1987 Festival of American Folklife

Smithsonian Institution
National Park Service

Lao-Americans celebrate the Lao New Year by offering flowers and pouring water on Buddha images. Photo by Frank Proschan

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Contents

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A Forum for Many Voices

by Robert McC. Adams Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

During the past century museums have played an important role in democratizing access to knowledge about science, culture and the arts. For its part, the Smithsonian annually receives more than 25 million visitors to its museums and reaches millions more through its publications, travelling exhibitions, radio and television programs, courses, lectures and scholarly collaborations. New technologies promise increased access to Smithsonian holdings: interactive videodiscs, for example, now being developed in a laboratory on our campus may in the future bring exhibitions to homes and schools across the country and abroad.

This past year we have intensified our efforts to broaden the Smithsonian's audience so that it reflects the cultural diversity of our nation as a whole. The Office of the Committee for a Wider Audience and the Cultural Education Committee led by Regent Jeannine Smith Clark are seeking the means by which communities not heretofore served by the Institution might take their rightful place in its activities. Thus, the Smithsonian has begun to speak to new and broader audiences through its basic research, through exhibitions such as "Field to Factory" and through television programs like "Voices of Latin America."

While we hope such new audiences are receptive, we do not expect them to be passive. New audiences attracted to the Smithsonian can be expected to speak as well as listen. The mutual engagement of Smithsonian scholars and staff with members of various communities will benefit the cultural and scientific dialogue of our nation: new audiences can help structure how their history and culture are represented in public institutions like the Smithsonian; and they may share with us their cultural insights and accomplishments, their historical perspectives on the American experience, and their distinctive aesthetic sensibilities.

The Festival of American Folklife has long been involved in this effort. Each year members of varied and diverse ethnic, regional, tribal, linguistic and occupational communities come to the National Mall to share with the public the skill, artistry and knowledge which inform their cultural traditions. The Festival provides a forum for the representation of culture and is constructed through the interactions of scholars and tradition bearers, who in mutual dialogue agree upon the terms in which they both may be publicly represented and understood. At the Festival we reap the benefit of this dialogue—cultural wisdom framed by scholarly interpretation.

At this year's Festival, people speak to us from Michigan, Washington, D.C., and in several of America's many voices.

The Smithsonian has long counted on Washington area residents as an audience for its many museums and programs. In this first of a

planned multi-year program, tables are turned as traditional musicians from local Black, Hispanic and Asian American communities tell us about the social organizations and the multi-cultural urban context within which their aesthetic expressions flourish.

In a similar vein, the State of Michigan has helped us bring ninety of its residents to the Smithsonian to speak about and demonstrate some of the rich traditional culture from that region. To help create a festival setting in which performers of valued traditions can tell us about their experiences and heritages with performed music, active demonstrations and spoken words seems a most appropriate way to celebrate the sesquicentennial of that geographically endowed, historically important and culturally rich state.

America's Many Voices—the third in a series of cultural conservation programs begun in 1985—addresses the importance of language in the preservation of cultural traditions. Spanish speakers from Texas, Chinese speakers from New York, Lao speakers from Virginia and Maryland, and English speakers from North Carolina challenge us, as audience, to hear the beauty of their voices, to understand the social significance of their languages, and to grasp meanings sometimes not easily translated.

Many of the Smithsonian's new audiences speak through the Festival. They have interesting things to say, and I urge you to listen.

Sharing the Cultures of America's People

by William Penn Mott, Jr. Director, National Park Service

The National Park Service is proud to welcome you to the 1987 Festival of American Folklife. As protectors of many of America's finest natural, cultural, and historic resources, the National Park Service enthusiastically joins with the Smithsonian Institution to produce an event that encourages an appreciation for, and a sharing of, America's rich cultural diversity. This year, which marks the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution, is an especially fitting one for the celebration of our cultural heritage. The Constitution has played an important role in producing a nation that derives its strength and quality from peoples of many ethnic backgrounds.

At this year's Festival, held on parkland among many of the nation's most treasured memorials and institutions, we explore the city beyond Washington's federal buildings. We learn of its diverse, vibrant and evolving musical traditions—a hometown to Americans of many cultures. In any culture language is a primary source of unity and pride. Through this Festival we have the opportunity to learn about the valued role of language in some of America's linguistic communities. Culture and language have played an important role in shaping the character of each state in the union. In this, Michigan's sesquicentennial celebration year, traditional craftspeople, musicians, cooks, woodworkers, boatmen, and others share with us the particular history and culture of their state.

Come, stay, enjoy, and learn more of America's peoples and cultures. The National Park Service takes pride in welcoming you to the nation's Capital, the Festival of American Folklife, and each of the national parks throughout this country.

Folkways Records: The Legacy of Moses Asch Comes to the Smithsonian

The Smithsonian Institution this year acquired Folkways Records, a massive recorded sound collection of the world's musics, languages, oratory and natural sounds compiled over a lifetime by Moses Asch. Included in the diverse Folkways catalog are some 2,000 records featuring thousands of traditional artists and historical figures documented by three generations of ethnomusicologists, folklorists, anthropologists, and area specialists. The catalog has an enormous range—from Native American ritual songs, southern mountain ballads, creole music, New England sea shanties, cowboy songs, and Black gospel to folk music from Kenya, Hindu religious ceremonies, folk tales of Oceania and Caribbean dance; from lullabies and children's games of New York to spoken word recordings of Martin Luther King, Sigmund Freud, W. E. B. Du Bois, Margaret Mead, and Carl Sandburg. In addition to the more well known musical recordings of Leadbelly, Woodie Guthrie, Pete Seeger, and Ella Jenkins are also documentary recordings of major historical events of the 20th century—the Suffragette movement, the Great Depression, the American Labor Movement, the Spanish Civil War, the Holocaust, the Civil Rights Movement, and Poland's Solidarity. The Folkways collection also includes non-musical sounds: a study of infant cries, sounds of technology (e.g., locomotives and office equipment), animals, and nature (e.g., bird calls and the tropical rain forest).

The Folkways recordings are at once a celebration and a careful historical transcription of particular cultural interests and expressions. In the early part of this century, Asch, a pioneer in sound electronics, recognized that new recording technology provided an unprecedented and powerful tool for capturing the spoken word, music, song, and sounds of hope and desperation of the world's people. Motivated strongly by the sense of cultural loss in America, the traditions endangered by World War II Europe, and social changes around the globe, Asch hoped to preserve in recorded form the voices, languages, and sounds that made life meaningful to generations of human beings. He set out on a documentation program of immense proportions. He included written notes and illustrations with the recordings so as to broaden our understanding of music, oral tradition, and their contexts. He kept all his releases in print and available, for, in his plan, each constituted an important entry in a world-wide encyclopedia of cultural expression. In keeping with Asch's vision, the Smithsonian will continue to make available the full Folkways catalog.

In addition to the catalog recordings, the Smithsonian has acquired the Folkways archive, consisting of master, field, and unpublished recordings; fifty years of ethnographic files on music and oral traditions; and related correspondence and album cover art work. This corpus has been called a "national, indeed world, artistic

and scientific resource," one that the Office of Folklife Programs plans to make available to scholars and researchers.

Moe Asch dedicated his life to the Folkways enterprise. Born in Warsaw, Poland, in 1905, the son of Sholem Asch, a well known and non-conformist Yiddish novelist, Moe came to New York in 1914 after sojourns in Berlin and Paris. His Aunt Bashe, an early pupil of Montessori and educational advisor to the fledging Soviet government in Russia, exerted a strong influence on his childhood—evidenced by the scores of children's songs, music, games, and stories in the Folkways catalog. Living in New York, Asch became interested in radio transmission. As Asch said,

> I became so involved with the radio . . . because I saw the possibility, coming from Europe where there were only boundaries, that this was a medium that overcame boundaries, overcame customs. The air was free. We were able to communicate all over the world with other human beings without barriers.

In the '20s, sparked by his interest in radio and sound transmission, Asch went to Germany to study electronics at a technical school with students from all over Europe.

> That's when I first started to hear about folk music. And the first thing I heard was that there isn't any folk music in America . . . One day when I was in Paris . . . I came across the 1913 edition of John Lomax's cowboy ballads. And it had an introduction by Teddy Roosevelt, which guided me through life because he said that folklore and folksongs were the real expression of a people's culture . . . Lomax showed clearly that there *was* a folklore in America.

Upon his return to the United States, Asch worked for various electrical companies, started Radio Laboratories, and worked on numerous sound amplification projects. Through Lomax Asch met Huddie Leadbetter, better known as "Leadbelly." Leadbelly was an ex-convict from Louisiana with a powerful 12-string guitar, a rich repertoire of southern Black music, and immense talent. Asch's recordings of Leadbelly's children's songs, released as *Play Parties* under the Asch Records label were not a commercial success but did draw the attention and ire of the New York press which villified Asch for producing records of a Black ex-convict singing songs for children.

But Asch persisted in recording, documenting, and releasing albums that spoke to important social issues of our times—civil rights, social justice, cultural equity. Albert Einstein recorded for Moe Asch during World War II, speaking of the cultural destruction wrought by the Nazis. Woody Guthrie recorded hundreds of songs and ballads speaking to the soul of the nation, the tribulations of the dust bowl disaster, and the proprietary rights of the common man. Pete Seeger challenged Asch.

> [Pete] created my whole folk music concept—because he created ideas and songs. And every time he had an idea I went along with it—and there are those fifty albums that we did. Every one is Pete's idea. I tried to work with all my artists that way—I wanted to know what they had to say and how they wanted to say it. That's what it meant to me to be a documentor.

In 1947, after a series of other labels and bankruptcies, Moe Asch founded Folkways Records. The name came from the famous book by William Sumner. Asch was ably aided by Harold Courlander who had made field recordings in Haiti, Cuba, and Ethiopia. Willard Rhodes, an anthropologist with a collection of Native American music, initiated the ethnic album series with *Music of the Sioux and Navajo.* Folkways pioneered the regular practice of producing extensive written notes to accompany recordings. In the early days Asch drew inspiration from his own literary background and from the important work being done by the WPA Federal Writer's Project. More recently, this documentary project has been vitalized by collaborative projects between Folkways and the Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music. In each of the forty years of Folkways Records, the catalog and accompanying documentation continued to grow. Asch expanded his catalog motivated by his own interests, the deluge of tapes, and requests that would come to him from scholars and travelers fresh from the field, and by the need to offer timely social commentary. Moe Asch succeeded in building an edifice of profound worth and beauty through brilliance, logic, a modicum of business sense, energy, determination, and a lot of *chutzpah.* A common refrain throughout the industry, among scholars and by artists used to explain one's sacrifices for the Folkways project, is "only because it's Moe."

Folkways has been an important instrument in the study and dissemination of recorded sound data, especially of community-based, folk aesthetic traditions—song, instrumental music, and

speech. Moreover, the historic role that Folkways has played in bringing folk culture to the national consciousness makes the Folkways collection an invaluable document in the study of the development of American and world culture. The phonograph record and its related media, radio and cassette tape, have become part of the dialogue of traditional cultures—a lively world-wide musical interchange that involves scholars, the interested public, and the tradition bearers themselves. As foreseen by Moe Asch, these recordings have enabled performances to transcend boundaries of time and place and thus have played an important role in the preservation and conservation of living traditions through increased communication, understanding, and appreciation of the aesthetic and ethical values of others. The Folkways acquisition adds to the Smithsonian a new "museum of sound"—one unencumbered by walls that can disseminate its wisdom to people everywhere.

Moe Asch died last October. He is survived by his family, by his friends, by the many artists, scholars, and students he served, and by a lifetime labor of love—the recorded joy, sadness, prayers, and visions which will enrich generations to come. We are grateful to Moe for his work in the increase and diffusion of knowledge about traditional cultures and also for his choice of the Smithsonian as the appropriate institutional setting for Folkways.

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Capaldi, Jim. "Conversation with Mr. Folkways." *Folkscene* (May, June 1978).

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For information about the purchase and distribution of Folkways Records contact:

Birch Tree Group Limited
180 Alexander Street
Box 2072
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
(609) 683-0090

For information about the Folkways archives contact:

Office of Folklife Programs
Smithsonian Institution
955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 2600
Washington, D.C. 20560
(202) 287-3424

Music in Metropolitan Washington:
Thriving Traditions
by Phyllis M. May-Machunda

Washington, the capital city, has long been known for its official culture and public celebrations such as presidential inaugurations, Independence Day pageantry, military band concerts, state funerals, and embassy receptions. Yet it possesses another reality, one sometimes hidden beneath the official veneer. Washington, the residential city, burgeons with cultures transplanted from beyond urban, state, and national boundaries as well as with hybrid traditions newly rooted in an urban environment. Over the next several years the Office of Folklife Programs will explore the fascinating, vital, and variegated pool of cultures that enliven the Washington metropolitan area.

Metropolitan Washington, with over two million residents, is currently the home of more than 850,000 Blacks, nearly 100,000 Hispanics, an almost equal number of Asians, and thousands of other peoples from around the world. Unique forces have shaped the cultural development of the distinct yet interdependent residential communities located on the banks of the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. Evolving as a center designed to meet the needs of national politics and government, the city neither developed a culture based on a manufacturing economy nor drew a large European immigrant population as did New York and Baltimore. Instead, it merged its southern agrarian culture with northern business interests and developed a strong workforce geared to service and government. The traditions arising out of this mix were strongly enriched by a continual influx of people from the South and, more recently, immigrants from Central America, the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia. For thousands who have moved to the area, the city has been the focal point of ardent dreams, abundant hopes, and magnificent intentions. People, viewing the city as the pinnacle of American possibilities, have flocked to Washington throughout its 200-year history, in search of refuge, a better life and greater opportunities for freedom, education, power, respect, employment, and financial security. While some have come with abundant wealth, others have brought little more than themselves, their values, and their traditions to sustain themselves in their transition to a new situation.

Music is among the most vital of these intangible traditional resources that help to support these Washingtonians. To understand the traditional musics of Washington, we may first look at the variety of communities that create and carry on these traditions. Urban dwellers characteristically belong to multiple communities such as those based on occupational, religious, residential, social/recreational, familial, and ethnic affiliations. A member of a community may or may not share membership with the people who participate in the

Phyllis M. May-Machunda, curator for the Metropolitan Washington program, is a folklorist and ethnomusicologist on the staff of the Office of Folklife Programs. She is completing her doctoral dissertation at Indiana University and is engaged in the scholarly research of African-American cultures.

Support for the Metropolitan Washington program is provided, in part, by the Music Performance Trust Funds, a non-profit organization created by U.S. recording companies to fund live and free performances.

The combined gospel choirs of Mt. Bethel Baptist Church, 1st and Rhode Island Ave., N.W., perform at an Easter morning service.
Photo by Daphne Shuttleworth

various areas of his or her daily life. For example, some Korean-Americans in Washington may live, work, and socialize together, but many middle-class Black Americans in Washington typically do not. The people with whom Blacks work may not be the same people who live in their neighborhoods or with whom they socialize on a regular basis. Each community has developed particular institutions and networks of support facilitating social interaction and exchange of information. Some of these communities are defined by common geographical boundaries, as in a neighborhood, and traditions may emerge out of that experience. Other communities may share or be perceived to share common characteristics such as age, ethnicity, occupation, social interests, or even family relationship. The sharing of values, perspectives, and experiences creates a basis for the existence and growth of tradition. Music provides a channel for the expression of community-based values through melodies, rhythms, and words.

In large cities such as Washington, traditional communities find economical and efficient ways to disseminate information about their activities. Washington has dozens of ethnic and neighborhood newspapers, bilingual and special interest radio and television programs, church bulletins, flyers, and multi-colored posters announcing upcoming community events not mentioned by mainstream media. Churches, neighborhood schools, restaurants, community centers, and local festivals are a few of the institutions that support traditional performance. Such community institutions not only disseminate information about the traditions but also may offer a place to construct, rehearse, transmit, and present it as well.

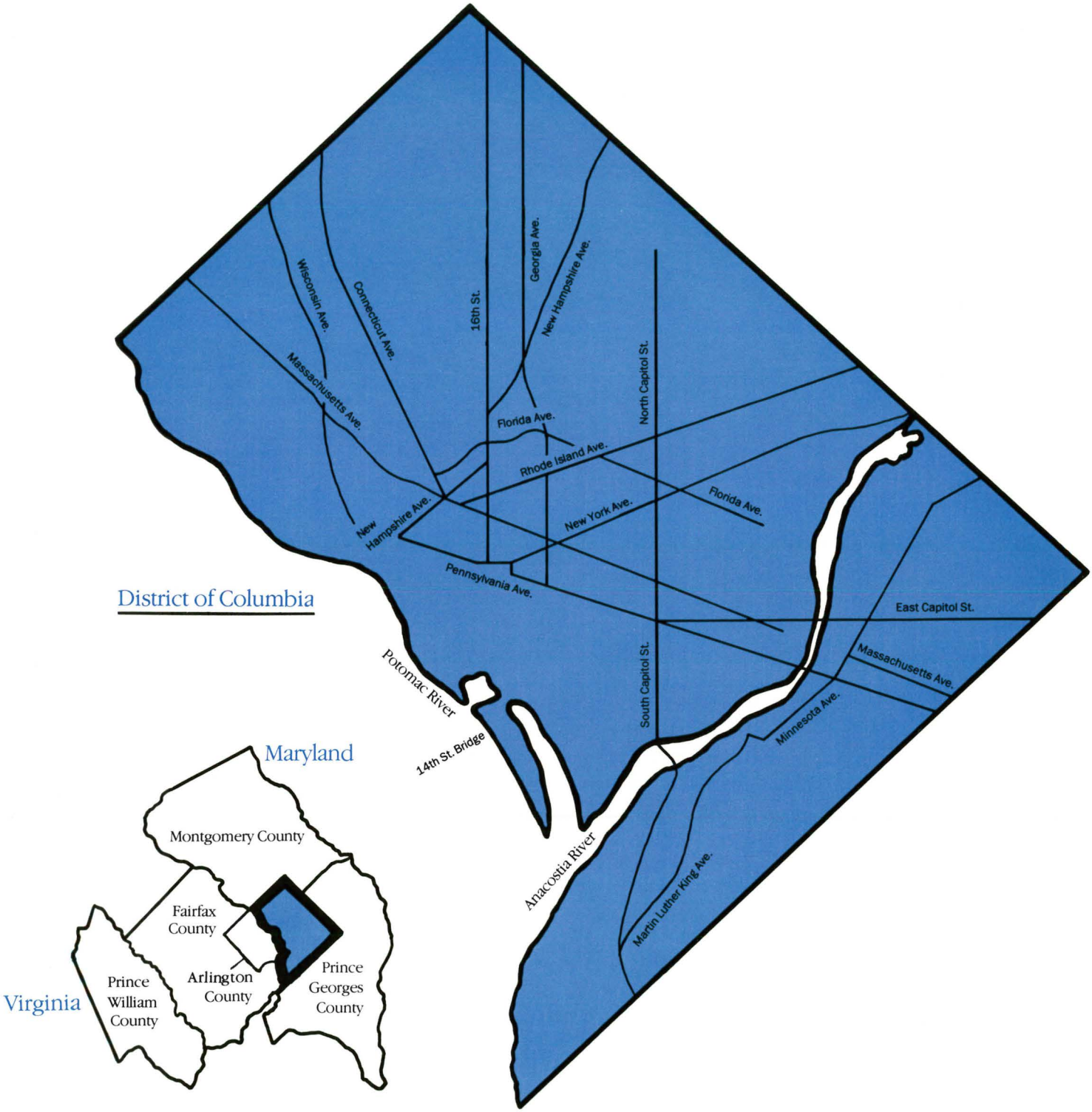
Music is a central part of festive occasions and celebrations as well as an integral feature of everyday life. People mark what they feel is distinctive and valuable through the use of music, frequently accompanied by dance and ritual. For instance, various Asian communities of Washington have maintained some of the seasonal ceremonies of their homelands, such as Lao or Chinese New Year's

Hispanic, African and Afro-American children play handclapping games on the playground of Ross Elementary School, 17th and R Sts., N.W.
Photo courtesy of Olivia Cadaval

celebrations which occur on various dates throughout the calendrical year. These elaborate and colorful ceremonial events incorporate music, costumes, parades, food, and dance and draw community members from the entire eastern seaboard.

Gospel heads the list of Black traditional musics for which Washington is known. As Pearl Williams-Jones points out in the article which follows, gospel music thrives in a variety of forms in this city, ranging from the harmonies of traditional quartet groups to the sounds of more contemporary soloists, ensembles, and choirs, some of which blend classical techniques with more traditional Black gospel music. Black churches have served as a primary conduit for the transmission of Black musical aesthetics, even for those who have studied music privately. Hundreds of churches support numerous choirs, smaller family groups, and other ensembles and soloists who provide their memberships with gospel music. They have offered sympathetic and nurturing performance environments for those who have directed their skills to the glorification of the Lord. Gospel music is central to a variety of community events in addition to regular services: for example, pastor, choir, and church anniversary celebrations, as well as funerals are filled with gospel music. Some churches regularly house rehearsals and sponsor concerts by community artists outside their own membership. These activities and frequent performances at other churches in and out of the city provide opportunities for mutual exchanges of ideas, news, and repertoire.

Some of the newest and most intense secular musical performances in Washington arise from Black youth. Go-go, a dance music tradition born in this city, is usually performed by small bands. Layered rhythmic patterns are blended with call and response, percussive instrumental riffs, and quotations from familiar melodies, frequently overlayed with rap (a patterned rhythmic speech) and accompanied by patterned coordinated movement. Less complex in their multi-layered structures but related in their uses of rhythmic



patterns, repetition, and call and response structures are several other forms that have dominated many of the expressive and competitive play energies of D.C.'s youth including such female activities as cheering, double-dutch (a form of jumproping incorporating multiple ropes), and collegiate performance genres such as stepping, a type of fraternal "cheer."

The urban environment offers special opportunities for cultural contact and exchange among a variety of communities and ethnic

The Khmer Traditional Music Ensemble includes a wide range of instruments, left to right: *khim* (hammer dulcimer), *skor* (hand drum), *takhe* (zither), *tro* (fiddle), *roneat* (xylophone), *sampho* (double headed drum). Photo by Daphne Shuttleworth

groups. One example is in the Adams-Morgan/Mt. Pleasant neighborhoods, long recognized as the center of cultural activity in the city for Hispanic and African people from the U.S., Central and South America, the Caribbean, and Africa. The Hispanic population in the city is predominantly refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador, with smaller numbers from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. Some groups, such as Cubans, arrived in more than one wave of migration, each from a different social class and carrying a different set of cultural traditions. Many of these communities celebrate select traditions particular to their own cultures. However, in other cases, where fewer community members can pass on specific traditions, many residents of Adams-Morgan have been forced to focus on other traditions similar to their own. This sharing of traditions has resulted in a synthesis or pan-ethnic style, celebrating a multicultural heritage. In this urban milieu Hispanic, Caribbean, and African musicians constantly create new urban performance forms by drawing fragments from known repertoires and styles and transforming them into new expressions through the use of new harmonies, updated texts, and changes in tempo, rhythmic configurations, or performance style. These traditional musicians often learn to play in a variety of musical styles from outside their own cultures in order to satisfy the tastes of their diverse audiences. The events for which they perform are rarely attended solely by their own ethnic communities. The musicians are able to switch musical styles as easily as others switch dialects within a language to communicate to their chosen audiences while their audiences expand their musical tastes and support them appreciatively.

Music is ephemeral, yet enduring. It embodies the values and aesthetics of a culture through words and restructuring of sound. It is flexible enough to incorporate melodies or poetry hundreds of years old, yet able to address the most contemporary issues with relative ease. An integral part of living, traditional culture thrives in urban Washington, D.C. through music.

Suggested reading

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Washington, D.C./ Gospel Music City, U.S.A.: State of the Art

by Pearl Williams-Jones

Pearl Williams-Jones, music educator, gospel singer, and pianist, is an Associate Professor of Music at the University of the District of Columbia.

For more than a half century, Washington has been an important city in the development, presentation, and preservation of gospel music. The music in many ways reflects the diversity of the city's population, and its development in Washington parallels changes in the community that supports it.

Gospel is an urban Black religious music of rural origin. Its roots reach back to the plantation spiritual of more than two centuries ago. As Black people migrated into northern urban communities such as Washington, they brought along a love for sacred song but needed musical expression that did not bear reminders of the slave past. Gospel music was a synthesis of rhythmic jubilees with their syncopated beats, of simple call and response patterns, and of texts which expressed a hope for freedom. The newer, urban songs from the emerging Holiness and Pentecostal churches used instrumental accompaniment, hymn structures of verse and chorus, and call and response. Texts centered on liberation through salvation and praise, prayer, and testimony about personal experiences.

Gospel music flourished in the D.C. environs through the Black church, its choirs, soloists, and groups. For many spiritual and cultural needs were met through a strong traditional link with music from "down home." The gospel community was further expanded through street meetings and tent services that were frequently held in the 1930s and '40s. Later, radio broadcasts by churches and quartets brought gospel into the homes of D.C. residents. Today, television, concerts, festivals, and competitions add to the variety of means through which gospel has spread into the community. There is sufficient variety and professionalism in gospel music presentations to call Washington "Gospel Music City, U.S.A."

Most of Washington's Black families migrated here from southern states such as Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Many of these people continue to sing the old songs and transform them into urban gospel. On D.C. streets one can hear the gospel sound in the singing and guitar playing of Flora Molton and Bill Hines. Both have been street singers in downtown Washington for many years and continue their music making for the pedestrians who fill the streets during rush hours. Hines has been at the corner of 9th and F Streets, N.W., for more than a decade, singing unaccompanied with a resonance that can be heard for many blocks around. Molton sits on the corner of 11th and F Streets, next to a department store window, singing "Don't Let the Devil Ride," "Do Lord, Remember Me," and "I Heard it Through the True Vine." Hines' and Molton's music remind us of the transition and transfor-

mation that has taken place in gospel music and gospel singing in Washington over the past fifty years.

Perhaps because of a strong, lingering, southern tradition, gospel quartet music maintains a large, loyal following here. Most quartets are independent commercial organizations that broadcast and give public concerts and church programs. Most of the D.C. based groups can be heard at the well known Radio Music Hall in N.W. Washington's Black community that also houses the all-gospel radio station, WUST, 1120 AM. Many of the quartets that present concerts at the hall may also be heard on the radio station.

One notable group, the D.C. Harmoneers, recently celebrated thirty-five years of quartet singing at the hall. This traditional group of Black male singers sang before approximately 300 fans. Their familiar repertoire of quartet songs, jubilees, gospels, and spirituals was cast in four-part harmony: lead, tenor, baritone, and bass. They were accompanied by a full array of contemporary instruments, including electric lead and bass guitars, drums, and keyboards. Several strong lead singers did not confine their exuberance to the small stage: they moved out into the audience where the listeners could join the group in clapping and singing. Local D.C. groups participated on the program, including The Queens of Faith, an all-female quartet, New Southern Rock Male Chorus, the True Tones, Helen Smith and the Angels of Faith, and special guest, the Swanee Quintet. Their presence indicated the strong ties and support that Washington groups give one another. As if this array of D.C. talent was not enough, flyers circulated through the audience announcing other quartet concerts that would take place in the ensuing weeks. Those groups included the all-female Gospel Pearls, Heavenly Songs, D.C. Kings of Harmony, Martha Christmas and the Gospel Jubilees, the Holy Wonders, and the True Believers. Most of these performers are church-going, Bible believers who enjoy spreading the Word. Their songs are delivered with the fervor of Black preaching, and the songs are chosen from quartet staples which tell of mother and life "down home." Some of the songs on the quartet program at the Music Hall have been around for forty years or more: "When I've Gone the Last Mile of the Way" (*a la* Sam Cooke and the Soul Stirrers), "I've Decided to Make Jesus My Choice," "This Little Light of Mine," and "I'm a Soldier in the Army of the Lord."

The power of radio broadcasting cannot be underestimated in nurturing the presence and ultimate acceptance of gospel music, particularly in many Black churches that once did not allow gospel singing. Many ministers and church musicians objected to gospel singing in the church because it was believed to be too worldly or jazzy in sound. The Hammond organ, tambourines, pianos, and drums, often a common feature of Holiness and Pentecostal worship and gospel music, was an anathema to the more mainstream-oriented Black congregations who patterned their worship after Euro-American Protestant denominations. Most of the Black churches heard on the radio, however, featured some form of gospel singing. In addition, the introduction of gospel disc jockeys helped spread the popularity of gospel singing quartets and groups. In the 1930s Washingtonians listened to national broadcasts of

Bernice Johnson Reagon, singer and scholar of Black expressive culture acknowledges Black church music as part of the foundation of her performance style. **Photo courtesy Smithsonian Program in Black American Culture**

Wings Over Jordan choir and quartets such as the Southernaires and the Golden Gate Jubilee Singers. The Washington disc jockeys of the 1950s played quartet music and the recordings of soloists such as Mahalia Jackson and Rosetta Tharpe. Soon a gospel audience developed and demanded more gospel music both in churches and on the air.

One of Washington's best known gospel radio preachers is the ninety-year-old Bishop Samuel Kelsey, pastor of the Temple Church of God in Christ for more than sixty years. Bishop Kelsey is part of a long tradition of gospel music in the international Church of God in Christ that has given gospel the Arizona Dranes, Rosetta Tharpe (early recording gospel soloists), The Clark Sisters of Detroit, and contemporary gospel composers and performers such as Andrae and Sandra Crouch and the famous Hawkins family: Edwin, Walter, and Tramaine. Bishop Kelsey, a vigorous preacher, uses a "reader" to line out his scriptures as he preaches. The "reader" reads the scriptures from the Bible while Bishop Kelsey repeats them in a rhythmic call and response pattern. He is famous for his rendition of a Holiness folk gospel, "Little Boy, How Old Are You," that he brought to Washington from his native Georgia and still sings along with members of his congregation. The call and response, uptempo song is based on several verses of scripture that relay the story of Jesus' ministry as a child of twelve.

Among gospel radio personalities Lucille Banks Robinson Miller is the best known. She has produced gospel concerts in Washington for more than thirty years and still maintains a widely listened to broadcast on WYCB, 1340 AM, a 24-hour, all-gospel station. While Madame Miller features traditional gospel and local talent on her shows, other gospel deejays program more contemporary gospel for younger audiences: artists such as Washington's Richard

Members of the Kings of Harmony gospel brass band from the United House of Prayer join the cast of "Mahalia's Song" in a 1983 Howard University production. **Photo courtesy of Pearl Williams-Jones**

Smallwood Singers whose lead singer and pianist, Richard Smallwood, is a graduate of Howard University's music department. Smallwood's music has been called some of Washington's most distinctive gospel because of its classical overtones.

Bishop Smallwood Williams of D.C.'s pentecostal Bible Way Church has broadcasted for more than forty years and has presented some of Washington's earliest public gospel concerts. While building the church and congregation on New Jersey Avenue, N.W., he sponsored gospel programs by quartets and groups of singers from D.C. and nearby states to help raise funds for those efforts in street corner and tent meeting services. The church and pastor also presented major gospel concerts at the former site of Griffith Stadium where more than 20,000 gospel fans heard the nationally famous Clara Ward Singers, Roberta Martin Singers, Dixie Humming Birds Quartet, Mahalia Jackson, Rosetta Tharpe, and the church's own Radio Choir. During the 1940s and 1950s gospel programs attracted some of the District's largest crowds and clearly rivalled audiences at the famous Howard Theatre, a few blocks away from Griffith Stadium.

Another well known site for commercial gospel presentations, particularly featuring local D.C. talent, was the old Union Hall, a small, one-story building near the U.S. Capitol. D.C. favorites appeared there, including the Wilson Harmonizers, an all-male, blind, *a cappella* quartet featuring Willie Wilson; Bertha Down Wearing; Queen Esther Womble; and the Rosebud Junior Chorus, one of the first gospel choirs featured on a regular weekly commercial broadcast. The Reverend Robert Cherry, gospel singer, pianist, and composer; the Friendship Male Chorus led by Deacon John Minor; Lorraine Gardner Young; the Two Gospel Lights (Mary Lacey Moore and mother); and saxophonist-composer Eddie

Street musicians Bill Hines and Flora Molton perform at the 1975 Festival of American Folklife. **Photo by Rosie Lee Hooks, Smithsonian Program in Black American Culture**

Simmons formed the early generation of gospel singers in Washington, D.C. Some local composers whose songs were sung nationally included Mr. H.J. Ford, Mrs. Adrue Odom, and Elder Bernard Battle.

A rich vein of traditional gospel music in Washington can be heard at the United House of Prayer for All People. The headquarters of this national organization has been at 6th and M Streets, N.W., for more than fifty years. Within its modern, white brick walls, gold dome, and stained glass windows is heard exciting original gospel singing, preaching, and, of particular note, instrumental gospel. Founded by its famous leader Bishop C.M. Grace in the early 1920s, this Holiness church specializes in brass band music for worship and marches. The Kings of Harmony brass ensemble consists of twelve or more trombonists led by its strong lead trombonist, Norvus Miller, and soloist, the fiery preacher known as Apostle Whitner. With bass tuba and drum, the Kings play in four-part quartet harmony. Their arrangements resemble Black male quartet singing by utilizing the phrasing, vibrato, and timbre of the Black singing voice. The instrumentalists also use the glides, slurs, moaning, and even shouting quality associated with Black gospel singing. Although such deep, personal, and emotional feeling is uncommon in some instrumental playing, warmth and human communication is dominant in the playing of the Kings. Visceral energy and intensity is a driving force in the jubilant worship music of the House of Prayer. The congregation claps, sings, and shouts to the music.

