

1988 Festival of American Folklife

Smithsonian Institution
National Park Service

In the summer and early fall, Italian-Americans in the Boston area gather to honor their patron saints. A solemn procession, during which a statue of the saint is carried through the city streets, is followed by feasting and musical entertainment. Photo of the Procession of Saint Anthony of Padua by Mary Jo Sanna

Lions dance to drive away evil spirits at Chinese New Year celebrations in Washington, D.C.'s Chinatown. Photo by Richard Strauss, Smithsonian Institution

Complimentary copy

1988 Festival of American Folklife

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Living Traditions in a Modern World

by Robert McC. Adams
Secretary,
Smithsonian Institution



When we think about cultural traditions in contemporary society we often envision people dressed in costume for some holiday commemorating a historical event or reenacting a past way of life. Content to relegate tradition to the domain of habit, that which is handed down, and the unreflective, we are less inclined to conceive of tradition as a living force shaped by ongoing human creativity and adapted to the modern world.

It is obvious that all traditions had a beginning, and at that point must have been new and innovative. In fact, a provocative book, *The Invention of Tradition* [Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., Cambridge University Press, 1983], examines this subject directly. Some traditions seem to have been consciously and formally instituted – sport trophies, freemasonry rituals and Scottish tartans, for example. Others, sometimes even those connected with revolutionary movements, embedded symbols or ceremonies they sought to preserve in a legendary past that may have drawn from fragments of popular memory woven together with invention. More often, we may know only that a particular tradition was established with relative suddenness. But whatever the manner of their origin, those that survive for us to see and hear are the living embodiments of creative acts. Others, represented today only by their artistic and technological vestiges in our museums, still must be classed among the flowerings of human creativity.

Rather than viewing tradition generically as a moribund obstacle to change and innovation, it thus seems wiser to look at traditions as cultural resources – reservoirs of skills, aesthetic expressions and conceptual orientations – which people draw upon to craft solutions to new problems and to express their engagement with biological, psychological and social exigencies. Indeed, an approach of this sort characterizes the current scholarship and public programming of the American Folklore Society, whose centennial we celebrate on the Mall. Founded one hundred years ago because of the need to document and study disappearing cultures, much of the Society's attention is today engaged in the documentation and interpretation of emerging traditions and cultural expressions. Folklorists work in inner cities, conduct research on occupational groups, analyze processes of traditionalization and cooperate with other professionals in devising natural conservation and historical

preservation strategies, which also promote cultural continuity, equity and integrity.

The living exhibitions which make up this year's Festival provide ample illustrations of this view of the traditional. The Massachusetts program tells a paradigmatic American story. Gay Head Wampanoag, Yankee settlers, Afro-American migrants and immigrants from Italy, Greece, Poland, the Cape Verde Islands, Puerto Rico and Southeast Asia have not only preserved their traditions; through ingenious acts of individual and community creativity they have adapted them and endowed them with new meanings, as circumstances have changed. The Metropolitan Washington program points to the heightened consciousness of cultural issues associated with the migration experience. The program asks how immigrants from El Salvador, Ethiopia, China, Trinidad and Tobago, as well as domestic Anglo- and Afro-American groups historically migrating from nearby states, discard, reinvent and reconstitute their traditions as they actively make a new place home.

We are fortunate this summer to host a varied contingent of musicians and performers from several republics of the Soviet Union. Through these musicians, truly ancient traditions nurtured in various pastoral, tribal and religious environs have not merely survived, but actually flourished in contemporary Soviet life. Also at the Festival are American musicians who, as part of a groundbreaking cultural exchange with the Soviet Union, will travel to Moscow to participate in the International Folklore Festival in August and be reunited with the Soviet musicians participating in the Smithsonian's Festival.

I invite you to watch all of these fine performers, and to listen to their music. As you do so, think about their exemplary ability, not only to keep alive the traditions they represent, but gracefully and creatively to bring them forward endowed with contemporary significance. And note also how the exceedingly complex modern boundaries which separate people from people can be overcome by an appreciation of our many traditional musics.

Celebrating Diversity

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



I am pleased to welcome you to the National Mall in the nation's capital for the 1988 Festival of American Folklife. The success of this annual event derives from the diversity and vitality of America itself, a diversity reflected as well in America's national park system. The system encompasses 341 parks, recreation areas and historic sites and is administered by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior.

Whether visiting the waterfront at the Salem Maritime National Historic Site in Massachusetts or standing within a cathedral of trees at Redwood National Park in California, one can admire the inspiration they provided to prior generations of Americans. Each unit in the system, including the monuments and memorials of Washington, D.C., has its tale to tell about the shaping of American culture and history.

From the hardships the land imposes and the beauty and love the land inspires, one develops an understanding of the enduring human achievements that form the foundation of our culture. Such achievements are celebrated in the yearly Festival of American Folklife and draw on the resources of America's great treasure house of culture, the Smithsonian Institution. The National Park Service is proud to co-sponsor the event in America's front yard, within sight of the National Capitol and Washington Monument and flanked by museums of art, history, science and technology. I hope your experience here will transport you to other places, other times, and leave you with a heightened sense of pride in your land, your culture and your place in the world we share.

The Smithsonian Institution Office of Folklife Programs: What We Stand For

Since 1967 the Festival of American Folklife, through the celebration of cultural richness and diversity, has sought to conserve traditional folklife both in the United States and abroad. The Festival is the most visible symbol of broader commitments and activities which engage not only the Smithsonian's Office of Folklife Programs (the Festival's producer), but also scholars, professionals, public agencies and community advocates.

In the broadest sense, folklife represents the creative strength of a diverse humanity – the accumulated traditional wisdom and aesthetics of countless cultural groups throughout the world. Folklife refers to the traditional material products, social processes and cultural patterns of tribal, ethnic, community, regional, familial and occupational groups. It also includes the ways in which living people establish continuity with a significant past – the on-going process of traditionalization itself. Folklife is often described in genres, symbolic forms and enactments, such as ritual, song, music, dance, craft, foodways, folk theater, verbal art, decorative art, vernacular architecture, belief systems, folk medicine and other folk sciences, occupational lore, games, myth, legend and celebration.

Folklife is primarily inter-generational, transmitted orally or manually and of communal significance. Its traditional content and style are controlled by members of a group, not external institutions and interests. People participate in traditions in a variety of roles – as, for example, American Indian lacrosse players, Afro-American gospel singers, Anglo-American fiddlers, Lebanese cooks, auto assembly-line workers, Mexican *corrido* singers and Cajun boat builders. Folk traditions are maintained informally over time and given contemporary expression in community settings – on farmsteads and in urban neighborhoods, in barns and bars, in living rooms, at worship and on the street, at the workplace and play, at celebrations and commemorations. Many of these traditions may become institutionalized and be reframed for presentation to wider audiences through the use of new media, either by community members or by outsiders.

Today the integrity and continuity of many communities and their traditions are threatened by national and world patterns of economic control, environmental destruction, culturally insensitive media and ethnocentric educational systems. The destruction of folk communities and their traditions diminishes cultural diversity and represents a loss in the human repertoire of material skills, art forms, languages and ideas. To meet this challenge, communities need empowerment to practice, represent and control their cultures – to assess historically received traditions as well as mold emergent

ones. The Office of Folklife Programs assists this effort by supporting and engaging in cultural conservation activities – scholarly research, professional advocacy and public programs – that promote continuity, integrity and equity for traditional cultures. Staff folklorists, anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, archivists, designers, media specialists and others attempt to:

- document and interpret traditional cultural forms and their practice with the collaboration of community members;
- disseminate information on traditional cultures and cultural conservation to the general public;
- provide access, visibility and representation for diverse traditional cultures in a national museum setting;
- represent cultural conservation concerns within the Smithsonian and to public policy makers, both nationally and internationally;
- assist traditional communities as they chart their own cultural futures;
- contribute to the development of theories and methods of cultural conservation and representation.

The means by which the Office of Folklife Programs accomplishes the above goals include: the Festival of American Folklife; Smithsonian/Folkways Records; *Smithsonian Folklife Studies*, a publication/media series; collections of cultural documents; exhibitions in the national museums and through the traveling exhibit service; program broadcasts on Radio Smithsonian; national and international symposia, conferences and seminars; community inreach and educational outreach activities; research projects, publications and presentations; and fellowship, internship and training programs. Ethnographic documentation associated with these activities in the form of fieldwork reports, audio recordings, film, video and photographic materials comprise the Smithsonian Folklife and Folkways Archives and Collections.

In addition to primary research and programs documenting and presenting traditional culture, the Office of Folklife Programs provides an experimental setting for examination of the most effective modes of representing and recontextualizing particular traditional performances, processes and artifacts on behalf of communities within a museum setting. This and related knowledge on the methods of cultural conservation are shared through training of staff, visiting scholars and interns; university teaching; technical assistance to communities; and cooperation with other like-minded international, national, regional and local agencies.

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

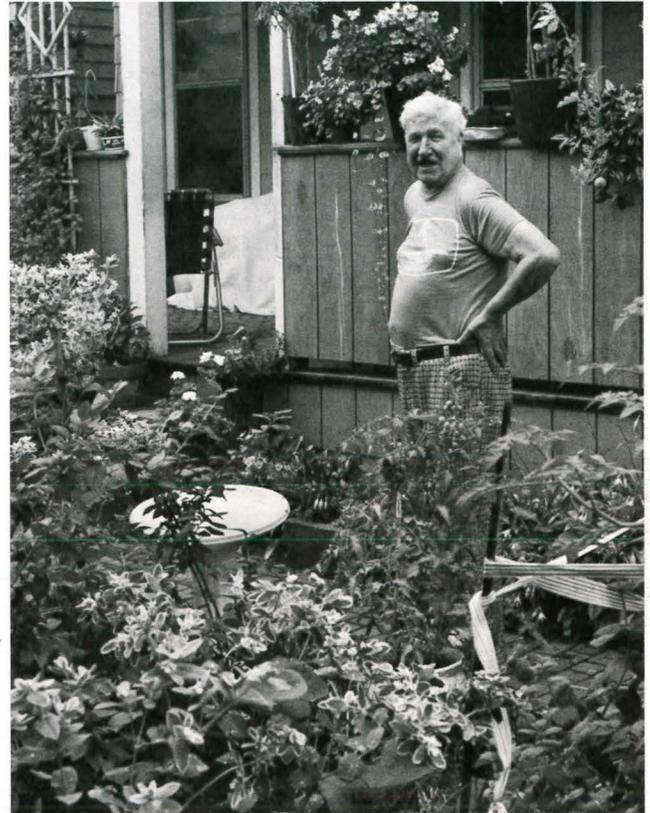
by Betty J. Belanus

The Massachusetts program is made possible through funding from the Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities.

Massachusetts, like the rest of the United States, is a complex place where old and new stand side by side on the landscape and where tradition and innovation combine in people's lives to make them whole. Take, for instance, the case of Julie Brown and Burney Gifford, a young married couple from a section of South Dartmouth, Massachusetts, known as Allen's Neck. The Giffords have made a commitment to stay on Burney's family farm, even though the land, located as it is near Horseneck Beach, is coveted by developers. Catering to trends in urban gardening, they turned the former chicken farm into an herb-growing facility and, with the help of family and neighbors, they converted one of the old chickenhouses into modern living quarters. This year, when they attend the 100th anniversary of the Allen's Neck Quaker Community Clambake, Julie and Burney can celebrate the persistence of their community and its adaptation to modern life.

The ingenious combination of old and new is repeated throughout Massachusetts by people as varied as Black blues musicians, Cambodian craftsmen, Finnish cranberry farmers, Portuguese fishermen and Chinese computer assemblers. The common response to radical change has been a reassessment and readjustment of traditional patterns of life. The change may have come in the form of relocation: a group finds refuge from hostile government or extreme poverty by seeking new opportunities in Massachusetts. The response may have been engendered by a confrontation between "natives" and "outsiders" of all kinds: Yankees versus immigrants, commercial fishermen versus tourists, textile workers versus computer technicians. Or, the change may represent adverse effects of "modernization": the dissolution of established ethnic neighborhoods through gentrification, the demise of farmland through development, the pollution of the waterways from the toxic residue of factories, or the decline of local eating establishments and musical entertainment in favor of fast food restaurants and television.

In examining Massachusetts traditions for the Festival program, scholars found that change, no matter what its cause, challenged individuals and communities to find creative ways to maintain traditions. In Boston and



Joe Gelowtski in his East Cambridge backyard garden.
Photo by Laurie Minor

New Bedford, people who had grown up on farms or in villages made themselves feel more at home by recreating a little bit of countryside in empty lots or backyards. Growing fresh tomatoes, peppers, beans and squash for their tables, creating shade (and homemade wine) with lush grape arbors, and nurturing symbolic plants such as fig trees, they created oases of peace and production in the midst of the concrete desert of the city. Former factory workers in Gardner took skills learned on the job and opened their own shops when the factories closed down; some, like silver worker George Erickson, have passed these skills on to a new generation. Grandson Peter Erickson has inherited George's tools, patterns and style, making elegant flatware and intricate jewelry, but he is wise enough to have added engraving and jewelry repair to his skills to supplement his income. In



Silversmiths George and Peter Erickson, Gardner, MA.
Photo by Heidi Gitelman

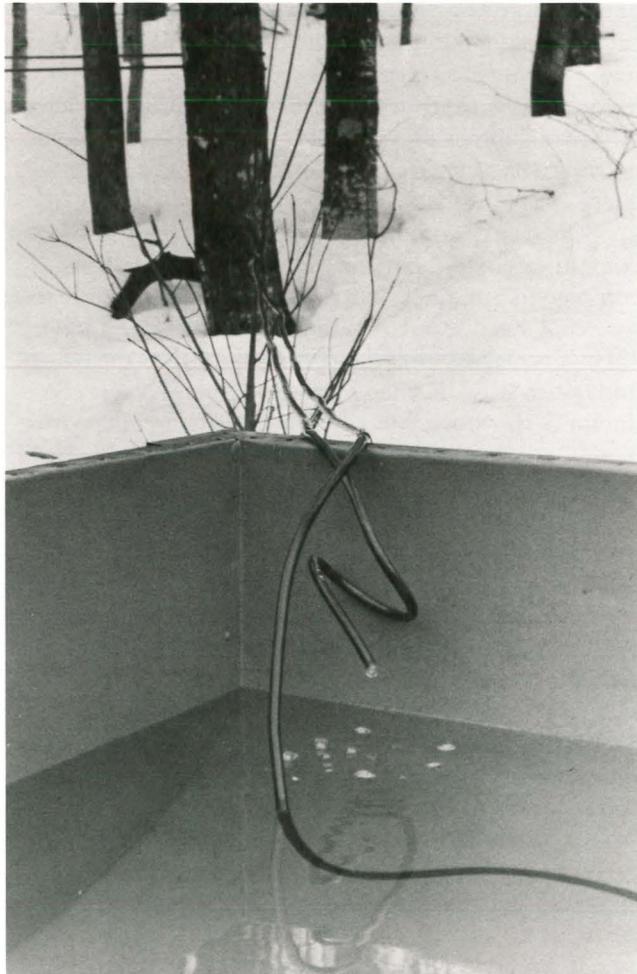
Berkshire County many maple syrup producers continue family traditions spanning three or four generations. Within this time, sap collection has progressed from oxen-drawn sled to tractor-drawn wagon, from wooden spigots to plastic hosing, which pumps the liquid directly from the trees to the sugarhouse. The producers take innovation into their stride, considering the practice no less traditional for the technological improvements – just more practical.

The Festival program and articles in this program book offer many more examples of tradition responding





Methods of maple sap collection, 1920-1988. Historic photos courtesy Linwood Lesure; 1988 photo by Ellen McHale



to change. These examples prove that, like the great transformations that have shaped Massachusetts and the country as a whole, traditions can undergo change and emerge transformed but still recognizable. Puerto Rican singer Felix Luna of Lowell applies the traditional *decima* song form to new lyrics about the Challenger disaster. Gospel singer Napoleon Stovell of Springfield directs his southern-born quartet to enunciate their words more clearly because the New England audiences like to understand what is being sung. Mario Picardo of Boston incorporated traditional Italian architectural features to make a bandstand but used plywood, foam, tin foil and cardboard ravioli boxes to erect his towering confection on the streets of the North End as part of an annual saint's day feast. These individuals and their communities remold traditions into usable form because these traditions add meaning to their lives. That's what folklife both in Massachusetts and in the modern world is all about.

Betty J. Belanus is curator of the Massachusetts Program of the 1988 Festival of American Folklife. She is a doctoral candidate in Folklore at Indiana University and served two years as Indiana State Folk Arts Coordinator.

Italian and Portuguese Village Bands in Massachusetts

by Mary Jo Sanna

In 1802, well before the American love affair with bands had flowered and American ships carried their own bands, the crew of the USS Boston tried to kidnap members of an Italian band playing a shipboard concert by sailing away before the musicians had disembarked. A century later there would have been no need. Arriving at the height of the American band movement, Italian and Portuguese immigrants brought with them their own strong village band tradition, which survives today in Italian-American and Portuguese-American communities.

For each village in southern Italy and Portugal, the most important religious and social event of the year is the celebration of its patron saint's feast. The local band, a large wind and percussion ensemble, serves a central role: performing while marching in procession with the statue of the saint as it is carried through the streets on the final day. It plays as well on several other occasions during the celebration. Additional bands from surrounding villages also participate, contributing to the joyous atmosphere.

Italian immigrants coming to Massachusetts in the late 19th and early 20th centuries settled largely in the North End of Boston on particular streets according to their village of origin, truly creating a "Little Italy." To live in Boston, however, necessitated certain changes. In Italy the church is the center of the life of the village. In the North End each "village" of immigrants could not build its own church, so societies were formed – named for the patron saints of various villages and dedicated to continuing the yearly patronal feast. Likewise, Portuguese immigrants to Massachusetts in the 19th and 20th centuries found themselves in communities with people from many other villages. They generally did not form saints' societies but rather chose to consolidate themselves around the parish.

Bands were soon formed from within the Italian and Portuguese communities. Where there was a large population, such as in the North End or in the New Bedford-Fall River Portuguese community, several bands could be supported. Gradually, however, the decline of the critically important fishing and whaling industries led to shifts in occupational and housing patterns. The assimilation of the immigrant population served to weaken group identity and, consequently, the cultural traditions brought from the Old World. Reflecting this

was a decline in the numbers of bands. Then, in the early 1960s, responding to societal disruption caused by severe volcanic activity on one of Portugal's Azorean Islands, President Kennedy relaxed immigration regulations for Portuguese citizens. A new wave of immigrants, primarily from the Azores, poured into Massachusetts and revitalized the Portuguese feasts. The effect of this influx is reflected in the present conditions of the Portuguese and Italian bands.

