for a miracle, get the church to do that. And start reading and studying and learning what’s wrong with you. I’m not one of these people that . . . I believe that anything can be cured.

My great-great grandfather looked out at nature, and he said, “There’s a cure there for everything.” If I’m going to waste my time, I’m going to waste it hunting a cure for what’s wrong with me, see what I’m saying. I’m going to read, study, take other people’s opinions . . . I’ll take every pill I can take to stay in this world. I want to see the Lord as much as anybody else, but I ain’t in no hurry.

But there are things in the Bible that lead me to believe . . . well, flat out, God said to let your medicine be herbs, and flat out he said you can shorten your days or you can lengthen them. And I read and study these things. You’re not going to live forever. Something’s going to take you out of this world. But, if we can try and do live longer, we’ve left this world a better place, because it’ll help the next fellow that’s got it, you know. But I just don’t see us a-layin’ and a-prayin’ for a miracle, ’cause first of all, I’d be the first to admit that I’m not worthy of no miracle. And I guess ninety percent of the people feel the way I do.

TC: But yet some people are worthy of a miracle, but the miracle doesn’t come.

TW: That’s right. Like the law of Nature, God’s got two or three wills. It’s not his will in the first place for you to be sick, but he permits it, according to the law of Nature, you see. He permits you to be sick. He’s got a will, and a permissive will. And if it’s his will to give you a miracle, and if it’s his will that you be healed, it’ll be there. But if it’s his permissive will to let you die, that’s just following the law of Nature. So the only thing you can do is ease your pain till your time to go.

TW: There are several reasons I quit seeing people. I’ve not completely quit; I still tell folks things, you know. But I used to have them come here, you know, and I’d see ’em.

Two main reasons—I’m a poor man. The reason I got interested in this in the first place: I don’t believe in paying anybody for anything I can do myself. And if you look at the medical profession, it’s expensive, and a poor man cannot afford it. Now, that’s the reason I got into it.

Now the reason I quit seeing people, there’s two reasons. They will not do what you tell them to do. When I tell you what to do, I want it done exactly like I tell you [*laughs*]. And I’ll give you an example, my own mother, she

wanted a laxative—gentle, soothing laxative. She couldn't get one from the doctor; nothing she tried worked. So I told her, "Yeah, I can help you." I took some out; I preached to her for fifteen minutes. I said, "Momma, *one* teaspoon." When it come time to take it: "Ah, I feel so bad I'll take two teaspoons." Well, she was using the vacuum and the pain hit her, and she just had to throw it down and run. It nearly turned her inside out.

TC: What kind of laxative was it?

TW: It was already premixed; you can buy 'em at the health food store. But another thing, like my son, he was getting married and they wanted me to make a gallon of my sex tea to take on their honeymoon. Well, at the time all I had was a quart jar. My recipe called for a gallon. I set him down and . . . another fifteen minutes, "Make this into a gallon!" So I made it into a quart and told him all he had to do was add water to make a gallon. They got on their honeymoon: "Well, we'll just drink it like it is!" Well, you can overdose on herbs. That's what happened to him: he overdosed. She was smokin' like a cheap cigar; he was sick for [laughs] . . . three or four days, you know. But the list goes on and on and on. And if you're not willing to do what I tell you, I don't want to see you. I don't want to harm you [laughs] . . . or make you worse.

But you've got to do what your doctor says, regardless of who it is, you know. If they won't take my word for it, they'll just have to learn by experience.

TC: So that was the main reason, people not complying with you . . .

TW: Yeah, going back to what I was telling you, the reason I got into this—this is an interesting theory, too—way back when I got into it, there were few doctors making house calls, not many. Like I said, I was always a person that if I could do it myself, I wouldn't pay for it. That's the way the old-timers used to be. My daddy could do anything to a house or a car or anything else, you know. He was a walking book of knowledge, the smartest man I ever knew. All the men of that day were; they knew how to do *everything*. And they didn't pay for anything they could do for themselves. People have gotten away from that.

TC: We've become specialists.

TW: We've become fat and lazy. There's over five million people over five hundred pounds in this country because of it. Got the wrong mental outlook, they're not willing to work . . . course, I blame John F. Kennedy for that.

TC: Why's that?

TW: Put 'em all on welfare. He's the one who started all that stuff. Now they're too lazy to work. But that's my opinion, you know [laughs] . . . political. I'll give you a good comment to go with that: if you're not willing to work and

make this world a better place, then we don't need you in this world. You're a disease carrier of a different kind. You know what I'm talking about. And the only remedy I get for that is just to get a job.