During the turbulent years of Black awareness on college campuses in the 1960s, the Howard Gospel Choir was formed and produced some of the first and finest gospel composers and musicians in D.C.'s history. Among them is Henry Davis, pianist and a founding member of the Voices Supreme, Tony Booker, Leon Roberts, Wesley Boyd, and Donny Hathaway and Roberta Flack whose popular music bore the influences of gospel. The Howard Gospel Choir was one of the first campus gospel choirs in the U.S. While it was tremendously popular with the students, initially the administration and faculty did not understand the place of gospel music in the university setting. However, the will and the skill of the choir prevailed, and eventually they were featured performers at a university commencement ceremony when the Reverend Jesse Jackson gave the address.

Among Washington's best known gospel performers are Mattie Johnson and the Stars of Faith, Myrna Summers, B L & S, the Reverend Conrad Brooks, Robert Fryson, the gospel-rap stylist Frank Hooker, twelve-year-old Tyrone Ford, Shirley Ables, the Steele Family, the Nelson Family, the Reverend Donald Vails, formerly of Detroit, Michigan, the D.C. Chapter of James Cleveland's Gospel Music Workshop of America, a chapter of the Edwin Hawkins Music and Arts Seminar, and the Wesley Boyd Gospel Music Workshop. The Tabernacle Echoes, a semiprofessional choir, has made recordings that are heard nationally. This interdenominational choir of approximately forty voices sings in churches and concert halls and travels to other cities for performances of their contemporary gospel choral style.

Individual outstanding performers from Washington are nation-

ally famous, including the Reverend Wintley Phipps who burst into public recognition when he sang at the 1984 Democratic National Convention following Jesse Jackson's memorable speech. Phipps, who produces his own recordings, is a unique gospel artist whose resonant baritone voice is used with the skill of his classical background and training in music. However, the Reverend Phipps uses his technique with inflections and improvisatory embellishments, fervor, and spirit of Black gospel singing.

Dr. Bernice Johnson Reagon is another of Washington's internationally recognized artists whose roots are in the gospel idiom. The daughter of a Georgia Baptist preacher, Dr. Reagon sings gospel hymns of her childhood and the special repertory of the Civil Rights Movement which she performed as a song leader and SNCC Freedom Singer in the 1960s. She uses a voluptuous contralto voice to illuminate the meaning and sentiment of her carefully selected songs of protest, praise, or any other aspect of the Black experience in America or the Diaspora. With her all-female group, Sweet Honey in the Rock, Reagon has sung and recorded the music of many noted gospel songwriters as well as her own original compositions.

In this urban community—where one can hear blues, jazz, rock, rhythm 'n blues, soul, and rap—Black gospel music exerts a tremendous presence and influence. Among its most important functions, aside from its being music for worship, is its role as a medium of community spirit and cultural identity for a large part of D.C.'s Black population. In a city where government is the principal business and community identity can be obscured by the overwhelming image of the national capital, it is often important to have a tangible symbol of one's own distinct importance within the larger whole. Gospel music serves that function. This music connects people to their roots and reaffirms their sense of community.

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The Richard Smallwood Singers, *Psalms* (D.C. contemporary gospel music) (Onyx Records, R03833).

Language in the New Nation—Jefferson and Rush

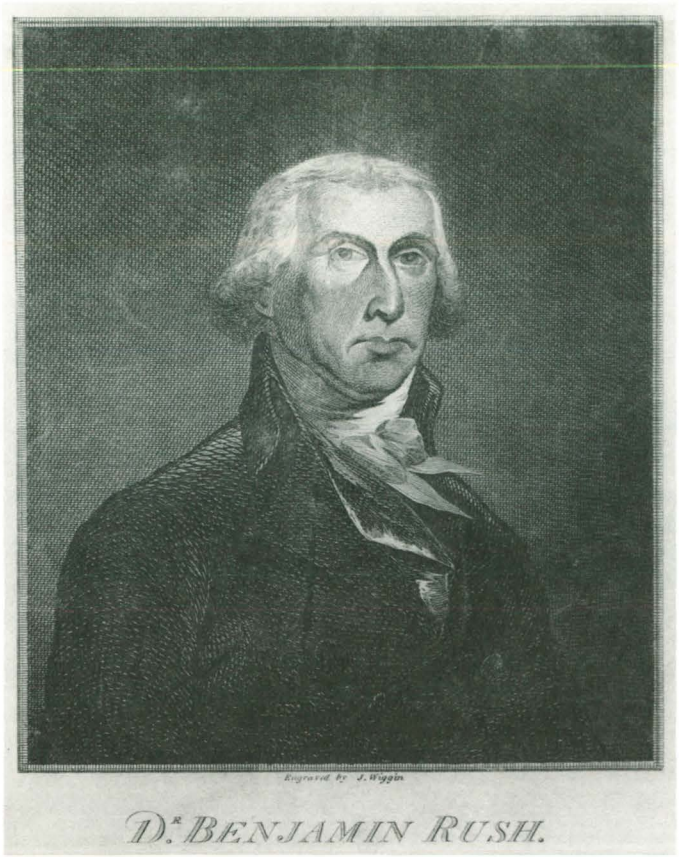
by Frank Proschan

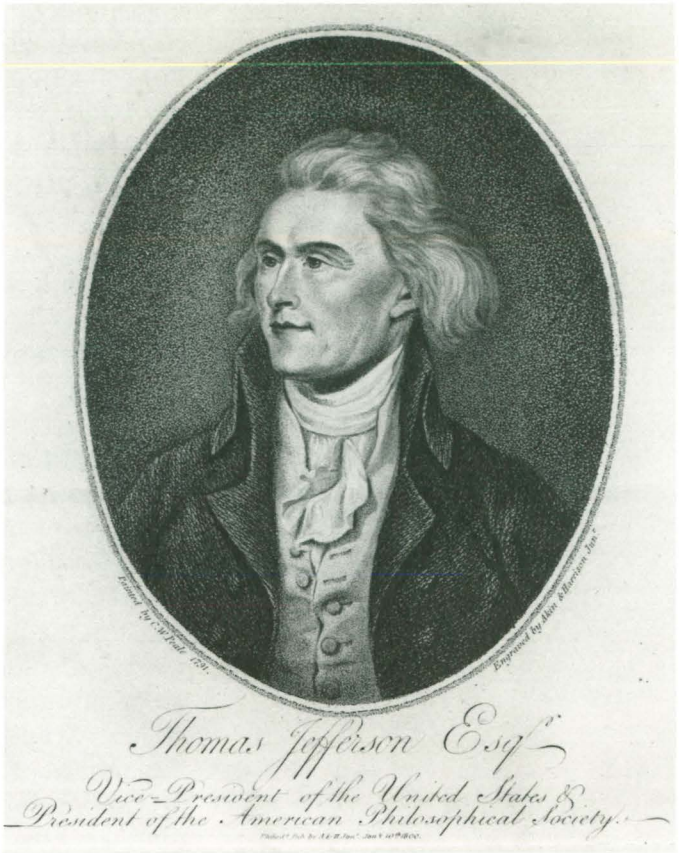
Frank Proschan is a folklorist in the Smithsonian's Office of Folklife Programs and a doctoral candidate in folklore at the University of Texas at Austin. Since 1980, he has been collaborating with Kmhmu, Khmer, and Lao refugees in Texas, California, the Washington area, and elsewhere.

Today's Americans, celebrating the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, look back, as their predecessors have, to the wisdom of the early patriots for guidance concerning present-day social problems and issues. In 1987, as in 1787, America's linguistic diversity and cultural variety are seen by some as threats to national unity and by others as a primary resource for national strength. As the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia to solidify the new republic, one of every ten Americans spoke another language than English as their mother tongue. The largest minority language at the time was German, but sizable numbers of residents of the thirteen newly liberated states spoke French, Dutch, Spanish, and uncounted Native American and African languages. Contemporary debates on language issues were not uncommon, but they usually centered on whether American English should be distinguished from the English of the British Isles and rarely considered whether languages other than English should be encouraged, tolerated, or suppressed.

The Constitution itself is silent on the matter of a national language. The Continental Congress published the Articles of Confederation in English and German, and ordered other public documents printed in English, German, and French. After this first burst of official multilingualism, however, English soon became the dominant language of government. Indeed, the status of language in the emerging nation was not even discussed by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Yet the model of government that evolved during the deliberations of the Convention was one firmly grounded in a philosophy of pluralism: diversity of opinions and experiences was amply protected through the mechanisms balancing the interests of the states and the nation, and of the three branches of government. Religious and cultural pluralism, addressed only in passing in the Constitution itself, was nevertheless debated during the Convention and was included prominently in the first amendments, the Bill of Rights.

In the face of this historical silence on the issue of language in the new nation, we can look to the writings of two people for evidence that linguistic diversity was enthusiastically embraced by at least some of the founding generation: the Philadelphia physician Benjamin Rush and the Virginia statesman Thomas Jefferson. Neither took part in the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, although Rush followed events closely through frequent conversations with delegates, and Jefferson monitored developments from his diplomatic post in Paris. Their opinions, however, were part of the intellectual currency of the day, debated over





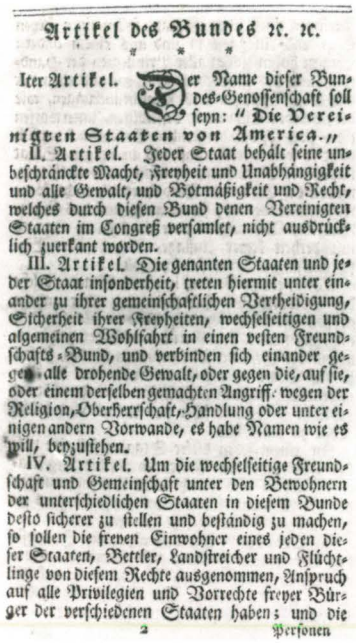
Benjamin Rush, by James Akin, 1800. Courtesy National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

Thomas Jefferson, by James Akin, 1800. Courtesy National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

dinner tables, in correspondence, and in newspapers. Those opinions have striking resonances with modern dialogues on related topics.

Benjamin Rush, a native speaker of both English and German, was a physician, inventor, and educator. An adherent of direct and straightforward speech, he abhorred Greek and Latin as the refuge of pedants who would disguise their ignorance in the cloak of antiquity. In 1789 he wrote about his "attempt to bring the dead languages into disrepute" in a letter to Vice-President John Adams, asking, "Do not men use Latin and Greek as the scuttlefish emit their ink, on purpose to conceal themselves from an intercourse with the common people?" He advocated education that would prepare people to be useful citizens and effective members of government, and he insisted that plain speech was preferable to learned twaddle. Rush anticipated the tenet of linguistic relativity, suggesting that all languages are potentially equal in their rational power and intellectual capacities. Even an Indian language was as suitable to the development of reason and of responsible citizens as Greek or Latin, Rush noted. "A man who is learned in the dialect of a Mohawk Indian," he wrote in 1785, "is more fit for a legislator than a man who is ignorant even in the language of the learned Greeks."

Rush was also a pioneer advocate of bilingual education, proposing the establishment of a German college in a 1785 letter "To the Citizens of Pennsylvania of German Birth and Extraction." He claimed that "German youth will more readily acquire knowledge in the [German] language . . . [and will] be more easily instructed in the principles of their own religion in their own language." More



Artikel des Bundes ꝛc. ꝛc.

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Iter Artikel. Der Name dieſer Bundes-Genoſſenſchaft ſoll ſeyn: "Die Vereinigten Staaten von America."

II. Artikel. Jeder Staat behält ſeine unbeſchränckte Macht, Freyheit und Unabhängigkeit und alle Gewalt, und Botmäßigkeit und Recht, welches durch dieſen Bund denen Vereinigten Staaten im Congreß verſamlet, nicht ausdrücklich zuerkant worden.

III. Artikel. Die genanten Staaten und jeder Staat inſonderheit, treten hiermit unter einander zu ihrer gemeinſchaftlichen Vertheidigung, Sicherheit ihrer Freyheiten, wechſelſeitigen und algemeinen Wohlfahrt in einen veſten Freundſchafts-Bund, und verbinden ſich einander gegen alle drohende Gewalt, oder gegen die, auf ſie, oder einem derſelben gemachten Angriff wegen der Religion, Oberherrſchaft, Handlung oder unter einigen andern Vorwande, es habe Namen wie es will, beyzuſtehen.

IV. Artikel. Um die wechſelſeitige Freundſchaft und Gemeinſchaft unter den Bewohnern der unterſchiedlichen Staaten in dieſem Bunde deſto ſicherer zu ſtellen und beſtändig zu machen, ſo ſollen die freyen Einwohner eines jeden dieſer Staaten, Bettler, Landſtreicher und Flüchtlinge von dieſem Rechte ausgenommen, Anſpruch auf alle Privilegien und Vorrechte freyer Bürger der verſchiedenen Staaten haben; und die

2 Perſonen

The German edition of the Articles of Confederation, 1774. Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

important, he asserted, was that "by teaching and learning in their own language, they will sooner acquire a perfect knowledge of the English language." A college teaching students in the German language "will open the eyes of the Germans to a sense of the importance and utility of the English language and become perhaps the only possible means, consistent with their liberty, of spreading a knowledge of the English language among them." The larger goal, for Rush, was to eradicate "ignorance and prejudice . . . that keeps men of different countries and religions apart" in order to allow "Germans to unite more intimately with their British and Irish fellow citizens and thus to form with them one homogeneous mass of people."

Rush's proposal was taken up by his readers, and in June, 1787, as the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia, Rush traveled to Lancaster for the consecration of Franklin College. In his remarks to the trustees of the new college, Rush emphasized that the desire of his fellow Germans "to establish their language in Pennsylvania" was balanced by a realization that "they must prepare to be called to assist in the government of the United States. The English language will be absolutely necessary to qualify them for usefulness in our great national legislature." At the same time, he emphasized, the college would play a vital role in promoting the German language: "By means of this College the German language will be preserved from extinction and corruption by being taught in a grammatical manner," and Pennsylvanians of German descent would serve as ambassadors conveying the cultural, scientific, and literary accomplishments of Germany to the United States.

No American of the time was more accomplished in the cultural, scientific, and literary spheres than Thomas Jefferson. His pioneering work in ethnology and linguistics is little known, however, in comparison with his contributions to philosophy, government, and education. Fluent in French, Spanish, and Italian, and literate in Greek, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon, Jefferson was particularly concerned with the evolution of English in the new nation. He welcomed new coinages, offering as an example the very word "neologism"; it was, he claimed, "a good word, well sounding and obvious, and expresses an idea which would otherwise require circumlocution." Through "judicious neology" the language of America would be improved, even at the risk of diverging from that of England. In 1813 he wrote:

> Certainly so great growing a population, spread over such an extent of country, with such a variety of climates, of productions, of arts, must enlarge their language, to make it answer its purpose of expressing all ideas, the new as well as the old. The new circumstances under which we are placed, call for new words, new phrases, and for the transfer of old words to new objects. An American dialect will therefore be formed . . .

Jefferson viewed the process of neologization and the existence of dialectal diversity within the English language in a strikingly modern way, an approach that distanced him from the efforts of some to establish an "American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres" that would develop a single standard American language

and preserve it from corruption and debasement. Jefferson was skeptical of the effectiveness of such language planning or of similar efforts to simplify American spelling. Even dictionaries had little persuasive force, nor should they. Jefferson wrote that "dictionaries are but the depositories of words already legitimated by usage. Society is the workshop in which new ones are elaborated. When an individual uses a new word, if ill formed, it is rejected in society; if well formed, adopted, and after due time, laid up in the depository of dictionaries." Jefferson's democratic faith in the people extended to language: it was society itself, and not some self-appointed arbiters, who would determine the shape that American English took.

Jefferson's democratic vision extended as well to those who spoke other languages than English. As a founder of the University of Virginia, he advocated instruction in the modern languages: French as "the language of general intercourse among nations," Spanish as the language of "so great a portion of the inhabitants of our continents, with whom we shall probably have great intercourse ere long . . .," as well as German and Italian. And throughout his life he pursued his own fascination with the languages and cultures of the Native Americans, collecting "about 30 vocabularies, formed of the same English words, expressive of . . . simple objects . . ." so as to "arrange them into families and dialects." Indeed, even as the Framers convened in Philadelphia, the first American edition of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* was published, with its discussions of Indian archeology, customs, and languages.

In the *Notes* Jefferson turned to the question "from whence came those aboriginals of America?" Noting the possibilities of Arctic passage from Europe or Asia, Jefferson suggests that "a knowledge of their several languages would be the most certain evidence of their derivation which could be produced. In fact, it is the best proof of the affinity of nations which ever can be referred to." Such evidence, he insists, must be gathered while it can: "It is to be lamented then, very much to be lamented, that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish, without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature, the general rudiments at least of the languages they spoke." Jefferson's regret was not simply for the loss of abstract scientific knowledge—he had a genuine concern for the Indians as fellow humans, extending from his early childhood to his death.

Jefferson was a statesman as well as a scholar, and he pioneered government involvement in the scientific study of language and culture. While fulfilling his duties as Vice-President and later President of the Republic, he also sat as president of the American Philosophical Society, encouraging its early ethnographic activities and enlisting support "to inquire into the Customs, Manners, Languages and Character of the Indian nations, ancient and modern, and their migrations." In the same era he proposed expeditions to the regions west of the Mississippi, pledging his own funds to underwrite such explorations. Following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, Jefferson lost little time in mobilizing the Lewis and Clark exhibition, instructing them in ethnographic method and (probably assisted by Benjamin Rush) preparing a detailed questionnaire

to elicit sociological, ethnographic, folkloric, and linguistic information.

Importantly, one of the prominent goals assigned to Lewis and Clark was similar to Rush's stated intention in teaching Germans in their own language: to promote more effective acculturation of the Indian peoples in order that they might be brought more fully into the polity of the growing nation. Jefferson instructed Lewis and Clark that "considering the interest which every nation has in extending and strengthening the authority of reason and justice among the people around them, it will be useful to acquire what knowledge you can of the state of morality, religion and information among them, as it may better enable those who endeavor to civilize and instruct them, to adapt their measures to the existing nations and practices of those on whom they are to operate."

In the two centuries since Rush and Jefferson first considered issues of linguistic diversity in the new republic, Americans have continued to debate about the American English language and about the place of non-English languages in American life. In that time the languages spoken in the United States have been diminished through the disappearance of numerous Native American languages and the death or assimilation of their speakers. The number of American languages has also increased through new immigration — first from Eastern and Southern Europe, the Middle East, China, Japan, and the Philippines. In recent decades speakers of numerous languages from Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific have joined the American chorus. As citizens continue to weigh the complicated issues of language in the United States, we can usefully return to the wisdom of those like Rush and Jefferson who pioneered such discussion.

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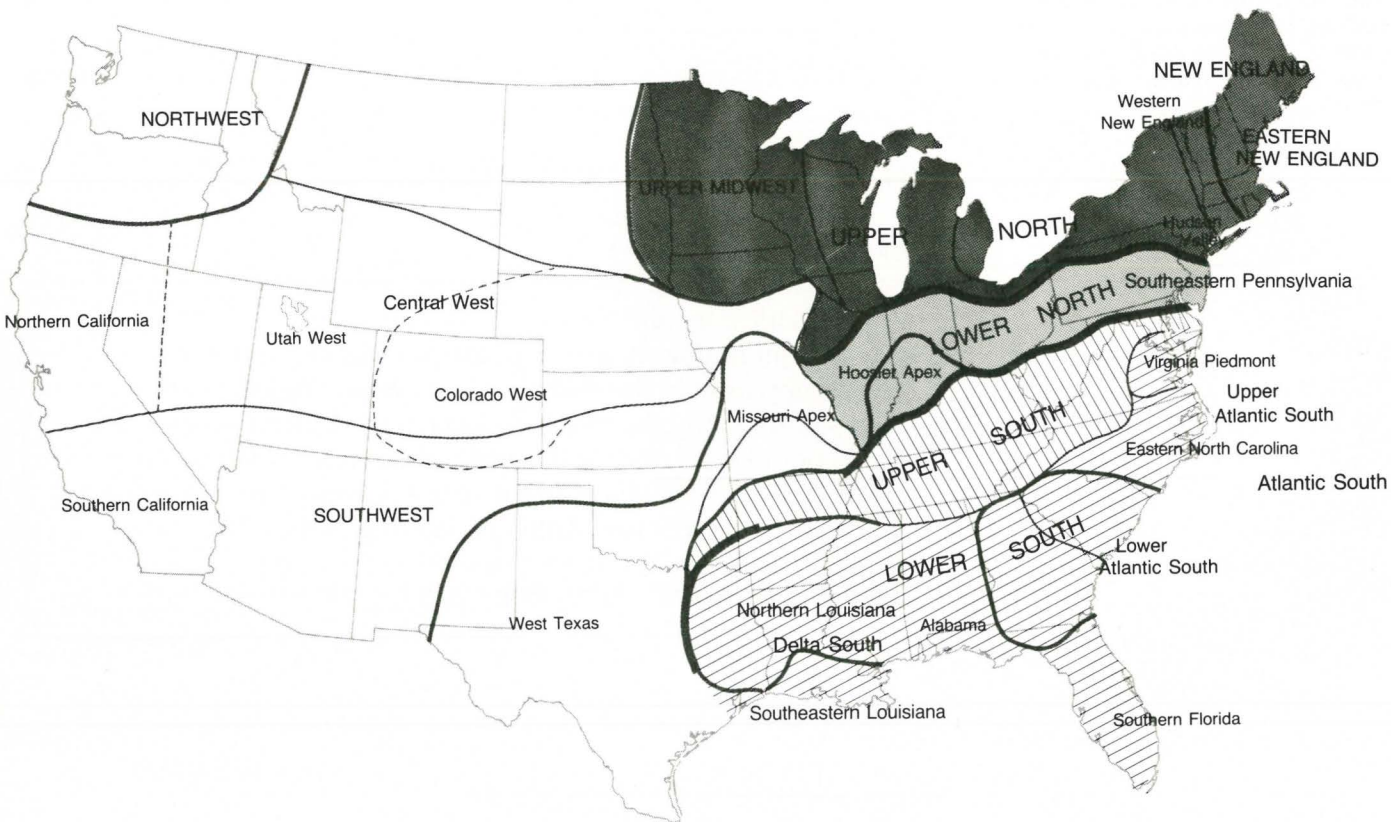
American English: A Diverse Tongue

by Walt Wolfram

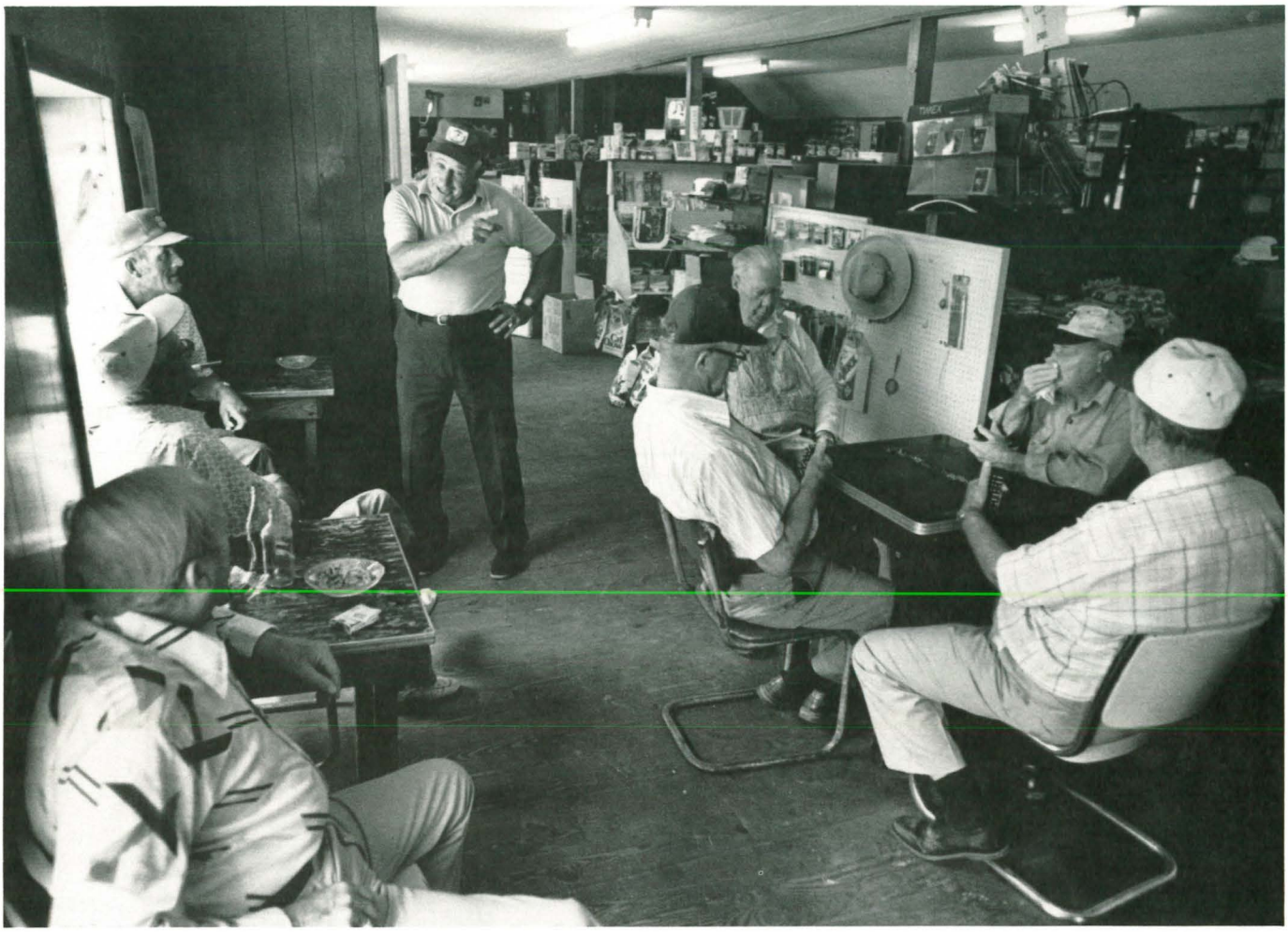
It takes little linguistic sophistication to recognize that American English comes in a variety of forms. A native resident of northern Michigan traveling south to New Orleans cannot help but notice the patchwork of dialect differences along the way, while the native of New Orleans traveling north experiences a mirror image of these observations. Dialect variation in the United States is hardly a recent phenomenon, for as long as English has been spoken in the New World, dialect differences have been noted. During the earliest periods the difference between the English spoken in the colonies and that spoken in England was the main focus of attention. The developing features distinguished American from British English, becoming a symbolic token of emerging independence. With the security of national independence, the different strands of American English itself were freed to represent the blossoming cultural and regional traditions within the United States.

Why is it that American English has become such a diverse tongue and that this variation persists in the face of strong institutional pressures to level these differences? The answer is at once simple and complex as historical, cultural, physical, and linguistic factors intersect in different configurations to demark the dialectal lines that run across the United States.

Walt Wolfram is a professor of Communication Arts and Sciences at the University of the District of Columbia and Director of Research at the Center for Applied Linguistics. Over the past two decades Dr. Wolfram has conducted research and written numerous books and articles on the major regional and ethnic dialects of American English, including Appalachian English, Ozark English, Vernacular Black English, Puerto Rican English, American Indian (Puebloan) English, and, most recently, Vietnamese English



The major dialect regions of the United States summarized. From *American Regional Dialects: A Word Geography* by Craig M. Carver. ©1987 by the University of Michigan. **Courtesy The University of Michigan Press**



Raconteur Alex Kellam (standing) in Tom's Grocery, Ewell, Smith Island, Maryland, 1977.
Photo by Carl Fleischhauer, courtesy American Folklife Center, Library of Congress

By world standards of language life, English in the United States is not old, so that the influence of original settlement patterns is still apparent. Of course, English in America never was a homogeneous variety as early settlers brought different varieties of the language from different regions of England to begin with, and these dialects helped set the stage for continuing variation.

The patterns of English spread westward from cultural centers on the coast. Five early centers were instrumental in establishing this original linguistic divergence: Boston, Philadelphia, Tidewater Virginia, Charleston, and New Orleans. These original centers, and the subsequent migratory routes of the population from these points, are still apparent in the dialects of American English as shown in the map summarizing the major dialects in the United States. For the Anglo population most of the major dialect boundaries run an east-to-west route, following the major routes of migration taken by this population. For non-Anglo groups the dialectal boundaries run a different course. The Black population, located predominantly in the South originally, shows dialectal lines following a south-to-north migratory route. The influence of southern coastal Black varieties from the Carolinas is still apparent in the Black population in eastern urban areas such as Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and New York City, and the influence of the deep South dialects is found in the Black population of northern industrial cities such as Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland.

Certain language traits are common to rural Black English and Appalachian English, but other features differentiate them. A grocery, Stem, North Carolina, 1940. Photo by Jack Delano, courtesy Library of Congress

The reasons for settlement and migratory movement naturally reflect deeper cultural trends, molded both by the group itself and its contact history with other groups. The first settlers in New England, for example, came primarily from eastern and southern rural England, bringing with them farming and fishing expressions that have distinguished New England speech to the present. On the other hand, early movement to Rhode Island was motivated by the search for a religious refuge from New England in much the same way that New England itself was England's refuge, and the dialects of Rhode Island today therefore reflect similarities and differences with other New England groups. The story of each regional and cultural group is different, but in each case its dialect can be traced to an array of cultural and historical factors that shaped settlement and migration.

The paths of dialect patterning across the United States have also been molded by a topography that determined where people went and how they got there. Important rivers such as the Ohio and Mississippi played a significant part in the establishment of American English dialects as pioneers established inland networks of commerce and communication. We are therefore not surprised to find a major dialect route in America running in tandem with the course of the Ohio River. Furthermore, terrain which naturally isolates groups typically plays an important role in defining abrupt dialect divisions. Thus, a distinctive localized English variety was

fostered in Tangier and Smith Islands, off the coast of Maryland, where small fishing communities were cut off from the mainland. And, on the Sea Islands, off the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, physical isolation combined with social isolation to maintain an historical Creole language among Black residents which still sounds more like the Caribbean Creoles than the mainland dialects of English.

One of the most prominent vernacular dialects of English flourished in the historically isolated southern Appalachian mountain range. Along with a vocabulary replete with distinctions relevant to the indigenous ways of the area, a number of older English forms can be found in this dialect, such as the pronunciation of *it* as *hit* or the use of the prefix *a-* as in *They went a-huntin' and a-fishin'*. These forms have sometimes led language romantics to claim that pure Elizabethian English is retained in this region. While older, "relic" forms can be found, our language is always changing, and the dynamic processes of language typically combine something old with something new in the development of a dialect. Speakers with rural, agriculturally-based lifestyles have traditionally resisted some of the changes associated with linguistic urbanization. Their tenacity in holding on to certain older ways of speaking, however, is juxtaposed with the continuing, independent development of the dialect.

Along the paths of resettlement and migration, contact with other language groups takes place, and these contacts contribute in essential ways to the definition of dialect as well. These influences have contributed to the general nature of American English as well as regional dialects where contact is more intensive and localized. In the 17th century words like *moccasin, racoon,* and *chipmunk* were incorporated from the primary influence of American Indian languages, whereas French in the 18th century gave us words like *bureau, depot,* and *prairie.* German contributed *delicatessen, kindergarten,* and *hamburger* to the general lexicon of American English while Spanish gave it *canyon, rodeo,* and *patio.* Regionally, French gave New Orleans *lagniappe,* a small present; German gave southwest Pennsylvania *stollen,* a kind of cake; and Spanish gave the Southwest *arroyo,* a kind of gully. Features of traditional ritual, cuisine, and topography, so integrally woven into the definition of cultural regions, are often among the most sensitive barometers of dialect differences in lexicon, but more subtle influences are found in pronunciation and grammatical patterns as well.

Although much historical interest in American English dialects has focused on regional variation, these areal and cultural distinctions invariably intersect with social differentiation within the community itself, whether it is a southern rural area or a large northern metropolitan one. In fact, it is difficult to talk about regional dialect differences in English without qualifying these in terms of socioeconomic differences, and the failure to make these qualifications often leads to unjustified stereotyping.

Social dialects are, of course, just another behavioral manifestation of status differences within a community. *Pygmalion* has rightly taught us that language may be considerably more significant than other, more superficial manifestations of cultural differences, but

there is also a more subtle message to be understood: dialect symbolically represents positive attributes of community life and social identity. The values of group solidarity and community identity may actually provide quite strong reinforcement for the maintenance of different dialects. From this perspective the rejection of a local dialect may be interpreted as a rejection of the heritage of the group itself, and there are countless stories of people who couldn't return home comfortably without making symbolic readjustments back to their native dialect.

The media explosion of the past half century and the increasingly accessible geography of the United States have caused some language forecasters to predict that present-day dialect differences will soon go the way of the horse and buggy. Certainly, some leveling has taken place over the past fifty years, and people of different regional and social backgrounds may now be more familiar with other dialect groups than they once were. But those who understand the symbolic significance of dialects are unfazed by such premature predictions of dialect death. Language diversity is so intrinsically tied in with cultural and ethnic diversity that the persistence of dialects is guaranteed through the maintenance of diverse cultures and lifestyles. In fact, dialects, the soul of language, can be counted on to outlast many more superficial manifestations of culture.

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Suggested film

American Tongues, by Louis Alvarez and Andrew Kolker. Center for New American Media, New York.

Suggested videotape

The Story of English, by Robert MacNeil. Public Broadcasting Service.

"Lâche pas la patate:" French in Louisiana

by Nicholas R. Spitzer

Nick Spitzer, on the staff of the Office of Folklife Programs, served for seven years as Louisiana State Folklorist. He has worked with Cajun and Creole French communities to produce a film, LP's, and publications about traditional culture in south Louisiana.