Massachusetts currently has ten Portuguese bands (in Cambridge, Peabody, Lowell, Stoughton, Hudson, New Bedford and Fall River). Nine of them have been formed within the last twenty years; only one of the four Fall River bands survives from the earlier period of immigration. This abundance of bands is lovingly recalled by older members of the Italian community, band members and feast participants alike. "Once we even had a band come from California," one of them recalled. This past summer the St. Anthony's Band proudly helped to bring a band from California for one of the Portuguese feasts.

The lack of community bands forces the Italian feast committees to hire outside professional bands. Succumbing to a number of pressures this past year, the sole surviving Italian Band, the Roma Band, was disbanded. Taking its place within the last few months is the North End Italian Band, formed by a well-respected past conductor of the Roma Band. This new band includes some members of the old Roma Band and will undoubtedly be very successful, but the tradition is clearly threatened.

The make-up of the bands themselves is also indicative of their history and experience. At the time of its dissolution the Roma Band counted on its roster twenty players, a conductor and a manager. The Portuguese band ranges in size from forty to sixty players, corresponding to the Roma Band of the 1930s, as seen in the accompanying photograph. In recent years the Roma Band's membership necessarily included women and approximately one-third non-Italians, with rehearsals conducted in English. Although they do not refuse musicians of other backgrounds, St. Anthony's Band currently has almost exclusively male Portuguese members, with business and rehearsals conducted in Portuguese.

St. Anthony's Band includes among its membership



Roma Band, circa 1928. Photo courtesy David Bailey

many for whom the band is their sole avocation. Their hall, which they own and have recently renovated, serves as their social club. Any money made at the feasts is contributed to the band as a whole. Rehearsals are held on both Saturday nights and Sunday afternoons and include dinner. Families are involved in a number of ways, with fathers and sons playing in the band and wives and daughters attending rehearsals and various social functions throughout the year.

The repertoire of the band includes music almost exclusively from the Portuguese tradition, and the training of the musicians duplicates that of the Old World. Formal solfege instruction (sight-singing and ear-training) is briefly provided by an instructor hired by the band. After this, learning the instrument itself takes place through the apprenticeship system of informal tutoring between father and son, uncle and nephew or among members of a particular section and the aspiring young player.

The large number of bands promotes good-natured rivalry – each band striving for excellence – so that the particular community will be represented favorably. Competition for band members is keen, and good players emigrating from Portugal are sometimes met at the airport in an attempt to recruit them. As one

member's wife said, "Out there [in the Azores], the band is the thing." That feeling continues here.

This is the way it used to be for the Italian bands as well. Remembering his time with one of the many bands of the past, one of the oldest members of the Roma Band said, "We were all one clique. We had a lot of fun." He talked of the socializing and traveling to other Italian communities for their feasts – even as far as New York. Although the training process was largely informal, the repertoire included primarily stately Italian marches and lengthy operatic excerpts.

The members of the North End Italian Band are dedicated, but they do get paid individually for playing the grueling summer schedule of feast after feast. Although the compensation is little compared to the hours invested and everyone plays in the band for the love of it, this does alter a fundamental aspect of the village band tradition. Other changes, such as incorporating non-Italian repertoire and formal schooling for the players, are indicative of adaptation to the New World.

The band's situation reflects the larger picture of the Italian feasts themselves. Although these celebrations appear to be highly successful because of the many tourists they now attract, tourists return little to the community; the funds they generate go primarily to



Filarmónica Santo Antonio, 1987. Photo courtesy John Feitor

commercial vendors. The burden of mounting the feasts year after year falls on a small group of dedicated leaders among the saints societies' members. Without this continued leadership the traditions may not be carried on in the next generation.

The feasts are still beautiful and meaningful for those Italians who contribute to and participate in them. Not all of the changes affecting both band and feast are detrimental. It is possible that revitalization will come from increased awareness within the community itself and need not rely on a new influx of immigrants, as in the Portuguese case. The leaders of the saints societies in cooperation with the Italian community must determine what in the feast should be continued and what changed in order for this tradition to remain vital in its contemporary American environment.

Mary Jo Sanna is an ethnomusicologist and a doctoral candidate in Musicology at Harvard University.

The Impact of Tourism Upon Traditional Culture: A Portrait of Berkshire County, Massachusetts by Ellen McHale

Thoughts of Berkshire County evoke the “cottages” of the county’s Gilded Age, the manicured lawns and small boutiques of Lenox and Stockbridge and the artistic offerings presented by Berkshire County institutions, such as Tanglewood and Jacob’s Pillow Dance Festival. However, the county has other faces. In the 19th and early 20th centuries many Berkshire County towns supported industrial life, from the great textile mills of Adams, Massachusetts, to smaller family-run businesses like the Turner tannery and whip core factory in Southfield. The county also remains strongly agricultural, with some family farms dating back more than one hundred years.

The traditions of Berkshire County are deeply rooted. Many of its families have resided in the same area for generations and can refer proudly to an 18th century ancestor who originally cleared and farmed the land. Community identification remains strong, although an explosion in second-home ownership has occurred in the last decade. Urban residents of Boston and New York City have discovered the Berkshires, and former agricultural areas are being turned into vacation communities. By 1980, one of every four homes in southern Berkshire County was used only seasonally or on weekends. (One native of North Egremont insisted that at least fifty percent of the current residents of the town are second-home owners.) The ramifications of this have been profound. Land values have skyrocketed, and many older families are being pushed out because of rising taxes and the lack of affordable housing. People who have lived their entire lives in the county are moving elsewhere. Some even become homeless during the summer months; unable to afford the summer rents demanded by their landlords, they store their belongings and live in campgrounds until they can reenter their homes in September.

Rural traditions have felt the impact of this change in population, as the agricultural economy gives way to a tourist economy. For example, existing farms have felt the need to diversify; the large dairy farms have now given way to smaller farms, which may grow and sell products as varied as nursery stock, strawberries, raspberries, sweet corn, hay and maple syrup. Similarly, traditional art forms and community expressions have been forced to change focus for survival.

One illustration of the shift is the church supper.

This event is found throughout Berkshire County, with the season and available harvest dictating its focus, whether a strawberry social in June, a blueberry supper in August or an autumn supper featuring game meat. Drawing both church members and the general public, the church supper is an occasion for socializing among friends and neighbors. In most cases it is presided over by the women of the parish, who make the preliminary arrangements, such as advertising and recruitment of workers to prepare and serve the food. Often a quilt or afghan raffle will accompany the supper as an additional money maker.

In 1935 a resident of Middlefield in Hampshire County suggested that the Ladies Aid Society of the Middlefield Congregational Church host a “coon supper” as a money maker. Raccoon meat was a local specialty – a byproduct of hunting raccoon for its pelt, a fur long prized in the manufacture of coats. The Ladies Aid Society embraced the idea, and thus the Middlefield Coon Supper was born.

Raccoon meat was solicited from area farmers, and one woman took charge of cooking it, leaving the side dishes of squash and potatoes to others in the Society. A casserole of twelve to sixteen raccoons would support one supper. During its heyday the Middlefield Congregational Church supper had as many as three sittings, serving 250 people in one evening.

In 1985, after fifty years of success, the event was ended. With the change in population from a stable, farming community to one dominated by second-home owners and workers commuting to Pittsfield, the coon supper had become an oddity. Attendance was dropping because raccoon did not appeal to the culinary tastes of these new residents, and the membership of the Congregational Church was not sufficiently large to support the supper financially. Fewer farmers remained who still hunted raccoon, so it became increasingly hard to find the necessary ingredient. The Ladies Aid Society decided to change the time and focus of their supper; they would have instead a blueberry supper in August, thereby taking advantage of the increased summer population. In this instance, a long-standing community tradition has been adapted to fit better the seasonal habits of the population and the changing culinary tastes of the area.

On the other hand, certain traditional activities



The Union Church in Tyringham advertises its annual strawberry supper. Photo by Ellen McHale

have in fact been infused with support by the tourist economy. Loggers who have traditionally used oxen or draft horses to clear the land have found advocates in those summer-home owners who wish to clear portions of their timberland without harming the plant cover. "Dowsing" (divining for water) has also been encouraged by the housing boom, with dowsers experiencing a new demand for their talents. Each home under construction needs to have a well drilled, and the dowser takes some of the guesswork out of locating its site. Similarly, the long-standing Berkshire County tradition of stonework has found increased applications, as new residents demand stone fireplaces and other architectural details. Stone carver and cutter Allen Williams of Chester Granite has even found work designing and creating the stone monuments marking new housing developments.

The aesthetic responses that people have to their environments and the artistic ways that they make sense of their experiences are not static. While traditional art forms and patterns of behavior endure, they do not do so

in a vacuum. Instead, folklife interacts dynamically with the demands of the present, changing ever so slightly to fit the circumstance. The church supper remains, but it alters its menu to reach a new audience; the stone carver seeks new architectural work, as housing starts increase, and the logger looks to specialty work rather than high volume lumbering. Berkshire County does not serve as an unchanging backdrop to the performance of traditions. Instead, the land and the life of the people continually act upon each other, discouraging some traditions or creating an environment where folklife may flourish.

Ellen McHale is a public sector folklorist who has worked in New York, Pennsylvania and New England. A Fulbright Scholar to Sweden in 1988/89, she is completing her doctoral dissertation in Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania.

Suggested reading

Cochrane, Timothy. "Place, People and Folklore: An Isle Royale Case Study," in *Western Folklore*, January 1987, pp. 1-20.

Drew, Bernard A. *Berkshire Off the Trail*, Great Barrington, Massachusetts: Attic Revivals Press, 1982.

Traditional Crafts and Tourism on Cape Cod and the Islands by Eleanor Wachs

Tourism both curses and blesses Cape Cod and the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket – curses them because it brings overdevelopment and suburbanization but blesses them because tourists provide an economic base for many of the towns on the Cape and islands. In the case of traditional crafts the tourists' desire to bring back a souvenir from a vacation often meshes with a craftsman's desire to maintain a tradition while creating a viable business. Two cases of the interaction of traditional crafts and tourism are Gay Head pottery and Nantucket Lightship baskets.

Gay Head, one of the principal towns of Martha's Vineyard, is home to one of the largest concentrations of Wampanoag Indians in Massachusetts. An Indian legend relates that the spectacular Gay Head Cliffs, a tourist attraction since the 1890s, were created when Maushop, the giant, pulled whales out of the sea for food and killed them in his den, the whale blood and grease staining the cliffs.

Beginning in the 1930s several Wampanoag families made swirl-designed pottery from the multi-colored clay of the cliffs, selling it to tourists. The technique used to make the pottery was developed by the Indians much earlier, but tourists provided the first market for the pieces. Gladys Widdis, whose Indian name is Wild Cranberry, learned how to make pottery and jewelry when she was a girl. She remembers tourists buying ashtrays, bottles, paperweights and glass jars in the shape of lighthouses and filled with clay dust. They were sold from stands that her family set up at the top of the cliff path.

Gladys is now one of only two people granted permission to gather clay from the cliffs, which were recently declared a nationally protected historic landmark. She still makes small items of pottery (pots, miniature canoes and jewelry) but now simply gives them away to friends. Tourists still flock to the Gay Head Cliffs, but the souvenirs that they buy at the small seasonal shops run by the Indians are more reflective of the stereotypical image of Indian "products" (plastic bows and arrows, feathered head-dresses, arrowheads) than indigenous folklife items. Still, if tourists had not bought the pottery in years past, the tradition might have been lost altogether. Gladys is currently teaching one of her grandsons to make pottery and has demonstrated her technique at the Boston Children's Museum.

Nantucket lightship baskets were first made as a pastime by the men of the South Shoal lightship. Today these sturdy baskets are popular as ladies' pocketbooks, having been redesigned in 1949 by Jose Reyes, a Harvard graduate from the Phillipines.

Lightship basketmaking, done on a handmade wooden mold, takes anywhere from thirty-five to sixty hours. If not for the pocketbook trade, which attracts wealthy summer tourists, the baskets would have little or no market, for most lightship baskets today are priced from several hundred to over a thousand dollars. Once tied to an occupation and a geographic area, these baskets demonstrate how a traditional hand-crafted process can be retained despite a significant change in its market and use.

Gladys Widdis of Gay Head, Martha's Vineyard, working on a pot made of clay from the Gay Head Cliffs. Photo by Eleanor Wachs



Bobby Marks, Nantucket lightship basketmaker, in his Osterville workshop. Photo by Eleanor Wachs

Eleanor Wachs, Curator of Exhibits at Boston's Commonwealth Museum, holds her doctorate in Folklore from Indiana University.

Three Hundred and Fifty Years of Black Presence in Boston:

“Building Traditions”

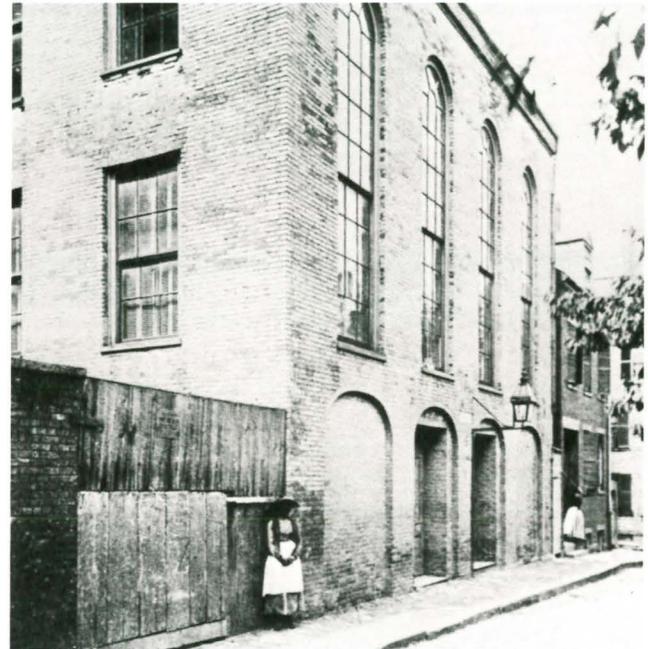
by Betty Hillmon and Edmund B. Gaither

The first groups of Africans to reach the Bay Colony in 1638 were designated “perpetual servants.” By 1715, the new African arrivals were being called “slaves,” as the Bay Colony took an active part in the slave trade. The numbers of all Blacks in Boston remained small in the Colonial era, comprising only ten percent of the population in 1752, but members of their ranks were to establish traditions that have continued in Boston’s Black communities for 350 years.

In 1770 Crispus Attucks became “the first to defy, the first to die” in the Boston Massacre. Later Black men, such as Peter Salem (?-1816), Brazillai Lew (1743-1793), Lemuel Hayes (1753-1833) and Prince Hall (1735-1807), followed Attucks’s rebellious act by serving as soldiers in the Revolutionary War. In the same decade, Phillis Wheatley, bought from a slave ship in 1761, made her place as the first Black American formalist poet. In 1770 she published the very popular poem, “On the Death of the Reverend George Whitefield”; another of her works, “To S.M., A Young African Painter,” provided important information on Black artists in directing attention to Scipio Moorhead, one of the earliest Black painters.

The activities of these colonial Blacks mark the beginning of two important and impressive Black traditions in Massachusetts – protest and the struggle for justice and the definition of Black presence through folk and cultural arts. These traditions began to flourish in the first half of the 19th century as the Black population of Boston increased in size and diversity. From the South came streams of slaves escaping via the Underground Railroad, to be followed later by freedmen looking for greater opportunities in education and a better quality of life. West Indians – some immigrants, some slaves – added their dialects, accents and views of life to that of southerners and Black Boston Yankees. Africans, Irish-born Blacks and British and Canadian Blacks were also part of the growing Black presence in Boston, which numbered 1,875 people in 1830, growing to 2,261 in 1860. This community was located on Beacon Hill within the shadow of the Massachusetts State House.

Black Bostonians of the 1800s increasingly recognized their common African cultural roots. This is reflected in the creation of cultural organizations and institutions as well as the names given them – African Meeting House, African Masonic Lodge, African Baptist



The African Meeting House, circa 1900. Photo courtesy the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities

Church, African Society. These centers, open to all Blacks, were dedicated to the preservation of a tradition rooted in its own unique sense of history and place.

The African Meeting House (1806), the first of its type in America, was a gathering place where issues such as the abolition of slavery were debated, where escaped slaves told their stories and where people came for entertainment. The Meeting House was also a place for social events, schooling and the home of the first Black church in Boston, the African Baptist Church. A remarkable series of orators, anti-slavery advocates and writers spoke here, such as David Walker, William W. Brown and Frederick Douglass. These orators stirred within free Blacks in Massachusetts a deep compassion for those still enslaved, while reminding them that liberty requires constant struggle. The formation and performance of the famous 54th Regiment of Colored Volunteers during the Civil War evidenced the collective impact of these spokesmen.

While the importance of the church to Black Bostonians cannot be overstated, fraternal organizations

also served an important function. The African Masonic Lodge, founded by Prince Hall in 1787 and now located in Roxbury/Dorchester, was perhaps the largest and most influential. Others included the African Society, a mutual-aid organization, and the Histrionic Club, a cultural organization which presented plays acted by members of the community. In contrast to these formal institutions, Blacks gathered informally at such establishments as the local barber shop, which provided them avenues for intra-community support – political, economic, and cultural.

By the 20th century, Boston was home to Blacks with southern, Caribbean and Cape Verdean roots as well as its own Afro-American Yankees. This newly forged community, now located in the South End of Boston, offered enhanced opportunities in both the formal and folk arts: Lois Mailou Jones and Allan Rohan Crite were studying art at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts; Monroe Trotter was publishing "The Guardian," a newspaper in Roxbury; and the "Colored American Magazine" was appearing monthly. Several local companies were deeply involved with the National Negro Business League: the Universal Negro Improvement Association, founded by Marcus Garvey, enjoyed wide influence.

Boston became a source of Black musicians and writers. Duke Ellington's band drew musicians from Boston; Billie Holiday and others frequently sang there with bands composed of local performers; William Sebastian "Sabby" Lewis had formed his own group of musicians and was drawing crowds at the Boston Savoy. Boston had also been the training ground for Georgian-born Roland Hayes, a world-famous concert singer, who took both Black spirituals and German *Lieder* to the courts of Europe. Writer William E. B. Dubois offered a new perspective on the meaning of Black history within the context of American history.