Now if you want to know what I have accomplished that I am real proud of, I have read all the books by the Bible scholars, highly educated, and none of them seen the truth. And as a dumb hillbilly, I'm going to be able to show 'em [*laughs*]. I've about got my book finished; I lack about four or five paragraphs. It cannot be denied.

**RB:** What is the title of this book?

**TW:** *Looking for a City*, I believe it is. I've changed it so many times; I've wrote it four or five times; didn't like it.

**TC:** You've been working on this for several years?

**TW:** Oh yeah. They've not been able to see it, and for a dumb hillbilly to show scholars, you know, to me, that's an accomplishment. But that's what's wrong with the world today. We've got disease; men are not willing to make the world a better place for the people. Course, that goes back to environment and everything else. . . . That goes right back to the Bible. The devil, he wants everything concrete, he wants it to be pavement. He wants buildings sitting on it so you can't see the handiworks of God. He's no fool; got to give the devil a little credit. Yeah, he's shrewd. People can't see it.

What scares me, though, the Bible says over in Revelations, I forget the chapter, but the reason he is coming—talking about Christ—to destroy them that destroy the earth. And it's in there in black and white.

I don't even like to dig in the earth. We've dug in the earth. The earth has given us and given us and given us, and we've given nothing back. Keep on raping and plundering. But it's sad. In the process, we're destroying the very things that can cure us. There's so many species of animals, species of wildlife that are disappearing every day. Somewhere out there, we're just destroying the very things it's going to take to cure us. I like things natural, not synthetic.

The body gets sick naturally. If you eat the wrong things, you're going to be sick. And that's what's happening in America: we've got a sweet tooth, and ninety percent of what we eat is sugar. Or it's salt or pepper. Now, red pepper is good for you, but black pepper is not.

And they worry about cigarettes. More people are going to die of diabetes than have tobacco cancer. Course, when I was a young man—talking about tobacco—you never seen people dying of cancers; very rare. But they put all this junk in cigarettes today: ammonia, make it go to your brain faster. If they went back to just smoking tobacco just like it was, you know,

they wouldn't have much of a problem. Tobacco companies are killing themselves.

In fact, some forms of tobacco, Life Everlasting, what they call "rabbit tobacco," has been smoked for centuries for asthma. But we're too involved in politics to see straight of anything, really, in this country. We just can't stand to see a bunch of woods or a field; got to build something on it. It irks me no end for every tree I see cut. God put 'em there for a reason. Course, now we're finding out why he put 'em there! Look at the Bible . . . all the fruit-bearing trees, eat the fruit thereof. And you're talking about the fruits and the vegetables and the medicines, things, you know, berries. We'd be healthy as a horse if we left alone what God says. Pork! We're finding out everything he said to eat is good for us, and everything he said not to eat will kill us. I can't match wits with God. I've got to figure out what I can, you know.

TC: It sounds like your philosophy of healing that we wrote about in that paper hasn't changed . . .

TW: . . . just refined . . .

TC: You still adhere to the basic tenets you talked about in your interviews with Jackie Sluder and that you elaborate on so eloquently in your book, *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*. Is there anything about *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* you would change if you were to do it again?

TW: Probably . . .

TC: What would that be?

TW: Well, I've a vast knowledge accumulated. Started writing another book. There's so much in my mind, it'd be that thick.

TC: What would you add?

TW: Well, like . . . cancer scares us to death, you know. You mentioned one, red clover tea a gallon every day for a year. Well, my increase in knowledge would add other things to it, you see. Stuff like that.

TC: So, basically adding and refining additional bits of information.

TW: Yeah.

TC: You've always been an avid reader . . .

TW: Still, gold's where you find it. We get information from other people, we get it from reading, and by trial and error. So I guess that your vast knowledge that you can call a concrete foundation is trial and error. I like to know whether it works or not before I comment on it.

Now, I'll give you a little piece of information. You're getting older. I've tried everything . . . your ears begin to itch as you get older. Take you a Q-Tip, dip it down in brown vinegar, shake it off. Bacteria can't live

where vinegar is. Ear infection, the whole works; just one minute. Now, that I'd like to put in *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*. I've got a million of them! They have now come out with a solution that you put in your ears, but you can't beat straight vinegar.