Middle-aged Cajuns often tell a story about being punished as children for speaking French at school. One punishment, aside from whipping, was to have students write 1000 times, "I will not speak French on the school grounds." It was an officially sanctioned devaluation of French Louisiana's language and culture which in turn encouraged this generation not to teach French to its own children. However, there is also evidence of resistance. People tell a joke about *un Américain* teacher instructing country children in numbers:

> "All right children everyone say 'one.' "
> "One," is the dutiful class response.
> "OK children," continues the teacher, "say 'two'."
> The class jumps up to leave with one boy exclaiming, *"Merci maitress, on va tu voir!"* (Thanks teacher, see you later). Interpreting *"c'est tout"* (that's all), the class has a joke at the teacher's expense.

Cajuns and Black Creoles of south Louisiana still use humor to criticize negative views of their culture, though increasingly in the last two decades the various dialects of Louisiana French have not

Talking Cajun French in Mamou, Louisiana.
Photo © by Philip Gould

CODOFIL signs were written in Standard French for a region where the language was primarily oral. The texts became less important than public placement of the sign in the battle for linguistic and cultural recognition.

been seen as sources of stigma to their speakers. To the contrary, Louisiana French, along with Cajun and zydeco music, Cajun/Creole food, and hundreds of festivals—from the boosteristic Rayne Frog Festival to the more traditional Prairie Laurent *courir de Mardi Gras* (Mardi Gras run)—are emblems of cultural renaissance in the region as a whole. *"Lâche pas la patate"* (Don't let go of the potato) is one of many sayings that symbolize the new resoluteness about "holding on" to various aspects of the regional traditional culture including the French language.

Language scholars have historically divided Louisiana French into three categories: Colonial French, Cajun French, and French Creole. Colonial French was spoken by Louisiana's initial European settlers—farmers, planters, craftsmen, mercantilists—who came directly from France or the French West Indies. This Continental French of 18th-century derivation is characterized by broader, longer vowels, archaic usages, and semantic shifts (i.e. *banquette* [foot path] and *char* [cart] now mean "sidewalk" and "automobile"). This form of Louisiana French—associated with now defunct newspapers like *Le Meschacébé* in St. John the Baptist Parish (1853-1925) and *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle Orléans* (1902-1955) as well as private Catholic school instruction—is now restricted to a few long-settled French families in New Orleans and plantation/farm areas along the Mississippi. Most of the old elite and middle class speakers of this French were absorbed into the general Anglo-American society where commerce dictated English.

Cajun French, with much sub-regional variation, is the most widely spoken type in south Louisiana today. The Cajuns, descendants of the late 18th-century Acadian refugees from what is now Nova Scotia, formed a relatively isolated rural society of *petits habitants*—small farmers, herdsmen, fishermen, trappers—until the 20th century. Cajun French dialects, like the Cajuns themselves, have ancestral sources in provincial Normandy, Picardy, Brittany, and Poiteau filtered through the Maritime French of the 17th-18th centuries. As a result of the latter influence, seafaring terms like *haler* ("pull") and *amarrer* ("to moor") are often used today rather than the standard *tirer* and *attacher*. Today, the coastal prairie landscape of south

Inez Catalon of Kaplan, Louisiana, is a singer of ballads and humorous songs in Cajun and Creole. Photo by Nicholas R. Spitzer

Louisiana also has many place names such as *Isle à Jean Charles* (Jean Charles Island), *Pointe d' Eglise* (Church Point) and *L'Anse Maigre* (Meager Cove). In Cajun French, open French vowels tend to be flattened and closed. The varied lexemic (word) inventory of Cajun French—shared to a large extent with Colonial French and French Creole—reflects contact in the New World with Africans (*gombo,* "okra"; *congo,* "snake"; *gris-gris,* "charm"), Native Americans (*bayou* from the Choctaw *bayuk,* "stream"; *chaoui,* "raccoon"; *maringoin,* "mosquito"), and Spanish (*banane,* "banana"; *gregue,* "drip coffee pot"; *lagniappe* from Caribbean Spanish *ñapa,* "a little extra" or "small gift").

French Creole is referred to as such (rather than Creole French) because it originates in part from different roots than Louisiana Cajun or Colonial French. The word *créole* (pron: cray-ole) derives from the Latin-based Portuguese *crioulo* ("native to a region"). In Louisiana, Creole originally referred to colonial French and Spanish populations born in the New World. Over time Creole has come to refer to people of African, French/Spanish, and Native American descent. The French Creole language resulted from the expansion of the contact pidgin language spoken between French and African peoples in the slave/plantation sphere of West Africa and the Caribbean. Sometimes derisively called *Gombo French, Français Nèg'* and *Couri-Vini* (from the minimal Creole verb stems for "to go" and "to come"), Louisiana Creole shows great similarity to French Creole in Haiti, French West Africa, and even Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. Louisiana Creole is largely composed of French words. However, its phonology, and particularly its grammar, mark the deepest forms of the language as different from French and more akin to other Caribbean Basin creoles (Jamaican Creole, Surinam *Taki-Taki,* and Georgia Sea Island *Gullah*).

The following features, among many, characterize Louisiana Creole: 1) absence of a "to be" verb (also noted in creole forms of Black English); 2) use of aspect markers for time such as *té* (past), *pé* (progressive), *va* (future) and *sa* (conditional); and 3) a transformed set of pronouns and possessives like *mo* (I, me, mine), *to* (you, your), *li* (he, she, it, its) and *yé* (they, them, their). Those who dismiss creole languages as simplistic are often naive about their creative syntax, relative lack of redundancy, and total appropriateness in context. A comparison is striking.

STANDARD FRENCH:
Je sais que la femme était fâchée; elle reviendra demain.
FRENCH CREOLE:
Mo connais femme-la té fâchée; li va pé vini back demain.
ENGLISH
I know the woman was angry; she will be back tomorrow.

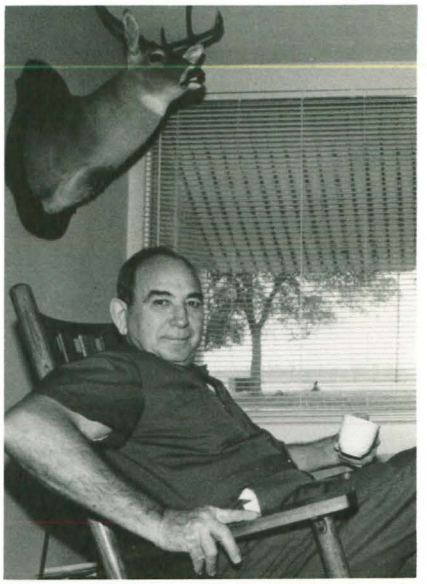
Creole is still spoken by some older Blacks in the downriver neighborhoods of New Orleans, but its primary locus for Black and some poorer White speakers is in plantation zones along Bayou Teche and the Mississippi. Speakers of French and Creole in Louisiana generally consider Creole to be a dialect of French—and the least prestigious one at that. One Creole-speaking Black man from St. Martinville, who refers to Creole as "French," adds, "In Africa I guess they don't speak nothing else."

Sadly, many Creole speakers, under pressure from speakers of Cajun, Colonial French, or English, consider their language to be "broken," "backward," or "poorly spoken" French. In this dim light 19th-century theories of physiognomy regarding lip and tongue thickness as well as intelligence are sometimes invoked by non-Creole speakers to explain why Creole exists. Over time contact between local populations and the increased national impact of English in eroding both Cajun French and Creole have tended to level the linguistic differences between them—and a majority of the young people are now monolingual in English. As such, the larger issues of language loss and related cultural devaluation transcend the formal and historical differences between Cajun and Creole.

Increasing Americanization of French Louisiana through contact with the outside world was accentuated in the 19th century by the Civil War and post-Reconstruction economic development. French was banned as a language of instruction in Louisiana public schools in 1913 and laws, including the state constitution, were no longer printed bilingually after 1916. Accelerated erosion of French culture in the 20th century was fueled by the growth of the oil industry. This growth, along with new bridges and roads built by the Huey Long administration, brought in English-speaking outsiders in vast numbers for the first time. English also dominated the broadcast media, and American country and big band sounds began to replace Cajun folk music as the entertainment of choice on radios, records, and in dancehalls of the '30s and '40s.

Ironically, where national social trends once eroded the French language and culture in south Louisiana, they have also acted more recently to preserve them. For example, by the 1960s the national focus on ethnicity had spurred the Cajun cultural revival. Part of this was represented by the 1968 formation of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) which was charged with teaching French in public schools. CODOFIL used foreign teachers to "develop" Standard French and was initially not sympathetic to Cajun speech and folk culture, much less to Creole and African influences. CODOFIL's approach has since become more positive by utilizing more local teachers and curriculum materials and by placing what was considered a "forgettable" language into the classroom setting. However, the problems of such a formal approach to perpetuation of oral culture have never been fully surmounted.

Perhaps more influential on south Louisiana French consciousness has been the persistence and emergence of Cajun and Creole programs at selected times on regional radio and television stations. The French-speaking disc jockey, playing Cajun or Black Creole zydeco music produced by a few local and national record companies, also presents the latest news, views, and commercials: *"Si tu veut un red hot deal pour un char or juste pou' reparer ton automatic transmission visites-toi Jimmy Faul's Automotive ici dans gran Crowley, Louisiane!"* Folk music events such as the Cajun Music Festival, held annually since 1974, and the Zydeco Festival since 1983, as well as a revitalized French dancehall circuit have also given impetus to the culture as a whole through a primary symbol: traditional music sung in French.



Cajun motel operator, Joseph Ardoin of Eunice, Louisiana, recalls being punished for speaking French on the school grounds. Though he did not teach his six children to speak French, his youngest daughter now learns the language in school and he finds it useful in a new context: talking with tourists from France and Canada.
Photo by Nicholas R. Spitzer

Yet the music revival and the French media have not been able to overcome the economic and social barriers to maintaining the French language in Louisiana. Census data from the last three decades show the absolute and percentage decrease in "mother tongue" speakers to be greater than in any previous period—current estimates are generally less than 500,000 people. As such, the contexts of French use in south Louisiana today are increasingly specialized.

French remains the primary, sometimes the only, language of the older generation. It is the language of *la maison,* grandparental wisdom, folktales, and ritual. Those teenagers who can speak some French may use it to show respect to grandparents. It is also associated with rural dancehalls, trailrides, *boucheries,* games of *bourée,* and other traditional entertainments. In rural communities French is commonly heard among farmers and fishermen at local stores and community gatherings. It is less likely in formal work settings or official public places and occasions. On the other hand, one Cajun who works where English is standard says, "When I get hot (angry), or want to be forceful, I go to my French." Cajun and Creole are also often used for humorous occasions when stories and jokes just don't translate. Some young Blacks also use Creole for the "on the corner" speech of which reputations are made.

In the context of ethnic consciousness-raising, French is heard at festivals, Cajun poetry readings, and political rallies. The borders of the home region—in southeast Texas, central Louisiana, and generally east of the Mississippi—are another place where language is used to emphasize group identity. Cajun legislators sometimes find it expedient to tweak their non-French associates in Baton Rouge with public discussion of particular issues in French.

The question remains as to what extent Cajun and Creole are in the linguistic future of south Louisiana. Well known Louisianans like Governor Edwin Edwards and musician Fats Domino speak Cajun and Creole respectively. Cajun/Creole food and music are enjoying increased popularity nationally. However, speaking French in Louisiana seems less than critical in maintaining the 1980s realization of regional Cajun/Creole ethnicity—especially when French-inflected English is now used as an in-group language. Among the disturbing side-effects of the English Cajun dialect conjoined with the national popularity of the culture, is the superficial, minstrel-show-like treatment of Cajuns and Cajun English on a Public Broadcasting System televised cooking program with (non-Cajun) Justin Wilson and the appearance of advertisements in the *Washington Post* for a local "Cajun" restaurant that proclaim ". . . wah kin ah nami-nami un supper an' pass a good time?"

Back home in Louisiana, times are tough. The formerly flush oil industry—bringer of much linguistic, social and environmental change—is flat. With the broken promise of the good life uppermost in the public mind, Cajuns and Creoles are wondering if they can hold onto the "potato." Or will the joke be on them as they say *"c'est tout"* to French in Louisiana?

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The Yiddish Speaking Community in New York City

by Itzek Gottesman

For the Jews of America, the Yiddish language represents the most tangible connection to an Eastern European heritage, a legacy which some have retained and enhanced, many have forgotten, and others are reclaiming. With the mass immigration of Jews from Poland, Russia, Rumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia that began in the 1880s and continued into the 1920s, the Yiddish language took root in the United States as the vernacular for millions of Jews. In addition to these older settlers, a new wave of Yiddish-speakers immigrated in the 1940s and '50s, Holocaust survivors of the Second World War. Most of these immigrants first settled in the large urban centers of the United States—New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia. Nearly all adult Jews in America have had first-hand contact with Yiddish: through a parent, grandparent, neighbor, or storekeeper.

In the past hundred years Yiddish language and culture have permeated mainstream American culture. Examples include words like nosh and shlep; foods such as bagels and lox, hot pastrami, and knishes; musicals and films such as *Fiddler on the Roof* and *Yentl;* humorists like the Marx Brothers and Woody Allen; and translations of literary works such as those of Nobel prize-winning author Isaac Bashevis Singer.

New York City has the largest concentration of Yiddish speakers in the country; more than half a million claimed Yiddish as their mother tongue according to the 1970 U.S. Census. But it is difficult to speak of New York's Yiddish speakers as one unified community. In fact, several dynamic communities of Yiddish speakers are there today.

In the Orthodox Hasidic neighborhoods of Borough Park and Williamsburg in Brooklyn, Yiddish is spoken in homes, shops, streets, and in special separate schools for boys and girls. Shop signs are in Yiddish and two weekly newspapers, *Der algemeiner zhurnal* and *Der yid,* have large readerships. The production of Yiddish textbooks, children's literature, and recordings is rapidly expanding. On the joyous holiday Purim, Hasidim perform Yiddish folk plays, a tradition that goes back hundreds of years.

Although Brooklyn's Hasidic neighborhoods constitute the fastest growing population of Yiddish speakers, the Hasidim have little contact with the secular cultural community of creative artists and *kultur-tuers,* Yiddish cultural activists.

One of the mainstays of secular Yiddish life is *Der forverts/ The Jewish Forward,* a weekly newspaper that celebrates its 90th anniversary this year. A progressive weekly, *Morgn freiheit,* has been

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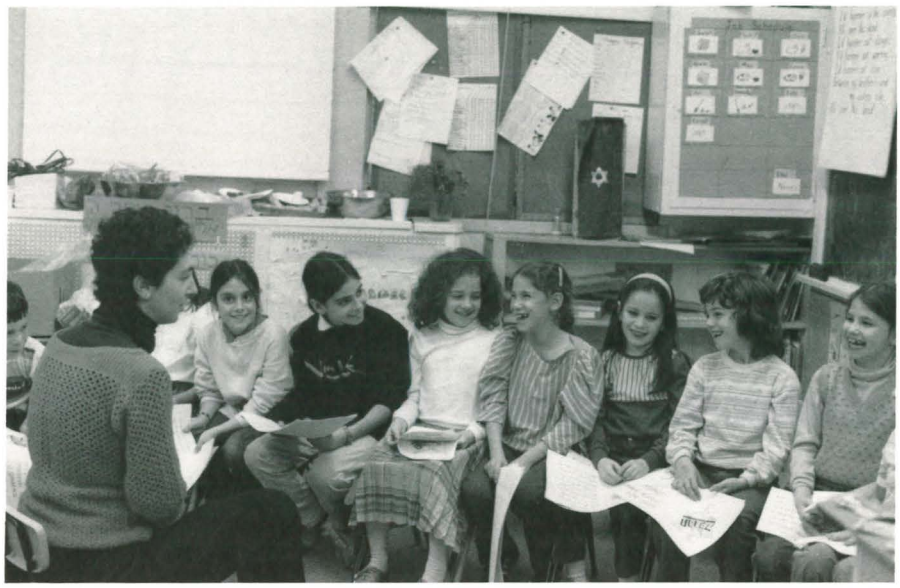

The New Westside Yiddish School. Photo by Vivian Fenster Ehrlich

publishing since the 1920s. Radio station WEVD (the call letters are the initials of labor leader Eugene Victor Debs) is owned by *The Jewish Forward* and broadcasts Yiddish song and music, commentaries on the Talmud, and provides a forum for groups like the Jewish Labor Bund, a Socialist-Yiddishist organization. Several hundred *Landsmanshaften,* Jewish Mutual Aid societies, are active in New York, sponsoring theater benefits and cultural evenings.

Yiddish literature written on American soil has a rich and unique history among immigrant literatures. In addition to the newspapers mentioned above, a monthly literary journal *Di zukunft* publishes works by many contemporary New York Yiddish writers. These writers of poetry and prose are an active community that organizes frequent literary gatherings. *Yugntruf*—Youth for Yiddish, a national student group—has founded a Yiddish Writers' Circle that meets monthly. Another cultural institution with a longstanding history is the Yiddish Theater that produced three major productions this season.

New York City is a major center for Yiddish higher education and scholarly research. The *Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut* (known in English as the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research), the world's leading Yiddish research facility, was originally based in pre-War Poland with collections on the language, history, and folklore of Eastern European Jews. Although most of its irreplaceable archives were destroyed by the Nazis, YIVO, now in Manhattan, flourishes as a resource for researchers. Columbia University offers a doctorate in Yiddish through its Linguistics Department and has trained Yiddish teachers across the country. Furthermore, hundreds of students have studied Yiddish at Columbia, YIVO, YMHAs and YMWAs (Young Men's/Women's Hebrew Associations), and other locations throughout New York City. Many students had no knowledge of Yiddish before attending classes: they were motivated by a need to find their "roots" and reclaim their heritage.

Many Jewish immigrants of the early decades, although non-observant by the Orthodox religious standards, strongly identified themselves as Jews. Yiddish language and culture were central to this identification. Dozens of *yidishe folkshuln* (Jewish folk schools)

Masqueraders during Purim, a holiday when children portray characters and incidents from the Megillah, in the Hassidic community of Williamsburg, a neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York. **Photo by Irving I. Herzberg**

Kosher ice cream parlor in the Hassidic community of Williamsburg, a neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York. **Photo by Irving I. Herzberg**

were established for their children to attend after regular school hours. These schools served as an alternative to established Hebrew schools. Much of the neighborhood's Yiddish cultural life revolved around the *folkshul.*

A vivid sense of how the Yiddish language fits into community life can be gained by considering one example—perhaps not typical, but illustrative. It is the neighborhood where I grew up, a community in the northern Bronx known to its residents as Bainbridgivke, after the main street of Bainbridge Avenue.

Bainbridgivke residents include Tsunye Rymer from the Ukraine, who once owned a neighborhood dry-cleaning store but is known to the community as a reciter of Sholem Aleichem stories. Joshua Fishman, a noted sociolinguist, and his wife Gella Fishman, a Yiddish pedagogue, were both born in America. My parents come from the Bukovina, an area now divided between the U.S.S.R. and Romania. My mother Beyle is a Yiddish poet who also sings at social functions. My father Yoyne, a medical doctor, provides health services in Yiddish to many community residents. Moyshe Nussbaum was a fiddler in his Polish town, but made his living as a barber in New York until his retirement. Dr. Mordkhe Schaechter, a professor in Columbia University's Yiddish program, is preparing a compendium of Yiddish plant names that will include more than 6,000 entries.

On the corner is the Sholem Aleichem Folk Shul 21, once part of a school system named for the great Yiddish writer. Classes began in the '30s and continued through the '70s. During these years generations of students were exposed to Yiddish language and

Board members in front of the Sholem Aleichem Cultural Center. **Photo by Itzek Gottesman**

literature, Jewish history and traditions. The Shul was widely known and respected. Some families, my own included, moved to this community so that their children could attend the Shul and grow up speaking Yiddish. Now those children have grown up and moved away but still speak Yiddish to each other and their own children.

The Shul has been turned into the Sholem Aleichem Kultur-Tsenter, a cultural center for adults whose members meet for weekly *leyenkrayzn* (reading circles), host a monthly lecture series, show Yiddish films, and use the Tsenter's lending library. Members meet informally at each other's homes for coffee, cake, and singing.

Around the corner from the Tsenter is one of the four Orthodox synagogues in the area. Young congregants include several doctors from nearby Montefiore and North Central Hospitals who speak Yiddish with many of their Jewish patients. Down the road is the "Amalgamated," a cooperative housing project built by the Amalgamated Garment Workers of America. Many Yiddish writers and cultural leaders live here and meet in their own Tsenter. Their children attend a Yiddish school sponsored by the Workman's Circle, a fraternal organization that runs the largest secular Yiddish school system in the nation.

Recently, I was walking down Bainbridge Avenue and ran into a young man I had met once at YIVO. A painter in his thirties, he is the child of Holocaust survivors and speaks fluent Yiddish. He had recently acted in a Yiddish theater production. While we stood talking, a Yiddish actor in his sixties, himself a performer in another of this season's productions, walked by. I introduced them. The older actor had been looking for young talent for his troupe's future productions. Soon, phone numbers were exchanged, and another intergenerational link was made in New York's Yiddish community on a street corner in the north Bronx.

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Language and Culture: A Mien Refugee Perspective

by Eric Crystal

Tribal Cultures of Southeast Asia

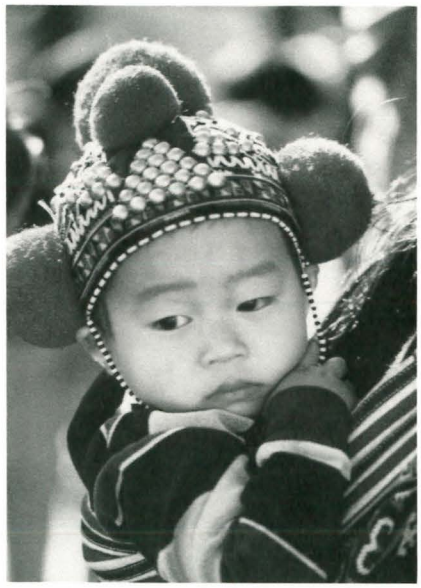
Throughout Southeast Asia the coasts and fertile plains are peopled by large ethnic groups that make up the majority populations of the nation states. These lowland peoples have been influenced by the world religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity and have been connected by trade, cultural exchange, and political relationships with distant nations and cultures for many centuries. By contrast, the peoples in the mountain hinterlands are divided into many distinct ethnic groups, who speak a plethora of mutually unintelligible languages and must struggle to preserve their ethnic identity in the face of cultural and political pressures from the more powerful and numerous peoples of the plains. One of the hundred-plus minority peoples of mainland Southeast Asia are the Iu Mien, 8,000 of whom have come to settle in the western United States in recent years. The Mien must confront language issues and challenges as they look toward a new future in the United States.

Mien Odyssey

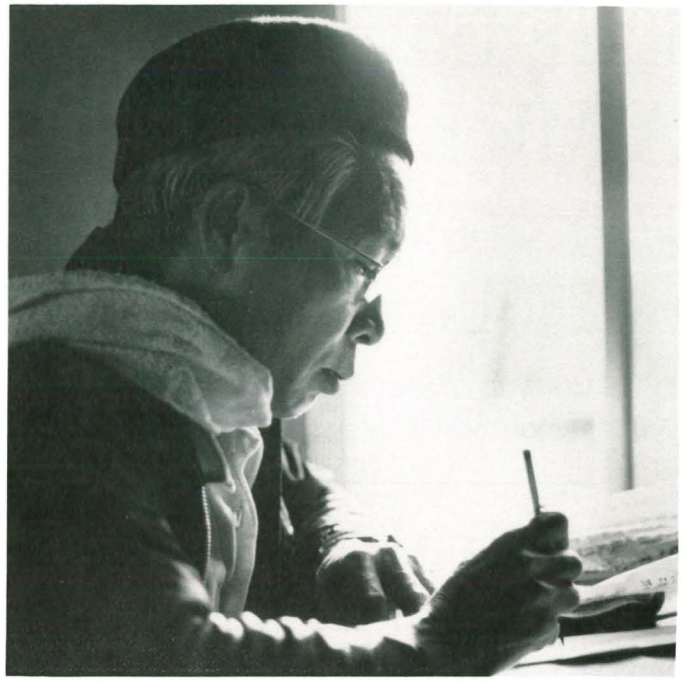
Known in ethnographic literature as the Yao or Man, more than 2.5 million Mien currently live in East and Southeast Asia. Mien communities on the periphery of Han Chinese civilization have been noted in Chinese annals for more than a thousand years, and today they are a major minority in China. Mien villagers were pushed into northern Laos, Burma, and Vietnam in the last decades of the Ching dynasty as imperial forces dislodged them from their fertile fields in the vicinity of Mengla in Yunnan province. Mien communities of considerable size grew up in Nam Tha and Muong Sing in northwestern Laos as forced migrations from southern China increased with unsettled conditions at the turn of the century. The Mien population of Laos has been estimated at 50,000 in 1975.

For most of their existence, the Mien have selectively absorbed certain aspects of Chinese culture while successfully maintaining their own distinct ethnic identity. The Mien are the only tribal group in Southeast Asia to have absorbed Chinese writing into their ritual system. Mien religion consists of a complex system of beliefs and ritual practices termed Ley Nyey. The Mien priest or *sai kung* must be able to read Mien sacred books written in Chinese characters. Composing with brush and inkstone, Mien priests oftentimes dispatch letters to the spirit world, burning them together with bundles of ersatz paper money in the belief that the essence of such offerings will be absorbed by attentive ancestral spirits.

Anthropologist Eric Crystal has worked with highland peoples of Indonesia and with Cambodian and Laotian refugees in California. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley, where he is currently the Program Coordinator for the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies.



Infant Ey Choy Saephan is photographed with traditional baby cap in mother's traditional baby carrier. Oakland, California. **Photo by Eric Crystal, 1983**



A first generation of Mien female literacy in the United States. Fuey Sio Sae Chao reviews her English language homework shortly after completing a year of study in Oakland, California. **Photo by Eric Crystal, 1981**

A Mien priest reviews a ritual text shortly before commencing a funeral ceremony in Oakland, California. **Photo by Eric Crystal, 1982**

In traditional Mien society only a limited number of the brightest and most privileged young men were admitted to Chinese language classes. Their fathers would pool resources to invite a Chinese language teacher to live in the village and instruct in a school specially built for him. Mien women were never included among the Mien literati. Indeed, the patrilineal structure of Mien society reinforced an extraordinarily rigid bifurcation of male and female roles, competencies, and world views. The world of Mien women in traditional society was very much a pre-literate world. The community thus trained and nurtured a restricted core of priests and village leaders able to write Mien language with Chinese characters. The majority of adult males and all of the women in Mien society remained illiterate through the centuries, exposed neither to formal Chinese literacy training nor to vernacular language instruction in distant government schools.

Unique among the highland peoples of northern Laos, the Mien nurtured a written tradition, one that they turned to their own ethnic advantage. The Mien indeed aver that one of their ancestors invented Chinese characters, only to have the precious gift stolen by an evil Chinese nobleman who then exiled them to the hills and badlands bordering the empire. The Mien made great efforts to ensure that the tradition of writing would never be lost, and sacred books and some vernacular texts have played a significant role in their traditional village life.

Between 1890 and 1963 the Mien developed prosperous village farming communities in northwestern Laos. Meticulous gardeners and farmers, Mien soon became renowned as successful entrepreneurs, traders, and dealers in agricultural produce. Mien communities became relatively wealthy judged by the standards of living and accomplishments of other surrounding ethnic minority groups. Yet, access to schools, hospitals, and other government services was highly restricted for most Mien. Mien villages were economically vital, largely self-sufficient in foodstuffs and insular in terms of the

maintenance of ethnic written, spoken, and sung language arts.

Mien and the War in Southeast Asia

In the late 1950s, as competing forces sought control over the newly independent nation of Laos, American agents contacted the Mien and trained them to carry out reconnaissance missions to the Chinese border and on into Yunnan. Employed first to monitor communications and troop movements, the Mien were later armed by the U.S., and engagements with Pathet Lao and Chinese troops became commonplace, as the Mien sought to defend their new homeland. In 1963 scores of helicopters arrived to escort infants and older people in what was to be a temporary evacuation of the Mien homeland in Nam Tha. Able-bodied adults and children walked for weeks to relocation sites in the foothills. Allied forces promised their loyal Mien irregulars that the evacuation would be short lived, that they would be able to return to their fields and homes in a few short months, and that the offensive of the communist forces in the area would be blunted and finally defeated. As events would have it, the Mien were forced to live in foothills near the banks of the Mekong River in the vicinity of Hwei Oh and Houei Sai for another decade as the war in Laos raged on through 1973.

Mien Language and Culture in America

Today more than half of the Mien who lived in Laos before 1975 have fled, with nearly twenty percent resettling in America. Only one Mien village remains in Nam Tha, wracked by malaria and other diseases. Pathet Lao soldiers currently block the few Mien remaining in their mountain homeland from leaving for more hospitable regions. Between eight and nine thousand Mien have been resettled in the United States; almost all live on the West Coast, primarily in northern California. Perhaps the most traditional Indochinese group to have resettled in America, the Mien continue to practice their indigenous religion, sustain their rich written and oral traditions, and maintain daily vernacular language use within their homes. Among those here are priests, herbal doctors, massage experts, bards, and storytellers. Oftentimes Mien women will record stories of life in America in rhymed verse (*pao dzung*) and send such sung messages back to friends and relatives in Thai refugee camps via audio cassette.

The Mien are a small, little-known minority within the larger Southeast Asian refugee minority community in America. Their rich ceremonial, textual, and oral traditions continue to flourish within individual households, persisting in almost total isolation from the host society, nearby schools, and social service institutions. California school districts oftentimes ignore linguistic fact and promote the fiction that Mien is but a dialect of Lao, a totally unrelated language. Yet their new homeland offers opportunities as well: Mien females have gained access to literacy almost overnight thanks to the dedicated efforts of adult educators and equal access to public education.

Mien religion continues to be practiced by most Mien families in California. An aging generation of unacculturated religious and community leaders is concerned about the recruitment of a new

generation of Mien boys to master the Chinese writing and ritual performance skills required if Mien religion is to survive. Elders are also concerned about the social changes their families face: Mien youngsters growing up in America share little of the mountain village tradition in which their parents have been immersed. Parents can give little direction to their children and oftentimes must depend on them to serve as translators and cultural brokers in an alien American urban society. In such circumstances the belief systems, values, and aspirations of parents, whose world view was shaped by life in remote mountain villages, differ sharply from those of their children growing up in an urban American environment.

In the mountains of Laos, language is the most important ethnic marker maintained by tribal peoples such as the Mien. Among Mien in the U.S., language identifies and solidifies the group, strengthens an ancient ceremonial system, and flourishes as a refined oral literature. Verbal dueling between representatives of the bride and groom continues to enliven Mien weddings in the United States. Yet the persistence of these traditions also reflects the current cultural isolation of the Mien from the larger communities in which they have come to settle.

That isolation can best be bridged by education, both of Mien and of their American neighbors. The Mien language merits recognition as a separate language, especially in California districts where Mien students with limited English proficiency form a sizable classroom minority. Schools and academic research institutions can be of immeasurable value in encouraging a new generation of Mien youth to value and respect their cultural traditions. Unique opportunities exist for non-Mien students of Southeast Asian language and culture to collaborate in research with Mien community members. Possibly the time will not be too distant when Mien youngsters educated in the United States will be able to visit, converse, and work together on research and community development projects with relatives and friends in the mountains of Southeast Asia.

There is every indication that Mien vernacular language (*Mien-wa*) will continue to be used for several generations in America. A new element in multi-cultural American life, the Mien contribute ancient craft skills in embroidery and silver jewelry fabrication, a rich religious tradition, and a complex language replete with refined oral literature and singular written sacred texts. Only time will tell whether this small, isolated, proud group of migrants from the mountain hinterlands of Southeast Asia will be able to preserve its distinct cultural heritage in the context of late 20th century American life.

Suggested readings

Butler Diaz, Jacqueline. *Yao Design of Northern Thailand.* Bangkok: Siam Society, 1981.

Campbell, Margaret. *From the Hands of the Hills.* Hong Kong: Media Transasia, 1981.

Knoll, Patricia. *Becoming American.* Portland: Coast to Coast Books, 1982.

Lemoine, Jacques. *Yao Ceremonial Paintings.* Bangkok: White Lotus Ltd., 1984.

Lewis, P. and E. *Hill Tribes of the Golden Triangle.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1984.

Suggested videotape

A Hill Tribe in West Oakland, by A. Nomura and E. and C. Crystal. Video/film. 4106 West Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90016.

Migration to Michigan: An Introduction to the State's Folklife

by Laurie Kay Sommers

Throughout Michigan's history those who migrated to the state have been drawn by—or themselves have introduced—fishing, trapping, mining, lumbering, farming, and automobile manufacturing. The lore of such occupations, combined with the rich ethnic heritage of those who built Michigan, form the essence of the state's traditional culture.

The French explorers, missionaries, and fur traders who traversed the Great Lakes beginning in the 17th century were the first Europeans to view the vast expanses of water and virgin forest that became the state of Michigan in 1837. The twin peninsulas had long been inhabited by Native Americans who struggled to maintain their way of life in the face of increasing European encroachment. By the early 1800s they had been forced to cede almost all their tribal lands, and of the various tribes that once inhabited the region only the Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway (Chippewa) remained, living primarily on reservations or in larger cities. The reservation Indians in particular have preserved or revived traditional crafts that utilize natural materials such as porcupine quills, black ash splints, and birchbark. They also maintain some of the state's oldest skills: fishing, trapping, and techniques for smoking meat and fish.