Following World War II, the city's Black population again expanded, this time with a large influx of southerners and a continuing stream from the Caribbean. The community was also rapidly leaving the South End and moving into Roxbury/North Dorchester, the present site of the community. Folk arts took on great importance for the new arrivals. Cultural traditions usually observed in private homes now became activities celebrated by large groups organized under such names as the West Indian Benevolent Society, the Haitian Social Club, or the South Carolina Club. The new immigrants were not as satisfied to replace their unique traditions with those of America, choosing instead to change the face of the Black neighborhood. Food markets, small and large, now sold ingredients for the preparation of traditional West Indian dishes. Jamaicans bought fresh goat's meat for the preparation of curried goat. Ackee (a tropical vegetable) was available for the preparation of ackee and salted fish. Southerners bought chitterlings, hog-maws and pig's feet.

Festivals gained in importance among the West Indian population. In an effort to continue their traditions, Haitians, Jamaicans and other West Indians joined Trinidadians to reproduce Carnival in the Boston streets, and every August for one day, the streets of Roxbury blaze with the colors, costumes, dance and sounds of the West Indian Carnival Parade. Mask makers compete in this festival as do the numerous steel bands of Boston, such as the Silver Stars and Metro Steel. Members of both traditions often return to their home islands to study the latest musical and artistic developments. Because of Carnival's commercialism in Trinidad, Boston's



Young visitors to the Museum at the National Center of Afro-American Artists. Photo by Rudolph Robinson

West Indian Festival may in fact remain closer to the older tradition than that in the Caribbean.

Today, Boston's Black churches continue to be the central keepers of religious musical traditions. The tradition of anthems and spirituals established by 19th century Blacks is still observed in churches like St. Marks Congregational. With the increased number of southern Blacks, gospel music has become very popular: on any Sunday, gospel choirs can be heard in such churches as 12th Baptist, Holy Tabernacle or St. John's Baptist as well as in many smaller, store-front churches.

As Boston's Black community celebrates its three hundred and fiftieth anniversary, it continues to define and support its cultural heritage in actions such as the reclamation and restoration of the African Meeting House by the Museum of Afro-American History. Newly commissioned public statues with Black cultural themes attest to the continuing efforts of Black Bostonians to celebrate their community. John Wilson's "Eternal Presence," commissioned by the National Center of Afro-American Artists, stands on the grounds of their Museum in Roxbury and symbolizes the eternal presence of Blacks, not only in Boston but in the world.

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The New England Three-Decker: An Immigrant's Home

by Janice Morrill

Lorraine Gauthier has lived in her family's three-apartment house at 33 Thomas Street in Southbridge, Massachusetts, for nearly all of her life. When she was born on the third floor of this three-decker, her grandfather, an immigrant from French Canada, owned the building. He passed it on to Lorraine's father, Theophile Dupuis, and to her Uncle Ludger, each of their families occupying one of the floors. Theophile eventually bought out his brother's share and finally sold the house to Lorraine and Edward Gauthier, who live on the first floor today. Her family's pattern of occupancy at 33 Thomas Street has typified that of other French-Canadians who purchased three-deckers in Southbridge and elsewhere in New England.

Three-deckers – wooden buildings of three apartments, one to a floor – have been staple housing in central Massachusetts towns like Southbridge and in many cities like Boston and Worcester since the turn of the century. The structure was originally an architectural response to the swelling working-class population of industrial New England, a group that needed affordable housing convenient to trolley-cars or within walking distance of the local mill or factory. The term “three-decker” (or “triple-decker”) probably derives from the resemblance that the three levels of rear porches on the earliest Boston versions bore to naval vessels. Distinctive to the region, the house type is so familiar to its residents that many people in Southbridge were surprised to learn that there are places where three-deckers were *not* built.

Though popular writers of the time spurned the three-decker as an eyesore and feared it as a fire hazard, the building marked a definite improvement over earlier forms of working-class housing. The availability of light and air from all four sides of each apartment was an advantage from the residents' viewpoint. For builders, the three-decker meant “stacking” three homes in a lot sized for a single-family unit. The three-decker, therefore, was a structural compromise between a tenement block and a single-family dwelling, more efficient than row houses, particularly where land costs were high. Some researchers contend that immigrant groups in Boston conceived of the three-decker as a less-than-ideal, temporary stepping stone en route – they hoped – to the coveted estate-like suburban or rural home.

In Southbridge today many of the three-deckers show the wear of numerous families that briefly rented them. Thomas Street is a long, quiet block of seven three-deckers and double versions called six-deckers. The dirt road and empty lots give the street a look of desertion, yet the buildings themselves reflect a gaiety suggestive of the lively place that this street once was. The large porches and exterior stairs of those three-deckers still retaining their traditional facade expand the sense of connection between indoor and outdoor and create a place that is conducive to visiting.

In earlier days the porch was a focal point for the three-decker, where residents were able to visit routinely with passersby, enhancing sociability within the neighborhood. Porches were useful as playpens, laundry rooms and areas to store wood or coal, but as such uses began to decline and the French social setting within Southbridge began to change, these neighborhoods and the porch itself became less purposeful. Later versions had smaller porches, and people began enclosing them partly or tearing them off as they deteriorated. Today's synthetic siding that fully encases some of these old buildings truly marks the end of an era.

Yet images such as the Gauthiers' place at 33 Thomas Street remain as a reminder of the success that the three-decker held in this particular town, especially among French-Canadians. Three-deckers became much more than stepping stones, for they accommodated the close family ties of this ethnic group. Traditional values are still active in Lorraine Gauthier's life, and her three-decker home remains the place where she is quite happy to stay. From her point of view, raising a large family on Thomas Street was ideal: Sacred Heart Church and the parochial school were close by, as were shopping centers and friends for a game of ball or cards. The American Optical Company, where she and her husband both worked, was less than a quarter mile away. Today, now that they are retired and their five children grown, she finds the apartment size more than ample and still appreciates the location. A cousin of hers rents one of the upstairs apartments, and a daughter lives in a three-decker just around the corner. Lorraine enjoys visiting with friends and regularly keeping an eye on her grandchildren.

In the early years on Thomas Street, which contains



Lorraine Gauthier dressed for her first communion, 1920s. Three-decker house in the background, which was across the street from #33, is no longer there. Photo courtesy Lorraine Gauthier

33 Thomas Street, side view. Unlike many Southbridge three-deckers, this one has a porch that extends down the side only. Photo courtesy Anthony R. Taylor



some of the oldest three-deckers in town, most of the first-floor residents owned the buildings, as the Gauthiers do today, and rented out the upper floors. Income from these upstairs apartments, or “tenements,” as people in Southbridge call them, helped offset the cost of the mortgage, so that the three-decker brought homes within reach of many who could not otherwise afford to own them. Private ownership gave people not only a source of independence but also control over the building’s care and maintenance. French-Canadians in Southbridge and beyond are famous for their tidiness, so it is easy to imagine the immigrant’s motivation to take upkeep out of the hands of potentially indifferent landlords. To own a three-decker represented more than an accomplishment; it gave owners an enterprise, something to work on and share with family and tenants.

While the spirit of many of the three-deckers in Southbridge and elsewhere is now lost behind peeling paint and boxed-in porches, people like Lorraine Gauthier and her family still use these houses to fit their needs as individuals and as community members. When the Gauthiers posed for this June 1986 photograph, Lorraine had recently stripped the porch rails for a fresh coat of paint and was preparing to plant flowers along the length of the porch. The inside of their home was immaculately scrubbed and polished. Clearly this three-decker is not a way station to a better life. For Lorraine Gauthier and others like her the three-decker remains, as always, home.

Janice Morrill received her master's degree from the University of North Carolina with a thesis in folklore on "The French-Canadian Three-Deckers of Southbridge, Massachusetts." She lives in Atlanta where she works as a writer and folklorist.



Lorraine and Edward Gauthier pose on the porch of their home at 33 Thomas St. Photo courtesy Anthony R. Taylor

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The Lowell Folklife Project

by Doug DeNatale

Lowell, Massachusetts, was the nation's first planned industrial city. Established in the 1820s as a textile manufacturing center, Lowell was viewed as an experiment in merging industrial production with humanistic values. The mills provided supervised boarding houses for female workers and promoted various cultural activities.

The period of the boarding house system was actually very short, and by the 1840s Irish immigrants were replacing Yankee farm women in the mills. Because the Irish lived in their own settlement, known as "The Acre," the mill companies no longer had total control over their workers' lives. In the remaining decades of the century, Lowell experienced a classic pattern of waves of immigration, as the Irish were followed by French Canadians, Greeks, Portuguese, Poles and a host of other nationalities.

By the 1920s Lowell was a city of 100,000. But with the twenties came the Great Depression and the failure of the city's textile industry. Immigration ceased, the factories decayed and the population slowly declined in an economic collapse so great that it lingered until the 1970s.

Within the last ten years Lowell experienced dramatic new economic and social development. The city has benefited directly from the region's transformation into a high technology center and is the corporate home to Wang Laboratories. A parallel redevelopment was born of the city's past, when the city was selected as the site of State Heritage and National Historical Parks to present the history of the nation's industrial development. An ongoing historic preservation effort has largely restored Lowell's downtown area to its 19th-century appearance.

With new job opportunities the city is once again attractive to further immigration. Its older communities have been joined by new groups of Portuguese, Puerto Rican and Cambodian immigrants, but, not surprisingly, the cross-currents of these developments have brought both benefits and new conflicts. The population influx has severely strained the city's aging housing stock, while rapidly rising property values have brought increased housing costs. The cultural impact of such new groups as the Cambodians – now more than ten percent of the city population – has placed new demands on schools and city services. This background of dynamic change and cultural ferment has been the setting for the Lowell

Folklife Project, a year-long effort by the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress to document Lowell's contemporary expressive culture.* The project was initiated by the Lowell Historic Preservation Commission, a federal agency charged "to tell the human story of the Industrial Revolution in a 19th century setting by encouraging cultural expression."

As an organizing principle the project focused on the issue of social space – how people find a place for themselves in the city and how their forms of expression, in turn, create the changing landscape of the city. From this standpoint, ethnic identity is one of the dimensions through which group expression is formed. While this approach broadened the range of expression under consideration, it provided a coherent frame for our investigation.

Lowell is a compact city, where the effects of cultural expression on the urban landscape are readily visible. It furnishes many eloquent examples of the various processes through which group and individual identity produce a sense of place. One such process is the creation of individual spaces in yards and neighborhoods. These can be highly idiosyncratic or testaments to community identity; intensely private or extremely public. Even the most visible space of Lowell – the site of the city hall – can serve as a private landscape, as has happened with the city hall clocktower. The man who has wound the clock for the past thirty years has declared the space, "The Wally Burns Clock Tower." As Burns explains, "I figured that everybody else had something named after them around here, so I should too." The memory garden constructed by Manuel Figueira on a piece of waste land next to his home represents another mode of individual expression. During the 1960s his neighborhood blossomed, as a new wave of Portuguese immigrants acquired and rehabilitated the decaying homes of the area. But it was also threatened by a proposed highway. As Figueira recounted, the neighborhood was saved through a referendum:

It was thanks to the registered voters all over the city. See, there was a lot of people . . . had just come from across, they had their homes, paid their taxes, but they couldn't vote. . . . That's why I say it took the people, the good people all over the city to help us.

In response, Figueira planted his rose garden as a personal memorial.

(*The professional folklorists of the project's field team were Michael Bell, Barbara Fertig, Mario Montañó, Martha Norkunas, Tom Rankin, David Taylor and Eleanor Wachs. Funding for the project was provided by the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, the Massachusetts Council for the Arts and Humanities and the Lowell Historic Preservation Commission.)

I have something representing the South End and the people that helped us to save my home and the school and the homes of the people of the South End – the roses. . . . I'm proud of it, they can't call this a slum no more. And I'm so proud I lived to be able to do it – and I was eighty-years-old when I started.

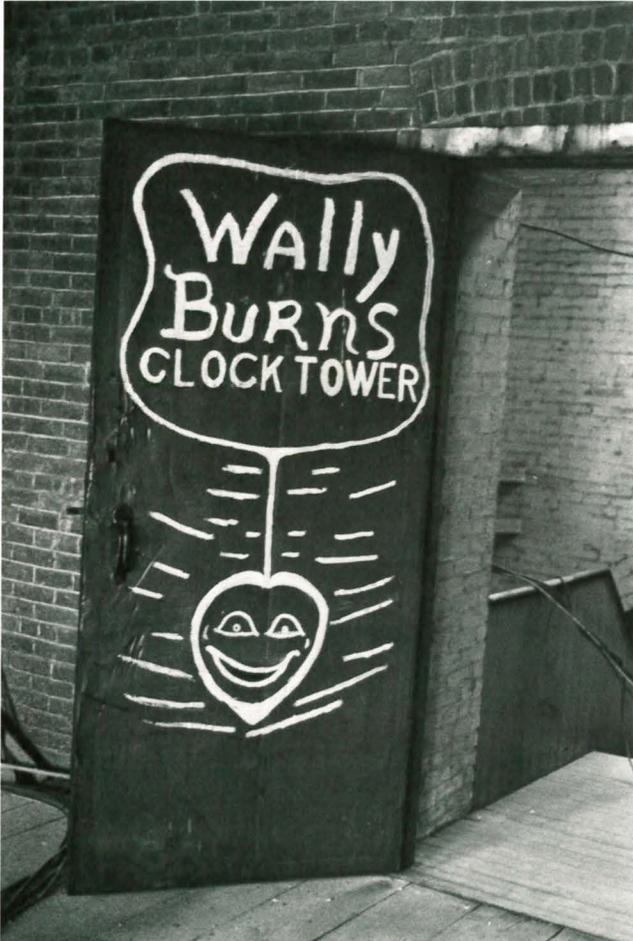
Another kind of urban reconstruction occurs when a group of newcomers try to recover an environment they have lost. As Lowell's new Cambodian community grew rapidly, so did the concern that a crucial link was missing for the refugees. Narong Hull related:

The people survive, but they still feel like they need one more thing, like a man need to have two hand to work together . . . beside working, getting money buy food, house for living, they need a spirit . . . to support their own mind. . . . especially old people who cannot adapt American life, and they still think about their own way of living, they feel alone to go outside, they feel afraid to go outside. . . . So, I need to help them for us to establish a Buddhist community, bring them together, chanting a Buddhist song, and cook Cambodian food, dress Cambodian dress. And they feel very comfortable, they feel, 'This is the way I want it'.

Within three short years the Cambodian community raised enough money to acquire a former Knights of Columbus hall in a residential area. While this answered their spiritual needs, it raised anxieties among the neighborhood's residents, bewildered by the Buddhist religion. As Theresa Theobald of the Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association recounts, the Cambodian community responded by holding a neighborhood celebration:

They invited people in the neighborhood, some of the religious leaders from churches that were close by. And many people came, and many people made speeches, and said, 'We welcome you.' . . . You know, when something different moves into a neighborhood, there's always questions. And this was a great idea, because they could see now what it was all about. And if you know that something's different, but you know how it's different, you're not as frightened of it, and you don't complain as much.

At times a group might make an outright claim to an area through expressive means. In the Puerto Rican community of Lowell, Catholic parishioners, angered by the negative stereotypes of crime and drug abuse attached to their community, have chosen to punctuate the religious year with a number of processions declaring their faith. Father James Fee explained:



Wally Burns, who has wound the clock at Lowell's City Hall for more than thirty years, immortalized his work with this decorative painting on the door to the clocktower. Photo by Doug DeNatale

We walked through those parts of town that are the most poor, and where you find the problems of poor housing, drugs, prostitutes, and, in general, the problem of poverty. Most of our parishioners live in this area, so it was a big opportunity to give people evidence of our faith and to confront people without any faith.

Expressive forms can also link groups in separate communities. A number of the groups that have participated in the project have formed a constellation of ties with other cities, ties sustained through shared events. A



Buddhist monks at Lowell's Traratanaram Temple lead chanting during the Veneration of Ancestors ceremony. Photo by John Lueders-Booth

striking example is found in the Carnival celebration of the Portuguese community. Traveling troupes of musicians and dancers from cities such as Lowell, Lawrence and New Bedford make a three-day circuit of all the Portuguese social clubs, religious societies and church halls in the region. There they perform short dramas that humorously portray some aspect of the group's relationship with their home communities.

The Lowell Folklife Project has been fortunate in documenting a dynamic period in the city's evolution. With the recorded testimony of individuals belonging to the city's older communities, a composite image of the



Adolescents chosen from the congregation of Lowell's Oblate Hispanic Mission lead a Good Friday procession through the streets of "The Acre" neighborhood. Photo by John Lueders-Booth

city's cultural landscape over time has begun to emerge. A follow-up project on cultural mapping is building on the project's research to make a further assessment of the effects of cultural processes on neighborhood identity. The findings from the current research have been placed in the Library of Congress and in Lowell's Patrick J. Mogan Cultural Center and will be published by the American Folklife Center.

Doug DeNatale is the Project Coordinator of the Lowell Folklife Project. He received his doctorate in Folklore and Folklife from the University of Pennsylvania in 1985 and has conducted research, produced folklife exhibits and given presentations in Massachusetts, North Carolina, New Hampshire and New York State.

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Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union



The vitality of southern Russian tradition animates this dancer from the village of Podserednee. Photo courtesy Vera Medvedeva

Song in Rural Russia

by Margarita Mazo

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union has been made possible with cooperation from the Ministry of Culture of the Soviet Union.

The American impression of Russian folk music is primarily based on the repertoire of such "official" ensembles as the Red Army Chorus. The songs performed by these groups are usually of recent vintage ("Kalinka" or "Moscow Nights" come to mind), and if the repertoire does include traditional tunes like "Volga Boatmen" they are presented in a highly arranged form determined by the taste of general consumers of culture. More often than not, the result bears little similarity to the sound of traditional songs in their authentic setting.

The Russian Republic is part of the Soviet Union but is itself a very large area stretching from Eastern Europe across Siberia to the Far East, and from the Arctic Circle to the temperate climates of the Black Sea. It is noteworthy that even today music of peasant origin in Russian villages and urban music in Russian cities remain as two distinctly separate traditions despite their mutual interaction. These musics differ in terms of the choice of repertoire, performance practice, the instruments used and the cultural and social circumstances of the performer. The Russian music at the Festival this year belongs strictly to rural traditions, where singing has occupied a particularly important place in people's daily life and met certain, very specific, social, religious and societal needs. Music has been an inseparable part of rituals, work, games and family events. In the old days, song accompanied every significant event and each stage of a Russian's life, from birth through childhood, youth, marriage and death. Songs, laments and chants were performed only on specified occasions. Hence a wedding lament would only be heard at weddings, but never at a funeral, when other appropriate laments would be performed.