**TC:** So those are the kind of things you would add to it. But your underlying philosophy of healing has remained intact.

**TW:** Oh yeah.

**TC:** Like the laws of Nature: our responsibility to Nature, our connectedness to God.

**TW:** Well, let's face it: the Bible says he's got us on a string. We're like puppets, and he puts the fuel in us to make us move. We're a machine. He makes us move, but he's still got it in his hands. He can cut it anytime he wants to. Well, that's a clear picture of the Bible. To me, he's God, and he rules the world. There've been a lot of fools didn't think so, but they found out when he cut the rope. That's an interesting theory; I don't know if you ever thought about that or not. But he's got us each individually from the heart on a string.

We're individuals. When he cuts that string, just one person dies, the one that's on that string. So each person's got a string, and he moves us around in this world the way he wants us to go—usually. He always gives us some freedom of choice. We choose to stay around people we get along with, but we need the other people. We cluster for sex and survival and whatever. I don't know if you ever saw it that way or not, but really that's the way it is in the Bible. When you see that, and you're reading and studying the Bible, everything begins to make sense to you . . . . But there is a cure for everything, if we just take time to find it. But we got to learn which direction to look.

**RB:** How do we recognize these things, how do we know these cures, how do we sort out the good ones from the bad ones, the effective ones from the ones that aren't effective?

**TW:** Yeah, all of that's got to be found under what I call the law of Nature. Sometimes you can make a little scratch, my dog's got me pretty good, and you just leave it alone. They'll heal themselves—most of the time. Sometimes they get infected. A little scratch has caused people to lose their arm, even their life, you know. Sometimes it turns sour. Under the law of Nature, we've got to find a cure. Outside of the law of Nature, of course, that's a miracle.

**RB:** What you seem to be stressing in *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag* is mostly naturalistic cures . . .

**TW:** . . . Definitely!

**RB:** Except for the one cure for the blood stopping, they all seem to be natural cures [*aside from six noncritical magical folk remedies*]. Why is that?

**TW:** Well, I think the body eats natural things. I found out through the years that you can cure practically anything by what you eat, or you can prevent it, you know. So, to me, science is way out on a limb. Instead of looking at the natural things that we do everyday, it's got to be in the natural.

**RB:** I guess what I was thinking was there are some people who would put more emphasis on prayer than you would seem to in this book. I'm just curious about that . . . it's not that you're not religious, because you are very religious, but why do some people put so much emphasis on healing through prayer while you seem to be emphasizing common sense?

**TW:** Well, we know that we need to pray, but we also should know. . . . Reason . . . there are a lot of religious fanatics that do not believe in going to the doctor but we need to reach these people. If they won't go to the doctor, at least they need to know a few fundamentals about healing themselves, you know what I'm saying? But to be frank with ye, I think God helps them that helps themselves.

**RB:** Yeah, that's what you seem to be saying in this book.

**TC:** One of my acquaintances up in Scott County, Virginia, said God wants you to do everything that's possible when you're ill, and that would include learning all you can about yourself, your body, medicines to use, as well as going to the doctor if necessary. She said a person should do all they can that's possible and let God take care of the impossible.

**RB:** That's well put.

**TC:** She's a Methodist. She said, "God doesn't like a lazy Christian." God doesn't want you to sit back and let God do all the work. God put a brain in your skull . . .

**TW:** That's basically what I believe.

**TC:** And you would say God laid out the laws of Nature, and it's up to you to get out there and learn what those laws are.

**TW:** You can't stop 'em; you just have to learn to live with them. And to learn to live with them, sometimes we have to . . . See, we're not all perfect. We make mistakes. We eat things and we do things in our lives that we shouldn't do, and we're going to pay for them, sure as we see another day coming around to us; that's how positive that it is you're going to pay for it.

**TC:** Can you think of any other comments you would like to make about our paper?

**TW:** My momma, you mentioned her; she used a lot of home remedies. My interest in home remedies came from her. [*Tim dedicated The Poor Man's*

Medicine Bag to his mother]. Now her aunt is the one who read about the herbs and all. She was . . . oh gosh, what's the word . . . delivered babies . . .

**RB and TC:** Midwife!

**TW:** Midwife. She was a midwife and everything else. They said it was amazing what she could do with colds and flus. Read an interesting article: they've about got the flu conquered. They've got it conquered in mice. But every flu they tried it on, it worked. I don't know what they made it out of, natural or anything else. But thank God for miracles! They work the other way, too . . .