Trapping and fishing became the earliest occupations for Europeans as well. French and British fur traders supplied the courts of Europe with luxurious New World pelts in the decades prior to statehood. Contemporary trappers have different markets, but they are the heirs to the original hardy backwoodsmen. In addition to expertise with setting traps and skinning and stretching hides, many trappers are masters of recipes requiring muskrat, raccoon, turtle, venison, and other game. "Mushrat," once linked exclusively with those of French ancestry, has emerged as a regional foodway and identity symbol for southeastern lower Michigan where it is prepared both in the home and for public dinners.

Commercial fishing on the Great Lakes attracted men from the eastern seaboard and Europe who braved the unpredictable moods of the largest freshwater lakes in the world to haul in yearly catches of whitefish, perch, and lake trout. Today, a small core of seasoned sailors, still plying the waters of Lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron, and Erie, are steeped in the lore of the "Big Lakes." The commercial fisherman's livelihood depends on an intimate knowledge of the lakes themselves, the habits of fish, the techniques of constructing and repairing gear, the ability to modify and in some cases build steel-framed fishing boats (the descendants of earlier wooden vessels), and the skills of packing and filleting with speed.

Inland river culture, on the other hand, is the domain of experi-

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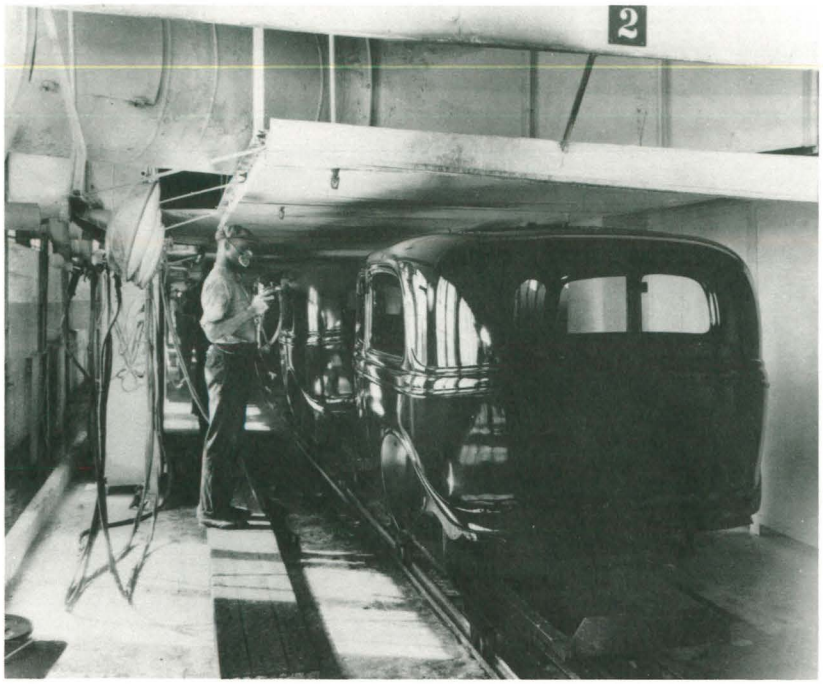
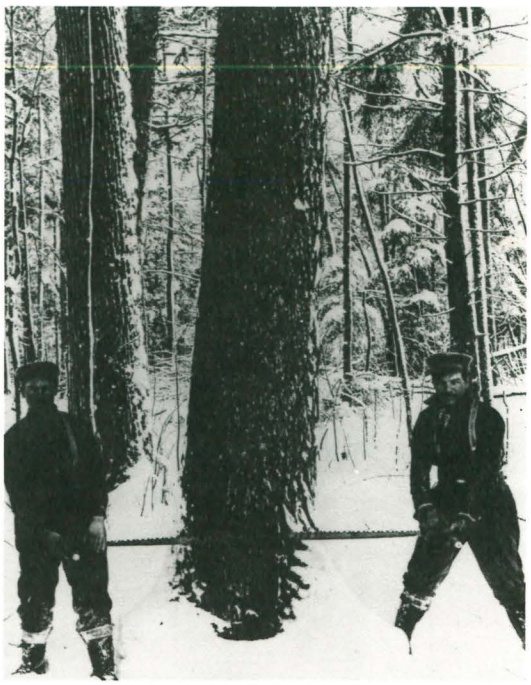
Cornish mining captains underground. Photo courtesy Michigan State Archives, Department of State

enced river guides, bait shop owners, builders of wooden boats adapted to different rivers and uses, expert fly tiers, and carvers of special lures and decoys. These individuals often live off the land in contrast to the scores of recreational fishermen who comprise their customers. While much inland riverlore crosses ethnic boundaries, some traditions are linked to specific groups. One example is the burbot harvest on the Sturgeon River of the Upper Peninsula where Finnish-Americans use hoop nets in cleared sections of the ice-coated river to catch a type of freshwater cod known as "poor man's lobster." The fillets and livers are used to make *kukko,* a fish pie often served at Christmas (*L'Anse Sentinel,* January 14, 1987).

Not until the great European migrations of the 19th century did extensive settlement of Michigan begin. The early pioneers came primarily from the eastern states, the British Isles, Germany, and Holland. They were joined by Scandinavians and French and British Canadians who arrived by the thousands to work in fields, lumber and mining operations, mills, and factories. The landscape which greeted these pioneers contained mile after mile of majestic virgin pine and hardwoods five feet in diameter. Between the 1830s and early 1900s the state was stripped of these timber resources as lumber barons and loggers alike strove to make their fortunes in the Michigan woods. Many land owners were eastern capitalists while Finns, Norwegians, Swedes, and French-Canadians were among the largest ethnic contingents to lead the dangerous and demanding life of the lumberjack. The experience was commemorated in songs and tales that are now little more than a memory culture, yet evoke in powerful ways the special community formed by the log drivers, sawyers, scidders, teamsters, and camp cooks who helped build Michigan while the logs they cut were shipped west to help settle the plains.

The bygone days of the lumberjack are celebrated today in logging festivals, such as those held in the eastern Upper Peninsula town of Newberry, where demonstrations of camp cooking, cross-





Worker spray painting lacquer on Ford car bodies at Brigg's Body Company, 1933. Many Afro-Americans migrated north to work in Michigan auto plants after World War I. **Photo from the collections of Henry Ford Museum and Greenfield Village**

Finnish lumberjacks at Oscar, Michigan, ca. 1890. **Photo courtesy Michigan State Archives, Department of State**

cut saw competitions, and other contests evoke the spirit of the old logging era. Many participants in these festivals themselves work either full or part time in the woods since reforestation has prompted a flourishing pulpwood and Christmas tree industry in the state. The famous Grand Rapids furniture industry, founded during the mid-to-late 19th century, also has survived thanks to the importation of hardwoods. Generations of master carvers have fashioned the prototype chair, table, or bedpost which serves as a "template" for the multiple carving machines.

The rich iron and copper deposits of the western Upper Peninsula proved a powerful impetus to settlement. Although native peoples had fashioned copper tools and adornments from accessible surface deposits, commercial mining did not begin until the 1840s. Activity centered around the Keweenaw Peninsula which witnessed the nation's first mineral rush: thousands of prospectors flocked to Michigan several years prior to the more famous California gold rush. Iron ore also was discovered during this period, creating boom towns near the Marquette, Gogebic, and Menominee ranges of the western U.P. During the late 19th century the mining counties had the largest foreign-born populations in the state. More than thirty nationalities could be found within a single township, including Cornish, Belgians, Irish, Scots, English, French-Canadians, Finns, Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, Italians, Slovenians, Poles, and Croatians.

The Cornish had a special association with the mining country. From the start the mine owners recruited their shift captains, foremen, and, eventually, mine managers from the ranks of the Cornish who brought deep mining techniques from the copper and tin mines of Cornwall, their special jargon of mining terms, and the meat and vegetable turnover known as pasty. The pie was carried by miners deep below the surface and, according to legend, heated by the flame of a miner's candle.

The centers of copper and iron production subsequently moved

westward and overseas. The western U.P. landscape today is punctuated by ghost towns, abandoned mine shafts, and communities with severely depleted populations. After the great copper strike of 1913-14, many miners migrated out-state or down-state to urban centers like Detroit and Grand Rapids. Finns are now the dominant ethnic group, especially in the western mining regions, followed by Eastern Europeans and Scandinavians. In the eastern U.P. Canadians predominate. Mining is still a source of employment (along with logging and agriculture), but perhaps the real legacy of the peak mining years is a strong regional identity born of ethnic intermingling and defined by the distinctive lore of the independent "Yoopers" (residents of the U.P.).

The dream of owning land has long attracted migrants to Michigan. Many early pioneers were New Englanders. They brought with them the house-party dance and musical traditions of the East, which survive today in the state's dominant fiddle style, a repertoire that predates the French-Canadian and southern traditions of subsequent migrants. Eastern-born Quakers and abolitionists also were instrumental in establishing underground railroad stations in the years prior to the Civil War. As a result, counties such as Cass, Mecosta, and Lake have significant rural Black populations. Some of these families still tell escaped slave narratives. These old agricultural enclaves are culturally distinct from the larger and more recent Afro-American settlements in cities like Detroit, Grand Rapids, Lansing, and Flint, most of which date to the Great Migration (the massive movement of rural southerners to northern industrial centers during the pre-and post-World War II periods).

From the 19th century onward, scores of European immigrants cleared timber, brush, and glacial rocks to establish family farms throughout the state. The Germans, for example, settled predominantly in southeastern Michigan and in Saginaw and Berrien counties. The Danes, another group of skilled farmers, raised potatoes

Mexican migrants thinning sugar beets. Photo courtesy Michigan State Archives, Department of State

northeast of Muskegon. Poles homesteaded the Thumb area and northeastern Michigan near Posen and Metz. The Dutch founded the town of Holland in 1847 and introduced celery, and more recently, tulips to Michigan. Many groups who came for lumbering or mining later turned to agriculture in the cutover (clear-cut forest lands) and more marginal lands of northern Michigan.

During the 1800s Michigan farmers were generalists. In the 20th century, however, the state's agriculture has become more specialized: fruit along the Lake Michigan shore, nurseries near Detroit and west of Grand Rapids, navy beans in the Saginaw Valley, sugar beets in the Thumb area, peppermint and spearmint in the midlands near St. Johns, soybeans in the Monroe area, and vegetables in the muck soils of the south.

Prior to mechanization most farmers required extensive seasonal help. Beginning in the 1920s, when immigration quotas reduced the numbers of European workers, thousands of displaced southern sharecroppers and field hands—both Afro- and Anglo-Americans—headed north to the fields of Michigan. Mexican migrants, often recruited by the sugar beet companies, also began seasonal journeys to Michigan by truck or train. Despite the hardship of migrant life, certain traditions emerged such as the big Mexican *fiestas* at the end of cherry harvest. With the introduction of mechanical harvesters and more stringent migrant labor laws, the Michigan migrant stream is now much smaller.

Most migrants eventually made the transition from field to factory, and the cultural traditions they brought with them are now part of Michigan folklife: southern Black blues and gospel (the roots of Detroit's famous Motown and soul), quilting tradtions, and "soul food" in the cities; *conjunto* music and foods such as *menudo* (tripe soup) and *cabrito* (barbecued goat) among Mexican-Americans; the foodways, craft traditions, vocal, and fiddle styles of the upland South.

Native Americans fishing in the St. Mary's rapids, 19th century. Photo courtesy Michigan State Archives, Department of State

After the turn of the century many newcomers to Michigan found their first jobs in automobile and related manufacturing. Although the state's major cities all have auto plants, the "Motor City" of Detroit remains the hub and world symbol for the American automobile industry. It was here in 1908 that Henry Ford introduced the assembly line technique, which soon became standard throughout the industry and enabled management to replace skilled craftsmen with unskilled labor from Eastern and Southern Europe. With the line came a new chapter in workers lore as people creatively adapted to the relentless pace of mechanization and found ways to humanize the factory.

As workers from across the United States and abroad poured into Detroit, old ethnic neighborhoods changed character and new ones took shape. They often were centered around particular factories where foremen tended to hire family, friends, and countrymen: Hungarians in Delray, Poles in Hamtramck near the Dodge plant, and Croatians, Slovenians, Finns, Rumanians, and Lithuanians adjacent to Ford's Highland Park facility. Some nationality groups became associated with particular crafts or skills: Swedish engineers in the auto industry, Italians in tileworking, Germans in brewing, Scotsmen in tool and die making, Greeks in confectionaries, groceries, and restaurants, and Lebanese, Syrians, and Palestinians in the food business.

Michigan and other northern industries—like their counterparts in agriculture—sought a new labor supply in the American South after the outbreak of World War I. The urban population soared for southern Anglo- and Afro-Americans. In Detroit alone the Black population rose from just less than 6,000 in 1910 to 120,000 in 1930. Prior to 1935 Ford's River Rouge plant hired more Blacks than any other auto company and was the only firm to employ Afro-Americans on the assembly line although most still held janitorial and unskilled foundry jobs. "Motown" is now the largest city in the U.S. in which the majority of the total population is Afro-American.

Today's migrants—primarily from Asia, Mexico, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe—continue to perpetuate the traditions of their homelands in Detroit and other Michigan cities. Descendants of earlier immigrants, on the other hand, have created new types of folklife to celebrate the distinctive ethnic identities of the American-born. Church, family, community, and ethnic organizations all serve as important vehicles for the continuity and reshaping of traditional ethnic crafts, foods, musics, and narratives.

Michigan today is home to more than one hundred different nationalities, including the country's largest population of Finns, Belgians, Maltese, and Chaldeans; the second largest numbers of Dutch, Lebanese, and French-Canadians; and perhaps the largest concentration of Muslim Arabs (in southeast Dearborn) outside the Middle East. Detroit alone is one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the country. The heritage of these diverse groups—along with those of Native, Euro- and Afro-Americans who migrated to Michigan throughout the state's history—give Michigan folklife its distinctive characteristics.

Suggested reading

Anderson, James M. and Iva A. Smith, ed. *Ethnic Groups in Michigan.* Michigan Ethnic Heritage Studies Center and the University of Michigan Ethnic Studies Program. Detroit: Ethnos Press, 1983.

Babson, Steve. *Working Detroit: The Making of a Union Town.* New York: Adams Books, 1984.

Dewhurst, C. Kurt, Yvonne Lockwood, and Marsha MacDowell, ed. *Michigan Folklife Reader.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1987.

Dewhurst, C. Kurt and Marsha MacDowell. *Rainbows in the Sky: The Folk Art of Michigan in the Twentieth Century.* East Lansing: State University Museum, 1978.

Sommers, Laurie K. "Economic Development." In *Michigan: A Geography,* ed. Lawrence M. Sommers. Boulder: Westview Press, 1984.

Vander Hill, C. Warren. *Settling the Great Lakes Frontier: Immigration to Michigan, 1837-1924.* Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1970.

Suggested recordings

Songs and Dances of Great Lakes Indians (Ethnic Folkways Records, LP4003).

Songs of the Great Lakes (Folkways Records, FM4018).

Songs of the Michigan Lumberjacks, E.C. Beck, ed. (Archive of Folk Song, Library of Congress, AFSL56).

Suggested exhibit

Crew, Spencer. "From Field to Factory," Smithsonian Museum of American History, 1987.

Folklore of the Upper Peninsula

by James P. Leary

When the state adopted "Say yes to Michigan" as a boosteristic slogan, residents of the Upper Peninsula (the U.P.) quickly countered with "Say yah to da U.P., eh!" The phrase was soon emblazoned on T-shirts, billed caps, and license plates, often accompanied by a map greatly magnifying the U.P.'s size in proportion to the "L.P." (Lower Pensinsula). Map and phrase simultaneously address outsiders and locals, and both are deeply rooted in folk cultural traditions of the region and its peoples.

Michigan proper reluctantly accepted the Upper Peninsula in 1837 as compensation for the loss of the "Toledo strip" to Ohio. The relationship between the two peninsulas has always been problematic. They were not physically linked until the Mackinac Bridge was completed in 1957, and cultural ties are hardly vibrant three decades later. Residents of the U.P. call their latitudinally higher region "Superior" or "Superiorland"—overtly in reference to Lake Superior, but also in sly juxtaposition to its "lower" and implicitly inferior counterpart. Indeed folks north of Mackinac sometimes use the phrase "below the bridge" to suggest playfully that residents of Michigan's more populous and wealthy territory nonetheless reside in a kind of hell.

For their part, lower Michiganders occasionally dub their upper kin, "Yoopers," uncouth backwoods louts inhabiting a land that is presently almost ninety percent forested. But U.P. dwellers, like southern Appalachian "hillbillies," have transformed this potentially negative stereotype by celebrating positive qualities of earthiness, endurance, and self-sufficiency. "Say yah to da U.P., eh!" is classic Yooper talk. "Yah" and "da" derive from the patois of rural and working class ethnic-Americans in the western U.P. and beyond, while "eh!" comes from the English of Anglo-Celtic, French, and Indian settlers who entered the eastern U.P. from Canada.

Pugnacious when establishing their geographic, ethnic, and class identity in opposition to that of Michigan's other peninsula, Yoopers have shown considerable affinity with neighbors to the east and west. Ojibways, Ottawas, and Potawatomis, all of Algonquian stock, began moving into the eastern U.P. in the early 1600s. The now-dominant Ojibways, who eventually displaced Menominee and Sioux in a westward push, occupy tribal holdings that extend across Michigan into the northern parts of Wisconsin and Minnesota. French and Anglo-Celtic Canadians likewise entered the peninsula and beyond with the fur trade, then came in greater numbers in the 19th century as loggers, laborers, and farmers. The "pinery," three iron ore ranges (the Marquette, the Menominee, and the Gogebic), and the Keeweenaw Peninsula's "Copper Country" likewise drew Cornish, Finns, Germans, Italians, Poles, Swedes, and Yugoslavs by the thousands in the latter half of the 19th

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century—as did the mines and woods of adjacent northern Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The western U.P. mining and lumbering boom towns of Ironwood and Menominee abut Hurley and Marinette, Wisconsin, respectively. Residents of these cities still tell a joke that mocks any notion of cross-border differences. An old-timer is about to move from Ironwood to Hurley (or vice versa). His cronies ask why? "Well, my bones are getting creaky and I'd like to get away from those cold Michigan winters." The winters are, of course, the same on either side of the line. Indeed the designation "Superiorland" has often been enlarged to include northern Wisconsin and northwestern Minnesota where mining, logging, small-scale farming, and commercial fishing were the historical pursuits of Ojibways, Canadian-Americans, and late 19th century European immigrants.

Today these industries are in decline and the population has leveled at roughly 300,000. Nonetheless, the Upper Peninsula's folk culture—an expression of environmental, ethnic, and occupational experiences—remains vibrant. Thimbleberry pickers are everywhere in mid-summer, making jam for their own use or for roadside sale from makeshift stands. Men and boys with dogs hunt bear in the fall, while older Ojibway couples harvest wild rice. In deference to fierce winters, roofs are often constructed Finnish-style with steep pitches and ladders nailed on for snow removal. People enter houses through covered stoops, and use handmade wooden or aluminum snow scoops to clear a path. Spring and early summer weddings are not complete without walnut rolls (Yugoslav "potica"); nor can summer picnics happen without Italian sausages; and pasties, originally a Cornish miners' food, are eaten year round by everyone.

Dialect joketelling and pan-ethnic dance music are among the

Ojibways George and Mary McGeshik parching wild rice, Iron County. **Photo by Thomas Vennum, Jr.**

most widespread and venerable forms of folklore in the region. Richard M. Dorson first reported the former in the late 1940s after doing fieldwork in what he called "the fabulous U.P." He encountered scores of humorous tales concerning errors in the usage, pronunciation, and interpretation of English by assorted Cornish, Finns, French-Canadians, and, to a lesser extent, Swedes, Italians, and Irish. In addition to their basis in linguistic blunders, the tales described aspects of regional life in rich detail. Their tellers, "dialectitians," were mostly male, ranging from average to expert as performers, and likely to hold forth around a boarding house fireplace, in a tavern, or from the rostrum of a banquet table.

Finns are easily the dominant ethnic group throughout the U.P. and the repertoires of contemporary tellers, like Oren Tikkanen of Calumet, abound with the antics of Eino, Toivo, Heikki, and other stock characters. These humorous fellows are portrayed speaking "Finnglish," an exaggerated version of the English spoken by Finns. Since no Finnish words begin with double consonants, initial consonants are dropped from English words that begin with clusters (the city Trout Creek becomes Rout Reek, for example); b's and p's are transposed; w's become v's; and syntax is often garbled. Similar exaggerations are used for humorous representations of other varieties of English, as in a classic joke, widely known throughout mining communities on the southern and western shores of Lake Superior. Heikki, an experienced worker, is paired with Luigi, an Italian newcomer. As Heikki struggles with an unwieldy drilling machine, he spots a board that might serve as a brace. "Luigi, geev it for me dat lank." Luigi offers a pick ax, then a box, and, finally, the board. "Ya, dat's vat I vanted vas dat lank." "Whatsa matta you?", Luigi returned, "You been in dis country ten-a-fifteen years and all-a-ready you canta say planka."

Art Moilanen and Bill Stimac, Upper Peninsula musicians whose repertoire reflects the region's ethnic heritage, at "Stimac's Musicland," Copper City. **Photo by James Leary**

Ed Raisanen of Calumet with his hand-crafted snow scoop, one of various strategies for dealing with yearly snowfalls in excess of 165 inches. **Photo courtesy Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections**

Snow removal in downtown Calumet, Michigan, ca. late 19th century. **Photo courtesy Roy Drier Collection, Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections**

The U.P.'s people find no insult in such dialect jokes but rather enjoy the ethnic variety, common predicaments, and evident humanity of characters who are reminiscent of themselves and their ancestors. The region's dance music likewise celebrates diversity and unity, evolving from house parties and community doings when neighbors and co-workers of differing backgrounds shared tunes and steps.

Fiddlers like Coleman Trudeau, an Ottawa, play jigs, reels, and hornpipes for step and square dancers among Anglo-Celtic, French, and Indian residents of the eastern U.P. To the west piano accordionists like the Finn Art Moilanen and Croatian Bill Stimac play push-pull polkas, waltzes, schottisches, or an occasional country tune for their Finnish, Italian, Polish, Swedish, and Yugoslav listeners.

Just as dialectitians master a babble of tongues, dance musicians perform a span of old-time ethnic standards, while updating others to suit more recent conditions. The Croatian song, "Oj Maricka Peglaj" (Oh, Marie Is Ironing), has combined with references to the Calumet-Hecla mine (names for an Indian pipe and a Scandinavian goddess) to become an anthem in the Copper Country.

Oj Maricka peglaj—peglaj, peglaj, peglaj.
Calumet and Hecla—Hecla, Hecla, Hecla.

Part Old World, part New, pluralistic, esoteric, about women at work, about miners, copper, and mythology, the verses are, as another ubiquitious bumper sticker declares, "100% U.P."

Suggested reading

Beck, Earl C. *Lore of the Lumbercamps.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948.

Dorson, Richard M. *Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Suggested recordings

Accordions in the Cutover: Field Recordings of Ethnic Music from Lake Superior's South Shore, ed. James P. Leary. A two-record set and 36-page booklet distributed by the Wisconsin Folklife Center, Route 3, Dodgeville, WI 53533.

Dance at the Finn Hall and *Life in the Finnish-American Woods* (Thimbleberry C-1&2). Available from Thimbleberry House, Box 195, Route 1, Calumet, Michigan 49913.

Suggested films

Finnish-American Lives, by Michael Loukinen. 58 min. Northern Michigan University, Marquette, Michigan, 1983.

Good Man in the Woods, by Michael Loukinen. 87 min, 30 sec. Northern Michigan University, Marquette, Michigan, 1987.

A parody of the Michigan Travel Bureau's slogan "Say yes to Michigan" illustrates the regional identity of the Upper Peninsula. **Photo by James Leary**

Working on the Line

by Michael J. Bell

The American public has been sold a new vision of work and working in the last few years. We have been told that America is a nation moving away from its industrial base and that modern Americans are rapidly moving toward a future in which the vast majority will work with their minds, not their hands. In this new America, we are told, our future will come from our ability to manipulate information and to manufacture ideas. No longer will Americans have to strain and sweat in factories or on assembly lines to do repetitious and difficult jobs. That kind of work will be done faster and more efficiently by machines. America will become an information power, and its greatness, once derived from factories, will now come from laboratories and services.

Like some stereotypes this new picture contains a kernel of truth. Work in America is changing and with that change are coming new industries and new ways of working. Unfortunately, stereotypes most often obscure other equally important realities; in their haste to explain one thing, stereotypes go too far in their rejection of another. To be sure, factory and assembly line jobs can be dangerous, difficult, and boring; any task that needs to be repeated every sixty seconds, sixty times an hour for an eight hour shift could be little else than difficult and at times boring, but such jobs can also be challenging. And the millions of workers who have met and withstood that challenge deserve to be seen as more than mindless machines.

A case in point is the automobile industry. No job has been more stereotyped by this new understanding of work than the automobile assembly line or the automobile parts factory. These have become classic examples of the way a new working America is supposed to rescue the old. We know that the work of making cars is hard, that the individual tasks can enervate even the strongest with their endless repetition, and that in some way they would be better done by machines than by people. Our revulsion of repetitious work fuels our rejection of the labor of the assembly line or the parts factory. And our hopes for work in America are connected with the belief that American cars could once again dominate the world's marketplace if only the robots could take over the tasks now performed by men and women.

Working on the assembly line or in the parts factory demands much more human inventiveness and allows for much more creativity than most of us would imagine. The inventing starts from the moment one is put to work. One Lordstown employee described training at his plant: "[The worker] is brought into the plant and his orientation session ends and starts with his papers on insurance and his assignment to a foreman who immediately puts his warm body on the [assembly] line." John* told me of his training:

> Well, the relief man trained me . . . I think for one day. In fact, I'm not sure how the relief man was free for that day. It may

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* This, and all other workers' names in this article are pseudonyms.

have been that another operator who sort of knew the job . . . but not very well, sort of watched me the next two days, worked with me, got me out of trouble and did part of the job when I got into trouble.

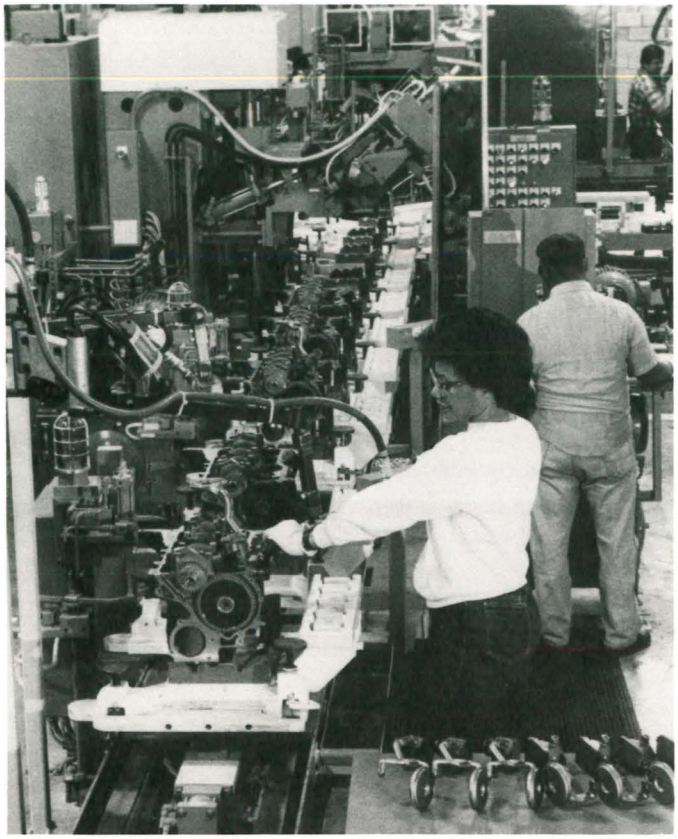
The worker must begin his or her job, then, by discovering a process by which the work is to be accomplished. "No one can explain anything. None of this is written down," John said. "It's in the mind of the people who do the job."

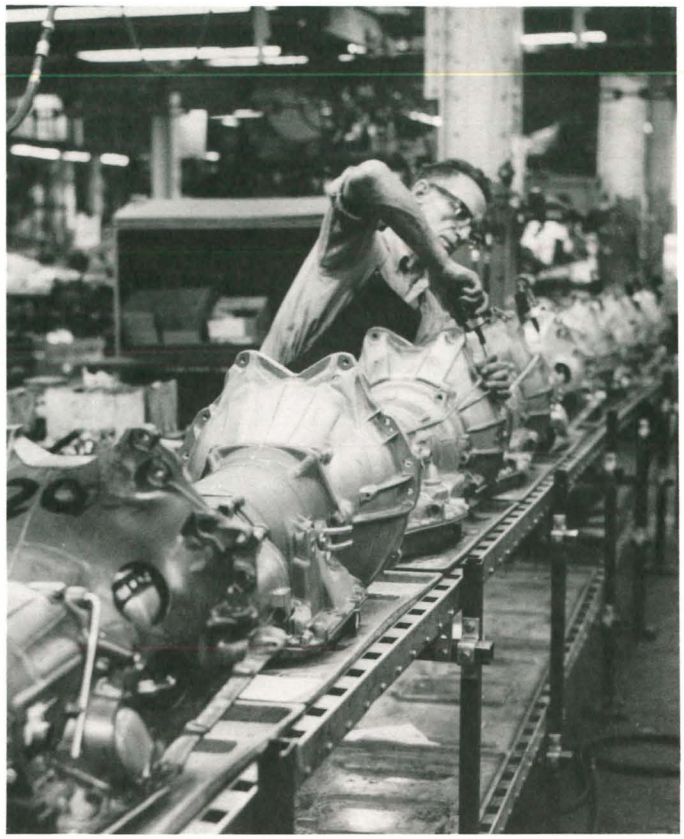
What exists at the beginning, therefore, is the clear demand that the worker invent the means to do the task at hand or face the possibility of losing a job almost before getting started. In John's case as for most others, this meant being creative in the most technical sense. His task was to install windshield wiper motors: one every fifty-seven seconds. He would turn his body and let it fall backwards into each car as it passed his work station, pick up the motor from the transmission housing, screw it into place under the dashboard using a screwgun, and then arise from the finished car to prepare for the next vehicle.

From the beginning he worked alone. "Most people can't tell you how they do their jobs. They just say do this. Or, they do it for you while you're standing there. But they do it so fast that you can't see what they did." The individual elements of the work process, then, were his. He chose what to do. He worked out the separate tasks and their arrangement, the pieces, tricks, and techniques by which each motor got installed—and always as the cars moved relentlessly down the line. Anyone probably can figure out how to do something in less time than a minute if one has more than a minute to think. But John, like most line workers, had no quiet contemplation, no instruction on a stationary car later translated to a moving line. He installed his motors at full speed and did all of his thinking and acting within the small cycle of a world that started, finished, and started again before sixty seconds had passed.

For workers like John the invention of a job also includes finding or manufacturing some of the tools and the techniques needed to do the work. John's job required that he lay backwards over the doorsill frame to reach to where the motor belonged, but without some kind of padding that sill is sharp enough to cut through clothing and skin. His solution was to fashion a pad out of sound-absorbing roof material secured to a piece of cardboard with black electric tape. This could be placed over the sharp edge so that when he lay down, his legs were protected. Likewise, to properly deploy screws, screwgun, protective pad, and motor, he had to figure out a way to cup and fold one hand to hold both motor and screws, while operating the screwgun with his other hand.

All right. So we are now standing here with our pad in our right hand, on the hip. Gun held in the right hand . . . hose trailing down back up the line toward Rochelle's job. [The next job to be finished after John's.] Ah, so you drape the gun here. [Cradled in the crook of the left arm.] Scoop first the three black screws. The three screws which you will use to secure the left-hand wiper arm, hold them with the fingers over them so they're cupped like that. [The three screws are placed across the lowest joint where the fingers meet the palm and the fin-





Pontiac Tech IV "double e" assembly line allows an engine to stop at each work station along the line, enabling the operator to control the work unit. **Photo courtesy Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association Archive**

Assembly of transmission and clutch housing for the engines of heavy diesel truck bodies. **Photo courtesy Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association Archive**

> gers are then folded over the screws.] Then scoop up four gold screws . . . [and] . . . fold the hand complete. [The four screws are placed in the palm of the hand and the curled fingers are folded against them so that they are trapped between the palm and the fingernails.]

Other workers have come up with equally ingenious solutions in similar situations. The *Detroit Free Press* recently reported that workers on another line had discovered, they claimed due to the arrival of women workers, that salad tongs—again not a typical managerial or engineering response—were the ideal tool for a job that no one had been able to figure out how to do effectively.

Once invented, line and production jobs need to be practiced and perfected. John, or any of the other workers engaged in line work, did not get the job right the first time, even if he did it correctly, and he did not stop improving his work processes just because he had figured out how to do his job. None of the workers I have interviewed was concerned with merely getting his or her job done. All were interested in control and in the relative freedom and power that such control offered. "When I was really flying," John said,

> I could do that job in a little under fifty seconds. My best all-time time, there were a few times . . . a couple of times I was really flying. I must have been close to forty . . . that felt so good. It was almost transcendent . . . a kind of mastery.

John did not choose to function as an automaton, and he did not try to be a drudge. Rather, he worked to build a rhythm, to develop a set of "tricks" that provided him with a means of ordering and organizing his work process so that he could move beyond the

point where he had to "see" or consciously "know" a step before he could undertake it.