It is believed today that folk rituals were not just festive social gatherings. They also performed the function of assuring the annual, unhampered cycle of seasons, to secure the fertility of the earth, the health of domestic animals, good harvest, successful fishing and hunting – in short, whatever constituted the well-being of the people. Economic life depended on nature, and thus celebrations, rituals and festivals were connected to seasonal change: the year was divided by winter and

summer solstices, spring and fall equinoxes. Songs appropriate to seasonal events are still important for many peasants in the Soviet Union, at least those of the older generation. While songs have perhaps lost their magical function in contemporary Russian village life, they are still performed only at certain points of the solar calendar and according to the schedule of agrarian work.

Russia is well known for its strong attachment to the Christian Orthodoxy. At the same time, Russian folk culture, particularly in the villages, is still a treasure-trove of the archaic heritage of pre-Christian religion. With the acceptance of Christianity by the Russians in 988 A.D. the rituals connected with pre-Christian beliefs did not die out but persisted in modified, reconceptualized forms. Thus St. George, for example, inherited the functions of the earlier traditional patron of domestic animals. Similarly, the Virgin Mary, or *Bogoroditsa*, acquired some functions of traditional Russian fecundity symbols, including "Moist Mother Earth," believed to be responsible for all life. Her image still exists in traditional embroidery and tapestry, and she continues to be celebrated in song.

Looking at Russian folk dances and listening to folk songs of contemporary Russian villages is like walking through time. Many different historical layers are still preserved in the daily musical life of Russian people. Modern songs and *chastushka* (short topical songs, usually four lines in length) exist alongside those which have survived for many centuries – ballads about a long Tartar occupation beginning in the mid-13th century, or songs about Ivan the Terrible, Stepan (Sten'ka) Razin, Peter the Great and other historical figures.

In Russia diversity exists in a great variety of regional styles and local forms and in a wide diversity of musical dialects, each with its own melodic, harmonic and rhythmic grammar and vocabulary. The musical texture of most southern Russian songs, for example, has certain discernible characteristics: all voices are close to each other, men use the high register of their voices, women the low. Every voice has its own textural function and carries its own melodic line; in chorus they project a tight and rich sonority.

By contrast the treatment of musical space is different in some northern Russian traditions. One can perceive distinctly a large gap between low and high voices,



On the shores of Lake Onega women from the northern Russian village Avdeevo perform a *khorovod* dance. Photo courtesy Museum of Ethnography of the People of the Soviet Union, Leningrad

giving the impression of separate levels of sonority. The sound created in this fashion is strikingly resonant but in a manner different from that of southern Russian song. The voices intertwine freely and delicately, like fine lines in Vologda lace of Northern Russia.

Due to the different climates in the southern regions the majority of songs and dances are performed in the open, outdoors in the field or on a village street, while in the northern areas they are performed inside most of the year. This results in totally different acoustical environments for performance. One of the most ancient Russian dances is the *khorovod*, a round dance known to many Slavic cultures. Dancers move in a big circle from left to right – “sunwise,” as they explain – or in lines or complex figures. The *khorovod* is a communal dance with as many as a hundred participants. The southern Russian version is generally fast and lively, while the northern *khorovod* is much slower and more stately, resembling a procession more than a dance. As with most Russian folk songs, the *khorovod* songs which accompany the dance are sung a cappella, though in some southern traditions they may also be accompanied by such instruments as *zhaleika* (a short wooden pipe with a reed, recognized by its nasal sound), *kugikly* (a

set of short pan-flutes) and *rozbok* (a horn). In all Russian regions, instrumental accompaniment is more typical for fast dances, called *pliaska* – basically successions of fast improvisations by individual dancers. During *pliaska* the singers often cheer on and inspire the performers by special vocal inflections. *Pliaska* is often accompanied by some improvised percussion instrument such as wooden spoons, a metal pot or even a scythe. During a fast *pliaska* a player will usually select a short tune in a quick tempo, repeating the melody with endless variations to demonstrate his virtuoso improvisational skills. Dancers will also display their capabilities and try to outperform each other in the so-called *pereplias*. Here each dancer has to repeat the figures of the previous performer and introduce some of his own, which are then passed to the following dancer, and so on.

Russian Orthodoxy rejected folk musical instruments. In the Middle Ages their players were called *skomorkbi* – traveling entertainers very much like the *trouweres* of Western Europe. The struggle with the Church came to a head with a tragic event in the 17th century – the burning of five carriages filled with folk music instruments on the banks of the Moscow River. In spite of efforts to eradicate traditional instruments in



Even at a recording session women from Podserednee village cannot resist the impulse to raise their arms, a gesture characteristic of southern Russian dances. Photo courtesy Vera Medvedeva

pre-revolutionary Russia, many are still popular among Russian villagers. Instruments such as the *balalaika* (a plucked three-stringed instrument with a triangular body) and *garmoshka* (a sort of concertina) reached Russian villages only during the last two hundred years, thus their popularity is of a very recent nature. Once introduced, however, they were quickly accepted in Russian villages and cities.

Within the Soviet Union, folk song has been understood as a cultural phenomenon through which national originality reveals itself. As a manifestation of national soul, Russian folk song came to be used as the cornerstone for the development of national art music. Since the end of the 18th century, when the interest in folklore became an important factor of social life, practically all Russian composers expressed a serious interest in native folk music, though their approach to musical folklore underwent continual change over the centuries. Composers' interest in and use of folk material in creating their music varies from simply quoting folk melodies or folk lyrics intact to using similar musical vocabulary, grammar and methods of development of musical material.

During the last few decades, fieldwork in rural areas has brought to the surface as many examples of old Russian folk tradition as were collected in the previous two centuries. In the 1880s Fedor Istomin and Sergei Liapunov collected folk songs in the Vologda province at the request of the Russian Imperial Geographic Society. One of Istomin's major concerns in his report to the Society was that all of his informants were old, and that within two decades, when these people had died, folk culture would disappear with them. Working in the same villages almost a hundred years later, I, too, collected material from old people, and I must express the same concern. However, I found the same kind of material and, surprisingly, substantially more. It might be a sign that the culture that survived for centuries is not about to disappear.

Margarita Mazo received her training at the Leningrad Conservatory. Her doctoral dissertation focuses on regional styles in Russian traditional music. She teaches ethnomusicology and Russian music at Ohio State University, is a fellow at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies (Wilson Center) and curator of the Soviet program at this year's Festival.



A summer festival in the Russian village Podserednee. Photo courtesy Vera Medvedeva

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Soviet Asia: A Multi-Ethnic Non-Melting Pot

by Theodore Levin

Astride the banks of the Yenisei River in the city of Kizil, capital of the Soviet Autonomous Republic of Tuva, stands a monument whose trilingual plaque in English, Russian and Tuvan, a Siberian Turkic language, announces its location as "The Center of Asia." Local legend has it that at the end of the 19th century an errant Englishman, having already visited the centers of Europe, Australia and Africa, set out to add the center of Asia to his conquests. His compass led him to the Yenisei – not, in fact, to the site of the present monument, which was erected not long ago to complete a pleasant riparian park, but to a spot downriver on the grounds of an old estate.

The cheerful nonchalance with which the site of the monument was shifted upriver is appropriate to the approximative spirit of the Englishman's geographic discovery. For where are the boundaries of Asia, to begin with, and which ethnic groups count as Asian? Answers to these questions might be straightforward in the case of East Asia or the Indian subcontinent, but clear definitions become murky at the extremes of the vast part of Asia that falls within the Soviet Union. In the Caucasus Mountains of Southwest Asia, for example, the ancient Georgian nation straddles a traditional but still vaguely defined border between Europe and Asia. Georgians, however, are nonplussed by geographical ambiguity: they consider themselves European. To the northeast, the Ural Mountains form still another traditional but imprecise border. A number of the major ethnic groups that inhabit the ostensibly European region west of the Urals, such as the Chuvan, Bashkir, Tatar and Kalmyk peoples, are clearly more closely related to the indigenous populations of Siberia and Central Asia than to those of Europe. In the extreme northeast of Asia, the Chukchis, who dwell on the shores of the Bering Strait, form a cultural bridge with the Inuit, Yupik and Inupiaq residents of northern Alaska, even if the land bridge that once united them has disappeared beneath the sea.

In the towns and villages of Soviet Asia, away from the allures of assimilation offered by cities the world over, ethnic identities remain strong. Ethnic groups that have achieved political recognition have maintained a discrete traditional territory and national culture. Each Soviet republic, autonomous republic, autonomous re-

gion and national district is centered around the identity of a particular national group. Still, officially recognized Soviet nationalities do not always coincide with the identities of ethnic groups based on earlier clan or tribal affiliations.

The "separate but equal" status of official Soviet nationalities is reinforced by both law and tradition. Popular support of ethnic and national identities forestalls any melting pot society. Non-Russian rural residents of Soviet Asia tend to speak and understand little Russian, and the younger generation of rural workers and collective farmers, with little need to use Russian, shows little interest in learning it.

Nature and history have both affected the movement of peoples within Soviet Asia, creating an ethnic and demographic map whose anomalies reflect the past's turbulent political history. Yet a present-day traveler, journeying overland along any of the endless chains of villages that stretch the length of the continent, would be struck as much by the continual, gradual shift of dialect, dress, music and customs as by ethnic and linguistic disjunctions. The sharp borders that are the inevitable result of political gain, loss, compromise and convenience often ignore ethnic and linguistic continuities and divisions.

Through much of Soviet Asia, the common ethno-linguistic thread that runs through the gradually shifting fabric of rural life is that of Turkic cultural heritage. The Turks of modern Anatolia are descended from a variety of nomadic groups that migrated westward from points in Inner Asia beginning more than a millennium ago. However, not all the migrants traveled the full distance to Anatolia. The result is a band of Turkic settlements that stretches from Turkey eastward to the source of Turkic civilization in the Altai region of South Siberia and the oases cities of Xinjiang in the West of China. In fact, if Turkic cultural roots bind together large parts of the Central Asian and Siberian countryside, Russian culture serves a similar role in the urban life of Soviet Asia. This is not to say that cities are inhabited exclusively by Slavs and villages by people of Turkic descent. Rural Siberia is peppered with Russian settlements, the legacy of pioneers and prisoners who came, or were sent, from Western Russia as early as the 16th century. Conversely, there are also significant populations of



A group of amateur Uzbek musicians meet regularly at a community cultural center in Khiva. Photo by Theodore Levin

non-Slavs in the cities of Soviet Asia. However, ethnic origins notwithstanding, the present common language of Soviet Asia's young urban professionals is Russian, not a Turkic tongue, such as the Chagatai language spoken in the Central Asian renaissance of the 16th century.

Ethnic diversity among the peoples of Soviet Asia is mitigated by common patterns of culture that have produced unifying features of style and genre in music and other arts. For example, the nomadic inhabitants of the Central Asian and South Siberian steppe share a rich oral musical and literary tradition that includes epic poems many times longer than *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, strophic folk songs and virtuoso solo instrumental repertoires. The latter are performed on lute-shaped instruments with two or three strings, such as the Kirghiz *komuz*, Kazakh *dombra* and Uzbek and Turkmen *dutar*, as well as on jew's harps made of wood, bone, or metal and called by a variety of local Turkic names. Jew's harp traditions also exist among Russians, who call the instrument *vargan*. Among Siberian peoples, it is frequently played by women, sometimes in consorts of three or four.

The traditional music of professional musicians in the great Silk Route cities of Bukhara and Samarkand also displays a unity that cuts across ethnic lines. There,

Uzbeks, Tajiks and Bukharan Jews perform a repertory called *shashmaqam*, which once flourished under the feudal court patronage of Muslim khans and emirs. It incorporates poetry associated with the Islamic Sufi tradition and is sung in Uzbek and Tajik, an Eastern dialect of Persian. The *shashmaqam* in turn displays a number of musical similarities to the *mugam* repertory indigenous to Azerbaijan. Like the *shashmaqam*, *mugam* is a highly aestheticized music closely connected to a venerable tradition of Islamic science, philosophy and music theory traceable to the Middle Ages. This tradition left its imprint on much of what can be regarded as classical music in Central Asia and the Near East.

In the Caucasus, particularly in Western Georgia, an abiding predisposition towards vocal polyphony (multi-part singing) has permeated most musical genres, from lullabies to sacred hymns. Polyphony is widely practiced among members of the large variety of ethnic groups indigenous to the region and contrasts sharply with the predominantly monophonic (unison) music of nearby Armenia.

For outsiders, it is often difficult to perceive distinctions of musical genre and differences in the social status of musicians that are clear to insiders. As mentioned earlier in the discussion of music of the steppe

dwellers and urban professional music from the Silk Route cities, both folk and classical musics exist in Soviet Asia. Soviet musicologists and folklorists have used the expression “professional oral – tradition music” to designate orally transmitted musical repertoires that in musical complexity, rigorous training and social status correspond to what in the West would be called classical music. The Azerbaijani *mugam* and the Uzbek *katta ashula* (literally “big song”) fall within this category. By contrast, the more “down home” music of the steppe reflects the proximity of herders and horsemen to the natural world. Much of the music played on the jew’s harp is devoted to onomatopoeic reflections of natural sounds: wind, rain, horses, the cries of animals. The “throat singing” of the Tuvans, Western Mongols and Bashkirs, in which one singer produces simultaneously a fundamental tone and overtone, is also said to imitate the sounds of nature.

In the late 20th century, the social role and the status of music and musicians in Soviet Asia seems to be tied less to the practices of individual ethnic groups than to the policies and cultural conventions of the multi-ethnic state. In the Soviet Union, music education, scholarship, performance and recording are supported and administered by branches of the Ministry of Culture. For official purposes, musicians are designated as either “professional” or “amateur.” These designations have less to do with a musician’s talents or social status than with the niche he occupies in the eyes of the cultural bureaucracy. “Professional” musicians may be paid for concerts or recordings, play in radio station collectives and belong to the official musicians’ trade union. “Amateurs” tend to perform without pay at local cultural centers, amateur arts festivals or at weddings and private gatherings. Often it is the “amateur” musician who preserves the traditional spirit or flavor of a musical repertory to a greater extent than polished and choreographed “professional” ensembles.

In recent years, the audience for authentic music played as much by “amateurs” as “professionals” has grown rapidly in many parts of the Soviet Union. Records, concerts, films, television and radio have focused on living, traditional cultures and their fragile equipoise with the modern age. The participation of a superb group of Soviet traditional musicians in this year’s Festival and of their American counterparts in a folk festival in Moscow later this summer is a welcome sign of commitment in both countries to promoting the values of living traditional musics.

Theodore Levin has conducted field work in Soviet Central Asia and in Tuva, on the border of Outer Mongolia. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton University and has been a research fellow and teacher at Columbia University and Mt. Holyoke College. Presently he is pursuing research interests in the traditional musics of the Soviet Union, while organizing Soviet-American trade and cultural exchanges.

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Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

I Un diez de mayo
A los Estados Unidos salí
No quise ver atrás
Mi vida entera quedó.

(Coro)

Mis niñas,
Mis niñas del alma
Nunca pensé separarme.

II Pasé laderas,
Pasé montañas
Los mares también
Para llegar aquí.

(Coro)

Mis niñas,
Mis niñas del alma
Jamás pensé separarme.

III Tras las paredes me encuentro
Vacía del alma
A Dios le pido su fuerza y su amor
Con mano de hierro he de continuar.

(Coro)

Mis hijos del alma
Por amor a ustedes
He de continuar.

IV Mariposita, mariposita,
Llévale mi amor a mis hijos del alma
En este mundo
Sola me encuentro.

(Coro)

Mis hijos del alma
Ven a media noche
Ven a acompañarme.

V Yo les doy mi vida entera
A mis niños del alma
Por qué mundo cruel
Por qué me separa
De aquellos seres
Que tanto quise
Y que tanto adoré.

(Coro)

Diosito Santo,
Por qué me castigas
Si mi delito fue
Quererte a tí.

I On a tenth day of May
I left for Washington
I did not want to look back
My whole life was left behind.

(Chorus)

My dearest children,
Beloved children of my soul
I had never planned to separate from you.

II I crossed many a hillside,
And many a mountain
Rivers and lakes as well
In order to arrive in this city.

(Chorus)

My dearest children,
Beloved children of my soul
I had never planned to separate from you.

III Today I find myself enclosed within these walls
With an empty soul
I ask God to grant me strength and his love
So that I may continue with unyielding determination.

(Chorus)

My dearest children of my soul
Out of love for you
I shall continue.

IV Little butterfly, little butterfly,
Carry my love to the children of my soul
I feel alone in this world.

(Chorus)

Dearest children of my soul
Come at midnight, come at midnight
To keep me company.

V I give my entire life
To the children of my soul
Why does this cruel world separate me
From those beings whom I so love.

(Chorus)

Dearest God,
Why do you punish me so
If my sin was to love you with all my soul.

By a Central American mother of seven children

Translated by Lucy M. Cohen

Migration to Washington: Making A New Place Home

by Phyllis M. May-Machunda

The Metropolitan Washington Program is supported, in part, by the D.C. Community Humanities Council and the Music Performance Trust Funds, a non-profit organization created by U.S. recording companies to fund live and free performances.

It has been said that Washington is a transient city, one whose residents change every two to four years due to the political whims of the rest of the nation. This popular view is reflected in jokes that it takes little more than a couple of years residency to be a Washington native. However, a deeper look into the history and culture of the city reveals more than just “official” Washington. Beyond the monuments to which millions pilgrimage each year exists a little recognized residential city currently undergoing a process of tremendous change and redefinition due to the impact of the migration of populations from all over the world.

The area now defined as the District of Columbia was once occupied by Nacotchtanke Indians, an agricultural people driven out by English settlers in the mid-17th century. After the Revolutionary War, leaders searched for a centrally located place for federal headquarters and a unifying symbol for a new nation. By the time George Washington selected the 100-square-mile site carved out of the borders of Maryland and Virginia on the banks of the Potomac River and Congress designated it as the capital in 1790, the region had developed a thriving tobacco culture supported by Black slave labor. As the District grew, government became the city's primary industry, uniting the region's southern rural foundation with northern financial interests to form a service economy. Lacking an industrial base, the city attracted only small numbers of Irish, Germans, Italians and eastern Europeans during the major wave of 19th century immigration to the United States.

The recurrent migrations to Washington of Afro-Americans in search of freedom and a better quality of life have been one of the primary forces in the history of this city. Beginning prior to the Civil War such migrations as escapes from slavery and southern oppression continued unabated, peaking during the Great Migration of the early decades of the 20th century and again after World War II. Current estimates suggest that Black Americans now make up thirty percent of the metropolitan area and seventy percent of the population within District lines. For most Blacks and for more recently arrived

refugees from many countries, Washington has symbolized freedom and has been viewed as a mecca offering improved educational and employment opportunities.