**RB:** I don't know if I've got any more questions if you're reasonably satisfied with what you've seen. That really was the main concern: do you feel that this is reasonably accurate?

**TW:** Sounds good to me! You heard me . . .

**TC:** . . . We wanted to make sure that we were representing you fairly and accurately. . . .

**TW:** I love your wording. It's down-to-earth; I can read it.

**RB:** This makes me feel very good, Tim, because seriously, the two of us are very conscious about trying not to fall into that trap . . . [excessive use of academic jargon which cannot be understood by nonspecialists] [*laughter*].

**TW:** I'm a self-educated man, and a lot of that stuff I haven't gotten to yet! I enjoyed it. Everything I corrected [*referring to misspellings and typos*], except the one I just told you about my aunt. Mom, she was into home remedies. She really wasn't into herbs; maybe one every once in a while. Now, she could tell you the home remedies, my mom. Everything from constipation. They had a big old water bag, you know, for enemas. All sorts of stuff.

But I've helped a lot of people. An old man came to me one time. He had emphysema, couldn't walk across the street. I had him walking all over the neighborhood with just a simple little remedy: get out in the front yard . . .

**RB:** We just wanted to make sure you're represented accurately and honestly.

**TW:** Hey, that's one of the best ones I've seen. It's down-to-earth where I can comprehend it.

**RB:** Then we've succeeded . . . [in presenting Tim Waggoner's beliefs and ideas in terms that make sense to him].

**TW:** My head is full of knowledge, but it's not "above my raising," you know. I'm still on that level; I always will be. I spent years trying to grasp knowledge of a different sort. Some people spend their lives trying to get the big words and all that: all I want is the knowledge. I could care less about the big words.

## APPENDIX

Types of Remedies Listed in part I of *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*:*hair*

herbal: 8  
 home remedy: (nonherbal): 7  
 environmental factors: 2  
 over-the-counter remedies: 1  
 diet: 1

*head*

diet: 3  
 massage: 3  
 home remedy (nonherbal): 2  
 herbal: 2  
 over-the-counter remedies: 1  
 humorous: 2  
 other: 3

*face*

home remedy (nonherbal): 4  
 herbal: 2  
 diet: 2

*skin and impediments*

home remedy: 22  
 herbal: 19  
 over-the-counter remedies: 6  
 diet: 3  
 environment: 2  
 consult physician: 2  
 magical: 2  
 hygiene: 1

*wounds, cuts, burns, et cetera*

herbal: 27  
 home remedy: 17  
 over-the-counter remedies: 3  
 fumigation (blowing smoke on  
 wounds): 2  
 drawing out heat from wound with heat  
 (heat therapy): 1  
 consult physician: 1  
 warning against traditional remedy: 1

*blood*

herbal: 19  
 diet: 11

conventional first aid (tourniquet): 1  
 consult physician: 1  
 prayer or faith healing (Ezekiel 16:6): 1  
 other: 2

*insect and serpent bites*

home remedy: 14  
 herbal: 9  
 consult physician: 2  
 conventional first aid: 2  
 over-the-counter remedies: 1  
 warning against traditional remedy: 1  
 cauterization: 1

*eyes*

home remedies: 8  
 herbal: 5  
 popular health theories: 3  
 diet: 3  
 over-the-counter: 2  
 conventional medicine: 2  
 consult physician: 1

*nose*

herbal: 5  
 home remedy: 4  
 diet: 2  
 magical: 2  
 over-the-counter: 1  
 humorous: 1

*mouth*

home remedy: 27  
 herbal: 16  
 over-the-counter: 6  
 humorous: 3  
 diet: 1  
 consult professional: 1  
 conventional first aid: 1  
 behavior modification: 1

*ears*

home remedy: 6  
 conventional medicine: 4  
 fumigation: 3

herbal: 2  
over-the-counter: 2  
humorous: 2  
old folk remedy or medical history: 2  
consult physician: 1  
diet: 1  
warning against traditional remedy: 1

*neck and throat*

herbal: 30  
home remedy: 9  
conventional first aid: 3  
consult professional: 1  
over-the-counter: 1  
diet: 1

*chest, lungs, and heart*

herbal: 16  
home remedy: 7  
diet: 3  
over-the-counter: 2  
conventional medicine: 1  
warning regarding dosage: 1