Working became more than just his job: it was his routine; it was where he could "fly" and by "flying" attain some power over the expectations that came with every car on the line.

> You see, you gotta think of the job in terms of time. Find enough time to do the job. You got to get out of the car and leave the car done. The collective term for this is 'getting up to speed.' In the first few months, it was really touch and go whether I would be out of the car by the time I reached a certain box of stock. And, Rochelle would be coming at me with two Yale locks. I guess the point from which you emerge is sort of an index of how well you're doing. It's good work if you work ahead of your station and not if you're behind.

For John "getting up to speed" was a way of getting out from under corporate and engineering expectations. It was his formal announcement that he knew what good work was and how to do his job so as not to disrupt the next worker down the line. Admittedly, control of ten, fifteen, even seventeen seconds is not an enormous amount of time when counted against the sixty minutes of installations that happen every hour of every day on the job. Still, by asserting his presence where it is not expected and by commanding for himself what he ordinarily ought not to have, John received that which by company standards he should not have. Ford paid John money to build its cars, but when he earned some time for himself, John got what good work should always bring but too often does not in modern industrial settings: he got to keep some of the surplus value of his labor; he got due wages.

John's case is not unique. Folklorist Yvonne Lockwood, in her studies of automobile workers, has reported of a production welder who, bored with his job, sought diversion in the ten-second intervals between cars by welding together spare nuts, bolts, and scrap metal, transforming these materials into sculptures of small animals with crinkled hides and rumpled hair. She has also reported of a female worker who has held the same job for eight years at an auto plastics plant, punching holes and assembling tiny metal parts for automobile dashboards, occasionally working with her eyes closed to add a challenge, and using the "found time" once her daily production is made to make jewelry from the minute metal parts with which she works; of welders and metal workers making chess sets, miniature tools, miniature automobiles, knives, and belt buckles; of a carpenter/wood carver whittling wooden chains and toys from leftover wood scraps when the "real" work is slow; and of a worker running an ejection molding machine and molding the soft plastic into abstract shiny black shapes in-between his production of parts.

What, then, is to be made of all this? Most importantly, we need to acknowledge the real creativity of line and production workers. These workers are not mere unskilled, unthinking laborers doing what they are told, human robots waiting to be replaced by better and faster machines. They have the potential, and are often forced by conditions, to participate analytically in the most fundamental processes by which the line is made to operate. John, and others

like him, are the front and bottom line in the transformation of an abstract product into a real machine. Designers and engineers may invent and plan automobiles, but the workers on the line make the parts and the cars. They invent the steps out of which the jobs are constructed. They develop and draw together the particular "tricks" and techniques that make the job go. They think, plan, practice, and perfect the process by which jobs get done in under a minute, sixty mintues an hour, 480 times a shift, three shifts a day. And they figure out what to do with the little time left, so they can do their jobs day after day and remain human beings. Windshield wiper motor installation is a mundane piece of work; so too is producing plastic parts or tiny metal parts for dashboards. But the people who do the jobs are not. Their ability "to fly," to work blind, to challenge the boredom of their work, and to create meaning is a display of style and significance as important and powerful as any we commonly acknowledge.

Moreover, we need to acknowledge that this creativity does not exist in a vacuum. Though they work at their stations, line and production workers measure themselves and are measured by others as to how well their work merges with what comes before and what comes after. The faster they work, the more time there is for themselves and the more time there is for the next worker down the line. Of course, such time is not universal time. The line moves at a constant speed; the car will be in a work station for as long as it should be, no more, no less. Production continues at a steady pace. But such time is human time. It is time for Rochelle, who installs door locks when John finishes, to see a completed car coming toward her and not to worry if she can get the door closed and get her job started. It is time for John to set and cup his screws, draw on a cigarette, and get ready. It is time for a welder or a molder to create an animal from metal or plastic. Because it is human time in a mechanized world, it is of great value.

It is important not to misconstrue all of this. Assembly line and production workers who use their creative impulses to shape and perfect their jobs, or who use the materials and tools of work to make art in the moments between their jobs, or who use creativity and art as a way to escape from the devaluing conditions of their work are not automatically free from the alienation that is an inescapable part of modern industrial labor. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is an art to the work, but that artfulness is not enough to overcome the realities of a job done 480 times a day. Still, that is not the fault of the workers. If factory life is debilitating and alienating, it is because those who own and control factories need them to be so and not because there is something wrong or lacking in those who work in them. Neither are factories somehow modern cathedrals and the workers merely the anonymous artisans whose work now produces an Escort instead of a Chartres. The factory is no medieval setting composed by technology, and workers are not peasants with screwguns and stamping machines. The ethos of work and creativity of the men and women on the assembly line and in the factory is not that of some happy Golden Age, but as John said: "Get out of the car and leave the car done."

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Fishing for a Living on the Great Lakes

by Janet C. Gilmore

Janet C. Gilmore received her Ph.D. in folklore from Indiana University and is currently self-employed, working out of Madison, Wisconsin. During the past year she has interviewed commercial fishermen from Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, and the Mississippi River for several regional folk arts surveys, and published The World of the Oregon Fishboat, *based on fieldwork conducted among Charleston, Oregon's commercial fishers during the late 1970s.*

Commercial fishing on the Great Lakes, as with most work today along or on the water, has become a much less pervasive, visible activity than it once was. Fewer people operating larger, more powerful equipment harvest an increasingly restricted catch. Fishing has become a specialized occupation no longer fully-integrated into the daily lives of the lakeside population. While perpetually threatened with extinction by overfishing, heavy pollution, and the introduction (purposeful and inadvertent) of non-native species, edible fish still survive in the Great Lakes in enough numbers to sustain an average annual U.S. catch of 75-100 million pounds. Also threatened, but with political constraints and a smaller share of the catch, a hardy lot of Great Lakes commercial fishers has continued to pass on to new generations its way of making a living.

Of all the Great Lakes states Michigan touches upon the most lakes and boasts the greatest shoreline, yet her numbers of commercial fishermen and pounds of fish commercially landed fall surprisingly second to Wisconsin's and barely surpass Ohio's. Partly because of complex political issues and partly because of profound regional differences in the state, most of Michigan's commercial fishers work off the Upper Peninsula. The greatest numbers of these, and some of the fiercest resistors of downstate fisheries policies, share with Wisconsin one of the most productive fishing grounds in Lake Michigan: the shallower, more sheltered waters of Green Bay, bounded by Big Bay de Noc to the northeast. Like the Petersons, Hermesses, Caseys, Sellmans, and several other fishing families, most fish off the Garden Peninsula (Fairport, Garden, Manistique), where some can fish to the east with their Indian fishing rights and to the west with their non-Indian fishing rights. Others, like the Nylund and Ruleau families, are based near Menominee, Michigan/Marinette, Wisconsin, where they may fish more profitably under both Wisconsin and Michigan fishing licenses and thus use a greater diversity of traditional fishing gear and equipment.

Michigan's Lake Michigan commercial fishers fish primarily for native whitefish and chubs (lake herring); Native Americans may use gill nets to catch these fish in specified waters while non-Indians must now use another kind of gear long in use on the Great Lakes, the trap net. Many part-time fishermen harvest non-native smelt in the spring with pound nets, equipment similar to but more labor-intensive than trap nets and at one time more commonly employed. A few big operators like the Ruleaus of Cedar River have adapted otter trawl gear to capture huge quantities of "trash fish," including non-native hoards of alewives, for the pet-food industry.

Fishermen used to knot their own net-webbing of cotton line and hand-carve wooden floats, buoys, and bobbins (needles for

Leeland's "Fishtown," 1930. **Photo courtesy Michigan State Archives, Department of State**

Emptying two tons of white fish from a pound net, near Grand Haven, 1930. **Photo courtesy Michigan State Archives, Department of State**

making and repairing nets), but they have quickly embraced ready-made counterparts in nylon, polyester, and plastics. They still mold their own leads for gill-, pound-, trap-, and trawl-net lead lines; cut and shape machine-knotted webbing to make their nets; "string" gill nets, lead sections of trap and pound nets as well as the heart and pot sections of pound nets; set, mend, and periodically clean and treat the nets, replacing them at a slower rate than in former years; cut, splice, and install pound-net stakes; and build a variety of equipment for commercial ice-fishing during the winter (distinctive shanties on runners, running poles, shove sticks, and crooked sticks). While fishermen hire experts to produce custom trap nets, the net builders are often fellow local fishers and peers, like Otis Smith of Fayette and Alvin Champion of Marinette-Menominee, who have good heads for figures and an eye for design. The net builders and fishermen perpetuate a small repertoire of basic knots such as half and clove hitches to produce and repair nets. In addition, on board their boats as they use and service their gear, fishermen daily practice another round of basic knots.

Otis Smith sewing the selvage along the tapered edge of a trap-net pot piece. Photo by Janet Gilmore

Rod Gierke emptying another dip net full of fish into Ben Peterson's measuring box, Big Bay de Noc off Fairport. Photo by Janet Gilmore

And the expert net-builders, with their proclivities to knot-tying, enjoy the opportunity to practice trick knots and "joke" knots, to voice sayings and anecdotes concerning certain knots, and to tell stories about great knot-tyers and the grand old days of knot-tying and net-building.

It seems no coincidence that, faced with "cut over" land denuded of appropriate timber and situated in the big steel-producing heartland, upper Great Lakes fishermen turned increasingly from wooden to metal boats after World War II. Many upper Lake Michigan commercial fishermen have negotiated the design and construction of custom steel and aluminum hulls with the big shipyards in Marinette, Sturgeon Bay, and Manitowoc, Wisconsin, and with smaller yards that have operated off and on in Menominee and Escanaba, Michigan; many have acquired second-hand steel vessels and related fishing equipment from the lake area, some as far away as the Ohio and Pennsylvania shores of Lake Erie. Most have purchased an existing steel boat for gill-, pound-, or trap-netting, gutted it, cut the boat in half crosswise, sometimes lengthwise, to add length or breadth to the hull, entirely rebuilt the superstructure of wood or steel, and refitted the vessel with self-styled equipment often composed from the detritus of modern civilization—agricultural implements, truck and automobile bodies and machinery. As soon as electricity came to the U.P., area fishermen acquired welding equipment and became adept at using it to fabricate and repair their own fishing equipment (grapples,

Ben Peterson and Rich Lynts packing and weighing whitefish, Fairport, Michigan. **Photo by Janet Gilmore**

fish measuring boxes, and metal components of trap and pound nets, for example), to repair and reshape the metal hulls of new or second-hand fishing vessels, and, spectacularly, to fashion small, open "assist" boats to use in their trap- and pound-net operations. While these "scows," as some call them, vary in exact dimensions and shape, they are generally broadly square-sterned, usually pointed at the bow but sometimes pugged in a narrow square, nose with a flattish bottom that rises forward following the bow's slight sheerline; they are usually eight to ten feet in length and three to four feet across at the mid-section, built to be powered with an outboard motor as well as oars, and used to navigate inside float lines to operate a pound net or adjust a trap net. Not surprisingly, they resemble the homemade wooden row boats formerly built and used in the area for the same purposes.

Inveterate tinkerers and "improvers," "craftsmen of necessity," and "jacks of all trades and masters of none," these Great Lakes fishermen reflect the traditions of their occupation and their region. Where jobs are scarce, incomes low, and services and ready-made goods expensive and not easily available, they diversify in their talents and means of earning incomes. Upper Michigan fishermen not only catch and dress their fish, but they act as their own middlemen, marketing, processing, packing, and shipping the "product." Several fishing families operate small fish processing plants not only to make as much as they can of their fishing businesses, but also to be able to offer a variety of jobs to members of the family and the local community.

Indeed, the U.P. fisherman relies extensively upon a closely-knit, extended family familiar with the vagaries of the occupation and its effect on domestic life. The male members of the family—fathers, sons, uncles, nephews, brothers, cousins, and in-laws—pass among

themselves preferences in fishing gear and equipment; special twists and techniques in the production and operation of gear and the handling of fish; and names for fish, fishing equipment and components, and landmarks and features of the underwater landscape important for navigating and locating fishing spots. They keenly observe each other and fishers from other families to protect (hide, actually) their fishing grounds and productivity, to gauge and perfect their fishing performance, and to look out for one another in an often treacherous working environment. They know much of others' "tricks of the trade" and basic approach to fishing, yet they carefully maintain their own special vocabularies, techniques, and family fishing philosophies, trying to keep as much of this lore secret as possible.

The maintenance of these "secret codes" for traversing and exploiting the water makes these fishermen self-conscious conservators of a tradition and a resource, and restricts the occupation to insiders. While this behavior strengthens family bonds and unites fishermen across regions and generations, it can also separate local fishermen from each other and from the community at large. Such practices and attitudes can lead to political dissension among peers, dissipated political clout, and deep-seated misunderstandings by the public. Thus, the fisherman's very means of occupational self-protection and perpetuation in fact often works against him.

Eternally faced with this quandary and a life of hard economic circumstances, many U.P. fishermen have at one time sought better, easier lives in the region's big cities. As the classic personal experience story goes, they find they cannot bear the urban environment and working "by the clock." They return, committed to what they see as a special place and another way of life, determined to make a living at what they know best.

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River Guides, Long Boats, and Bait Shops:
Michigan River Culture
by C. Kurt Dewhurst

Life in Michigan has been shaped not only by its Great Lakes but also by its small lakes, rivers, and streams. Across the northern part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan, a network of rivers has provided transportation, subsistence, and pleasure for Native Americans, lumbermen, and eventually recreational fishermen. Rivers such as the Au Sable and Pere Marquette have rich local traditions in guiding, fishing, fly-tying, and boat building. Each of these rivers, to different degrees, has spawned a sense of place that has been sustained by an interaction between those who lived along the river and the ecology of the river itself. Building on the past, each river gives meaning to those who inhabit its banks.

Over the years, river guides have been a primary force in the maintenance and transmission of river culture. Paid for their services by the day, these individuals not only build boats but they also prepare meals for their clients, serve as local historians, tie flies, and provide a general orientation to the nuances of fishing. Sitting on a stern seat or standing with punt pole in hand, the guide serves as a powerful purveyor of local Michigan folklife while the fisherman (customer/client) sits in the bow of the boat, like a witness or apprentice to the guide.

Perhaps the foremost guide on the Au Sable today is Jay Stephan, who is also recognized as the most accomplished builder of Au Sable riverboats. A guide since sixteen, he comes from a long line of river people. His great-grandfather came to Grayling (on the Au Sable) from Rouen, France. Stephan recalls that guiding in the past was somewhat different than the life of the guide today:

> When I started, you had to teach them how and where to fish. You needed to read the water. The guide was expected to provide camping gear, camp set up, lodging—either a tent or cabin, all the food and cooking, and maintain all the gear—including retrieving 'treed' flies.

Life in the boat was not only hard work but often somewhat perilous. When paired with a novice with a fly-fishing pole, the guide frequently was nicked or caught by a misdirected line. Stephan notes, "I had a rule, that if a customer was careless, I would tell him he pays an extra 50 cents a nick [with a hook] and $1.00 each time he draws blood." Such rules instilled more cautious casting; however, it was not unheard of for a careless customer to be put out of the boat on a bank and told to find his way home.

Renewed interest in guiding today has increased the number of guides on the Au Sable, although few pursue the occupation full-time. Increased interest is attributed to the desire of the new

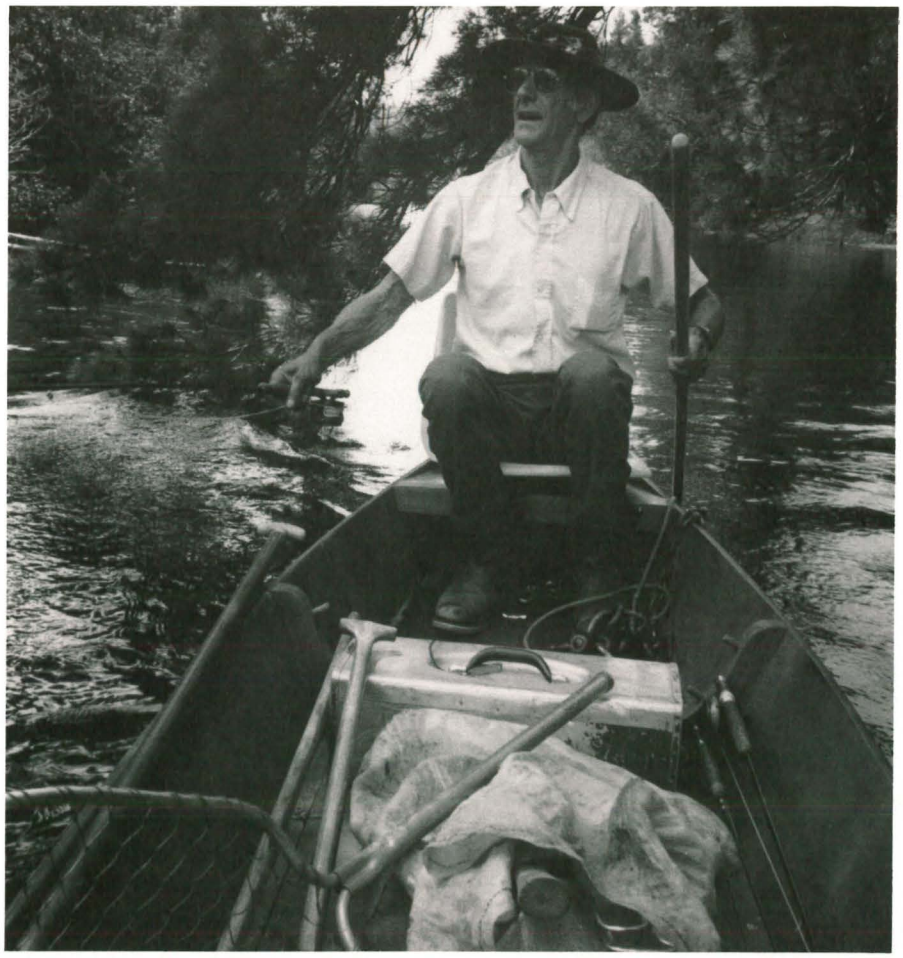
C. Kurt Dewhurst is the Director of the Michigan State University Museum. He received his doctorate in American Studies from Michigan State University. An Assistant Professor in the Department of English, he teaches classes in material folk culture. Over the last thirteen years, he has curated a variety of exhibits on Michigan folk arts and folklife, including exhibits focusing on hunting, trapping, and fishing traditions.

fisherman to have lessons before going out on his own. The guide himself does not usually fish, but rather he directs the customer to good fishing spots and teaches the techniques of casting, "working the fly," and "setting the hook." Good guiding requires patience and a willingness to work within a customer's ability. Guides, like Stephan, take pride in teaching a customer and developing regulars. Never relying on advertising, guides are well known locally, and area bait shops provide constant referrals.

The cooking of meals by guides along the river depends on the success of the fishing. Dinners of brook, brown, and rainbow trout are ideal, but disappointing fishing requires the guide's ingenuity. A local, long-time favorite recipe on the Au Sable is "fish and flapjacks." A sparse catch of brook trout and an ample supply of flapjack mix are combined to make a "fish fritter"-like dinner.

The Au Sable riverboat, the most tangible evidence of river culture, has changed little since 1879 when the first known written account of the boat appeared in *Scribner's* monthly. The origin of the boat's design has been a subject of dispute. Some locals claim it was influenced by dugout canoes made by local Indians such as Chief Shoppenagon—a legendary guide. Others contend the form was brought to the river during the lumbering boom years between 1867 and 1883 when one and one-third billion feet of logs rolled out on the Au Sable River.

One of the few design changes involves weight reduction due to the introduction of new materials. Old pine plank boats weighed as



Au Sable River guide Jay Stephan with a punt pole in one hand and a fly rod in the other.
Photo by C. Kurt Dewhurst

much as 350-400 pounds and more when waterlogged. Today's boats of marine plywood weigh 130-150 pounds. With the advent of polymers and epoxy finishes, the longboats can be sealed so they will not take on water. These finishes enable builders to utilize the more porous plywood, and naturally these lighter boats make loading and transportation up and down the river easier.

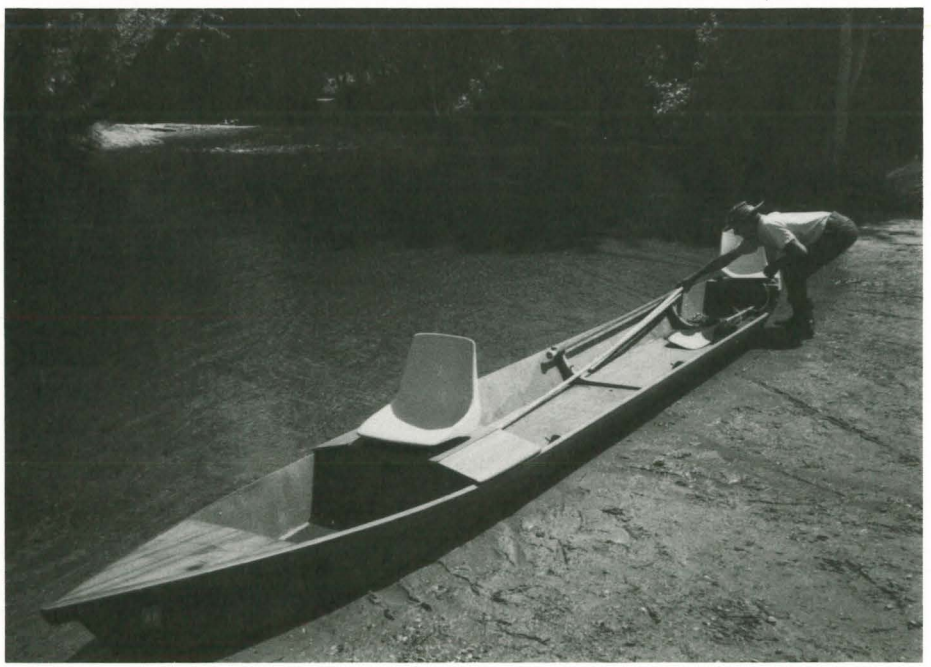
Riverboat building on the Au Sable continues today. According to David Wyss, one of the next generation in a long line of river guides and boat builders,

> Many people have chosen to try and build their own longboat in recent years. The results are usually mixed as each builder tried to make his boat better—and they usually learn why the traditional patterns remain intact—they work and they are time tested.

The oral character of the boat building tradition is reflected in the comment of one old boat builder, "Bud had everything in his head just as I do." Such knowledge is passed down with care and pride.

Fly-tying on the Au Sable and other Michigan fly-fishing rivers—like boat building—demonstrates the persistent character of local folk traditions. While the so-called "scientific angling movement" has resulted in the sale and national distribution of standardized handmade flies of every type, local fly-tying remains intact. Wyss notes that people ask him, "What is that fly supposed to be?" He usually responds, "Well, it could be a number of things, but it works!" The key principle is to select the right fly to replicate insects found both in the area of the river and at the right stage of development in the season. Some local favorites on the Au Sable are Ernie Borcher's Special, Earl Madsen's Skunk Fly, Jim Wakeley's Yellow Bug, Barber Pole Drake, and the By Walker Drake. Each was developed by a local guide and often his name remains as part of the local vernacular name of the fly. These names in themselves are cultural artifacts of Au Sable River culture.

While fishing practices have changed and "no kill" areas have



Jay Stephan, one of the master boat builders and river guides on the Au Sable, loading a punt pole in his boat as he prepares for a "float" downriver. **Photo by C. Kurt Dewhurst**

Dick Bittner of Grayling tying flies. **Photo by C. Kurt Dewhurst**

Pere Marquette River or "P.M." boats were flat bottomed with squared off ends. Guides remained standing as they maneuvered the boat downstream with a 12-foot punt pole. Photo courtesy of Barney Barnett

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been established, Au Sable River culture survives today as a vital and energetic force. On other rivers, such as the Pere Marquette, traditional river culture has not fared as well. Like the Au Sable River, it too was the scene first of lumbering and later of sport fishing. Guides like Simmie Nolph settled in Baldwin and had a local boat builder fashion 20 P.M. (Pere Marquette) riverboats for use by a stable of local guides. Nolph, along with individuals such as Graham MacDougall and members of the Barney Barrett family, carried on the traditional practices of decades before. Combining all the roles of the Au Sable guides, these men carved out their own distinctive river lore.

Perhaps the most visible difference from Au Sable tradition is in the design of the P.M. boat itself: a float boat with squared ends, it featured an open area at the bow for the customer to sit in and a central plank seat. The twelve to thirteen foot punt pole had a metal spike on the end and the guide stood to punt the boat. Bill Beherens, a local boat builder, receives credit for refining the design. Not only were these boats used for fishing, they also took families and groups of local women downriver on pleasure cruises in the 1920s through the 1940s.

The nature of the river culture on the Pere Marquette was every bit as complex and established through the 1950s as it was on the Au Sable. Locally developed flies for fly-fishing were the Adams, the Royal Coachman, Lady Beaver Kill, and the Lady Jo Caddis (named for a local woman who owned a bait shop). However, state governmental fishery practices have dramatically altered the river culture on the Pere Marquette in recent years. The introduction of salmon for sport fishing has affected the trout fishing and the folk culture on the river permanently. Along with these changes have come new large drift boats. Recreational canoe liveries and the changing character of fishing has led to a steady decline of traditional Pere Marquette River culture.

Overall, however, river culture endures in Michigan, adapting to changes in the water resources, availability of materials, and public policy. One need only look at the Au Sable River, for example, to find evidence that the traditional boat designs are carried on despite the elimination of white pine planks as boat building material. What remains central to the character of local community culture—like Au Sable River culture—are the waterways and folk traditions that have combined to create a distinctive sense of place. Michigan has a wealth of such local folk cultural communities that deserve not only our understanding but also our commitment to their continued existence.

Life in the Michigan Northwoods

by Eliot A. Singer

Above a line that follows US 10 from Ludington's harbor on Lake Michigan through Clare, the self-proclaimed "Gateway to the North," to Lake Huron's Saginaw Bay, Michigan is mostly woods. Interspersed with thousands of lakes, crossed by cold rivers and streams, teeming with fish and wildlife, the northwoods is to the tourists, boaters, anglers, snowmobilers, and hundreds of thousands of deer hunters who make their yearly pilgrimage in late November, a recreational paradise.

During the off seasons, away from the big lakes and resorts, however, the northwoods has a more permanent population. Purposefully ignored by the travel brochures, and benefiting only marginally from the tourist industry, these people have made an art of *making do.* With almost no industry in the region, and, except for the fruit farms near Lake Michigan, little economically successful farming, "you either live off the woods or you go on welfare." And for most of these people, who pride themselves on self-reliance, government assistance is rarely an acceptable alternative. The spiritual, and in many cases the actual, descendants of earlier fur traders, loggers, and homesteaders, these residents have earned the right to the description once applied to the typical lumberjack: "the most independent man on earth. . . . No law touched him, not even smallpox caught him. He didn't fear man, beast, or devil" (in Richard Dorson, *Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers*).

In this harsh economic environment, the people of the northwoods survive through self-sufficiency, adaptability, and versatility. Any one person may expertly hunt, fish and trap, smoke fish and venison, sell bait or a few Christmas trees, cut pulpwood, grow and can fruits and vegetables, raise a few chickens, process maple syrup, and, occasionally, guide hunting or fishing trips. The emphasis is on doing it yourself, and in finding a way to modify whatever is available to fit one's needs.

The piles of rusting metal scraps and the junked cars on cinder blocks, loathed by the tourist industry and interpreted by visitors as signs of slovenliness, are, in fact, resources for manufacture. While the log cabin may be the most romantic example of a northwoods home, much more common is the construction of a house by modifying and building extensions upon a trailer or mobile home. Land in the northwoods is generally cheap, and most families manage to purchase a small parcel. Building a house, however, requires far more capital, so often a young couple will live on their property in a trailer. As weather and a growing family necessitate, the couple may build onto the trailer: a roof for protection from leaks and heavy snow accumulation, an entrance way to keep the house clean, an area for storage, and an additional room for a child. These trailer houses are typical of the northwoods, but often the

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Michigan backwoodsman, 19th century. Photo courtesy Michigan State Archives, Department of State

modifications become so extensive, the original trailer all but disappears from view.

The trailer house is an excellent example of the ingenuity with which northwoods residents make creative use of available materials. Their greatest resources, however, are the natural ones the woods and water provide. The culture of the northwoods revolves around hunting and fishing. It is the favorite topic of conversation, and the joke is that when a new electrical power plant was built in Ludington, the workers agreed to work every day of the year, even Christmas, except one: November 15, the first day of deer season.

While visiting hunters and anglers provide an important boost to the local economy, these sportsmen and women, who are more likely to stuff a big fish than eat it, are generally treated with disdain by the locals who are so expert at killing deer that they regard venison as a staple, not a delicacy. Nothing annoys the natives more than a trophy hunter who takes the head of a deer and leaves the carcass to rot. Most northwoods residents strongly feel that they ought to have a greater right to the wildlife that surrounds them than should those who hunt and fish for sport. This leads to controversy over what kind of fish should be stocked and by what means they should be caught. It also leads to poaching.

Poaching, or "violating," as the locals call the illegal taking of fish or game, is serious business. Michigan's Department of Natural Resources issues a long series of rules that govern hunting, fishing, and trapping, and the breaking of any of these rules is punishable by considerable fines and imprisonment. No one, including the violators, denies that enforcement of these laws has greatly enhanced wildlife in the state. Yet, violating in the northwoods remains a common, and for many people a socially acceptable, practice.

Poaching sometimes leads to potentially violent encounters between conservation officers and poachers, and the game wardens love to tell stories of their heroics in the face of danger. The lighter side of poaching comes from the stories the violators tell of their escapes and pranks. One violator, who sees himself as something of a Robin Hood, claims he kills deer for those too old to hunt "because they still like the taste of venison." He tells about how,

> One time I walked into the [local restaurant] only to find the game warden sitting there. 'Hey, Joe,' he says, 'You killed any deer lately?' 'Sure,' I says, 'I got two bucks in the back of my truck right now.' Well, the game warden just laughed. 'But you know somethin', that's just what I had. I had two bucks out there in the back of my truck, under a tarp.'

Another story tells how the game warden was having trouble catching an unknown poacher. Every Sunday he would go to his sister's house for dinner and brag about how he was going to lay in wait for that poacher the next day. But, each time it was as if the poacher knew just where he was going to be. Turns out, the poacher was that game warden's brother-in-law.

Many of the first non-Indians to visit Michigan came as trappers or fur traders, and trapping continues to be an important part of northwoods life. While only a few earn a living at it, many trap to supplement their incomes. Successful trapping requires an enor-

Trapper Damien Lunning pulling a beaver from the ice, Mio. Photo by Eliot Singer

Trapper Judy Lunning skinning raccoon, Mio. Photo by Eliot Singer

mous amount of environmental knowledge. Trappers must distinguish tracks and spoor, recognize paths and channels, and have an intimate knowledge of animals' habits. A good trapper learns how to modify or disguise nature to encourage or lure the animal to a trap. For example, trapper Damien Lunning of Mio, after moving around branches to transform a channel, marks his construction, as a beaver does, by placing a wad of mud on it. Good trappers are also good conservationists (their livelihood depends on it) and take care not to overtrap a given area.

To run a trap line, every day the trapper must drive down almost inaccessible dirt roads, tramp many miles through underbrush, swamp and snow, and drag his catch out of the forest. And when he returns home, after ten hours in the woods, with, say, a half dozen beaver, ten muskrats, a couple of coon, a red fox, and a coyote, the animals still have to be skinned, scraped, and put on boards or stretchers to dry before the next day's trek.

Little of the animal is wasted. Beaver and muskrat are often eaten, used to bait coyote and fox, or fed to the chickens; scent glands of some animals can be sold; and even the penis bones of the male racoons are of value: down-state factory workers like to give them to their wives and girl friends for necklaces or earrings.

Those who live off the land in the northwoods see themselves as, and in many ways they truly are, the natural inheritors of a way of life that goes back to before the first non-Indian settlers. But this tradition of making do, of living off the land and using whatever resources are available, does not exclude them from the modern world. Northwoods natives own televisions and satellite dishes, drive pick-ups and snowmobiles, and cut their firewood with chain-saws. Modernity even intrudes on poaching stories. Not long ago, so the story goes, a hunter shot a wild turkey and put it in his freezer. A few weeks later the game warden knocks at the door. "Where's that turkey you killed?" "What turkey?" asks the poacher. "The one you killed," says the warden. This goes on for a while, but, finally, the poacher gives in and shows the warden the freezer. "How'd you know?" he asks. The game warden reaches under the wing of the turkey. "Like this," he says, and he pulls out one of those electronic gadgets used for tracking endangered species.

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"God Bless dee Mushrat: She's a Fish!"

by Dennis M. Au

Muskrat: nearly 300 years of French presence in southeastern Michigan has boiled down to an enduring passion for eating this little rodent. From Port Huron in the north down to the western shore of Lake Erie into Ohio, the descendants of Michigan's 18th century French community are dubbed "Mushrat" French. This foodway is a trait that in part distinguishes them as a unique cultural group. The taste for muskrat has proved to be pervasive and has spread to other groups. The Poles and the Germans have adopted it, and in this century, public muskrat dinners sponsored by churches and clubs have become popular annual rituals.