Since the late 1800s Chinese people have been a part of the local population, migrating here from the American West Coast to escape oppressive conditions. Restrictive immigration laws imposed limits on the growth of the community until the 1930s. The community developed and maintained an enclave of businesses and residences – first, near Pennsylvania Avenue and 4th St., N.W., and later at its current location several blocks further north. “Chinatown” serves the neighborhood as a symbolic, cultural, and business center for Chinese and other Asians in the metropolitan area. Its shops, businesses and institutions support Chinese lifeways and ease culture shock for new immigrants.

Washington is now the home of immigrants from more than sixty countries. Approximately twelve percent of the more than 3.5 million people in the metropolitan area are foreign born. Since the 1970s their number in the metropolitan area has tripled and since 1980 doubled. The city now hosts the fourth largest group of Koreans and the third largest number of Central Americans in the world, including the second largest group of Salvadorans in the United States. Washington is presently home to the largest group of people outside Africa who once lived in Ethiopia. During the 1970s and 1980s immigrants also arrived from Korea, Laos, Viet Nam and Cambodia to seek refuge in the metropolitan area and start new lives.

Migration often means leaving family, homeplace and friends behind for potential advancement and security. This sometimes occurs at great sacrifice to all concerned. It is common for people to migrate in their early twenties, breaking or stretching customary links with family and friends. Many Salvadorans who have come to Washington have left their children behind with grandparents until their situation becomes stable. Some families are never able to return to their homeland, thus disrupting the cultural contact between generations.

Traditional culture has played an important role in making Washington home for people who have migrated to the city. Despite traumatic circumstances, if people bring little else with them, at least they carry their culture. They select, modify, adapt, reinterpret, revitalize



Lions symbolizing good fortune dance in front of local Chinatown businesses to drive away evil spirits at a Chinese New Year celebration. Photo by Richard Strauss

and drop aspects of their cultural traditions as they adjust to their new environment. In addition they adopt new traditions, synthesize and blend old with newer ones and create new mechanisms for supporting and expressing who they see themselves to be.

Foodways provide one of the best opportunities to view these cultural processes. Foods and their preparation form an intimate part of one's cultural identity. People generally go to great lengths to produce familiar foods and prepare them in culturally appropriate ways. If ingredients are unavailable because they are not grown in this region or climate, people creatively seek alternatives: they may travel or send home for special items; experiment with foods of similar texture or taste as substitutes; attempt to grow and preserve particular foods themselves; buy produce or meat from local farms because they can't find them in the urban supermarket; encourage local groceries to carry specific items; or purchase imported foods from the multi-ethnic neighborhood markets. Many Black Americans from the Carolinas and Virginia, for example, keep small gardens in their urban yards just to have fresh collard greens like those from home. They also frequently raise turnip, rape and mustard greens to supplement their diet. However,

kale, also important in the diet of this group, is a green that became incorporated into traditional Black foodways only after they moved north.

The Ethiopians provide another example. In order to make their traditional flat, crepe-like bread (*injera*), the grain *tef* is needed. Until recently *tef* was only available in the Horn of Africa, so many local Ethiopians have learned to make *injera* with substitute ingredients, such as Martha Washington's Self-Rising Flour, until they find ways to grow *tef* in America.

Maintaining ties to home is an important facet of migration. During every homecoming Black Americans, Africans, and Trinidadians alike feel the necessity of demonstrating that they have taken good advantage of the opportunities migration has afforded them. They also seek to absorb the revitalizing and rejuvenating powers of renewing ties with home. For those who cannot return home in person or very often, keeping those bonds strong is still important. Children are sent to grandparents in the summer; letters, audio- and videotapes are conveyed through the mail; weekly radio programs broadcasting in both places carry messages to friends and relatives; local and foreign language newspapers print the latest items from home; and gifts are



The community festival setting provides visitors with opportunities to be exposed to a wide variety of ethnic foods. Photo by G. Wheeler

exchanged through friends and acquaintances, as they travel near home.

One of the major ways contact is maintained is by sending money home, either to help the financial situation of relatives or to provide an opportunity for other family members to come here and seek their fortune. One of the most significant occupations in this regard is domestic work. For years domestic work was one of the primary occupations open to Black women. Through this occupation hundreds of women saved money to bring their families to Washington or to provide for their education. Today, Salvadoran, Chinese and Trinidadian women use this same occupational role to improve their status and that of their families.

People of color often find it advantageous to develop group identities across broad categories in the new environment for reasons both internal and external to them. When dealing with a particular cultural group, outsiders, whether from the mainstream or another minority, rarely make distinctions that groups make within themselves. Instead, a group may be viewed as a monolithic community with homogeneous wants and needs. Often it is confused or combined with other groups having similar cultural characteristics or physical features. Sometimes, however, when numbers are too small to maintain particular traditions, this similarity works to a particular group's advantage. In Washington the urban environment provides exposure to others from similar cultures and offers opportunities for communities to link with those sharing similar struggles. Frequently alliances across national, regional, political, racial, religious, class and educational boundaries arise to preserve a community sense of self in ways they could never occur at home. Community services and networks work to ease adjustments for newcomers and are provided by earlier immigrants as a sign of hospitality, to protect strides made by the earlier community and to integrate them into the existing social system.

As an urban setting Washington provides opportunities for people to interact with others with whom they might never have mingled and to behave in ways that they could never have in the home setting. This creates stimulæ for the development of new forms of expression and distinctive local traditions arising out of the blends. A prime example of this is in the Adams-Morgan/Mt. Pleasant neighborhoods of the city, where a spirit of Latino culture pervades. Residents of the area are from all parts of Central America and the Caribbean. Few community activities are limited to the participation of a single ethnic group. Bands, stores, restaurants and churches are multi-cultural in their staffing and audiences. The richness of such cultural contact leads to the forging of new identities and the synthesis of traditions. For many, including new immigrants, the importance of expressing a broader Latino identity rather than a more specific ethnic one is a way of indicating a new start in life.



For decades, farmers from local surrounding areas have brought in produce for sale at outdoor Washington markets. Photo by Marjorie Collins, Library of Congress, Farm Security Administration

This year's Festival program will address these issues and many more. In telling their stories and demonstrating their traditions immigrants to Washington allow us to understand the cultural aspects of migration and how they have attempted and in some cases succeeded in making a new place here.

Phyllis May-Machunda, curator for the Metropolitan Washington Program, is a folklorist and ethnomusicologist on the staff of the Office of Folklife Programs. She has conducted extensive field research with concentration on African American culture and cultures in the metropolitan Washington area.

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Of Earth and Corn: Salvadorans in the United States

by Sylvia J. Rosales

In February 1985 Doña Carmen Romero was a third grade teacher in southern San Miguel province in El Salvador. It was then that her husband, Carlos, a member of the local textile factory's union, was abducted and killed by Salvadoran National Guard death squads. His body was found with signs of torture near a river. "We barely could recognize his features. His facial skin had been removed with sharp knives," Doña Carmen recounts. Soon, she and her two sons Pedro and Raul, ages eighteen and sixteen, were receiving death threats. About two months after the incidents the boys slipped across the border and flew to Washington, D.C. The "coyote," or smuggler, charged \$2,500 to bring them into the country. Their trip was paid for by relatives and neighbors. Doña Carmen followed her sons a few weeks later.

Today, the Romeros share a \$600-a-month two-room Washington apartment with Doña Carmen's hometown friend and her husband. Fearful of relating their past experiences, all five face the difficult task of finding menial jobs that many Americans will not accept, while they live in constant fear of being deported. "Still," Doña Carmen says, "it is better than living with death after you. Life in a war zone is not easy."

Doña Carmen is not alone. Only 94,000 Salvadorans lived in this country prior to 1980. In just eight years the number has increased dramatically: today, over 800,000 Salvadorans in the United States are witnesses of past tragedies of governmental repression and the search for refuge. Doña Carmen shares her sadness with 200,000 other victims of the war now living in the Washington metropolitan area.

Unable to survive at home, they seem similarly unwelcome in the United States. The U.S. government does not officially recognize Salvadorans as refugees primarily because it gives substantial amounts of military aid to El Salvador. To grant refugee status to Salvadorans would expose the embarrassing situation that such military aid is largely responsible for an estimated thirty percent of Salvadorans fleeing their homes.

Happiness remains a hope for many Salvadorans in the United States. But for the majority the hope is hard to achieve. Unable to use their technical skills, suddenly placed in a foreign culture with a foreign language, longing for their loved ones left behind, they often



Salvadoran children, like this child, are among the 150,000 in metropolitan Washington who are seeking safe haven in the U.S. Photo by Rick Reinhard

awake from nightmares of the tragedy which has twisted their lives. Laments Doña Carmen,

We miss our flowers, the landscape, the air . . . and our friends, the church, the priest, and the *casa comunal* [community house], the *pan dulce* [traditional sweet bread] we Salvadorans used to have with our neighbors or workfellows every afternoon . . . It's hard to learn new values and customs which are totally foreign to you. And, of course, we don't want to give up ours.

While such problems are faced by many newcomers to this country, for Salvadorans the transition from the familiar to the unfamiliar is even more difficult. Fleeing a war that they hope will one day end, many Salvadorans in the United States long for the day they can return to their country.

It is with this hope in mind that Salvadorans build their communities here. *Pupusas* (Salvadoran tortillas stuffed with meat and cheese), chicken and pork *tamales*, *atole* (a Salvadoran refreshment drink) and countless other Salvadoran traditional dishes are found in almost every Salvadoran Washington household. Many Salvadoran women still *palmean* (handpat) tortillas to be cooked on their *comales*, the clay stove-tops used in rural El Salvador and now adapted to electrical or gas stoves. There are at least three Christian-based communities of Salvadorans in the Mount Pleasant area alone. Such communities, whose religious practices are based upon an interpretation of the Gospels as calling for social change, have been the main target of official persecution in El Salvador since 1970. Today, men, women and youngsters meet every Sunday after Mass at a church in northwest Washington to maintain their identity and faith as a community and as part of a suffering people in search of happiness and justice. Salvadoran children play the *piñata* at every birthday party, and Salvadoran music is never missing from any family or community celebration.

But a new darkness has descended upon this community since the recent immigration law of 1986. Most refugees from El Salvador arrived after the cut off date for eligibility in the government's amnesty program for undocumented aliens, and it is estimated that only ten percent of Salvadorans will be eligible. Furthermore, it is likely that at least some of this small percentage will be distrustful of official intentions, fearing that their personal information can be passed to Salvadoran authorities and be used against relatives remaining in El Salvador. "It is a war," says Doña Carmen's son, Pedro, "and the U.S. is involved, and we the poor are always unprotected and persecuted." As a result, many Salvadorans find themselves pressed back into the terror-filled days of walking a precarious bridge between survival and death. "Deportation to war is closer to us than a year ago," one Salvadoran recently stated.

For the lucky ones who are not caught and deported, mere survival has become more trying. The threat of sanctions against employers hiring undocumented workers as well as general discrimination is adversely affecting the already suffering Salvadoran community, which lacks protection under the law. According to reports received by the Central American Refugee Center (CARECEN) in Washington, many Salvadorans have been fired since the law has gone into effect, and those who have jobs are finding many employers increasingly willing to exploit them. Abuses exist against Salvadorans in housing as well. For example, at least fifty Salvadoran

tenants in two buildings in the Adams Morgan neighborhood have been living in deplorable housing conditions for many months; yet when the occupants demanded repairs the landlord threatened to have them deported. "The new law is just legalizing abuses and making life for these refugees an endless tragedy," says Jose Romero, a community organizer on CARECEN's staff.

Doña Carmen summarizes it most succinctly when reflecting on life for Salvadorans in the United States:

The active and well-fed death squads in El Salvador and the abuses we are encountering here every day in the United States after this law are indeed changing our life. But we keep believing; our hope is there. We will get out of this bad dream.

She claims that Salvadorans' pride and cultural identity helps them to put up with the difficulties. The scene in numerous Salvadoran communities across this country supports her claim: Salvadorans still cook their *pupusas*, their kids still beat the *piñatas*, Sunday Mass is held sacred and the Christian-based communities are growing. Salvadoran music, full of sadness and hope, sings louder, and mothers invite their babies to sleep with the traditional Salvadoran lullaby:

Hush little baby, Pumpkin head;
Coyote will eat you
If you don't go to bed.

"Death didn't destroy us in El Salvador; we can survive this other nightmare now," Doña Carmen says before adding quietly, as if revealing a secret: "We Salvadorans are made of earth and corn, eternal life."

Sylvia J. Rosales, a native of El Salvador, is the Executive Director of the Central American Refugee Center. She holds a graduate degree in sociology from the School of Economics at the Central American University "Jose Simeon Canas" (UCA) of El Salvador and has worked on development projects for refugees in Central America and the United States. Rosales has served as editor of El Salvador: A Look at the Reality, and of the Spanish-language guidebook Helping Youth Decide.

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Latin American Women Lead Migration

by Lucy M. Cohen

The history of the settlement of Salvadorans in Washington dates back to the pre- World War II period, when small communities of Central Americans began to migrate to Washington as well as to other cities, notably San Francisco and New Orleans. Whereas the typical pioneers of past immigration waves have been men, approximately two-thirds of the Latin American newcomers are women. Moreover, they are not young, single persons or widows, who venture on long voyages to the promised land. Rather, many are women with established households in their places of origin, who leave some children behind under the care of maternal relatives. They come in search of improved social and economic conditions and enter the country with immigration documents or as undocumented workers. Others, fearing persecution, seek political asylum.

The migration experience for them is not simply the process of securing proper documents of entry and learning of the English language. It is that and much more. It is a process in which women draw on a cultural world which contains the rich ideologies and traditions characterizing contemporary Latin American societies. Most are Roman Catholics or members of other Christian denominations. Spanish is the native language of the majority except Brazilians, who speak Portuguese, and citizens of the former French and English colonies in the Caribbean. For many, migration involves a history of repeated entries to Washington, an area to which they are attracted by opportunities and the tradition of hospitality associated with it.

Most Latinas are of working-class background from small- and intermediate-sized towns. Many were an active part of "invisible economies," as entrepreneurs in small businesses within their own homes or region of residence. They entered Washington with the goal of working in order to attain higher levels of living for themselves and their families, believing that parents ought to sacrifice themselves for their children. Most men also work full time, and a sizeable proportion hold down "moonlighting" jobs. Men and women tend to work in semi-skilled and unskilled positions as well, but there is greater occupational mobility for men than for women who have probably been previously underemployed in the homeland.

Latinas come highly motivated by the belief that

self-sacrifice is necessary to attain the desired goal of a better life for their children. Separation from home, however, is not the first major life hurdle which these women have faced. They have learned that throughout life there are problems of one kind or another. Success consists of a willingness to face each problem and to overcome it.

Planning for the future and hard work are central values enabling these newcomers to master the challenges of settlement in Washington. The containment of feelings is also important. Through the practice of *controlarse* (control of the self) and *sobreponerse* (to overcome oneself) Latinas cope with stress-inducing situations, particularly those associated with their children and other loved ones. They deal with their situation, contain their feelings, face difficulties and work hard to master them.

The households of these Latinas are flexible units which expand and contract in accordance with the stages of entry and settlement and the life cycle states of family members. Extended households are largely characteristic of mothers who are alone with children and other relatives, particularly sisters, brothers and mothers. Both the nuclear and extended families are sources of mutual help in such tasks as child care, the search for jobs or counseling for problems of illness. The strength of these bonds of reciprocity enables those who are lowest salaried to remain economically independent. For those who have entered as undocumented workers, the active circles of kin, friends and others provide support for the problems of settlement. These networks help them explore the present day possibilities of securing amnesty and permanent residence.

Typically it takes a mother about seven years after an initial entry to the city to bring remaining children to Washington. Latino women view separation from children as a phase necessitated by poverty in the home communities, emergencies associated with unstable political situations and the difficulties in obtaining permission for family groups to enter the United States. The majority of post-1965 immigrants to this country, including the families of Latinas, have entered the country on the basis of family ties to residents already here.

Immigrants and refugee women send regular contributions home to their children and other close family



A Salvadoran mother and child enjoy their popular community festivities in Washington, D.C. Photo by Rick Reinhard

bilities in their absence. Thus old and new generations join together to forge new lives and to continue to face the joys as well as the struggles involved in carving new meaning in the rich mosaic of the diverse cultures of our nation's capital.

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members. Remittances vary from \$50 to more than \$200 a month, often amounting to one-third of their American earnings each month. For Salvadoran women this practice has become institutionalized, as evidenced by the presence of remittance agencies to wire money back to their families within a short time.

As children left behind are brought to Washington to join their mothers and fathers, siblings born here and other kin, they learn new ways and English rapidly. It is not unusual for these youth to become guides, helping parents to translate letters and other documents, care for younger siblings or assume other parental responsi-

Early Twentieth Century Afro-American Migration to Washington, D.C.

by Spencer R. Crew

After 1915 Afro-Americans living in the South began moving north in unprecedented numbers. Relocating primarily to urban areas in the northern and eastern sections of the United States, these newcomers often more than doubled the Afro-American population in these cities. While this migration enriched already existing Black communities, it complicated the relationship between Black and White residents. As the Afro-American population grew, it created increased competition for jobs and housing, sparking resentment among some White residents. The growing impact of Black voters, however, made them a factor in the eyes of local politicians. Their demands for fairer treatment pushed civil rights and antidiscrimination issues to the forefront of legislative discussions.

Deteriorating conditions in the South in part prompted the northward migration. Jim Crow laws in southern states segregated Afro-Americans, making them second class citizens. Voting regulations like the poll tax and literacy test excluded Blacks from the ballot box. Sharecropping placed them deep in debt and under the control of local landlords, and the threat of physical harm at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan intimidated anyone pressing for equality.

Faced with these living conditions, many Afro-Americans considered leaving the South, but little opportunity existed elsewhere in the country prior to 1915. With World War I these circumstances changed, as the demand for war goods expanded the labor needs of northern industries. Black workers from the South attracted the attention of northern industrialists, who actively recruited them to help fill the demand for new laborers. In cities like New York, Chicago and Pittsburgh these recruitment efforts resulted in tremendous increases in Afro-American populations during and after World War I.

In Washington, D.C., the war did not quite have the same effect. Unlike many northern cities, the District lacked an abundance of industrial jobs. Automobile manufacturing, steel production and other heavy industries did not dominate Washington's economy. Consequently, economic opportunities did not open up as rapidly for Afro-Americans in Washington as they did in other urban areas. Most Black men who found work during the war toiled as laborers in the building trades,

as chauffeurs or as servants. Black women faced even more restricted choices: at least seventy percent of them held domestic or personal service positions. While some Afro-Americans acquired positions with the federal government, they did not benefit from the expansion of government positions during the war to the same extent as their White counterparts.