*colds, flus, fevers, et cetera*

herbal: 48  
home remedy: 37  
over-the-counter: 7  
diet: 7  
consult physician: 5  
magical: 3  
conventional medicine: 1

*hands, arms, shoulders, and back*

home remedy: 11  
heat therapy: 4  
herbal: 4  
over-the-counter: 2  
consult physician: 2  
environment: 2  
conventional medicine: 1  
diet: 1  
exercise: 1  
massage: 1  
warning against popular remedy: 1  
magical: 1  
humorous: 1

fumigation: 1

*stomach, liver, kidneys, and gall bladder*

herbal: 64  
home remedy: 68  
diet: 20  
over-the-counter: 6  
consult physician: 3  
conventional first aid: 1  
cold therapy: 3  
heat therapy: 1  
emetics: 1  
enemas: 1  
mind, body, and health: 1  
warning against traditional remedy: 1

*sexual information*

herbal: 14  
home remedy: 9  
over-the-counter: 3  
consult physician: 1  
diet: 5  
heat therapy: 1  
mind, body, and health: 1  
popular health theories: 1  
warning against conventional  
remedy: 1  
behavior modification: 1  
avoid strenuous exercise: 1

*rectum*

herbal: 10  
home remedy: 4  
behavior modification: 2  
avoid strenuous exercise: 1  
over-the-counter: 1  
consult physician: 1  
enema: 1

*feet and legs*

herbal: 23  
home remedy: 22  
over-the-counter: 8  
conventional medicine: 3  
consult physician: 1  
fumigation: 1  
old folk remedy: 1

## NOTES

Support for this study was provided by the Center for Appalachian Studies and Services. The authors wish to thank James Kirkland, Paul Bergner, and John Crellin for suggestions and research assistance. For further information concerning Waggoner and *The Poor Man's Medicine Bag*, write to Tim Waggoner, 3447 Reagan Avenue, Knoxville, Tennessee, 37919.

## REFERENCES

- Blaustein, Richard. 1992. Traditional medicine today: Moving beyond stereotypes. In *Herbal and magical medicine: Traditional healing today*, ed. James Kirkland, Holly F. Mathews, C. W. Sullivan III, and Karen Baldwin, 32–40. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- Cavender, Anthony, and Scott Beck. 1995. Generational change, folk medicine, and medical self-care in rural Appalachian community. *Human Organization* 54 (2): 129–42.
- Clark, Joseph D. 1970. North Carolina popular beliefs and superstitions. *North Carolina Folklore* 18–19: 6–67.
- Farr, T. J. 1935. Folk remedies. *Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin*, 1 (2): 4–16.
- Gevitz, Norman. 1988. Three perspectives on unorthodox medicine. In *Other healers: Unorthodox medicine in America*, ed. Norman Gevitz, 1–28. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Green, Edward E. 1980. A modern Appalachian folk healer. *Appalachian Journal* 6: 2–15.
- Hand, Wayland D. 1980. *Magical medicine: The folkloric component of medicine in the folk belief, custom, and ritual of the peoples of Europe and America. Selected essays of Wayland D. Hand*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Jarvis, D. C. 1958. *Folk medicine: A Vermont doctor's guide to good health*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Kloss, Jethro. [1939] 1970. *Back to Eden*. Reprint, Coalmont, Tennessee: Longview Publishing House.
- Lang, Forrest, Dana Thompson, Brock Summers, Wesley Hanson, and Michael Hood. 1988. A profile of health beliefs and practices in a rural Tennessee community. *Journal of the Tennessee Medical Association* 81: 229–33.
- Lust, John D. 1974. *The herb book*. New York: Benedict Lust.
- Meyer, Joseph E. [1918] 1960. *The herbalist*. Reprint, Glenwood, Illinois: Meyerbooks.
- Sluder, Jackie L. 1996. Folk healers in Appalachia: A case study. Master's thesis, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City.
- Waggoner, Tim. 1984. *The poor man's medicine bag*. Knoxville: Kingdom Press.

- . 1995a. Tape-recorded interview with Jackie Sluder, Knoxville, Tennessee, 3 February.
- . 1995b. Tape-recorded interview with Jackie Sluder, Knoxville, Tennessee, 10 March.
- . 1995c. Tape-recorded interview with Jackie Sluder, Knoxville, Tennessee, 23 March.
- Waller, Tom, and Gene Killion. 1972. Georgia folk medicine. *Southern Folklore* 36: 71–92.