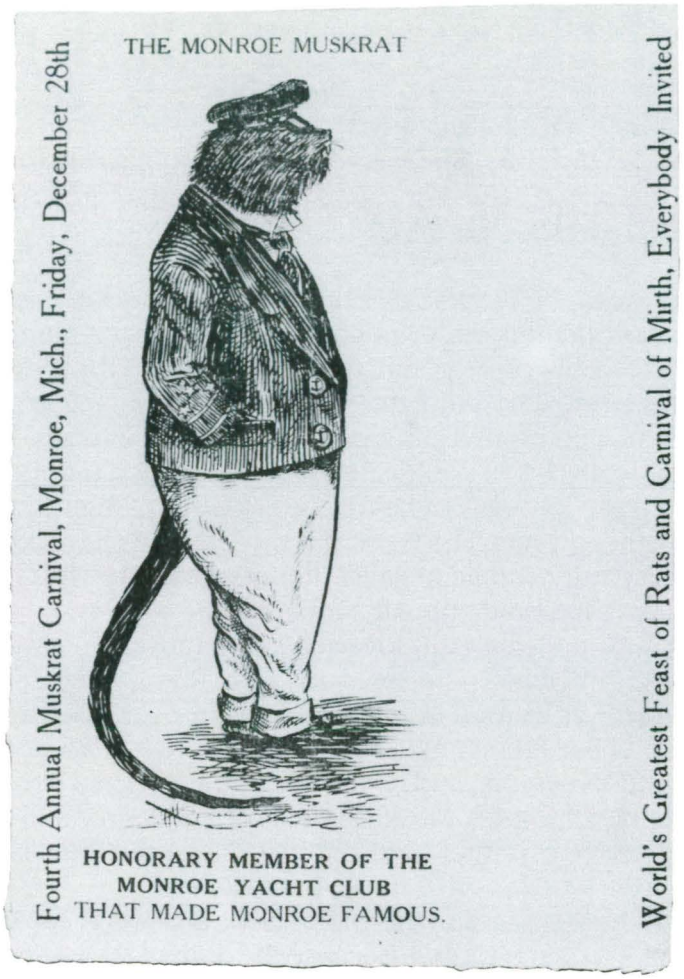
Exactly how and when this love affair with muskrat—always pronounced "mushrat"—began is not clear. It is assumed the skill for cooking it was learned from the Indians by the *voyageur* ancestors of these Frenchmen. Muskrat was certainly a feature of life here in the 18th century, and by the 19th century it had become a sharply defined tradition. Muskrat was, and to a degree still is an important source of winter food and income for the French farmers and fishermen who live near rivers and marshes.

Through the years and to this day, many outsiders consider consuming muskrat repulsive because the animal has been tagged a rat. The response to this stigma has developed into a stereotypical dialogue. A recent convert to the delicacy stated, "The thing that convinced me was that the muskrat is a clean animal . . . [because] it only eats roots and things . . . It's much cleaner than a chicken."

The preparation of muskrat is carefully prescribed. The animal must be trapped before the first warm snap in late winter because his flesh becomes too gamy in the breeding season. After it is skinned and gutted, the fat and musk glands are removed. Removing these glands, which are said to number from two to seven, is considered essential. Failure to do this will result in foul tasting meat. Cleaned, the carcass is parboiled in onion and celery until tender. In the French homes the meat is next browned in a skillet or smothered in onions and roasted. At the public dinners, however, the rats are placed into large roasters and covered with creamed corn and butter. Among the older generation of Mushrat French, the head is the real delicacy. Family members vie for the chance to eat the brain and tongue. Some people are also known to make a form of *bouillabaisse* from the heads.

Indeed, for the French of southeastern Michigan, this peculiar foodway is what sets them apart from the continental French and the *Québecois*. The Mushrat French identify with the animal. Some serve it at holiday gatherings. Those who leave the area specifically request it when they return home, and a few have it mailed to them. The rodent's name is even invoked in their terms of endearment. Although now falling from use, friends greet each other with,

Dennis M. Au, a descendant of Mushrat French, is Assistant Director of the Monroe County Historical Commission. He studied folklife at Cooperstown Graduate Programs and Wayne State University and has published works on French-Canadian folklife in Michigan and on the War of 1812 in Michigan.

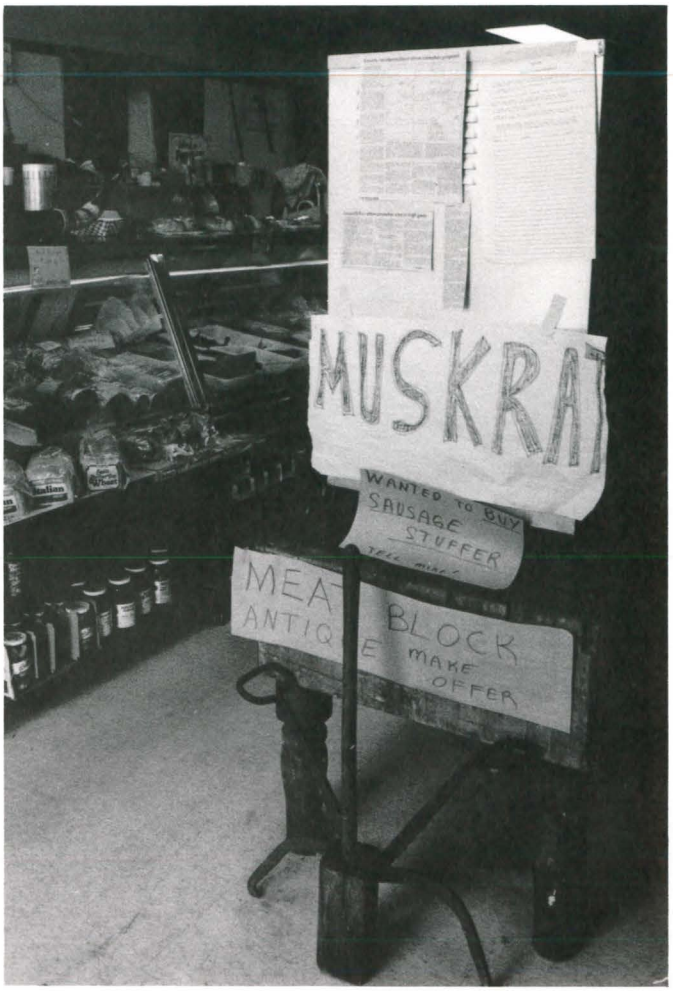


The Monroe Muskrat, pictured in a handbill for the 1905 Grand Muskrat Carnival. Photo by Dennis Au, courtesy Monroe Historical Commission Archives

"*Comma ça va*, you mushrat you!" Last but not least, muskrat lovers fondly recite numerous variants of Mushrat French. In one dialect joke reflecting French inverted word order, a man, when asked about his father, responds: "Forty-two mushrat kill'a my fadder!" "Oh, your father's dead?" "No, damn fool! Mushrat dead!"

The most deeply ingrained tradition associated with the muskrat, though, revolves around the Catholic Church's meatless fasts. It is widely believed by the Mushrat French and others that the people of this area were granted a special dispensation from the Church declaring the muskrat a fish, thus permitting its consumption on days of abstinence. The origin of this is uncertain. Some say it was done because of the animal's aquatic nature. Others cite stories of a priest's petition to the bishop or Pope to grant this favor to alleviate the suffering and starvation wrought here by the War of 1812 or, as the updated versions have it, the Great Depression. The muskrat being eaten as fish can also be documented along the St. Lawrence in the days of New France and as a practice of the *voyageurs*, the cultural predecessors of the Mushrat French.

No matter what its origins, the people are confirmed in this belief. Some were even taught it by the priest and nuns of their parish. Many people, "not wanting to miss out on meat," make it a point to have muskrat on fast days. One family has made a mock ceremony of this. When muskrat is served, the head of this household raises his arms above the cooked rodent and assuming a



Norbert "Nub" Hoffman and George Kausler at the Monroe Boat Club "muskrat cleaning bee." Photo by Dennis Au

Muskrat sign at Maveal's Butcher Shop, Monroe, Michigan. Photo by Dennis Au

prayerful attitude declares, "God bless dee mushrat: she's a fish," in a humorous portrayal of the English spoken by the Mushrat French.

This belief is controversial. On the day after Ash Wednesday this year, a newspaper article brought the custom to the attention of the archbishop of Detroit. Appalled that a priest would affirm the legendary dispensation and puzzled by the members of his flock eating muskrat as fish, the archbishop announced the practice was to cease. People are incensed. On this issue they consider the archbishop ignorant, and they think him to be an interloper who has no appreciation for their tradition.

Outside the French families muskrat has another important manifestation. Beginning in 1902, a rage for public muskrat dinners developed, particularly in Monroe County in the extreme southeastern corner of the state. These dinners are annual winter fundraisers for churches, sports clubs, and lodges. The best dinners sell out weeks in advance. Local politicians and socialites make it a point to be seen at these affairs.

The public dinners have one curious aspect. From the first, male/female boundaries have been drawn. Women are only invited to those dinners that offer an alternative to muskrat—usually beef; the stag dinners have no option but muskrat. Outside the confines of the French homes, the meat is perceived as a male preference.

This past spring, the future of these public dinners was placed in doubt. The Michigan Department of Agriculture, which for years

had overlooked muskrat in its official inspections, suddenly banned its sale and public consumption. That action raised a hue and cry. In Monroe County a rally and petition drive was organized. Just as if apple pie were being attacked, politicians in the county lined up behind the muskrat and accused state regulators of tampering with a sacred heritage. One state legislator, who incidently had patronized six of the dinners last winter, is determined to prevail over the agriculture department even if he must propose special legislation.

No matter what happens with the public dinners, the Mushrat French will find a way to get the little animal on their table. This link with their heritage is considered too important. While other aspects of their French culture may fade, this one continues with vitality. The Mushrat French dialect is largely religated to memory; tales of the *Loup Garou* and *Lutin* can barely be recalled, and now only grandma makes *tourtiere* and *glissants*, but the taste for muskrat and the skill to cook it is passed on to the younger generation. After nearly 300 years the muskrat tradition is the living legacy and cultural contribution of the French in southeastern Michigan.

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Crafts of Survival:
The Materials of Ottawa, Ojibway, and Potawatomi Culture
by James M. McClurken

Michigan's Ottawa, Ojibway, and Potawatomi Indians relied directly upon the forests and waters of their Great Lakes home for food, shelter, and clothing. Life in this beautiful but sometimes unpredictable and unyielding environment required a well developed technology crafted by local artisans with the materials from their home region. Ojibway people between Sault Ste. Marie and the Straits of Mackinac supported themselves primarily by gathering wild foods such as berries and maple sap, hunting for large and small game, and by harvesting rich catches of whitefish and lake trout. The Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibway who lived in the Lower Peninsula also relied on wild foods but in addition grew storable crops of corn, squash, beans, and sunflowers that allowed them to live in larger, more permanent settlements than did the northern Ojibway. These resources provided the basis for a rich cultural heritage of technology and crafts.

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General areas occupied by Michigan's Indians at the beginning of the 19th century

Before Europeans brought manufactured goods to the Great Lakes, Indian men used wood, stone, bone, and plant and animal fibers to construct a complex set of technological inventions needed to make their livelihood. The sleek, lightweight canoes they made of birchbark, cedar, and spruce to transport their families and harvests along Michigan's many waterways are considered by many Americans as a crowning achievement of Michigan Indian technology. For winter travels over land or snow-covered ice, they made snowshoes from black ash wood interlaced with rawhide strips. To catch fish, they wove intricate nets, constructed weirs, and carved highly polished bone harpoons. Hunting required straight shafted, accurate arrows and spears and many well constructed traps. Men also made the wooden, bone, and stone tools used by the women to clear fields and hoe the crops.

Most daily household items Indian men made bore little or no iconography or drawings that Americans today consider art. However, many of the tools Michigan Indian men created were so well adapted to life in pre-industrial Michigan that original designs or variations on them continued to be used until well into the 19th century. From the 1650s onward European rifles replaced stone-tipped projectiles for hunting, and metal hoes and axes facilitated horticulture. In contrast, the French, British, and Americans adopted Indian-style canoes, snowshoes, and fish nets. Indeed, the Ottawa and Ojibway who lived near the Straits of Mackinac expanded their indigenous crafts during the fur trade era between 1650 and 1820 and sold the canoes to the Europeans who used them to transport furs from the western reaches of Lake Superior to Montreal. When Europeans did not rely on the Indians to provide them with such staples as fish and maple sugar, they used Indian-made equipment to feed themselves.

Men were responsible for leading religious rituals, and for these they made the many specialized, decorated items of value to modern collectors. They drew sacred scrolls depicting the mythical

Canoe building required several people working together. Here the bottom bark is held down by a frame weighted with large stones in preparation for sewing the bark with split spruce roots. The seams are then sealed with pine or spruce pitch mixed with deer tallow. Photo courtesy Michigan State Archives, Department of State

accounts of creation and migration which their people re-enacted in their rituals. They preceded every religious event and secular council by smoking from a ritual pipe. The pipe bowls were made of stone carved in simple, smooth elbow shapes or as effigies of humans or animals. These bowls were secured to long pipestems ornamented with carvings, feathers, and painted decorations. Men made a variety of drums, as well as the rattles and flutes that accompanied them, whose beats guided dancers during ritual and on social occasions. They also carved wood or stone amulets, objects believed to incorporate a portion of the powers pervading the world around them. The Indians believed that with these amulets they could favorably influence the unseen forces in their universe.

The designs Michigan Indian men etched, painted, or carved on their creations often portrayed the spirit beings whom they believed controlled the forces of nature. For example, the people who relied heavily on fishing in the sometimes rough and stormy waters of the Great Lakes often carved the image of Otter. The Ottawa, Ojibway, and Potawatomi all believed that the world was once covered with water. An Otter dove to the bottom and brought one grain of sand to the surface. From this their culture hero Nanabozho created Mackinac Island, the place Michigan Indians considered the center of the world, and from there all the surrounding land from which they made a living. Having demonstrated his power to overcome water-related dangers, the Indians called on Otter to protect them as well. They also depicted a great horned panther whom the Ojibway called *Me-she-pe-shiw*. This monster lived beneath the Great Lakes

Ojibway woman from Bay Mills, Michigan weaving a basket with black ash splints. **Photo courtesy Michigan State Archives, Department of State**

and stirred up unexpected storms that capsized the fragile canoes and claimed Indian lives. The Indians also used their art to create images of *Ah-ne-mi-ke* or Thunder Bird, *Me-she-pe-shiw's* arch enemy, to protect themselves from the panther's powers. European missionaries tried for centuries to replace these native beliefs with Christianity, but they failed. During 200 years of interaction with Europeans, they would not forswear their world view in which making objects of religious significance played a crucial role.

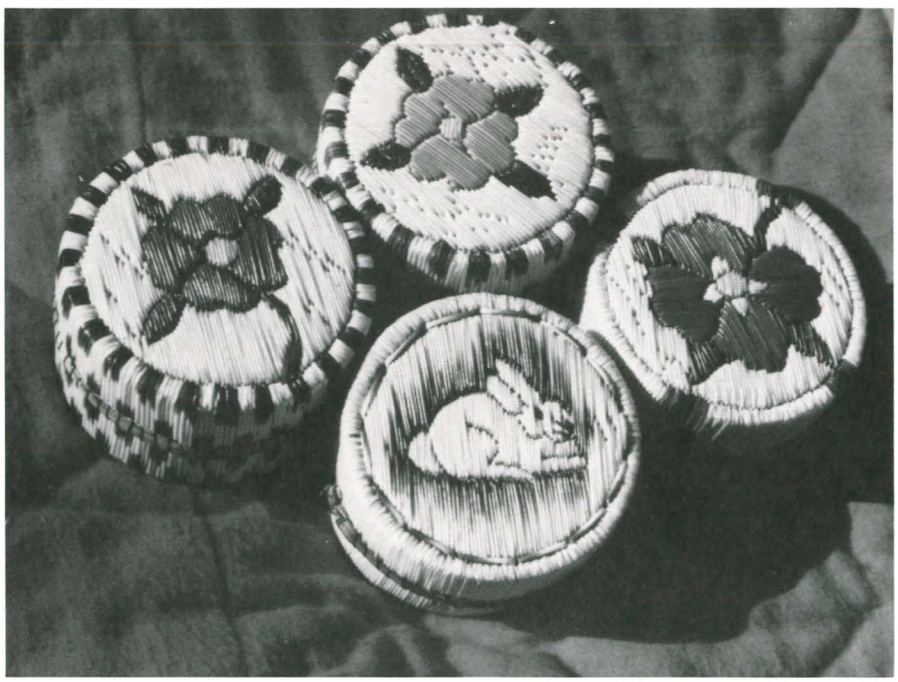
Women, whose primary responsibilities included tending fields, preserving food, making clothing, and maintaining the home, practiced many aesthetically pleasing subsistence related crafts. During early historic times they formed and fired ceramic vessels. European copper and brass kettles quickly replaced native clay jars. However, women continued to make other containers essential for harvesting and processing both natural and horticultural crops throughout the 19th century. They cut and stitched birchbark boxes called *mokuks* and wove carrying bags from pounded basswood fiber and cattails which they used to transport essential goods for their families. Early French observers reported that Ottawa women also wove colorfully dyed cattail mats with which they covered the floors of their houses and also traded to their neighbors, though these disappeared from the women's repertory in the 1700s.

Making and ornamenting clothing also belonged to the female sphere of activities. Women processed the animal hides essential for making shirts, leggings, breech clouts, dresses, moccasins, and robes. Before Europeans brought inexpensive cloth goods to the Great Lakes, women tended to every aspect of making and maintaining their family's entire wardrobe. The Indians wore plain

Potawatomi bag, 1750-1800, Milwaukee Public Museum. **Photo courtesy Grand Rapids Public Museum**

everyday clothes, but women produced finery for special ceremonial and social occasions. They embroidered these with porcupine quills dyed red, yellow, orange, blue, or brown colors obtained from available plants that yielded natural dyes. The designs they created often combined geometric patterns with stylized renditions of the plants and flowers in their environment. Throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries they continued producing these distinctly woodland motifs on both leather and cloth, mixing and substituting glass beads for traditional quillwork. Indeed, demand for decorated clothing increased as Indian women married Euro-American traders and dressed their husbands in the Indian style of the frontier.

Ottawa, Ojibway, and Potawatomi life changed drastically during the 1820s when the United States, along with several missionary societies, attempted to prepare the Indians for life in American society. When large numbers of settlers took homesteads throughout the state, they disrupted Indian's seasonal cycle of production from natural resources, and many Lower Peninsula Indians themselves built permanent agricultural settlements. They used annuity money received from the sale of their lands to buy the necessary tools. Men expanded the size of fields and worked with women to grow crops of potatoes, corn, other vegetables, and wheat for themselves and to sell to the newcomers. Men employed their wood-working skills to build log and frame houses at permanent settlements, furnishing them like the homes of their American neighbors. Skills and crafts associated with hunting gradually became less important throughout the 19th century as Indian men took wage paying jobs as farm hands, lumbermen, and carpenters. Steamboats and roads limited the need for birchbark canoes, and the skill of making them died away in all but the most remote Upper Peninsula settlements by 1900. In many places male crafts related to religious rituals continued until the early 20th century, but by and large, men abandoned their pipe, drum, and amulet making in favor of Christian rites and symbols.



Contemporary Ojibway quillwork. Photo by Nicholas R. Spitzer

Missionaries encouraged Indians to continue producing crafts which the latter could adapt to their new life styles – especially those which could be sold. Women adapted porcupine quill and bead floral motifs from traditional clothing decorations to beadwork on salable cloth items that Americans found aesthetically pleasing. Missionaries also encouraged women to adopt the crafts of spinning, weaving, and embroidery to take the place of buckskin and to provide cloth goods for their way of life. In this too, Indian women applied their traditional designs in items like quilts. Men and women continued to make birchbark boxes which they decorated with porcupine quill embroidery, often in floral designs or those depicting important mythological or environmental animals. The Ottawa on Little Traverse Bay helped support their mission church and school by preparing decorated *mokuks* filled with maple sugar which they donated to the church. Their clergymen then sold the harvest and used the proceeds. Ottawa, Ojibway, and Potawatomi women wove decorative and functional baskets from splints the men cut from black ash which they sold to Americans to earn needed cash, especially during the final years of the 19th and early 20th century.

Some Michigan Indians still practice traditional crafts of porcupine embroidery on birchbark, beadwork, and basketry in designs similar to those used by their grandparents. They sell them at pow-wows throughout the United States and southern Canada. Many use the proceeds of these sales to finance their participation in these gatherings where they dance, sing, and pray, socializing and re-emphasizing their Indian identity.

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Good News for the Motor City: Black Gospel Music in Detroit

by Joyce M. Jackson and James T. Jones, IV

Since the early 1930s Detroit has been one of the prime centers for Black gospel music. Even though gospel was overshadowed in the 1960s by the pervasiveness of the Motown sound, the sacred tradition always was strong in Black neighborhoods, co-existing with the secular. Through the years the two traditions have influenced each other, and they both have served to meet the constantly changing and expanding needs of the urban Black community.

Prior to the early 20th century most Afro-Americans lived in the rural South. However, with the outbreak of the World Wars, Detroit along with other industrial cities of the North held a promise of economic and social opportunities and personal freedom for southern Blacks, particularly in automobile and related industries. They came in hope of escaping a legal system of discrimination that prevented any improvements of their status. Unfortunately, life in the city did not meet the expectations of the migrants. The practice of discrimination in employment, housing, education and the use of public accomodations forced Blacks to create an alternate life style. A new gospel music more suited to urban life replaced the rural traditions and gave a sense of pride and hope to those who had recently uprooted themselves in pursuit of a dream which seemed increasingly difficult to attain.

This highly emotional and spirit-filled music evolved from the Holiness and Pentecostal churches and first penetrated more established denominations through the "storefront" Baptist and Methodist churches which permeated Black sections of Detroit. Pioneered by Charles A. Tindley (Philadelphia) in the early 1900s and developed and popularized by Thomas A. Dorsey (Chicago) in the 1920s and 1930s, gospel has evolved over the years to encompass many traditions and styles extending from spirituals, hymns and blues to contemporary jazz and soul.

Since the early 1930s Detroit has been the center for a vibrant quartet tradition. The early "jubilee quartets" sang spirituals, jubilees, and hymns in the close four-part harmony *a cappella* style which emphasized an even blend of voices and call and response formal structures. This style became popularized through radio broadcasts and community programs, in addition to appearances in church. In later years many quartets began to add instruments, and lead singers began to assume a more prominent and independent role, a stylistic feature now characteristic of contemporary gospel quartets.

Joyce M. Jackson is an ethnomusicologist/folklorist and conducts research in Black music and culture. She is currently an assistant professor in the Geography and Anthropology Department at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

James T. Jones, IV, a Detroit native, received his master's degree in communication from Western Michigan University. He currently writes on gospel and rhythm and blues music for the Features Department of the Detroit News, and plays the bass in a jazz quartet.

The Voices of Tabernacle choir perform at the Kentucky Fried Chicken Music competition.
Photo by Kirthmon Dozier, *Detroit News*

The Jewell Jubilees, the Cumberland River Singers, and the Mid-South Singers are a few of the early quartets who were active in Detroit for many years. Some became professionals, touring on a full-time basis. The Flying Clouds, who started in 1929 as the Russell Street Usher Board Four, were regular travelers on national circuits. For more than a decade they broadcasted regularly, first over WJR and then across the river in Windsor, Ontario over CKLW. The Evangelist Singers, later known as the Detroiters, the first Black group to perform on WWG in Detroit, were also full-time singers touring successfully in the '40s with Sister Rosetta Tharpe. Some of the quartets made commercial recordings but on small local labels, hence their obscurity today.

The performance practices, musical arrangements, and popularity of the traditional gospel quartets undoubtly had a major influence on the emerging rhythm and blues and popular-styled vocal groups that began to appear in the mid-1940s. Detroit was known as a rhythm and blues city, but this secular music was greatly influenced by gospel, adopting not only its vocal and instrumental styles but also arrangements, call-response structure, group makeup, and stylized movements.

With the decline of the male-dominated gospel quartet tradition, female groups began to emerge in Detroit in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Earlier female quartets had sung in the four-part male quartet style, while these newer groups sang three-part harmony arrangements accompanied by piano or organ. The female groups were organized and began traveling to help fill the increasing demands for this deeply moving religious music. One female

Vanessa Farris singing with the Thomas Whitfield Company. Photo by Kirthmon Dozier, *Detroit News*

Minister Derrick Brinkley and his wife Seleste singing during services at the True Church of the House of Prayer To All Nations, Pontiac. Photo by Kirthmon Dozier, *Detroit News*

group, the Meditation Singers, consisting of Ernestine Rundless, Marie Water, DeLillian Mitchell, and Della Reese, broadcasted on Sunday evenings from the New Light Baptist Church in Detroit, and were one of the first groups to bring gospel music to the secular world by performing in lounges.

The Civil Rights Movement and the 1967 Detroit riots wrought profound changes in the Detroit Black community and in its music. Gospel lyricists began to address themselves directly to the problems and conditions of their communities. During the 1960s the gospel sound stimulated the growth and development of urban Black popular musics, such as Motown, that addressed the "worldly" concerns of Black Americans. This "soul" music adapted many of the principles of gospel music performance: free form arrangements that provided flexibility for lead singers, a semi-preaching style, and additional instrumentation.

This modern gospel sound was popularized by Motown groups such as The Four Tops, The Temptations, and Smokey Robinson and the Miracles. Many Motown performers served their musical apprenticeships in the field of gospel music as members of church or community quartets, groups, and choirs. When Berry Gordy, Jr., moved Motown to Los Angeles in 1973, he left behind a generation of singers and instrumentalists with no commercial outlet. These younger musicians turned to performing in churches and schools. Many of the groups emerged resembling Motown acts, even by the way they dressed. Often, except for the lyrics, a listener cannot tell that the songs are religious. The Rance Allen Group was one of the first groups to gain recognition for a Motown-influenced gospel sound. It reworked the rhythm and blues Temptation's single "Just My Imagination" as "Just My Salvation." The danceable sounds of other Detroit groups like the Winans, the Clark Sisters, and Commissioned also confirms the secular influence.

Despite the prevalence and popularity of quartets and groups, Detroit is best known in the gospel world for its mass choirs. Athleia Hutchins and Sally Jones were the forerunners in Detroit's choir sound, but the Rev. James Loftin, who founded the Church of Our Prayer, really brought a focus to Detroit as a choir town with his

300-voice ensemble which gave concerts at Olympia and the State Fairgrounds.

Although famous preachers, composers, and directors like C.L. Franklin, Charles Craig, James Cleveland, and Charles Nicks have played dominant roles, three female choir directors also made their mark. The church community affectionately calls them the Big Three: Elma Hendrix Parham, who organized the women's chorus at the Greater New Mt. Moriah Baptist Church and directed the community youth Ensemble; Mattie Moss Clark, founder of the Southwest Michigan State Choir at Bailey Temple and mother of the Grammy-nominated Clark Sisters; and Lucylle Lemon, former choir director at New Bethel Baptist Church and founder of the Lucylle Lemon Gospel Chorus in 1943.

Contemporary gospel choirs like Thomas Whitfield and Company, Larry Robinson Concert Chorale, Northeast Youth Community Choir, and Ed Smith and the Operation Love Community Choir have packed churches and concert halls. The Donald Vails Choraleers and the Rev. Charles Nick's St. James Missionary Baptist Church Adult Choir have for the last five years continually won the Gospel Music Excellence Awards, presented in Detroit by the Gospel Music Workshop of America (the largest gospel organization of its kind in the United States).

In the 1980s the focus on Detroit as a gospel mecca is stronger than ever. Contemporary gospel continues to borrow elements of style, instrumentation, and performance practice from secular music. Performers create new styles by expanding on musical concepts associated with the past while simultaneously capitalizing on new creative ideas and technological advances. Along with the numerous small ensembles and choirs, gospel soloists such as Vanessa Bell Armstrong are receiving national recognition. Many of these artists have signed with major record labels. In the city more than 400 hours of gospel music command the radio airwaves each week, and Detroit's WMUZ-FM is one of the few 24-hour Christian music stations in the country. *Totally Gospel* and *Spirit Filled*, specifically Black gospel publications, are based in Detroit. The Sound of Gospel and Message Music Productions, two of the country's main gospel recording labels, also make their home in the city.

Despite changes in musical style and content, gospel in Detroit continues to serve a vital function in the lives of many Blacks. It has succeeded in the city on all levels: spiritually, artistically, technically, and commercially.

Suggested reading

Boyer, Horace C. "A Comparative Analysis of Traditional and Contemporary Gospel Music." In *More Than Dancing: Essays on Afro-American Music and Musicians*, ed. Irene Jackson. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Burnim, Mellonee V. "The Black Gospel Music Tradition: A Complex of Ideology, Aesthetic, and Behavior." In *More Than Dancing: Essays on Afro-American Music and Musicians*, ed. Irene Jackson. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Funk, Ray. *Detroit Gospel*, (LP liner notes) Gospel Heritage HT 311, 1986.

Jackson, Joyce M. "The Performing Black Sacred Quartet: A Cultural Expression of Values and Aesthetics," Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1987.

Jones, James T., IV. "Praise the Lord!" *Michigan: The Magazine of the Detroit News*, November 2, 1986.

Levine, Lawrence. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Suggested recordings

The Clark Sisters, *Is My Living in Vain?* (New Birth, NEW 7056-G).

Detroit Gospel (all *a cappella* quartets) (Gospel Heritage, HT 311).

Donald Vails and The Choraleers, *We've Come to Praise Him* (Savoy SVL 7069).

The Fabulous Violinaires of Detroit, *Their Greatest Hits* (Checker CH 9127).

Mattie Moss Clark and The Southwest Michigan State Choir, *Humble Thyself* (DME GP 7772).

The Winans, *Let My People Go* (Qwest 1-25344).

The Arabbers of Baltimore

A Photo Essay by Roland Freeman

Roland Freeman is a documentary photographer conducting research in Black culture throughout the African Diaspora. Since 1972, he has been a field research photographer for the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife.

"Arabbing" (ā'rab-bing) is a folk term peculiar to Baltimore, Maryland, for the selling of goods from horse-drawn wagons, pushcarts, trucks and corner stands by hawkers of street vendors. It derives from "arab" or "street arab", colloquial words for a peddler. The term is most often applied to the selling of produce from horse-drawn wagons.

Selling from horse-drawn wagons was once a major means of supplying city-dwellers with fresh fruit and vegetables, fish and poultry, and ice, wood and coal. Today, this kind of street peddling is nearly extinct in major American urban areas—except in Baltimore, where some 100 wagons still work the streets.

In the 1960s there were some 25 stables in the city of Baltimore. Many stables have since been torn down as part of Baltimore's urban renewal, and many closed because they were not economically viable. Another blow to Arabbing has been the relocation of the Camden and Pratt Street wholesale produce markets to Jessup, Maryland, some 20 miles outside the city, beyond the reach of horse-drawn wagons. And it is increasingly hard for the Arabbers to compete with the large chain food stores which have edged closer in recent years to the neighborhoods formerly served exclusively by their wagons. However, the Arabbers' continuing strength is personal customer service and attention.

The five stables which still operate in Baltimore, and the Arabbers who continue to ply their trade from them, are today both present participants in a style of commerce rooted in the city's culture and history and a reminder of how far and how fast Baltimore has changed.

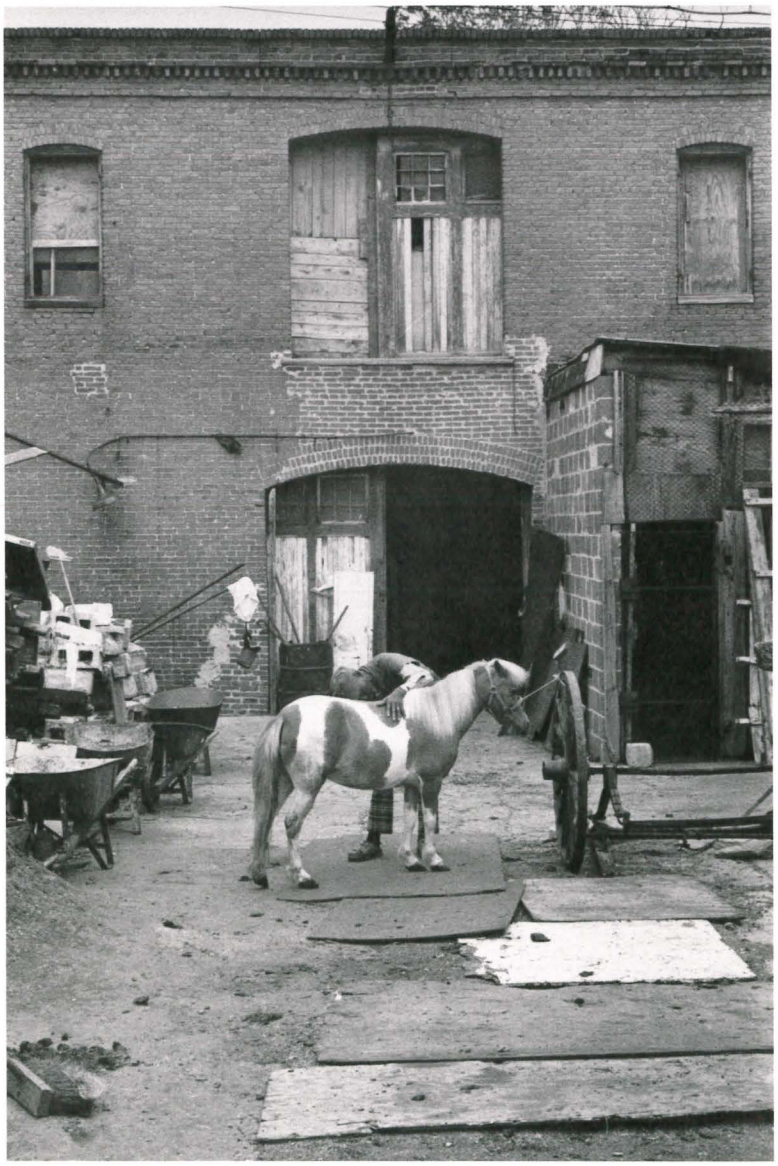
The Stables

Only five Arabbing stables still operate in Baltimore. There are only two men left in the city who shoe horses for the Arabbers, and three men who still build and repair wagons. Most horses and wagon parts are bought in the Pennsylvania Dutch country.