The limited opportunities available to Afro-Americans influenced the degree to which southerners chose to settle in the District. Between 1910 and 1920 the Black population in Washington increased by only eighteen percent (from 94,000 to 110,000), while in Detroit, the home of Ford Motor Company, it grew by more than 600 percent. Ironically, Washington had the largest Afro-American population of any American city in 1910 but attracted fewer migrants than many others.

Most of the newcomers settling in the District arrived from Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia. Transportation systems connecting these places to Washington made travel relatively easy. Trains brought many migrants to the city, as the Southern, Seaboard-Atlantic and Airline Railroads serviced southern states along the Atlantic coast and transported migrants to their terminals in Washington. Afro-Americans living near or in port cities like Savannah, Charleston and Newport News traveled to Washington by ship, taking advantage of the services of such companies as the Old Bay Line or the Old Dominion Steamship Company. Both train and ship fares were relatively inexpensive, and ship travel even included overnight accommodations.

Migrants who settled in Washington learned about the city through letters or visits home by friends and relatives. As the city's Black newspaper, the *Washington Bee*, noted in its "News Notes" column, local residents frequently made trips back south. Weddings, christenings, homecoming activities and funerals usually provided the impetus for these visits. During their stay visitors talked about their positive experiences in the North and the many opportunities available, encouraging others to leave. While migrating meant leaving behind family, friends and strong community ties, it offered the possibility of greater opportunities for individuals willing to take a chance.

Migrants to Washington and other cities usually



Migrants headed north full of excitement and hope about the future that awaited them. Photo courtesy Library of Congress, Farm Security Administration

stayed with family members or friends. Chain migration, or relocating to the same place where a family member or friend resided, provided an important support system for newcomers. Adjusting to the pace of life and new ways of doing things in any city was difficult, so living near family helped ease the transition. Through the contacts provided by already established Afro-American residents, migrants received information about job opportunities, places to live, child care and social conventions around the city.

Because the District presented many problems for Black residents, newcomers to Washington needed this help. After the turn of the century, discrimination in the city increased. Under the presidency of Woodrow Wilson segregation in government offices grew dramatically, as separate work areas and restrooms became the norm. Black school children attended separate schools and played in segregated park areas. In the private sector, downtown stores served Black customers in segregated areas and forced them to purchase clothing without allowing them to try it on. After the war, circumstances deteriorated further, as a race riot, initiated by White servicemen, took place in July of 1919. Six years later,

with the consent of local officials, the Ku Klux Klan led a massive parade through the streets of Washington.

Significantly, within the city there existed an Afro-American community which functioned apart from an oftentimes hostile White population. This was the world into which family and friends introduced newcomers. It included a myriad of institutions, organizations and community groups which offered alternative forms of entertainment and social interaction for Black Washington residents. Most important among these institutions were churches – places like Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church, Asbury Methodist, Metropolitan Baptist, Vermont Avenue Baptist and Shiloh Baptist Church. Their religious services and related activities provided important outlets for local residents. The Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. offered shelter, food and training for newcomers to the city. Activities sponsored by the Southwest Settlement House, the Federation of Civic Associations, the Mutual South Literary Club, the Howard Theater and other organizations offered additional activities and support for both newcomers and long-established residents.

This Washington community atmosphere, with its

rich traditions and strong support networks, is what attracted migrants to the District during and after World War I. Within its confines Afro-Americans married and raised families, protested against mistreatment, educated their children, went to work and performed the daily routines typical of other Washington residents. Even without the increase in jobs available elsewhere Washington offered other attractions to potential migrants, enticing newcomers to the city during and after World War I.

During the Depression, Roosevelt's New Deal programs offered fresh incentives to prospective migrants. These programs, which promoted construction and other economic activities around the District, brought a new wave of migrants to the city. Construction companies in particular recruited heavily in the South for Afro-American laborers. As a result, while migration to other cities slowed during the Depression years, it increased in the District, as the city's Black population rose forty-eight percent between 1930 and 1940.

With the start of World War II, migration patterns to Washington more closely paralleled the movement of migrants to other cities in the North and West. After 1940 Washington's Afro-American population steadily increased in size, as economic opportunities broadened and the struggle for improved civil rights broke down many of the barriers which previously held back Black residents. The 1954 Supreme Court decision, for example, brought an end to school segregation in the District. By 1960 the Afro-American population in Washington numbered more than 400,000 and constituted a majority of the residents in the city.

While the in-migration of Afro-Americans to Washington varied in intensity during the 20th century, the pattern of migration did not change appreciably. Migrants came to the city primarily because they knew someone living there who could help them adjust to a new environment. Their contacts linked them into support networks of individuals, institutions and organizations which made this transition less jarring. While migrants moved for a variety of reasons, ranging from fear of violence to the desire for a better job, *where* they moved depended a great deal upon whom they knew and trusted. Personal connections were an important reason why they settled in Washington even during weak economic periods and why Washington's Black population grew steadily during the 20th century.

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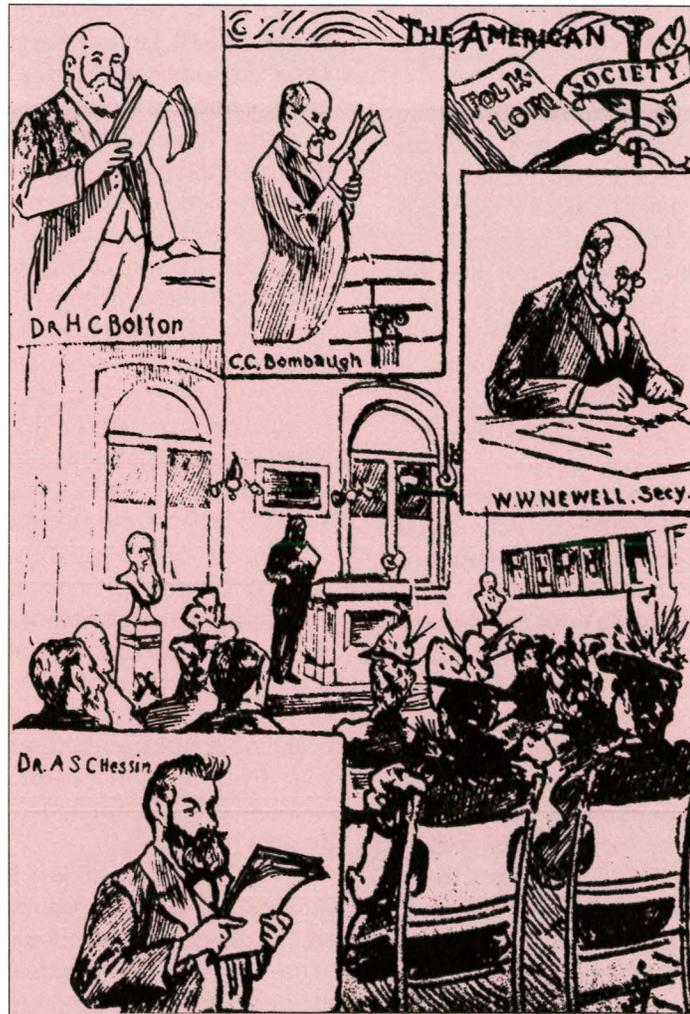
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American Folklore Society Centennial



This drawing for the *Baltimore American* portrays the AFS annual meeting held in Baltimore December 28-29, 1897. Presentations made by the folklorists pictured were: W.W. Newell, "Opportunities for Collecting Folklore in America"; A.S. Chessin, "Russian Folklore"; C.C. Bombaugh, "Bibliography of Folklore"; H.C. Bolton, "Relics of Astrology." Photo courtesy Simon Bronner

The American Folklore Society:

One Hundred Years of Folklore Study and Presentation

by Roger D. Abrahams

The American Folklore Society Centennial Program is supported, in part, by the L.J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation through the American Folklore Society.

It seems especially appropriate for the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Folklife Programs to help celebrate the American Folklore Society's Centennial. For twenty years the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife has embodied many of the Society's founders' perspectives: to observe and collect traditional performances and practices of the American peoples; to study this expressive life scientifically; to celebrate the diversity of American culture through presenting publicly the accomplishments of master performers and artisans. Both the Smithsonian and the Society have worked for a century with this common approach.

The American Folklore Society began publishing the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* in 1888; this announced the start of the formal study of folklore in North America. In the summer of 1887 an unsigned circular letter announcing plans for a society reached a number of literary figures, journalists, historians, anthropologists, educators, psychologists and others identified as interested in traditional customs. The positive level of response led to an organizational meeting early the next year in Cambridge. As a way of alerting the world at large to the importance of professional attention to traditional cultures, the AFS centennial year will include many special events, and the Society will "return home" to hold its 1988 annual meeting in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The Society's founders aimed high: the planning letter proposed that such an organization should bring together those interested in the "mental tokens which belong to our own intellectual stock, which bear the stamp of successive age, which connect the intelligence of our day with all periods of human activity. . . ." Joining hands in mutual endeavor involved face-to-face encounters by scholars as well as the publication of a journal. Indeed, by the time the first annual meeting took place in Philadelphia, 1889, the *Journal's* second volume had already been published.

To be sure, a number of scholars previously had carried out significant projects dealing with traditional forms: games, rhymes, ballads, folktales, beliefs, proverbs. At the Smithsonian Institution the massive task of documenting American Indian traditions had been launched

by members of the Bureau of American Ethnology: John Wesley Powell, James Mooney, Otis T. Mason and others. These ethnologists joined with literary colleagues to the north in forming the AFS.

Thus, upon inception, AFS founders already understood that the traditions of *all* Americans had to be studied in the new organization. In addition to the relics of ancient British practices the founders called specifically for work in the lore of "ex-slaves" among Afro-Americans, American Indians throughout the continent, Hispanic-Americans and French-speakers from Canada and Louisiana. Eventually the *Journal of American Folklore* devoted a yearly issue to Afro-American traditions, another to French-American and a third to Hispanic-American lore. While then-recent immigrants (1880-1900) did not figure in the initial publications of the Society, many local branches in fact called for such study.

The unfashionable idea of pluralistic cultural exploration challenged but a handful of scholars in the 1880s. The Civil War had been brought to a head by the radical vision of Abolitionists. One of these, Wendell Philips, advanced the notion of *cultural* as well as *social* equity for the slaves. Though many Society members participated in the northern cause before and during the Civil War, strong sentiment arose afterward throughout the nation to put the experience and that style of radical thought out of mind.

The American Folklore Society's multi-cultural approach arose out of practical, organizational and empirical necessity: the organizers drew on the talents of the widest range of students of tradition, no matter their concerns or target populations. But in the 19th century scientific professionalism meant developing upon biological (usually evolutionary) models for organizing data in many fields. Thus some folklorists analogized customary traditions and practices to natural systems of growth and decay, seeing all cultures going through a series of developmental stages.

Such reductionist thinking, however, was explicitly rejected by William Wells Newell and Franz Boas, the two men who held greatest influence in the formation of the Society. Newell, a Unitarian minister from Cambridge, came from an Abolitionist family and had worked for the Sanitary Commission during the Civil War. After serving as a schoolteacher he found his way to the field



William Wells Newell, one of the founders of the American Folklore Society. Photo courtesy Harvard University Archive

of folklore through studying children's games. Boas could not have been more different than Newell. As a deracinated German Jew, and Berlin-trained physicist turned ethnographer, he devoted much of his life to confronting racist thinking and racialist arguments regarding patterns of culture. Boas worked primarily with American Indian materials; he exhibited life-long interest in Afro-Americans; he encouraged his students and correspondents in the task of looking to the cultural persistences from Africa exhibited by ex-slaves and their descendents.

To build the Society professionally Newell and Boas learned that they had to make common cause against the genteel amateurism then rampant in all of the sciences until late in the century. They had as well to oppose naive social evolutionist ideas that dominated thinking about folk society and lore in North America, England and on the European continent. For both practical and scientific reasons, then, leaders of the American Folklore Society came to insist on the equal value of *all* traditions. Indeed, Newell, despite his privileged upbringing and elitist cast of mind, asserted that everyone should be regarded as "folk." As he put it a hundred years ago:

By folklore is to be understood oral tradition, – information and belief handed down from generation to generation without the use of writing. There are reasons why this mass of knowledge, – including history, theology and romance, – which has been orally preserved in any people should be set aside as capable of

independent treatment. Such matter must express the common opinion, or it would not be preserved; it must be on the level with the notions of the average rather than of the exceptional person; it must belong, that is, to the folk rather than the individual.

These words from a speech in 1890 to the New York Scientific Academy seem amazingly close to the way in which most folklorists presently define their field. In Newell's time, folklore accepted an evolutionary model which saw all cultures as belonging to one or another stage of human development from savagery to civilization. Newell's words directly contradicted this notion; he pursued the concept that everyone, no matter how civilized, has a primitive, savage or barbaric side to his or her life.

The informal quest for an *American* folklore arose well before 1888. After 1776 American intellectuals felt that, as a nation taking its place in the world, the United States must have a unique culture. Men of letters self-consciously attempted to constitute a national literature built on native conditions and indigenous traditions. Thus our writers made efforts to fashion "the great American epic" on the trans-Atlantic journey, the frontier experience or (in the case of Longfellow) on American Indian mythology and Acadian lore. Indeed, a great number of these seekers of a particular American culture and a parallel American language became early members of the American Folklore Society: Mark Twain, Edward Eggleston and Joel Chandler Harris among the "regionalists" or "local colorists"; Francis Parkman and John Fiske among the national historians; Franz Boas, John Wesley Powell and Otis T. Mason among the ethnologists already at work collecting American Indian lore. Of the Society's founders only a few, such as ballad scholar Francis James Child and his student George Lyman Kittredge, subscribed to the European style of study, which emphasized collecting and comparing "surviving" examples of lore from earlier periods.

These organizing members faced a major question: how to delimit "American folklore." Though influenced by The Folklore Society in England, the existence of a new nation of immigrants and indigenous peoples of a wide variety of life styles inevitably led to broad defini-

tions in pluralistic terms for the American Folklore Society. At the same time, collecting the remains of Western European traditions became the major objective of several local offshoots of the Society. Many cities had their own folkloric organizations: Philadelphia, Chicago, New Orleans, St. Louis. One of the most active local groups emerged at the Hampton Institute in Virginia. More than this, the discovery of the important countryside traditions spawned state societies, such as those in Virginia and Mississippi, and regional groups, such as the Folksong Society of the Northeast.

In addition, feelings developed that occupational



Major John Wesley Powell, first director of the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology and charter member of AFS. "Inquiring for the water pocket," 1873, Kaibab Plateau near the Grand Canyon in northern Arizona. Photo courtesy National Anthropological Archives

folklore might be carried by "sodbusters," mountain men, lumberjacks and cowboys, who stood in strange and vigorous contrast to the denizens of the industrial world. A number of folklorists, such as Robert Winslow Gordon and John Avery Lomax, attended to these impulses, writing of frontier technologies and play practices. Gordon, after writing a popular column in *Adventure Magazine*, became the first field collector and archivist at the Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress. Lomax, the son of an East-Texas dirt-farmer, traveled the cattle areas of the state to com-

pile his great *Cowboy Songs* (1910). He, too, headed the Library's Archive. The third folklorist to carry this important post, Benjamin A. Botkin, like Gordon had begun as an English teacher. Botkin compiled the popular *Treasury of American Folklore* (1944) and gathered other regional treasuries. Botkin made an especially significant contribution in developing a national agenda for folklore study that paid serious attention to plural voices.

Not until after World War II did the work of the American Folklore Society assert itself in more than the content of the *Journal*. In great part, because of the development of graduate folklore programs at universities



Alice Cunningham Fletcher (seated in middle holding a letter), first woman president of AFS (1905), with women at the Omaha Indian Mission (1880s). Photo courtesy National Anthropological Archives

such as Indiana, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and the University of California at Los Angeles, and the entry into those programs of students with interests beyond collecting, Society members began to center on tradition-bearers themselves. Again, the discipline adjusted its use of the term "folklore," gravitating toward definitions that underscored the ways in which living people maintained traditions. During the 1930s to some degree this "new" position gained attention from left ("popular front") ideology, which conceived of one perfect union of people's culture to include farmers, laborers and unionists. In short, "working stiffs" became "folk."

Having redirected interests from the items of lore to tradition-bearers themselves, folklorists in the New Deal era became concerned with the "common man." That is, they looked for deep understanding and feelings shared by those in household, village, town, locale, neighborhood – even those belonging to voluntary associations. How judgements of truth and beauty arose from members of such groups also came to importance. By looking at folklore through its bearers and the communities of interest in which they live, some folklorists in time felt that they might represent these tradition-bearers to the general public. Hence American Folklore Society mem-



Benjamin A. Botkin, AFS president, 1944. Botkin was director of the folklore project of the Federal Writers' Project during the 1930s and director of the Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress. He is shown here at the Library of Congress around the time his book *A Treasury of Railroad Folklore* (1953) was published. Photo courtesy Gertrude Botkin

bers came to notions of cultural conservation. In this past decade they linked interest in the continuity of tradition to questions of cultural equity within a plural nation. Many folklorists now look for the very best tradition-bearers and the newest outgrowths of small-group

stylized activities, seeking to both study and present such cultural phenomena through publications, festivals and other representational modes.

While present-day definitions of folklore have changed with the Society's enlarged mission, our notions of the authentic development of common culture have also altered. Work on behalf of "traditionalizing" communities has led to a sense that folklorists need not be bound entirely by classic forms studied in the past: ballads, folksongs, fairy tales, myths, legends, for instance. We look for any activity entered into creatively and enthusiastically by peoples living in face-to-face groups.



In previous years, the Cultural Conservation program at the Festival of American Folklife has presented tradition-bearers to the public on the National Mall (left). Photo by Kim Nielson, Smithsonian Institution
Folklorist Betty Belanus interviews Gladys Widdis, a Wampanoag Indian potter who will participate at this year's festival (right). This year's program features a "cultural conversation," which will explore the relationships between tradition-bearers and the folklorists who document and present them. Photo by Daphne Shuttleworth, Smithsonian Institution



Today, then, the study of folklore maintains both "old" and "new" ways of approaching how people learn from and perform to each other. We combine fresh definition and growth with a strong interest in under-represented and threatened traditions of work and play. In all such efforts we continue to seek cues from people living in small groups: what they consider most exciting, artful and technically accomplished in their expressions.

The American Folklore Society remains a vital organization with an interest in scholarly study and presentation of folklore research. As well, its members wish to protect the world's cultural resources. Hence the Society program this summer at the Smithsonian Festival touches more than cultural conservation. It concerns also cultural conversations, the kind held between tradition-bearers and folklorists collecting in the field.