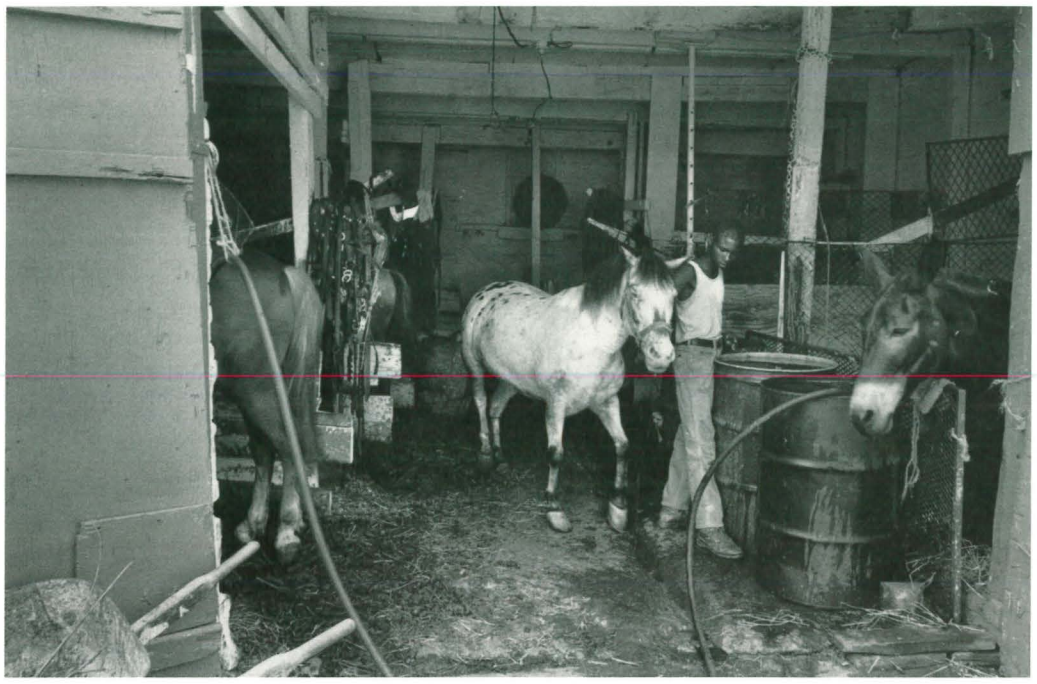
All horses must be examined at least twice a year by a veterinarian in order for the horses' owner to obtain an annual Arabbing license. Throughout the year, the stables and horses are also continually monitored by the State of Maryland Animal Control Division and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Arabbers at "Buddy" Kratz' stable in Southwest Baltimore: (left to right) Tom "Tomboy" Hughes, Walter "Teeth" Kelly, Walter "Buddy" Kratz, William "Easter Jim" Fields, Robert "Porky" Warner, and "Mandyman."

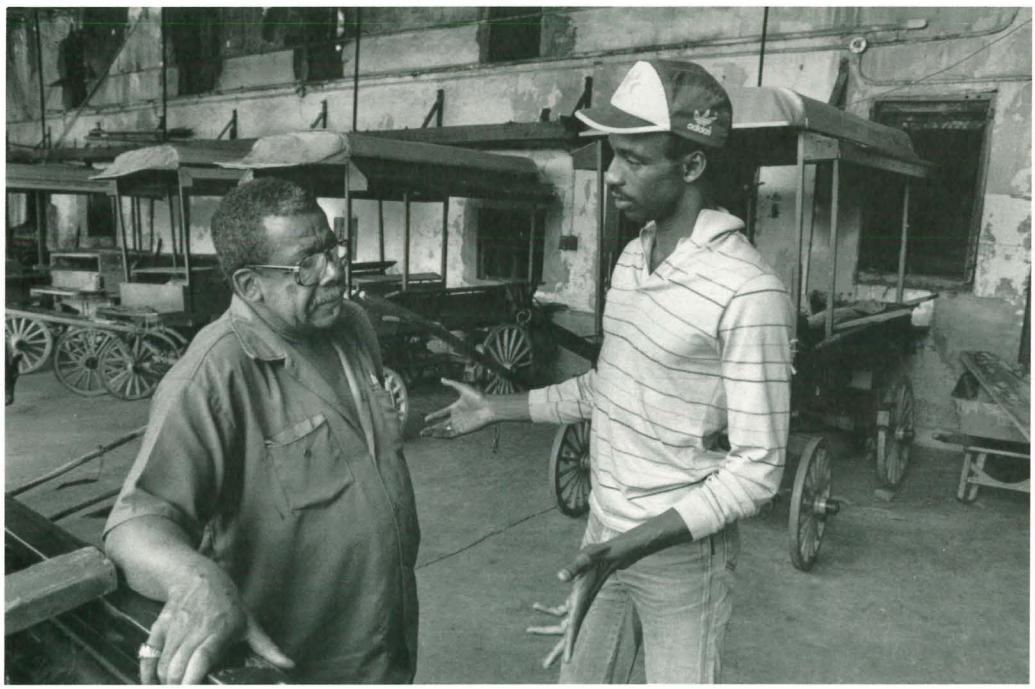
Walter "Teeth" Kelly, one of the city's few remaining wagon-builders, working at Kratz' stable.



Grooming a pony at Saul Taylor's stable in Southwest Baltimore.



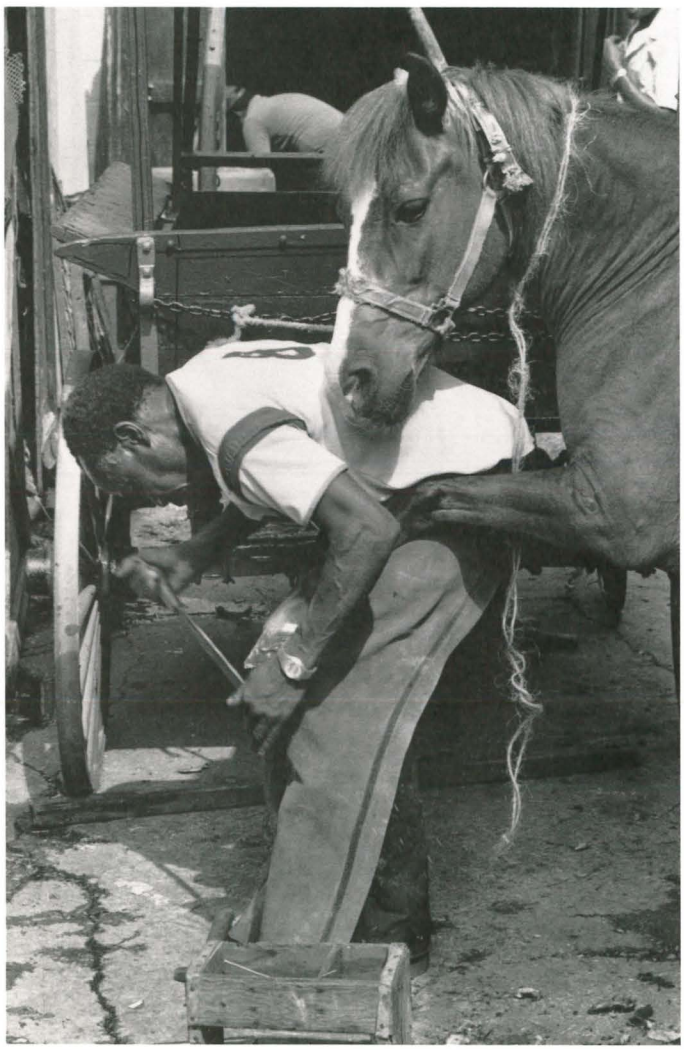
Watering horses at the Allen brothers' stable in Sandtown in West Baltimore.



Milton Brown and Mu Tee MuLazim, stable owners, in front of their stable in Northwest Baltimore.

Buying Produce and Loading Wagons

Following a routine virtually unchanged until recent times, Arabbers traditionally put in a ten or twelve hour day in warm weather, starting between five to seven o'clock in the morning. Most Arabbers first went to the stable to get their horses and wagons, and then drove across town to the old Camden and Pratt Street produce center and nearby poultry and fish market. There they bargained for and bought their produce, and then "decorated" their wagons – artistically arranging the produce so as to attract customers' attention. They then traveled their respective routes through the city, selling to customers. Other Arabbers worked for food distribution companies which bought produce in bulk and delivered it by truck to the stables.

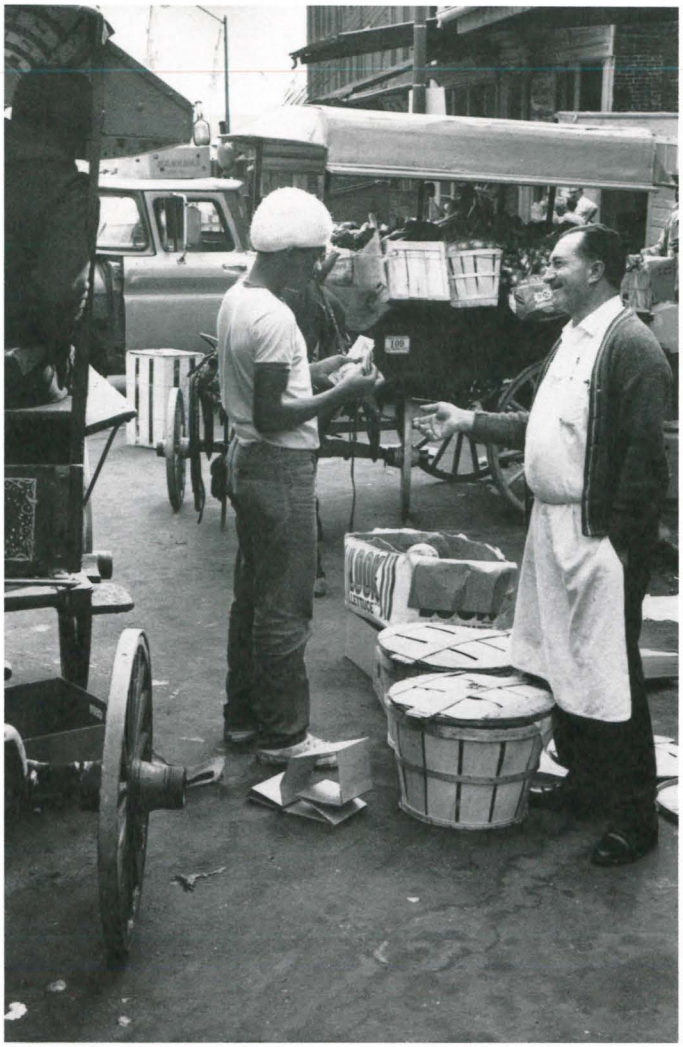


Mr. Rob shoeing a horse at Fred Barnhart's stable, the only one left in East Baltimore.

Arabber June Fulton (now deceased) entering the produce center at Light and Camden Streets. This center was razed in 1973-74 as part of Baltimore's Inner Harbor redevelopment.

Camden Street market scene.

Arabbers buying produce in bulk at the old Camden Street produce center and loading their truck.



Arabbers buying produce at the old Camden Street produce center.

Arabbers loading wagons at the Allen brothers' stable.

Arabbers take great pride in decorating their wagons.

Serving the Community

Over the years most Arabbers have established traditional routes through Baltimore and have developed many faithful customers. Arabber wagons bring produce to their customers' doorsteps. They provide a useful service for the elderly, the handicapped, and "shut-ins" who either can't leave home or have difficulty getting to a grocery and bringing their food back home.

Arabbers "Monk" and "Peppers" (both deceased) selling watermelons. In Baltimore, customers traditionally ask to taste a "plug" of watermelon before buying it.

Gilbert Hall, Sr. has been Arabbing for 45 years and has been working his current route for the past 12 years.

Arabber "Popeye" at his wagon. He has been working the same route in West Baltimore for about 40 years.

Arabbers braving the snow to serve customers in South Baltimore.

Arabber on his route.

Arabbers are most appreciated by those customers who are least mobile.

Friends and Family

In their private and social lives as well as their daily routes, Arabbers link homes and families, kin and co-workers. As a community, Baltimore's Arabbers have lost the occasion of daily gatherings at the Camden produce center to swap stories and keep track of each other. Since the closing of the Camden market, social events such as those pictured here—family reunions, parties, club outings, and funerals—have taken on greater importance as gatherings of the Arabber community.

Father's Day: Arabber Gilbert Hall, Sr. with his son Gilbert Hall, Jr. and grandson, Gilbert Kinard Hall III.

Arabber June Fulton serving his children dinner.

Last rites for one of Sandtown's best known Arabbers, Mr. Handy Janey (1904-1975). Many of the Arabbers from this predominantly Black West Baltimore neighborhood worked for or with Handy during his life.

Arabber "Winfield" and friend joking during the annual boat ride.

Arabbers and friends at Baltimore's Inner Harbor for the Finos, Inc. Social Club's annual boat ride.

Twin members of the Allen family, "Fatback" and Paulene, at their birthday party. Paulene is one of the few women still Arabbing in Baltimore.

The Allen's annual family reunion. Though Arabbing is often practiced by more than one member of a family, the Allens are exceptional as nearly all the women, men and children have been involved in some way. This Allen family tradition was inspired by Mrs. Mildred Allen (1890-1973), among the best known and most respected of Baltimore's Arabbers. For over 50 years, her stables continuously employed over 40 people.

21st Annual Festival of American Folklife

Festival Hours

Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held on the Michigan Music Stage at 11:00 a.m., Wednesday, June 24. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties every evening, except July 4, 5:30 to 7:00 p.m.

Food Sales

Traditional Michigan, Caribbean and Chinese food will be sold. See the site map for locations.

Sales

A variety of crafts, books and records relating to the 1987 Festival programs will be sold in the Museum Shops tent on the Festival site.

Press

Visiting members of the press are invited to register at the Festival Press tent on Madison Drive at 12th Street.

First Aid

An American Red Cross mobile unit will be set up in a tent near the Administration area near 12th Street on Madison Drive. The Health Units in the museums of American History and Natural History are open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

Rest Rooms

There are outdoor facilities for the public and disabled visitors located in all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional restroom facilities are available in each of the museum buildings during visiting hours.

Telephones

Public telephones are available on the site opposite the museums of American History and Natural History, and inside the museums.

Lost and Found/ Lost Children and Parents

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer tent in the Administration area. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer tent also. We advise putting a name tag on youngsters.

Bicycle Racks

Racks for bicycles are located at the entrances to each of the Smithsonian museums.

Metro Stations

Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible to either the Smithsonian or Federal Triangle stations on the Blue/Orange line.

Services for Disabled Visitors

Sign language interpreters will be available each day at the Festival.
Oral interpreters will be available upon advance request if you call (202) 357-1696 (TDD) or (202) 357-1697 (voice). There are a few designated parking spaces for disabled visitors at various points along both Mall drives. These spaces have the same time restrictions as other public spaces on the Mall.

Dance Parties

Dance bands performing traditional music will perform on the Metropolitan Washington Music Stage every evening, except July 4, from 5:30 to 7:00 p.m.

Program Book

Background information on the traditions presented at the Festival is available from the Program Book on sale for $3.00 at the Festival site, or by mail from the Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institution, 2600 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20560.

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Intern: Kevin Donald

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Program Coordinator: Todd DeGarmo

Festival Aide: Mike Nelson

Fieldworkers: Norma Cantú, Fay Chiang, Glenn Hinson, Mary Anne McDonald, Mario Montaño, Kingsavanh Pathammavong, Frank Proschan

Research Assistance: Charles Camp, Carol Kulig, Susan Levitas, John Kuo, Mary Scherbatskoy, Wei Tchen, Margaret Yuen

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We extend special thanks to all the volunteers at this year's Festival. Only with their assistance are we able to present the programs of the 1987 Festival of American Folklife.

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The Michigan Program has been made possible by the Michigan Sesquicentennial Commission and the Michigan Department of State.

The Metropolitan Washington Program has been made possible in part by the Music Performance Trust Funds, a non-profit organization created by U.S. recording companies to fund live and free performances.

Wednesday, June 24

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30

Michigan Program

	Stage 1 Michigan Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Michigan Talk	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations
11:00	Opening Ceremony			Ongoing Demonstrations: lure making, fly tying, boat building, Native American quillwork, black ash basketry, finger weaving and beadwork, Dutch wooden shoe making, furniture carving, Afro-American quilt making, Palestinian needlework, Ukrainian textiles and egg decorating, ski and sleigh making, decoy carving, rag rug weaving, cherry harvesting & pruning, evergreen nursery techniques, net making, ice fishing	
12:00	Music from the Keweenaw: Art Moilanen & Bill Stimac	Lebanese-American Traditions	Fugitive Slave Narratives		Ice Fishing at the Ice Shanty
1:00	Michigan Blues		The Sit-Down Strike: Key Events		
2:00	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers	Pasty Making from the Upper Peninsula	Comparative Fiddle Styles		
3:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones		Migration to Michigan		Fly Tying and Lure Making at the Bait Shop and Pond
4:00	Anglo-French String Band: Sugar Island Boys	Herbal Medicine	Music and Community		
5:00	Michigan Blues	Monroe Muskrat Dinner	Ethnicity and Craft		
	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family	Mexican-American Traditions	Michigan Fiddling		

Cultural Conservation and Languages: America's Many Voices

	Plaza	Marketplace	Foodways	Community Areas
11:00				
12:00	Performance: Lao Music and Song	The Appalachian Community Market	Chinese Foodways	Mexican-American: saddle making, *barbacoa* cookery, toymaking, quilting
1:00	Playground: Games from Chinese Tradition		Lao Foodways	Lao-American: floral arts, weaving, wood carving, basket making, rocket making
2:00	Performance: Ballads from North Carolina	The Family Store	Mexican Foodways	Appalachian-American: tobacco farming and lore, hunting stories
3:00	Forum: Language and Education		Appalachian Foodways	Chinese-American: toymaking, face painting, laundry lore
4:00	Performance: Chinese Dance	Mexican-American and Latino-American Markets		
5:00	Forum: Access to the Media		Chinese Restaurant Workshop	

Metropolitan Washington Program

	Large Stage	Workshop/ Performance Stage
11:00		
12:00	Gospel: Prophecy	Paraguayan Music: Alberto Rios y sus Paraguayos
1:00	Soca & Calypso Music: Image	Mandingo Griot Music: Djimo Kouyate
2:00	Calypso Pan Music: Trinidad Steel Band	Colombian Music: Los Fuertes de Colombia
3:00	Ga Music: ODADAA!	Caribbean Music Workshop
4:00	Blues: Bill Harris	Ganda Music: James Makubuya
5:00	Blues: John & James Jackson	West African Drumming: Kankouran
Dance Party	Afro-Cuban Music: Cubanakán	Andean Music from Ecuador: Rumiñahui
	Zairian Urban Music: The Sounds of Africa	Salvadoran Music: La Banda Salvadorena

Thursday, June 25

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30

Michigan Program

	Stage 1 Michigan Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Michigan Talk	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations
11:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones	Lebanese-American Traditions	Migration to Michigan	Ongoing Demonstrations: lure making, fly tying, boat building, Native American quillwork, black ash basketry, finger weaving and beadwork, Dutch wooden shoe making, furniture carving, Afro-American quilt making, Palestinian needlework, Ukrainian textiles and egg decorating, ski and sleigh making, decoy carving, rag rug weaving, cherry harvesting & pruning, evergreen nursery techniques, net making, ice fishing	
12:00	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family		Lore of the Lure		Cooking by the River's Edge Waterways Area
1:00	Music from the Keweenaw: Art Moilanen & Bill Stimac	Muskrat Traditions	The Sit-Down Strike and the Flint Community		
2:00	Michigan Blues	Mexican-American Traditions	Michigan Fiddling		
	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers		Native American Crafts		
3:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones	Cornish-American Traditions	Riverlore		Cherry Industry: Harvesting and Pruning
4:00	Anglo-French String Band: Sugar Island Boys		Music and Community		
5:00	Michigan Blues	Traditional Uses of Fish	The Sit-Down Strike: Life Inside and Outside the Plants		
	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family				

Cultural Conservation and Languages: America's Many Voices

	Plaza	Marketplace	Foodways	Community Areas
11:00				
	Playground: Games from Chinese Tradition		Lao Foodways	Mexican-American: saddle making, *barbacoa* cookery, toymaking, quilting
12:00		The Mexican-American Community Market		
	Performance: Lao Music and Song		Chinese Restaurant Workshop	
1:00	Forum: Multi-lingualism in American Society			Lao-American: floral arts, weaving, wood carving, basket making, rocket making
	Performance: Chinese Ribbon Dance	Health Regulators & Ethnic Markets	Appalachian Foodways	Appalachian-American: tobacco farming and lore, hunting stories
2:00				
	Forum: Language and Work			
3:00			Chinese Foodways	Chinese-American: toymaking, face painting, laundry lore
	Playground: Games from Lao Tradition			
4:00	Performance: Ballads from North Carolina	Sidewalk Markets & Vendors		
			Mexican Foodways	
5:00	Performance: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers			

Metropolitan Washington Program

	Large Stage	Workshop/ Performance Stage
11:00		
	Gospel: Prophecy	African Drum Workshop: ODADAA! and Kankouran
12:00	Gospel: Mattie Johnson & the Stars of Faith	Blues: John & James Jackson
1:00	Ga Music: ODADAA!	Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins
	Traditional Banjo Music: Don Stover	Afro-American Games
2:00		
	Blues: Bill Harris	Bluegrass Workshop: Potomac Valley Boys
3:00	Bluegrass: Potomac Valley Boys	Blues Workshop
		Afro-American Games
4:00	Southern Mountain Music: Hazel Dickens	
	Salvadoran Music: Conrado Rosales y la Banda Salvadorena	
5:00		
Dance Party	Afro-Cuban Music: Cubanakán	Go-Go Workshop: The Junkyard Band
	Go-Go Music: The Junkyard Band	

Friday, June 26

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30

Michigan Program

	Stage 1 Michigan Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Michigan Talk	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations
11:00	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers	Finnish-American Traditions	Riverlore	Ongoing Demonstrations: lure making, fly tying, boat building, Native American quillwork, black ash basketry, finger weaving and beadwork, Dutch wooden shoe making, furniture carving, Afro-American quilt making, Palestinian needlework, Ukrainian textiles and egg decorating, ski and sleigh making, decoy carving, rag rug weaving, cherry harvesting & pruning, evergreen nursery techniques, net making, ice fishing	
12:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones		Fugitive Slave Narratives		Great Lakes Net Fishing at the Boat
1:00	Michigan Blues	Cornish-American Traditions	Music and Community		
2:00	Anglo-French String Band: Sugar Island Boys	Monroe Muskrat Dinner	Michigan Fiddling		
	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family		Fishing Stories		
3:00	Music from the Keweenaw: Art Moilanen & Bill Stimac	Herbal Medicine	Migration to Michigan		Fish Smoking Waterways Area
4:00	Michigan Blues	Lebanese-American Traditions	The Sit-Down Strike: The Role of Women		
	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers		Comparative Fiddle Styles		
5:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones	Mexican-American Traditions			

Cultural Conservation and Languages: America's Many Voices

	Plaza	Marketplace	Foodways	Community Areas
11:00				
	Playground: Games from Chinese Tradition		Lao Foodways	Mexican-American: saddle making, *barbacoa* cookery, toymaking, quilting
12:00		Language in the Marketplace		
	Performance: Lao Music and Song		Chinese Restaurant Workshop	
1:00	Forum: Isolation and Language Maintenance			Lao-American: floral arts, weaving, wood carving, basket making, rocket making
	Performance: Chinese Dance	Access to Goods	Lao Foodways	Appalachian-American: tobacco farming and lore, hunting stories
2:00	Forum: Home Language and Mother Tongue			
3:00			Mexican Foodways	Chinese-American: toymaking, face painting, laundry lore
	Performance: Ballads from North Carolina			
4:00	Playground: Games from Lao & American Traditions	The Southeast Asian Community Market	Chinese Foodways	
5:00	Forum: Language in American Life			

Metropolitan Washington Program

	Large Stage	Workshop/ Performance Stage
11:00		
	Blues: Bill Harris	African Music Workshop: Djimo Kouyate James Makubuya
12:00	Blues: John & James Jackson	Traditional Anglo Music Workshop: Hazel Dickens & Don Stover
1:00	Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Ladino Music: Flory Jagoda
2:00	Southern Mountain Music: Hazel Dickens	Blues Workshop: John Cephas Bill Harris the Jacksons Phil Wiggins
3:00	Traditional Banjo Music: Don Stover	Folkways Workshop
	Soca & Calypso Music: Image	Paraguayan Music: Alberto Rios y sus Paraguayos
4:00	Reggae: Jah Honey & the Unconquered People	Hispanic Music Workshop
	Ga Music: ODADAA!	Colombian Vallenato Music
5:00		Andean Music: Rumiñahui
Dance Party	Bolivian Urban Music: Ollantay	West African Drumming: Kankouran
	Brazilian Samba Band: Grupo Batuque	

Saturday, June 27

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30

Michigan Program

	Stage 1 Michigan Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Michigan Talk	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations
11:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones	Pasty Making from the Upper Peninsula	Migration to Michigan	Ongoing Demonstrations: lure making, fly tying, boat building, Native American quillwork, black ash basketry, finger weaving and beadwork, Dutch wooden shoe making, furniture carving, Afro-American quilt making, Palestinian needlework, Ukrainian textiles and egg decorating, ski and sleigh making, decoy carving, rag rug weaving, cherry harvesting & pruning, evergreen nursery techniques, net making, ice fishing	
12:00	Anglo-French String Band: Sugar Island Boys		The Sit-Down Strike: Birth of the U.A.W.		Fly Tying & Lure Making at the Bait Shop and Pond
1:00	Michigan Blues	Traditional Uses of Fish	Ethnicity and Craft		
2:00	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family		Michigan Fiddling		
3:00	Music from the Keweenaw: Art Moilanen & Bill Stimac	Lebanese-American Traditions	The Sit-Down Strike: Life Inside and Outside the Plants		
4:00	Michigan Blues	Monroe Muskrat Dinner	Native American Crafts		Evergreen Nursery Techniques
5:00	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers		Herbal Medicine		
	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones	Mexican-American Traditions	Music from the Keweenaw: Art Moilanen		
	Music from the Keweenaw: Bill Stimac & Sons				

Cultural Conservation and Languages: America's Many Voices

	Plaza	Marketplace	Foodways	Community Areas
11:00				
	Playground: Games from Chinese Tradition		Lao Foodways	Mexican-American: saddle making, *barbacoa* cookery, toymaking, quilting
12:00		The Chinese-American Community Market		
	Performance: Ballads from North Carolina		Mexican Foodways	Lao-American: floral arts, weaving, wood carving, basket making, rocket making
1:00	Forum: Multi-lingualism in American Society			
	Performance: Sugar Island Boys	Food Sellers and Culture Brokers	Chinese Foodways	Appalachian-American: tobacco farming and lore, hunting stories
2:00				
	Forum: Language and Religion			
3:00			Appalachian Foodways	Chinese-American: toymaking, face painting, laundry lore
	Performance: Chinese Dance			
4:00				
	Performance: Lao Music and Song	The Entrepreneur	Chinese Restaurant Workshop	
5:00				
	Performance: The Hammon Family			

Metropolitan Washington Program

	Large Stage	Workshop/ Performance Stage
11:00		
	Street Carnival: Comparsa Panameña	Chinese Opera Workshop: Make-up, Story, Costume
12:00		Afro-Caribbean Workshop
	Peking Opera: Han Sheng Chinese Opera Institute	Comparsa Workshop
1:00	Gospel: McCollough Kings of Harmony Spiritual Band	Cambodian Music Workshop & Performance: Khmer Traditional Music Ensemble
	Afro-Cuban Music: Cubanakán	ODADAA! Workshop
2:00		
	Soca & Calypso Music: Image	Gospel: Lisa Henderson
3:00		Gospel: The Four Echoes
	Reggae: Jah Honey & the Unconquered People	
4:00		Gospel Quartet: Kings of Harmony
	Ga Music: ODADAA!	Calypso Pan Workshop: Trinidad Steel Band
5:00		
	Zairian Urban Music: The Sounds of Africa	Paraguayan Music: Alberto Rios y sus Paraguayos
Dance Party	Calypso Pan Music: Trinidad Steel Band	

Sunday, June 28

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30

Special Event:
***Boun Bang Fai*, the Lao Rocket Festival, beginning at 9:00 a.m. The Rocket Festival includes religious ceremonies, sports, music, dance, and a rocket competition.**

Michigan Program

	Stage 1 Michigan Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Michigan Talk	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations
11:00	Michigan Blues	Cornish-American Traditions	Migration to Michigan	Ongoing Demonstrations: lure making, fly tying, boat building, Native American quillwork, black ash basketry, finger weaving and beadwork, Dutch wooden shoe making, furniture carving, Afro-American quilt making, Palestinian needlework, Ukrainian textiles and egg decorating, ski and sleigh making, decoy carving, rag rug weaving, cherry harvesting & pruning, evergreen nursery techniques, net making, ice fishing	
12:00	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family		The Sit-Down Strike and the Flint Community		Ice Fishing at the Ice Shanty
1:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones	Lebanese-American Traditions	Riverlore		
2:00	Music from the Keweenaw: Art Moilanen & Bill Stimac	Afro-American Traditions	Native American Storytelling		
3:00	Michigan Blues		Ethnicity and Craft		
4:00	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family	Mexican-American Traditions	The Sit-Down Strike: The Strike Remembered		Cherry Harvesting & Pruning
5:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones	Muskrat Traditions	Fishing Stories		
	Music from the Keweenaw: Art Moilanen & Bill Stimac		Herbal Medicine		
			Michigan Fiddling		

Cultural Conservation and Languages: America's Many Voices

	Plaza	Marketplace	Foodways	Community Areas
11:00				
	Boun Bang Fai – Lao Rocket Festival (begins 9 a.m.) Buddhist Ceremonies & Offerings to the Monks		Chinese Restaurant Workshop	Mexican-American: saddle making, *barbacoa* cookery, toymaking, quilting
12:00		Forum: Language & Education		
	Rocket Competition & Judging		Mexican Foodways	Lao-American: floral arts, weaving, wood carving, basket making, rocket making
1:00		Playground: Games from Chinese Tradition		
	Lao Classical Music			
	Lao Folk Dances	Marketplace: Tourists & Strangers	Appalachian Foodways	Appalachian-American: tobacco farming and lore, hunting stories
2:00				
	Lao Folk Music and Song			
3:00			Chinese Foodways	Chinese-American: toymaking, face painting, laundry lore
	Lao Popular Music and Dancing	Marketplace: The Family Store		
4:00				
		Forum: Stereotypes and Languages		
5:00				

Metropolitan Washington Program

	Large Stage	Workshop/ Performance Stage
11:00		
	Gospel: Great Change Ensemble	Cambodian Music Workshop & Performance: Khmer Traditional Music Ensemble
12:00		
	Gospel: Choraliers	Palestinian Music: Al-Watan Ensemble
1:00		
	Gospel: Mattie Johnson & the Stars of Faith	Ladino Music: Flory Jagoda
	Gospel Quartet: Kings of Harmony	Andean Music from Ecuador: Rumiñahui
2:00		
	Gospel: Vision	African Music Workshop: Djimo Kouyate James Makubuya
		Mandingo Griot Music: Djimo Kouyate
3:00		
	Gospel: McCollough Kings of Harmony Spiritual Band	Hispanic Music Workshop
	Gospel: Sons of Grace	
4:00		Colombian Vallenato: Los Fuertes de Colombia
	Gospel: St. Augustine Gospel Choir	Ganda Music: James Makubuya
5:00		
	Gospel: Emmanuel Choraleers	West African Drumming: Kankouran
Dance Party	Anglo-French String Band: Sugar Island Boys	

14th Street

Museum of American History

R

Information

Foodways Food Concession dog pen Appalachian Chinese

Picnic Area

Plaza

Arabbers Marketplace

Lao

oven

Mexican

B B garden

America's Many Voices

Festival Site Map

R=Restroom
B=Beverage Concession

R

Information

Pond Net

Wood and Backwoods

Brush Arbor

Canoe Building

B

Narrative Stage

Native American Crafts Area

Icefishing

Great Lakes Fishing Boat

Pond

Picnic Area

Trap Net

Bait Shop

Boat Building

Food Concession

Foodways

Michigan

B B

Cherry Industry

Learning Center

Ethnic Crafts

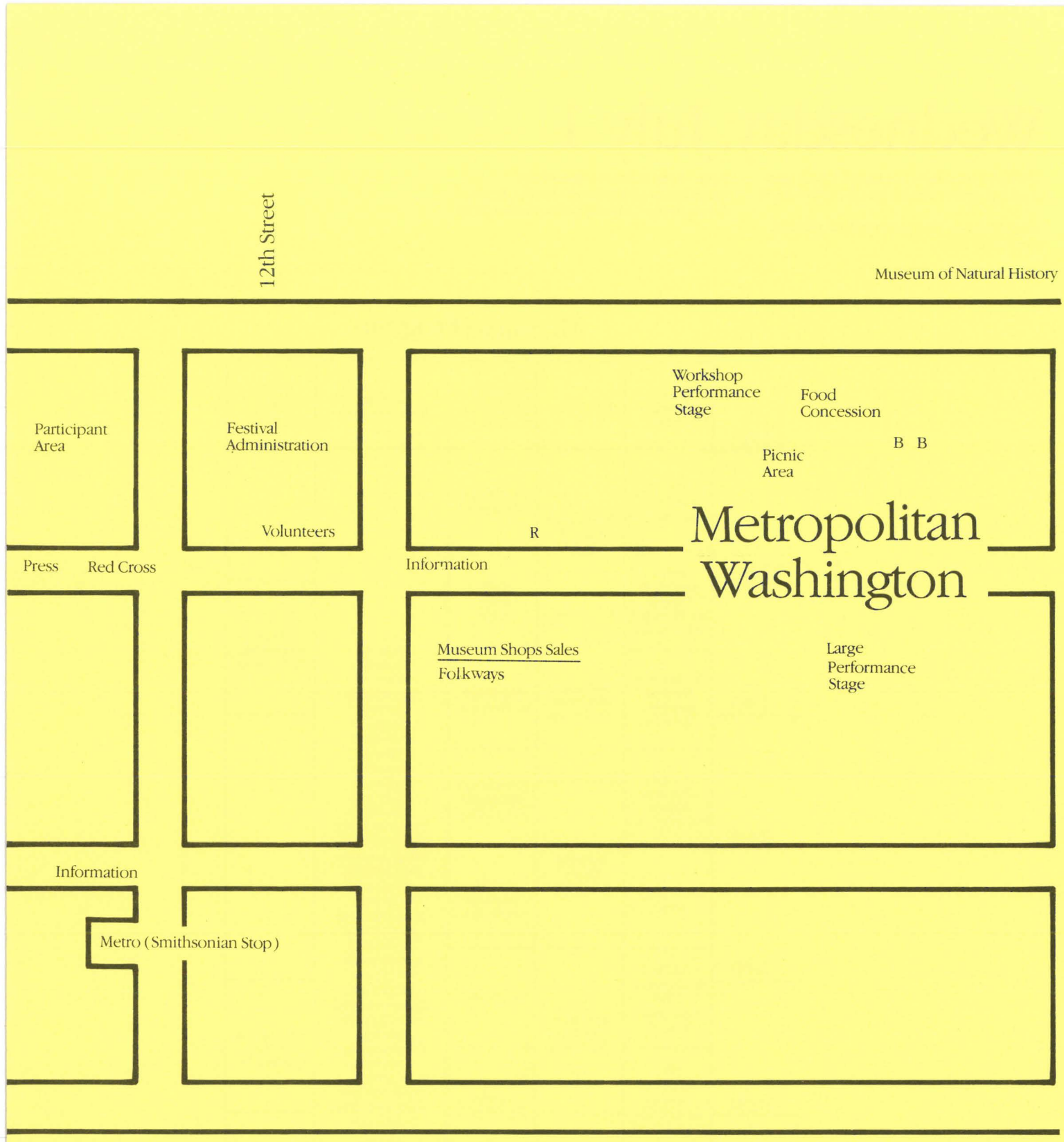
Music Stage

Nursery Industry

R

Jefferson Drive

Department of Agriculture


12th Street
Museum of Natural History
Participant Area
Festival Administration
Volunteers
Press
Red Cross
Workshop Performance Stage
Food Concession
B B
Picnic Area
R
Information
Metropolitan Washington
Museum Shops Sales
Folkways
Large Performance Stage
Information
Metro (Smithsonian Stop)

Wednesday, July 1

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30

1:00 – Sacred procession of the Matachines group from Laredo, Texas, through the Cultural Conservation area.