In celebrating the folklore collector as a cultural mediator, bringing together traditional performers and craftspeople with the public, the Smithsonian dramatizes what folklorists actually do in their chosen tasks. We observe the life of groups at human scale; we interact with those working and playing in their everyday environments, places in which traditions live; we seek out new ways of informing and delighting each other. In short, we face traditions newly invented and quickly traditionalized. Guardians of "authentic" traditions, folklorists today, also pursue fresh, emergent ones. We can see and sense, then, in a tent on the National Mall the living traditions of folklorists themselves – values and practices forged a century ago by pioneers, conserved, traditionalized and elaborated by a new generation of their cultural descendants.

Special thanks to Archie Green for help in preparation of this article.

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Afro-American Folklife Scholarship: A Case Study of the Sea Islands by Charles Joyner

The Gullah-speaking people of the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands are tradition-bearers of a distinctive folk culture. Created from African traditions and American circumstances, this culture allowed them not only to endure the collective tragedy of slavery but also to bequeath a notable and enduring heritage to posterity.

Public interest in the folk culture of the Sea Islands predated formation of the American Folklore Society (1888) by more than two decades. Popular interest in the Sea Islands had been stimulated by articles in *Atlantic Monthly* in the mid-1860s, and the first major field collection of American folk songs to be published was *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867), a compendium of Afro-American spirituals. Of the 130 songs in the volume, half were collected on St. Helena Island, South Carolina.

It was not until the American Folklore Society was organized, however, that scholarship on Sea Island folklore began in earnest. Within a few years, studies of folk tales, spirituals, sermons and funeral customs were published. Especially noteworthy were H. C. Bolton's 1891 article on grave decoration in the new *Journal of American Folk-Lore* and A. M. H. Christensen's publication of her *Afro-American Folk-Lore Told 'Round Cabin Fires in the Sea Islands of South Carolina* in 1892.

While the first two decades of this century were almost barren of folklore scholarship in the Sea Islands, the 1920s witnessed another surge of research. In particular, work centered around questions of the origins of spirituals and of Gullah, the Creole language of the Sea Islands and adjacent coastal region. The national controversy over spirituals was echoed in Sea Island scholarship. In *St. Helena Island Spirituals* (1925), Nicholas George Julius Ballanta-Taylor, a native of Sierra Leone, claimed African origins for Afro-American spirituals. Taking a different view, Guy B. Johnson later argued in his *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina* (1930) that Black spirituals exemplified selective borrowings from White folk hymnody.

For the most part, Sea Island folklorists were content simply to compile large collections of lore without drawing conclusions from them. Lydia Parrish published *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands* (1942), and Elsie Clews Parsons published *Folk-Lore of the Sea Islands* (1923) off South Carolina. Parsons refrained from inferences, but her careful annotations showed the remark-

able similarity of the material she collected to African folklore.

The scholarship of Gullah speech followed a similar course. Ambrose Elliott Gonzales in *The Black Border* (1922) and Reed Smith in *Gullah* (1926) argued that the speech of Black Sea Islanders was the imperfect result of the attempt of "savage and primitive" people to acquire the complex language of a more "highly civilized" race. Lorenzo Dow Turner, on the other hand, suggested in his *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (1949) that thousands of African words persisted in Gullah, most of them not used in the presence of Whites.

The University of North Carolina conducted a major field research project on St. Helena Island in 1929, just before the first bridge to the mainland was built. Chapel Hill scholar Guy B. Johnson, an early champion of racial equality, did not share the patronizing attitudes of Bennett, Gonzales and Smith. Nevertheless he echoed their assumption of British origins of Afro-American folk culture in his *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island* (1930). "The Negro's almost complete loss of African linguistic heritages is startling at first glance," he wrote, "but slavery as practiced in the United States made any other outcome impossible." On the Sea Islands, he argued, Blacks assumed the English of the Whites with whom they associated. Gullah grammar, in his opinion, was "merely simplified English grammar." As for the spirituals, he declared their general pattern and much of the style to be borrowed from White folk music.

A watershed study in Sea Island culture was *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*, published in 1940 by the Savannah Unit of the Federal Writers Project under the leadership of Mary Granger. Stereotypical images depicted in such popular literature as *Gone With the Wind* did not prepare Americans for the real-life conditions of Black Georgians presented in *Drums and Shadows* of families with yearly incomes of less than two hundred dollars, living in houses with leaky tin roofs and lacking window screens or glass.

A year before publication of Melville J. Herskovits's important *Myth of the Negro Past* (1941), Granger and her associates annotated hundreds of Africanisms in Black tradition in the Georgia Sea Islands and adjacent coastal region. In her introduction to *Drums and Shad-*



Katie Brown of Sapelo Island, with mortar and pestle. This image is one of forty photographs published in *Drums and Shadows* (1940) portraying Sea Island inhabitants, their lifestyles, material culture and occupations during the 1930s. Photo by Malcolm and Muriel Bell, courtesy Malcolm and Muriel Bell

ows, Granger noted the renewal and exchange of native ceremonies and customs when plantations were populated. This continual development was simply intensified by isolation.

One of the oldest Sea Islanders interviewed in the 1930s was Katie Brown. In her native Gullah she recalled the foodways of her grandmother:

She make funny flat cake she call 'saraka.' She make um same day ebry yeah, and it big day. Wen dey finish, she call us in, all duh chillun, an put in hans lill flat cake an we eats it. Yes'm, I membuh how she make it. She wash rice, and po off all duh watuh. She let wet rice sit all night, an in mawnin rice is all swell. She tak dat rice an put it in wooden mawtuh, an beat it tuh paste wid wooden pestle. She add honey, sometime shuguh, and make it in flat cake wid uh hans. 'Saraka' she call um. (Granger, p. 162)

In front of Katie Brown's cabin stood just such a crude wooden mortar, constructed by her husband from a log.

Drums and Shadows set a new standard for a more realistic and less patronizing approach to its subjects; in its production Granger received the active encouragement of advisors Sterling Brown, Melville Herskovits and Guy B. Johnson. Johnson in particular, although skeptical of Granger's interpretation, ardently championed the Savannah Unit's search for Africanisms in the Sea Islands. *Drums and Shadows* presented the evidence and eschewed theoretical pronouncements. It remained for Herskovits's student, William R. Bascom, to publish an article, "Acculturation among the Gullah Negroes," in *American Anthropologist* (1941) in which he developed theoretical issues raised by the information presented in Granger's seminal work.

The next generation produced little scholarship on the Sea Islands with the exception of Guy and Candie Carawan's activist *Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life? The People of Johns Island, South Carolina* (1966). Texts collected in the 1960s demonstrate that links with the traditions of past generations remained strong:

We doesn't go to no doctor. My daddy used to cook medicine – herbs medicine: seamuckle, pine top, lison molasses, shoemaker root, ground moss, peachtree leaf, big-root, blood-root, red oak bark, terrywuk.

... All this from old people time when they hardly been any doctor. People couldn't afford doctor, so they had to have and guess. Those old people dead out now, but they worked their own remedy and their own remedy come out good. (Carawan, p. 45)

In the 1960s, Johns Island residents such as Janie Hunter recognized changes in their lifestyle but noted

the desire of young and old alike to preserve the knowledge of past generations:

I tell you, young people got a lot chance to think more in their age than I had to think in my days. 'Cause I couldn't think 'bout nothing but plant peas and corn in my days. But now these children got so much different thing to go through and learn, and they got nice schools. If they don't learn, it's nobody's fault but their own. Then I try to teach them these stories and different song and let them know what blues was like in my days coming up. My children like it. They sit down and they want me to talk about the past. They enjoy hearing it. I want them to know about it, so when I gone there be somebody to carry it on.
(Carawan, p. 72)

An extraordinary resurgence of Sea Island scholarship began in the 1970s and 1980s, when scholars narrowed their focus and probed more deeply. Noteworthy work on Gullah material culture included John Michael Vlach's, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (1978) and his study of wrought-ironworker Philip Simmons, *Charleston Blacksmith* (1981), as well as Dale Rosengarten's investigation and exhibit of lowcountry coiled basketmakers, *Row upon Row* (1986), for the McKissick Museum in Columbia, South Carolina. Beyond published works emerged a flood of doctoral dissertations ranging in subject from African retentions in Gullah culture, continuity and change in Sea Island music and Black women basketmakers, to the islanders' peace-keeping mechanisms, parental discipline, folk medicine, the meaning of plantation "membership" and even the impact of television on traditional culture in the Sea Islands. Linguistics dissertations were important in advancing the understanding of Gullah beyond the narrow ethnocentric view of previous generations. Collectively they demonstrated that Gullah is not a dialect but a creole language – exemplifying not divergence from English but the convergence of various African and European linguistic influences. The basic lexicon of Gullah was acknowledged to be English, but the syntax – the appropriate way of using the lexicon to generate meaning – was shown to be largely African.

In my own *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (1984), I build upon the concept of the creolization of language – a process by which various linguistic strains converge to create a new, creole language – to examine broader questions. I examine transformation of various African folk-cultural elements into a new, creole Afro-American folk culture with distinctive work patterns, material culture, folk beliefs and verbal and musical arts. More recently, Patricia Jones-Jackson's *When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands* (1987) represents a special contribution to Sea Island scholarship. Although not native to Sea Island culture, this gifted scholar enjoyed a close personal



Alfred Graham, the first teacher of basketry at Penn School on St. Helena Island, brought the craft with him when he came from Africa as a boy. He is shown here with his grandson in 1909. Basketry, one of the oldest crafts of African origin to be brought to the United States, has played an important and enduring role in the region. The photograph was taken by Leigh Richmond Miner who documented St. Helena Island life at the turn of the century. Miner's original glass plates were discovered in the 1960s and published in 1971 in *Face of an Island* edited by Edith M. Dabbs. Photo from the Penn School Historical Collection, permission granted by Penn Center, Inc., St. Helena Island, South Carolina. Print courtesy Penn School Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill



“Miss Myma” (Aneatha Brisbane), Patricia Jones-Jackson’s closest personal link to the Sea Islands community, to whom her book *When Roots Die* is dedicated. During field trips to the area, Jones-Jackson resided with “Miss Myma” who adopted the folklorist as her “granddaughter.” Photo by Patricia Jones-Jackson, reproduced by permission of the University of Georgia Press from *When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions of the Sea Islands*, by Patricia Jones-Jackson, copyright 1987.

relationship to the people she studied. “Miss Myma” (Aneatha Brisbane), a community member who befriended her and introduced her to the ways of the Sea Island Community, once visited Jones-Jackson’s Michigan home. Sitting before the fireplace, Miss Myma shared tales of Ber Rabbit with Jones-Jackson’s two small children, passing on to them an oral tradition which could not have been matched by a lifetime of exposure to written literature.

Jones-Jackson was tragically killed in an automobile accident on Johns Island in the summer of 1986 while

engaged in fieldwork. Her posthumous book examines relations between language, storytelling and environment on the contemporary Sea Islands, where traditional culture is threatened by such large-scale resort development as that occurring at nearby Hilton Head. Jones-Jackson’s work and that of a new cadre of concerned community members, environmental and cultural conservators, state cultural programmers and scholars suggest that folklife study and cultural conservation have inseparably interwoven scholarly and folk traditions.

Charles Joyner, a native of the South Carolina coastal region, is Burroughs Professor of History at the University of South Carolina, Coastal Carolina College. His Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community won the 1987 National University Press Book Award. In addition to his fieldwork in the South Carolina and Georgia Sea Islands and lowcountry he has recorded singers and musicians in the Appalachians, the Ozarks, the British Isles and Newfoundland.

Suggested reading

Carawan, Guy and Candie. *Ain’t You Got a Right to the Tree of Life? The People of Johns Island, South Carolina*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1988 [New York: Simon and Shuster, 1966].

Granger, Mary, ed. *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1986 [1940].

Jones, Bessie and Bess Lomax Hawes. *Step It Down: Games, Plays, Songs, and Stories from the Afro-American Heritage*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1985 [New York: Harper and Row, 1972].

Jones-Jackson, Patricia. *When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Joyner, Charles. *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

Suggested recordings

Georgia Sea Islands Songs (New World NW, 278).

Bessie Jones, *So Glad I’m Here* (Rounder, 2015).

_____, *Step It Down* (Rounder, 8004).

_____, *Georgia Sea Islands*, Volume II, Southern Journey Series (Prestige/International, 25002).

McIntosh County Shouters, *Georgia Slave Songs* (Folkways, 4344).

Moving Star Hall Singers, *Sea Island Folk Festival* (Folkways FS, 3841).

_____, *Been in the Storm So Long* (Folkways FS, 3842).

Suggested film

Gullah Tales, by Gary Moss. 29 min. color, 16 mm., or videotape. Georgia Endowment for the Humanities, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

Finding Folklife Between the Freeways: Notes from the Los Angeles Folk Arts Program

by Susan Auerbach

My first day on the job in 1985 as Los Angeles Folk Arts Coordinator, a casting director called, looking for movie extras. Did we know any Tibetan organizations in town? If not, Nepalese would do. As I flipped through an out-of-date ethnic directory, I marveled at how little was known of the local cultural landscape, eclipsed as it was by the world of the image-makers. I wondered how feasible it would be to carve a niche for traditional arts in "Tinseltown." It was fine for my colleagues elsewhere to survey a rural county, visiting basketmakers who used local grasses or old-time fiddlers who played for barn dances. But Los Angeles is a young city at the cutting edge of popular culture, with little regard for the past; a still-growing suburban sprawl of 450 square miles, without a geographical center or viable neighborhood base; a conglomeration of three million vastly dispersed, often transient people. How would we find grassroots cultures among the maze of southern California freeways? How could we lure audiences away from lavish popular entertainments or prestigious international fine arts festivals? How should we get beyond the myth of palm trees and stardom to the symbols and expressions that mattered in people's daily lives?

Los Angeles may seem an unlikely place for one of the country's forty-seven publically sponsored Folk Arts Programs. Yet it serves as a laboratory of unequalled, virtually undocumented cultural diversity and vitality, however quietly tended or lost in the hustle of urban life. Traditional artists and practitioners, companions of diversity, are undeniably out there on the side streets between the freeways – whether meticulously tooling a saddle at a Mexican artisan's workshop or offering rousing songs at a Samoan church dedication.

At the Los Angeles Folk Arts Program we have looked to the peopling of the city for our inspiration, trying to piece together a cultural map of this complex, unwieldy metropolis. Perhaps the most dramatic transformation of Los Angeles in the past two decades is a result of the phenomenal influx of immigrants and refugees from Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. The city has become a mecca, not only for would-be film stars but for displaced Iranian singers, ambitious Mexican mariachi bands and a master of masked dance, one of Korea's "Living National Treasures." In this "new Ellis Island" these artists join their countrymen in enclaves

that are often larger than any other outside their homeland. After much persistence, we found them playing marimba at a Guatemalan Maya religious fiesta; crafting lace at an Armenian social service agency; dancing the *punta* in a church parking lot at an annual holiday of the Garifuna people of Belize (a Black Carib group de-



Garifuna Settlement Day celebration in Los Angeles for Black Carib people from Belize. Photo by Susan Auerbach

scended from escaped African slaves and Arawak Indians in Central America). Our efforts to identify these people and bring them before the public culminated in the "Cityroots Festival: A Celebration of New Immigrant Traditions," attended by 20,000 at a city park last spring. "This is one of the few things that makes Los Angeles feel like one place instead of a whole lot of different places jammed together," commented one observer.

While the immigration boom is evident everywhere, other phases of the area's settlement are more obscure. Few non-Black Angelenos are aware, for instance, of the thousands of Black Louisianians who migrated west in the post-war years and today make up a closely knit sub-culture. They maintain ties to their heritage through community zydeco dances, New Orleans-style weddings,



Multicultural children's handclapping games performance at the Kidlore section of the Cityroots Festival. Photo by Lori Schindler for L.A. Folk Arts Program



"Junk Car" created by Anthony Faria, on display at the Cityroots Festival. Photo by Lori Schindler for L.A. Folk Arts Program

church activities and the sharing of *boudin* rice sausage and other regional foods – not to mention trips “back home.” Our festival, “From L.A. to L.A.: A Celebration of Black and Creole Heritage,” drew thousands of local Louisianians, generating something like the atmosphere of a family reunion. Current research in the Jewish neighborhood of Fairfax and the heavily southern European, maritime trades-dominated town of San Pedro is revealing other pockets of community tradition which challenge the city’s made-for-movies stereotype. We look

forward to expanding our cultural geography to other migrant groups, such as the city’s largely invisible American Indian population (again, the largest urban concentration in the country).

As our mapping progresses, I sometimes wonder whether we are truly documenting or wishfully creating the communities we honor. With commuter lifestyles and far-flung settlement patterns, the boundaries of community in Los Angeles are tenuous. Are we nurturing something real when we name it and showcase it in a

program, or are we promoting a nostalgic idea? Do we stereotype communities when our interviews target those most closely identified with a community, the carriers of group tradition? Or do we touch on some genuine symbolic core for all its members?

Social and cultural change make their mark on traditional life everywhere, but most radically in cities. I hope my colleagues and I can begin to look at some of the cross-fertilization that urban life fosters between traditional arts and other expressions: “revivalists” (contemporary interpreters of tradition), the avant-garde and popular culture, to name but a few. In Los Angeles, we



Homer Raymond, an eighty-year-old duck decoy carver formerly from New Orleans shown here in his home workshop in Los Angeles. Photo by Willie Middlebrook for L.A. Folk Arts Program

have explored some contemporary local lore, like children’s handclapping games, personalized cars and license plates and even earthquake-coping stories. Perhaps someday we will look at the lore of make-up artists, palm tree trimmers and lifeguards, or find a way to handle the expressions spawned by the other aspects of city life, like homelessness and gangs. By then the Los Angeles Folk Arts Program will have filled in more gaps on the map, encouraging an approach to public sector folklore that is as forward-looking as the population it serves.

Susan Auerbach is Folk Arts Coordinator for the Cultural Affairs Department of the City of Los Angeles. She has special interests in Mediterranean, immigrant and women’s folklore, having spent two years doing fieldwork in a Greek village on women’s musical roles and repertoires. She holds an M.A. in Ethnomusicology from the University of Washington.

Cultural Conservation and the Tradition of Media Documentation

by Nicholas R. Spitzer

During fieldwork in Michigan's Upper Peninsula in 1986 I met an elderly French musician at his home in Sault Ste. Marie. After explaining my role as a Smithsonian folklorist looking for representatives of traditional culture, our talk turned to fiddling. The initially shy man began to beam, and I expected him to open a nearby instrument case and play. Instead, he turned on the VCR, and together we sat to watch him fiddling, surrounded on screen by children and grandchildren. One of them had thought to video tape "paw-paw's" music on his most recent birthday.