Michigan Program

	Stage 1 Michigan Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Michigan Talk	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations
11:00					
	Yemeni Folkloric Dance Group	Traditional Uses of Fish	Michigan Fiddling	Ongoing Demonstrations: lure making, fly tying, boat building, Native American quillwork, black ash basketry, finger weaving and beadwork, Dutch wooden shoe making, furniture carving, Afro-American quilt making, Palestinian needlework, Ukrainian textiles and egg decorating, ski and sleigh making, decoy carving, rag rug weaving, cherry harvesting & pruning, evergreen nursery techniques, net making, ice fishing	
12:00	Afro-American Gospel: Rev. Woods & The Chosen		Lore of the Lure		Cherry Harvesting & Pruning
	Tamburitza: Tomicic Brothers Orchestra	Mexican-American Traditions	Migration to Michigan		
1:00					
	Finnish-American Music: Thimbleberry		Great Lakes Fishing & Net Making		
2:00		Pasty Making from the Upper Peninsula			
	Michigan Blues		Native American Storytelling		
3:00					
	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family	Lebanese-American Traditions	Riverlore		Ice Fishing at the Ice Shanty
	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones		The Sit-Down Strike: Key Events		
4:00					
	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers	Monroe Muskrat Dinner	Comparative Michigan Fiddling		
5:00					
	Michigan Blues				

Cultural Conservation and Languages: America's Many Voices

	Plaza	Marketplace	Foodways	Community Areas
11:00				
	Playground: Games from Chinese Tradition		Mexican Foodways	
12:00		Health Regulators and Ethnic Markets		Mexican-American: saddle making, *barbacoa* cookery, toymaking, quilting
	Performance: Lao Music and Song			
1:00	Forum: Home Languages & Mother Tongues		Chinese Foodways	
				Lao-American: floral arts, weaving, wood carving, basket making
2:00	Performance: Sensational Gospel Tones	The Chinese Community Market	Appalachian Foodways	
	Forum: Misunder-standings			Appalachian-American: tobacco farming and lore, hunting stories
3:00			Chinese Restaurant Workshop	
	Playground: Games from Lao and Appalachian Traditions			Chinese-American: toymaking, laundry lore
4:00	Performance: Tomicic Brothers Orchestra	Language in the Marketplace	Lao Foodways	
5:00	Performance: Chinese Dance			

Metropolitan Washington Program

	Large Stage	Workshop/ Performance Stage
11:00		
	Gospel: Prophecy	Gospel: Lisa Henderson
12:00	Gospel: Choraliers	Vietnamese Music: Nguyen Dinh Nghia & Daughters
	Blues: John & James Jackson	Cambodian Music: Khmer Traditional Music Ensemble
1:00		Ganda Music: James Makubuya
	Indian Music: Ganga	West African Drumming: Kankouran
2:00	Calypso Pan Music: Trinidad Steel Band	Salvadoran Children's Games: Ross School
		Reggae Workshop: Jah Honey Martin
3:00	Soca & Calypso Music: Image	Mexican Children's Games: Garcia Family
	Afro-Cuban Music: Cubanakán	Hispanic Music Workshop
4:00		Salvadoran Music: Conrado Rosales y la Banda Salvadorena
	Reggae: Jah Honey & the Unconquered People	Mandingo Griot Performance & Workshop: Djimo Kouyate
5:00	Bolivian Urban Music: Ollantay	
Dance Party	Zairian Urban Music: The Sounds of Africa	

Thursday, July 2

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30

1:00—Sacred procession of the Matachines group from Laredo, Texas, through the Cultural Conservation area.

Michigan Program

	Stage 1 Michigan Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Michigan Talk	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations
11:00	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers	Lebanese-American Traditions	Migration to Michigan	Ongoing Demonstrations: lure making, fly tying, boat building, Native American quillwork, black ash basketry, finger weaving and beadwork, Dutch wooden shoe making, furniture carving, Afro-American quilt making, Palestinian needlework, Ukrainian textiles and egg decorating, ski and sleigh making, decoy carving, rag rug weaving, cherry harvesting & pruning, evergreen nursery techniques, net making, ice fishing	
12:00	Yemeni Folkloric Dance Group		Native American Crafts		River Guide Cooking at the Pond
1:00	Afro-American Gospel: Rev. Woods & The Chosen	Muskrat Traditions	The Sit-Down Strike: The Role of Women		
2:00	Michigan Blues	Mexican-American Traditions	Fugitive Slave Narratives		
3:00	Finnish-American Music: Thimbleberry		Great Lakes Fishing		Fly Tying and Lure Making at the Bait Shop and Pond
4:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones	Cornish-American Traditions	Michigan Fiddling		
5:00	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family	Traditional Uses of Fish	Ethnicity and Craft		
	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers		Michigan Blues		
	Afro-American Gospel: Rev. Woods & The Chosen				

Cultural Conservation and Languages: America's Many Voices

	Plaza	Marketplace	Foodways	Community Areas
11:00				
	Playground: Games from Chinese Tradition		Appalachian Foodways	Mexican-American: saddle making, *barbacoa* cookery, toymaking, quilting Lao-American: floral arts, weaving, wood carving, basket making Appalachian-American: tobacco farming and lore, hunting stories Chinese-American: toymaking, laundry lore
12:00		The Entrepreneur		
	Performance: Lao Music and Song		Chinese Restaurant Workshop	
1:00	Forum: Majority & Minority Languages			
	Performance: The Hammon Family	Mexican-American and Latino-American Markets	Lao Foodways	
2:00				
	Forum: Multi-lingualism in American Society			
3:00			Mexican Foodways	
	Performance: Chinese Dance			
4:00				
	Performance: Music from North Carolina	Sidewalk Markets & Vendors	Chinese Foodways	
5:00				
	Forum: Stereotypes & Language			

Metropolitan Washington Program

	Large Stage	Workshop/ Performance Stage
11:00		
	Gospel: Prophecy	Mexican Children's Games: Garcia Family
12:00		Salvadoran Children's Games: Ross School
	Afro-Cuban Music: Cubanakán	Paraguayan Music: Alberto Rios y sus Paraguayos
1:00	Gospel Quartet: Kings of Harmony	
		Ganda Music: James Makubuya
	Traditional Banjo Music: Don Stover	Vietnamese Music: Nguyen Dinh Nghia
2:00		
	Southern Mountain Music: Hazel Dickens	Bluegrass Workshop: Potomac Valley Boys
3:00		Cambodian Music: Khmer Traditional Music Ensemble
	Bluegrass: Potomac Valley Boys	
		African Instrument Workshop: Djimo Kouyate James Makubuya
4:00	Gospel: Vision	
		Salvadoran Music: Conrado Rosales y la Banda Salvadorena
5:00	Reggae: Jah Honey & the Unconquered People	
		Andean Music from Ecuador: Rumiñahui
Dance Party	Tamburitza: Tomicic Brothers Orchestra	

Friday, July 3

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30

1:00 – Sacred procession of the Matachines group from Laredo, Texas, through the Cultural Conservation area.

Michigan Program

	Stage 1 Michigan Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Michigan Talk	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations
11:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones	Finnish-American Traditions	Riverlore	Ongoing Demonstrations: lure making, fly tying, boat building, Native American quillwork, black ash basketry, finger weaving and beadwork, Dutch wooden shoe making, furniture carving, Afro-American quilt making, Palestinian needlework, Ukrainian textiles and egg decorating, ski and sleigh making, decoy carving, rag rug weaving, cherry harvesting & pruning, evergreen nursery techniques, net making, ice fishing	
12:00	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers		Herbal Medicine		Evergreen Nursery Techniques
1:00	Yemeni Folkloric Dance Group	Cornish-American Traditions	Native American Storytelling		
2:00	Afro-American Gospel: Rev. Woods & The Chosen	Monroe Muskrat Dinner	Michigan Fiddling		
	Michigan Blues		Migration to Michigan		
3:00	Finnish-American Music: Thimbleberry	Lebanese-American Traditions	The Sit-Down Strike and the Community		Great Lakes Fishing at the Boat
4:00	Tamburitza: Tomicic Brothers Orchestra	Traditional Uses of Fish	Lore of the Lure		
	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family		Comparative Gospel		
5:00	Yemeni Folkloric Dance Group	Mexican-American Traditions			

Cultural Conservation and Languages: America's Many Voices

	Plaza	Marketplace	Foodways	Community Areas
11:00				
	Playground: Games from Chinese Tradition		Mexican Foodways	Mexican-American: saddle making, *barbacoa* cookery, toymaking, quilting
12:00	Performance: Lao Music and Song	Tourists & Strangers		
	Forum: Language and Work		Chinese Foodways	
1:00				Lao-American: floral arts, weaving, wood carving, basket making
	Performance: Chinese Dance	Chinese-American and Southeast Asian-American Markets	Appalachian Foodways	
2:00				
	Forum: Language & Education			Appalachian-American: tobacco farming and lore, hunting stories
3:00			Chinese Restaurant Workshop	
	Performance: Music in Appalachia			
	Performance: Arts of the Peking Opera			Chinese-American: toymaking, laundry lore
4:00				
	Performance: Lao Classical Music	Language in the Marketplace	Lao Foodways	
5:00				
	Performance: Music of the Cantonese Opera			

Metropolitan Washington Program

	Large Stage	Workshop/ Performance Stage
11:00		
	Indian Music: Ganga	Cambodian Music Workshop & Performance: Khmer Traditional Music Ensemble
12:00	Soca & Calypso Music: Image	Vietnamese Music: Nhuyen Dinh Nghia & Daughters
	Afro-Cuban Music: Cubanakán	Gospel: Lisa Henderson
1:00		Ladino Music: Flory Jagoda
	Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Mandingo Griot Music: Djimo Kouyate
2:00		
	Blues: John & James Jackson	Ganga Workshop
		Ganda Music: James Makubuya
3:00	Gospel: Vision	
		Folkways Workshop
	Gospel: The Teagle Family	
4:00		
	Gospel: St. Teresa of Avila Choir	Afro-American Games Cheers Stepping Junkyard
5:00		
Dance Party	Brazilian Samba Band: Grupo Batuque	Junkyard Workshop
	Go-Go Music: The Junkyard Band	

Saturday, July 4

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30

1:00—Sacred procession of the Matachines group from Laredo, Texas, through the Cultural Conservation area.

Michigan Program

	Stage 1 Michigan Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Michigan Talk	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations
11:00	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family	Pasty Making from the Upper Peninsula	Migration to Michigan	Ongoing Demonstrations: lure making, fly tying, boat building, Native American quillwork, black ash basketry, finger weaving and beadwork, Dutch wooden shoe making, furniture carving, Afro-American quilt making, Palestinian needlework, Ukrainian textiles and egg decorating, ski and sleigh making, decoy carving, rag rug weaving, cherry harvesting & pruning, evergreen nursery techniques, net making, ice fishing	
12:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones		Michigan Fiddling		Fly Tying and Lure Making at the Bait Shop and Pond
1:00	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers	Afro-American Traditions	Ethnicity and Craft		
	Yemeni Folkloric Dance Group		The Sit-Down Strike: Birth of the U.A.W.		
2:00	Afro-American Gospel: Rev. Woods & The Chosen	Mexican-American Traditions	Comparative Fiddle Styles		
3:00	Tamburitza: Tomicic Brothers Orchestra	Monroe Muskrat Dinner	Native American Crafts		Fish Smoking near the Pond
4:00	Michigan Blues		Comparative Gospel		
	Finnish-American Music: Thimbleberry	Lebanese-American Traditions	The Sit-Down Strike: The Role of Women		
5:00	Polka Music: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers				

Cultural Conservation and Languages: America's Many Voices

	Plaza	Marketplace	Foodways	Community Areas
11:00				
	Playground: Games from Chinese Tradition		Lao Foodways	Mexican-American: saddle making, *barbacoa* cookery, toymaking, quilting
12:00		Tourists & Strangers		
	Performance: Dr. Ross, One-Man Band		Chinese Foodways	
1:00	Forum: Isolation & Language Maintenance			Lao-American: floral arts, weaving, wood carving, basket making
	Performance: Music of the Cantonese Opera	The Family Store	Mexican Foodways	
2:00				Appalachian-American: tobacco farming and lore, hunting stories
	Forum: Multi-lingualism in American Society		Chinese Restaurant Workshop	
3:00				
	Performance: Arts of the Peking Opera			Chinese-American: toymaking, laundry lore
4:00				
	Performance: Lao Music and Song	Food Sellers and Culture Brokers	Appalachian Foodways	
5:00				
	Performance: Chinese Dance			

Metropolitan Washington Program

	Large Stage	Workshop/ Performance Stage
11:00		
	Gospel: The Teagle Family	Salvadoran Children's Games: Ross School
12:00		Mexican Children's Games: Garcia Family
	Gospel: McCollough Kings of Harmony Spiritual Band	Hispanic Games Workshop
1:00	Calypso Pan Music: Trinidad Steel Band	Paraguayan Music: Alberto Rios y sus Paraguayos
	Salvadoran Music: Conrado Rosales y la Banda Salvadorena	Gospel: Lisa Henderson
2:00		Gospel Workshop
	Bolivian Urban Music: Ollantay	Mandingo Griot Music: Djimo Kouyate
3:00	Brazilian Samba Music: Grupo Batuque	Colombian Vallenato: Los Fuertes de Colombia
	Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Hispanic Music Workshop
4:00		Andean Music from Ecuador: Rumiñahui
	Blues: John & James Jackson	
5:00		West African Drumming: Kankouran
	Blues: Bill Harris	

Sunday, July 5

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30

1:00—Sacred procession of the Matachines group from Laredo, Texas, through the Cultural Conservation area.

Michigan Program

	Stage 1 Michigan Music	Foodways	Stage 2 Michigan Talk	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations
11:00	Finnish-American Music: Thimbleberry	Lebanese-American Traditions	The Sit-Down Strike and the Community	Ongoing Demonstrations: lure making, fly tying, boat building, Native American quillwork, black ash basketry, finger weaving and beadwork, Dutch wooden shoe making, furniture carving, Afro-American quilt making, Palestinian needlework, Ukrainian textiles and egg decorating, ski and sleigh making, decoy carving, rag rug weaving, cherry harvesting & pruning, evergreen nursery techniques, net making, ice fishing	
12:00	Tamburitza: Tomicic Brothers Orchestra		Riverlore		Ice Fishing at the Ice Shanty
1:00	Afro-American Gospel: Sensational Gospel Tones	Cornish-American Traditions	Migration to Michigan		
	Old-Time String Band: The Hammon Family		Native American Storytelling		
2:00	Yemeni Folkloric Dance Group	Afro-American Traditions	Michigan Blues		
3:00	Afro-American Gospel: Rev. Woods & The Chosen	Mexican-American Traditions	Comparative Fiddle Styles		Great Lakes Fishing at the Boat
	Tamburitza: Tomicic Brothers Orchestra		The Sit-Down Strike Remembered		
4:00	Michigan Blues	Muskrat Traditions	Comparative Gospel		
5:00	Finnish-American Music: Thimbleberry				

Cultural Conservation and Languages: America's Many Voices

	Plaza	Marketplace	Foodways	Community Areas
11:00	Playground: Games from Chinese Tradition		Lao Foodways	Mexican-American: saddle making, *barbacoa* cookery, toymaking, quilting
12:00	Performance: Yemeni Folkloric Dance Group	Language in the Marketplace		
1:00	Performance: Music of the Cantonese Opera		Chinese Foodways	Lao-American: floral arts, weaving, wood carving, basket making
	Forum: Language and Religion	The Mexican-American Community Market	Appalachian Foodways	
2:00	Performance: Chinese Ribbon Dance			Appalachian-American: tobacco farming and lore, hunting stories
3:00	Performance: Lao Classical Music		Chinese Restaurant Workshop	
	Performance: Arts of the Peking Opera			Chinese-American: toymaking, laundry lore
4:00	Performance: Chinese Dance	Sidewalk Markets & Vendors	Mexican Foodways	
5:00	Performance: Lao Music and Song			

Metropolitan Washington Program

	Large Stage	Workshop/ Performance Stage
11:00	Gospel: Great Change Ensemble	Vietnamese Music: Nguyen Dinh Nghia
		Mandingo Griot Music: Djimo Kouyate
12:00	Gospel Quartet: Kings of Harmony	Khmer Traditional Music Ensemble
1:00	Gospel: Choraliers	Ganda Music: James Makubuya
		West African Drumming: Kankouran
	Gospel: The Teagle Family	Gospel: Lisa Henderson
2:00	Gospel: McCollough Kings of Harmony Spiritual Band	Blues: Bill Harris
3:00		Paraguayan Music: Alberto Rios y sus Paraguayos
	Gospel: Sons of Grace	Hispanic Music Workshop
4:00	Gospel: Mt. Bethel Baptist Church Choral Choir	Colombian Music: Los Fuertes de Colombia
5:00	Gospel: Donald Vails & the Salvation Corp.	Andean Music from Ecuador: Rumiñahui
Dance Party	Polka: Judy & Her Suchey Brothers	

Participants in the 1987 Festival of American Folklife

Michigan Participants

Crafts

Samiha Abusalah, Palestinian needleworker—Dearborn
James Baker, wooden shoe maker—Holland
Catherine Baldwin, Ottawa quillworker—Suttons Bay
Amnah Baraka, Palestinian needleworker—Dearborn
Chou Chang, Hmong textile artist–Detroit
Rita L. Corbiere, Ojibway quillworker, storyteller—Sault Ste. Marie
Alice Fox, Ojibway quillworker—Sault Ste. Marie
Russell Johnson, blacksmith—Strongs
Arnold Klein, Jr., Ukrainian embroiderer, egg decorator—Hamtramck
George McGeshick, Ojibway birchbark canoe builder—Iron River
Mary McGeshick, Ojibway cradle board decorator—Iron River
Yer Yang Mua, Hmong textile artist–Detroit
Julia Nyholm, Ojibway fingerweaver, beadworker—Crystal Falls
Gust Pietila, ski, sleigh and tool maker—Bruce Crossing
Agnes Rapp, Ottawa-Potawatomi black ash basket maker—Berrien Springs
Glen Van Antwerp, cedar fan carver—Lansing
Lloyd Van Doornik, master carver, furniture maker—Holland
Julia Wesaw, Potawatomi black ash basket maker—Hartford
Rosie Wilkins, quiltmaker—Muskegon

Foodways

Helen Mohammed Atwell, Lebanese cook—Dearborn
Marguerite L. Berry-Jackson, storyteller, cook, herbalist—Lansing
Lucille Brown, pasty maker—Wakefield
Marie L. Cross, storyteller, cook, herbalist—Mecosta
Eustacio Y. Flores, Jr., Mexican-American cook—Grand Rapids
Anna E. Lassila, pasty maker, rag rug weaver—Mohawk
Elda Peltier, muskrat cook—Monroe
Hudson "Huddy" Peltier, muskrat cook—Monroe

Music

The Hammon Family—Bluegrass, Country, Gospel Music
George "Dub" Hammon, bass player, vocalist—Davison
Marge Hammon, mandolin player, vocalist—Davison
Mel Hammon, fiddle player, vocalist—Davison
Ron Hammon, guitar player, vocalist—Davison
Judy & Her Suchey Brothers—Polka Band
Mike Kindt, bass player—Alpena
Bill Suchey, Jr., trumpet player—Alpena
Bob Suchey, saxophone player—Alpena
Jim Suchey, accordion player—Alpena
Judy Suchey, drummer—Alpena
Mike Suchey, trumpet player—Alpena
Rev. Andre Woods & The Chosen—Gospel Music
Sederia Butler, soprano—Detroit
Dawn Byers, alto—Detroit
Stephanie Cofield, drummer—Westland
Earl Fisher, tenor—Detroit
Craig Harris, bass guitar player—Cleveland, Ohio
Grenee Hunter, alto—Detroit
Willie Lucas, tenor—Detroit
Renee Thomas, soprano—Detroit
Dana Wilcox, soprano—Detroit
Rev. Andre Woods, arranger, director—Detroit
Sensational Gospel Tones
Alfred Charleston—Grand Rapids
Donald Charleston, lead guitar and bass player—Grand Rapids
Juanita Charleston—Grand Rapids
Rev. Leon Charleston—Grand Rapids
Henrietta Fields—Grand Rapids
Tanya Johnson, vocalist, drummer—Grand Rapids
Nathaniel Smith—Grand Rapids
Sugar Island Boys—Anglo-French String Band
René Coté, fiddle player—Ontario, Canada
Honey McCoy, piano player, vocalist—Sault Ste. Marie
Joe Menard, guitar player, vocalist—Sault Ste. Marie
Tom Stevens, dobro player—Sault Ste. Marie
Bill Stimac & Sons—Music from the Keweenaw Peninsula
Bill Stimac, accordion player—Houghton
Mark Stimac, banjo and guitar player—Houghton
Randy Stimac, accordion player—Houghton
Thimbleberry—Finnish Music

Ed Lauluma, fiddle player—Chassell
Al Reko, accordion player, vocalist—St. Paul, Minnesota
Oren Tikkanen, mandolin and guitar player—Calumet
Tomicic Brothers Orchestra—Tamburitza Music
Mike Cani, cello player—Detroit
Joel Novosel, bass player—Detroit
George Patrash, pugaria player—Detroit
Mike Tomicic, first brac player—Windsor, Canada
Peter Tomicic, second brac player—Windsor, Canada
Yemeni Folkloric Dance Group—Arab Village Music
Saleh Alward, dancer—Dearborn
Mohsin Elgabri, dramatist, dancer, oud player—Dearborn
Alsanabani Faris, dancer—Dearborn
Saeed Mashjari, dancer—Dearborn
M. Aideroos Mohsen, dancer—Dearborn
Abdo Ali Saeed, dancer—Dearborn
Omar A. Wahashi, oud and tabla player—Dearborn
Solo Performers:
Rose Mae Menard, comedienne, storyteller, herbalist—Sault Ste. Marie
Art Moilanen, vocalist, accordion player—Mass City
Les Raber, fiddle player—Hastings
Isaiah "Dr." Ross, blues musician—Flint

Occupations

Esperanza Alcala, evergreen nursery worker—Grand Haven
Steven B. Fouch, cherry grower, extension agent—Grawn
Elias Lopez, evergreen nursery worker—Grand Haven
Damien Lunning, trapper—Mio
Judith Lunning, trapper, game cook—Mio
Pedro Rodriguez, evergreen nursery worker—Grand Haven

Personal Experience Narrative – Flint Sit-Down Strike

Fred Ahearn—Flint
Burt Christenson—Flint
Shirley Foster—Flint
Berdene "Bud" Simons—Newport Richey, Florida
Nellie Simons—Newport Richey, Florida

Waterways

Josephine F. Sedlecky-Borsum, sports shop owner, fly tier—Baldwin
Ray Davison, Great Lakes fisherman—Menominee
Dick Grabowski, Great Lakes fisherman—Menominee
Charlie Nylund, Great Lakes fisherman—Menominee
Jay Stephan, river guide, boat builder—Grayling
Elman G. "Bud" Stewart, lure maker—Alpena
Jim Wicks, ice fisherman, decoy carver—McMillan
Ralph Wilcox, Great Lakes fisherman, fish smoker—Brimley
David Wyss, river guide, boat builder, fly tier—Grayling

Metropolitan Washington Participants

Cephas & Wiggins, blues—Washington, D.C.
Choraliers, 1st Baptist Church of Deanwood, gospel—Washington, D.C.
Comparsa Panameña, Panamanian costume band—Washington, D.C.
Conrado Rosales y la Banda Salvadorena, Salvadoran music—Washington, D.C.
Cubanakán, Afro-Cuban music—Washington, D.C.
Hazel Dickens, traditional southern mountain music—Washington, D.C.
Emmanuel Choraleers, gospel—Washington, D.C.
The Four Echoes, gospel—New Carrolton, Maryland
The Garcia Family, Mexican children's games—Washington, D.C.
Great Change Ensemble, gospel—Seat Pleasant, Maryland
Grupo Batuque, Brazilian samba band—Silver Spring, Maryland
Han Sheng Chinese Opera Institute, Peking opera—Washington, D.C.
Bill Harris, blues—Washington, D.C.
Lisa Henderson, gospel—Washington, D.C.
Image, soca, calypso music—Dale City, Virginia
John & James Jackson, blues—Fairfax Station, Virginia
Flory Jagoda, Ladino music—Falls Church, Virginia
Jah Honey & the Unconquered People, reggae music—Washington, D.C.
The Junkyard Band, go-go music—Washington, D.C.
Kankouran, West African drumming — Washington, D.C.
Khmer Traditional Music Ensemble, traditional Cambodian music—Silver Spring, Maryland
Kings of Harmony, gospel—Lanham, Maryland
Djimo Kouyate, Mandingo griot music—Washington, D.C.
Los Fuertes de Colombia, Colombian music—Silver Spring, Maryland
James Makubuya, Ganda music—Washington, D.C.
Mattie Johnson & the Stars of Faith, gospel—Washington, D.C.
McCollough Kings of Harmony Spiritual Band, gospel brass band—Washington, D.C.
Mt. Bethel Baptist Church Choral Choir, gospel—Washington, D.C.
Nguyen Dinh Nghia & Daughters, traditional Vietnamese music—Vienna, Virginia
ODADAA!, Ga music—Alexandria, Virginia
Kambo Oholara, Macujumbe stiltwalker—Washington, D.C.
Ollantay, Bolivian urban music—Arlington, Virginia
Potomac Valley Boys, bluegrass—Leesburg, Virginia
Prophecy, gospel—Washington, D.C.
Alberto Rios y sus Paraguayos, Paraguayan music—Washington, D.C.
Ross School, Salvadoran children's games—Washington, D.C.
Rumiñahui, Andean music from Ecuador—Wheaton, Maryland
St. Augustine Gospel Choir, gospel—Washington, D.C.
St. Teresa of Avila Choir, gospel—Washington, D.C.
Sons of Grace, United House of Prayer, gospel—Washington, D.C.
The Sounds of Africa, Zairian urban music—Silver Spring, Maryland
Don Stover, traditional banjo music—Brandywine, Maryland
The Teagle Family, gospel—Laurel, Maryland
Trinidad Steel Band, calypso pan music—Washington, D.C.
Don Vails & the Salvation Corp., gospel—Hyattsville, Maryland
Vision, gospel—Hyattsville, Maryland

Cultural Conservation Participants

Appalachian Americans

Bessie Mae Eldreth, ballad singer, cook—Boone, North Carolina
Colonel Francis, tobacco farmer—Crumpler, North Carolina
Laura Milton Hodges, teacher, tobacco farmer, cultural spokesperson—Vilas, North Carolina
Roy Lee Hodges, Jr., tobacco farmer—Vilas, North Carolina
Jack Lawrence, Sr., fox hunter—Boone, North Carolina
Arvle Miller, storekeeper, tobacco farmer—Boone, North Carolina
Judy Norris, tobacco farmer—Sugar Grove, North Carolina
R. Dudley Norris, tobacco farmer—Sugar Grove, North Carolina
Jean Reid, ballad singer—Lenoir, North Carolina
Arvill Scott, tobacco farmer, musician—Lansing, North Carolina
Rita Francis Scott, tobacco farmer, musician—Lansing, North Carolina
Joseph Stephens, storekeeper, tobacco farmer—Creston, North Carolina
R. Howard Woodring, coon hunter—Boone, North Carolina

Chinese Americans

Danny Chang, cook—New York, New York
Kui Wu Chen, calligrapher, face and palm reader—New York, New York
Chinatown Senior Center Orchestra, musicians—New York, New York
- J. L. Jong Olmos Chan, musician—New York, NY
- Leong Nan Li, musician—New York, NY
- Ton P. Hom, musician—New York, NY
- Peter S. Lee, musician—New York, NY
- Ching To Hau, musician—New York, NY
- Pan Sau Chan, musician—New York, NY
- Hon Cheung Tsang, musician—New York, NY

Shu-Min Fung, dancer—Brooklyn, New York
Mei-Jiun Mai, dancer—Scotch Plains, New York
Gum Wong Troy, laundry worker—Rockville, Maryland
May King Troy, cook—Rockville, Maryland
Ngan Hang Tung, Peking Opera master—New York, New York
Yung-ching Yeh, children's games—New York, New York
Chan Shek Yu, shopkeeper—Scotch Plains, New Jersey
Margaret Yuen, dancer, cultural spokesperson—New York, New York

Lao Americans

Soulisack Bannavong, woodcarver—Silver Spring, Maryland
Bout Chanthavilay, weaver—Alexandria, Virginia
Khamvay Insixiengmay, weaver—Woodbridge, Virginia
Phouangphaka Khamvongsa, cook, candlemaker—Springfield, Virginia
SoKhamvongsa, musician—Springfield, Virginia
Bounmy Kittiphanh, Buddhist monk—Catlett, Virginia
Onechanh Luthongchak, mohlam singer—Takoma Park, Maryland
Chandaphone Mingsisouphanh, Buddhist monk—Catlett, Virginia
Thinat Nachampasack, musician—Springfield, Virginia
Sangvane Pathammavong, floral arts—Arlington, Virginia
Vath Phimmakaysone, basket maker, cultural spokesperson—Hyattsville, Maryland
Khampiang Simmanakhot, musician—Walkersville, Maryland
Bounsavath Soulamany, rocket maker—Alexandria, Virginia
Sing Soulamany, weaver—Alexandria, Virginia
Thongtanh Souvannaphanh, musician—Springfield, Virginia

Mexican Americans

Cipriano Cedillo, toymaker, *barbacoa* cook—Laredo, Texas
Los Matachines de Ladrillero, sacred processional dancers—Laredo, Texas
Florencio Ortiz, Jr., Matachines musician—Laredo, TX
Teresita Gonzales, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Guadalupe Ortiz, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Javier Castillo, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Juan Castillo, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Alonzo Ortiz, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Maximo Morales, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Pete Ortiz, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Viviano Solano, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Leticia Layton, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Melissa Gonzales, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Erica Velasquez, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
Carlo Ortiz, Matachines dancer—Laredo, TX
José Martínez-Coronado, saddle maker, leather worker—Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, Mexico
Cecilio Santos, *banisteria*, woodcarver—Laredo, Texas
Maria Paredes Solis, quiltmaker—San Ygnacio, Texas

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