Nearly every practicing folklorist or anthropologist has a similar story. Members of traditional communities now use increasingly inexpensive, high-quality cassette recorders and video cameras to document their own traditions. In the Amazon, an Indian dressed in feathers, paint and sunglasses meets the fieldworker with a SONY in hopes of recording *him* singing American songs; in Louisiana, Spanish-speaking Isleño residents of the lower delta trade homemade cassettes of their ancient Canary Island songs.

Media forms have always had double-edged potential: exclusion or homogenization of folk performance traditions in many commercial settings, balanced by more beneficial applications of documentary technology on behalf of folk community expression. Traditional communities usually have little say concerning how or even whether they are depicted on national television. Unmediated traditional music, with historic exceptions noted below, is rarely issued by major record companies. While Thomas Edison envisioned that his "Home Phonograph" of 1878 would be used by middle-class families to record their personal traditions, he apparently did not see the potential to document cultures undergoing change outside the mainstream. Yet documentary media are today widely accepted as ways that traditional communities – often in tandem with folklorists – conserve and represent their own cultures. However, around the turn of the century, different, sometimes conflicting motivations guided folklorists and anthropologists as they recorded traditional culture.

Ballad scholars, who had previously sought old songs from printed sources, began field collecting with pen and paper in the 19th century. English folklorist Cecil Sharp, working in the Appalachian region in 1917,

wanted to collect "survivals" of British ballads. Sharp is said to have memorized the words and melodies so that he could later annotate them. Reputedly a fast note-taker, Sharp eschewed the cylinder technology of the day, and, thus did not record the actual sounds, words and ambience of the material. He promulgated in print and in person his "finds" of relict British culture still alive in remote America. An activist in his day, Sharp hoped to reach like-minded collectors and encourage national acceptance of folk music in England.

By contrast, some anthropologists turned quickly to early cylinder recording technology to document "objectively" the stories and songs of American Indians. Nearly thirty years before Sharp's work, Jesse Walter Fewkes had recorded Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine with an Edison cylinder machine. With his "scientific" approach Fewkes compared the language content and patterns of songs to "specimens" and "sections of a cellular structure." He viewed play-back in the laboratory as a means to a more studied understanding of the materials than possible in a live situation. Alice Cunningham Fletcher, the first woman president of the American Folklore Society, followed Fewkes in his recording approach. By 1907 musicologist Frances Densmore had begun her life-long work, the recording of more than 3,000 cylinders of Indian song for the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology. In the 1950s the Library of Congress began to reissue such early ethnographic recordings, and by 1979 copies of the recordings with accompanying description had been made available to community descendants through the American Folklife Center's Federal Cylinder Project.

At the turn of the century the recording of Indian music had been left largely to anthropologists – possibly because of community isolation and relative lack of profit potential. However, commercial recording companies like Berliner, Edison and Columbia began selling cylinders of traditional ethnic music – Jewish, Italian, French, Czech, Polish, Swedish and Russian among others – back to European immigrant communities in northeastern cities.

In the 1920s disc recordings eclipsed cylinders as the medium for commercial dissemination. Portable disc-cutting equipment also made it possible for companies to leave their northern urban studios and travel to



English folklorist Cecil Sharp collecting a ballad from Mrs. Pratt of Hindman, Knott County, Kentucky (1917). Field assistant Maud Karpeles is to the right. Photo courtesy Vaughn Williams Memorial Library, English Folk Dance and Song Society

southern cities and towns in search of English-language folk materials. In retrospect, record company scouts like Ralph Peer and Polk Brockman served as “unwitting folklorists,” as they began in 1923 to record commercial discs of instrumentally accompanied songs kindred to what Cecil Sharp had taken down by pen only five years earlier.

Beyond British ballads the recording companies marketed new American songs like the “Wreck of the ’97” and “Miller’s Cave,” as well as a wide range of “hillbilly” stringband music, “race records” (as blues and gospel were called), and by the late 1920s regional ethnic styles such as Cajun and Texas-Mexican music. As the case with cylinders, the buying audiences were the specific folk/ethnic communities where the music originated. However, as the record companies attempted to widen audiences, and community members sought mainstream lifestyles, more acculturated and hybrid forms of music were recorded. By the 1930s old-time stringbands

gave way increasingly to “crooners” and western swing orchestras; blues, though less affected, became urbanized; Cajun music included English vocals and edged toward country music in style.

In contrast to commercial recording, folklorist Robert W. Gordon, the first director of the Library of Congress’s Archive of American Folk Song, began in 1925 to document southern folk music and narratives. Gordon worked with mountain Anglos near Asheville, North Carolina, and coastal Blacks in Darien, Georgia. Like Sharp he took the antiquarian view: his “finds” represented earlier stages of cultural evolution in which one might seek the sources of poetic creativity. However, Gordon experimented with recording technology as a means of data collection:

... my field work will be so conducted that I may bring back to my study the still living specimens for later work. . . . I can at any moment recall the *actual* singer though miles away. And what I fail to do in the way of proper interpretation will be open to others who come after me. I shall not muddy the water or conceal the trail.

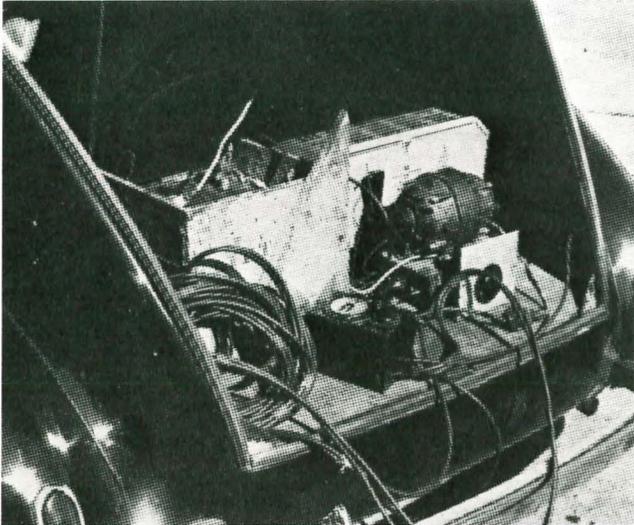
It is instructive today to hear the divergence between what commercial companies recorded in the 1930s and the parallel work of the Lomaxes. In Louisiana French music, for example, even the earliest 1928-9 New Orleans studio sessions of Columbia, Okeh Records and others limited their recordings to the waltzes and two-steps of Cajun dance music. By 1934, when commercial companies had turned to acculturated styles, the Lomaxes journeyed to rural south Louisiana to make field-recordings of the traditional dance music as well as old French ballads, drinking songs and *juré* chants – the African-influenced roots of Creole zydeco music.

Moses Asch, a Jewish emigré from Poland who combined experience as an electronics engineer with political activism, produced the most notable commercial recordings equivalent to the Lomax field material. Asch sought primarily traditional music for a series of his own New York-based companies before finally establishing Folkways Records in 1947. He documented and disseminated an encyclopedic archive of human sound. Small record companies founded a generation or more later – Arhoolie, Yazoo, Rounder, Shanachie – still show the influence of Asch's vision.

Photography, like sound recording, has long been a favored tool of folklorists because of its relatively unobtrusive nature, simple mechanics and powerful effects. Although the technology had been available in the 19th century, the creative period of folkloric documentary photography came in the 1930s within the Farm Security Administration (FSA). FSA photographers (including Ben Shahn, Marion Post Walcott and Dorothea Lange) fanned out into America to document the lives of rural or displaced peoples. Under the direction of New Deal activist Roy E. Stryker most photographers exploited the veracity of stark black and white documentary images to provoke public reaction to widespread poverty.

Photographer Walker Evans collaborating with writer James Agee produced a classic: *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1939). This memorable book lives as a polemic, poetic inventory of White tenant farmers' lives in Depression Alabama. While Agee and Evans focused on the artistic impact of their words and photos – with a message of dignity and integrity in an environment of despair – ethnographers interested in the systematic study of culture have since tended to use photography more as a "scientific research method." Yet many folklorists who use photographs to represent traditional communities still draw on the photo *noir* style and evocative content associated with FSA photographs. At the same time, process-oriented photo documentation – for this Festival for example – also remains an essential folklore field research tool.

Film and video as ethnographic media, like photography, continue the history of tension between the art and science of documentation. Such early films about traditional societies as Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922) and *Moana* (1926) included much action



The back of John and Alan Lomax's car was modified to hold disc-cutting equipment for their 1930s field trips. Photo courtesy Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress

John A. Lomax, who followed Gordon at the Archive of American Folk Song and collected throughout the South and West in the 1930s, modified his car to transport new, but cumbersome, aluminum-disc recording technology. On field trips made with family members, especially son Alan, he sought old forms of musical expression – not as remnants of an earlier life but as exemplars of the current vitality of a pluralistic America. Lomax, a self-proclaimed "ballad hunter," used his recordings to argue for an American tradition of folksong performers, "... who still sing the cowboy songs, the sea songs, the lumberjack songs, the bad-man ballads. ... the songs of the down-and-out classes. ..."

As a youth in East Texas at the turn of the century Lomax had written down cowboy songs heard on the family ranch; now he used sound recordings as audio evidence to refute notions of Cecil Sharp and others that many Americans lacked a worthwhile native cultural inheritance. Especially significant among the over 3,000 recordings made by the Lomaxes for the Library of Congress are worksongs, blues, shouts, spirituals, sermons and gospel music, all of which helped prove the integrity of Black folk culture and its influence on other musical forms.

created especially to tell a “story” to the viewer. Later films by Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson on the Balinese, John Marshall on Kalahari Bushmen and Robert Gardner on New Guineans looked at the process of specific activities such as dance and ritual or provided audio-visual ethnographies of the culture as a whole.

Based on lengthy field research, ethnographic film in the strictest sense presents “whole acts” in a defined cultural context. While such works serve for data interpretation, classroom use and as text supplements, many films and videos in the last two decades by independent documentors provide a primarily personal aesthetic or exotic experience of cultures. They may reach broad audiences through their entertainment value, but fidelity to the cultures represented is sometimes compromised. The most satisfying films, from a folkloric perspective, are those that have a strong research base, represent traditional communities and their context equitably and are well-realized as media art. One example, *Number Our Days* (1977), by the late anthropologist Barbara Myerhoff and filmmaker Lynne Littman, is a film about a California community of elderly Jews.

As suggested earlier, people in traditional communities today carry out much of the most interesting and significant media documentation of folklife. Such documentation may be an extension of the tradition itself, as when Mexican women put photographs of babies, married children or deceased relatives on home altars. Zuni Indians, who once banned outsiders with pencils from their reservation in 1912 to prevent their writing down of esoteric knowledge, now use radio to transmit their own language and verbal arts.

Self-conscious attempts to examine cultural perception or maintain a sense of cultural continuity through media documents occur regularly. For example, the book *Through Navajo Eyes* (1972) profiled the efforts of visual anthropologists to see what Navajo-produced films could say about their culture. In 1975 school teacher Wendy Ewald began to make cameras available to her rural Kentucky elementary school students – the cultural great-grandchildren of Cecil Sharp’s ballad singers – so that they could document tradition and change in their own lives. This year Cajun folklorist Barry Ancelet and musician Michael Doucet produced a reissue of the now historic 1934 Lomax field recordings of Louisiana Cajuns and Creoles.

Documentary artifacts – text, ethnographic film, traditional music recordings, family photographs and home videos – play many roles: scholarly research and presentation, enhancement of status of traditional culture inside or beyond a community, personal mementos, entertainment, archival preservation for future use. By recording unheard traditions and providing visibility or “airtime,” folklorists and community members can use documentary media to record, interpret and extend expression of traditional societies.



The Luiseño Indian culture bank consists of several suitcases containing documentary slides, tapes, photographs and texts. The suitcases travel to tribal centers in California to preserve and present cultural heritage. Photo courtesy the Luiseño Cultural Preservation Committee

This article has benefited from discussion over the years with folklorist Archie Green.

Nicholas R. Spitzer, of the Office of Folklife Programs, formerly served as Louisiana State Folklorist. He has directed an ethnographic music video, “Zydeco: Creole Music and Culture in Rural Louisiana,” and produced numerous sound recordings, video and radio programs on traditional culture.

Suggested reading

Agee, James and Walker Evans. *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. New York: Ballentine Books, 1973 [1939].

Heider, Karl. *Ethnographic Film*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976.

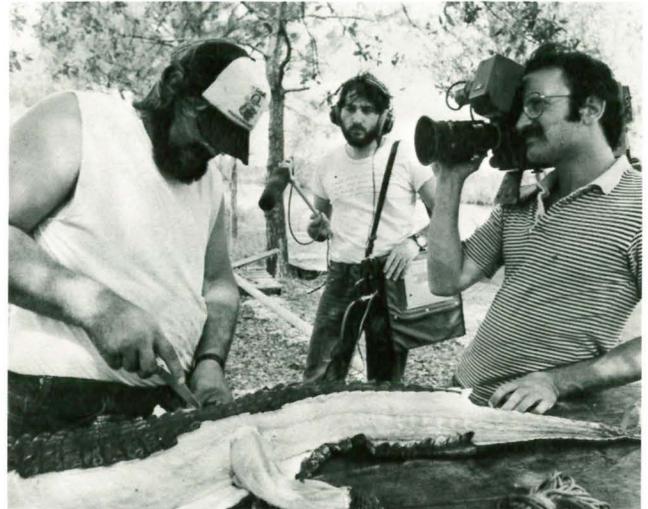
Jackson, Bruce. *Fieldwork*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Library of Congress. *Ethnic Recordings in America: A Neglected Heritage*. Washington, D.C.: American Folklife Center, 1982.

_____. *The Federal Cylinder Project: A Guide to Field Cylinder Collections in Federal Agencies Vol. 1*. Washington, D.C.: American Folklife Center, 1984.



Miwok singer with clapper stick, Brown Tadd, is video-documented by Lorenzo Baca on the *Tuolumne Rancheria* near Sonora, California. Photo by Lorenzo Baca



Independent videographers Louis Alvarez and Andrew Kolker document alligator skinner Kim Alfonso, Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana. Photo by Michael P. Smith courtesy Center for New American Media

Suggested recordings

Anthology of American Folksong, vols. 1-3, Harry Smith, ed. (Folkways Records FA 2951-2953).

Folk Songs of America: The Robert Winslow Gordon Collection, 1922-1932, Debora Kodish and Neil Rosenberg, eds. (Library of Congress, AFS L68).

Louisiana Cajun and Creole Music 1934: The Lomax Recordings, Barry Ancelet and Michael Doucet, producers (Swallow Records LP-8003-2).

Old-Timey Records, Chris Strachwitz, producer (Arhoolie Records).

Suggested films

Cbolas Fronteras, by Les Blank. 58 min. color, 16mm. Brazos Films, El Cerrito, California.

Dead Birds, by Robert Gardner. 83 min. color. Phoenix Films, New York.

Nanook of the North, by Robert Flaherty. 55 min. b&w. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Number Our Days, by Barbara Myerhoff and Lynne Littman. 28 min. color, 16mm and video. Direct Cinema, Los Angeles.

Zydeco: Creole Music and Culture in Rural Louisiana, by Nicholas R. Spitzer. 57 min. color video. Center for Gulf South History and Culture, New Orleans, Louisiana.



Festival Hours

Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held on the Festival Music Stage at 11:00 a.m. Thursday, June 23rd. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties every evening, except July 4th, 5:30 to 7:00 p.m.

Food Sales

Traditional food from Massachusetts and Ethiopia and bar-b-que will be sold. See the site map for locations.

Sales

A variety of crafts, books and Smithsonian Folkways Records relating to the 1988 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

Musical groups playing traditional dance music will perform on the Festival Music Stage every evening, except July 4th, from 5:30 to 7:00 p.m., and on the Massachusetts music stage on July 2.

Program Book

Background information on cultural traditions of Massachusetts, the Soviet Union and immigrants of Washington, and the history of the American Folklore Society 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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Special Thanks

General Festival
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 1988 Festival of American Folklife.
Miriam Bobonis
Katie Borie
Liz Borie
Betty Derbyshire
Georgetown University
Genevieve Ghaed
Folklore Society of
Greater Washington
Fun-Fan Hsu
Kennan Institute of the
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Alexandria, Virginia
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Massachusetts
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Washington, D.C.
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Spring, Maryland
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Washington, D.C.
Meadows Farms,
Chantilly, Virginia
Meredyth Vineyards,
Meredyth, Virginia
Merrifield Garden Center,
Vienna, Virginia
C. G. Murphy's,
Alexandria, Virginia
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Chicken, Washington,
D.C.
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*Ingenuity and Tradition:
The Common Wealth
of Massachusetts*
Allen's Neck Friends
Meeting
American Folklife Center,
Library of Congress
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Arts Express
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Boston Children's
Museum
Cape Cod Cranberry
Growers Association
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Massachusetts Maple
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Chelsea Clock Company
Commonwealth Museum
Concordia Boat Company
Crane Paper Company
Peter Derbyshire
Elaine Eff

Chuck Estep, Allied Van
Lines
Hugh Flick
Flowers by Sal
Folklorists in New
England (F.I.N.E.)
Phil Fox
Robert Fulcher
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Massachusetts
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and Agriculture
Betsy Hannula, Gardner
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Joan Hobart and Noreen
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Winnie Lambrecht
Linwood Lesure
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State Parks
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Antonio, North Adams
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National Museum of
Afro-American Artists
The Neustadt-Cross
Family
Northampton Historical
Society
Ed O'Reilly
Earl Owen
Project SAVE
Bob Quarello
Alfred Rotundaro,
National Italian
American Foundation
Saint Anthony of Padua
Society

Saints Cosmas and
Damian Society
Smith and Wesson
Spinner Publications, Inc.
David Squires
David Vanderhoop
James T. Warring and
Sons, Washington, D.C.
Claire Watkins
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Ronna Lee Widener
*Music from the Peoples
of the Soviet Union*
Mr. Alexander N.
Demchenko, Ms. Irina
Mikheeva and Ms.
Ludmilla Loginova of
the U.S.S.R. Ministry of
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Ms. Rosemary DiCarlo,
Embassy of the United
States, Moscow
Professor Margarita
Evgovatova and the
staff of the Office of
Folk Music at the
Gnesin Institute of
Music, Moscow
Mr. Boris Ivanov and the
staff of the Museum of
Ethnography of the
Peoples of the Soviet
Union, Leningrad
Ms. Nadezhda Kalmykova
Mr. Dmitri Pokrovsky,
Artistic Director,
Moscow Ensemble of
Folk Music
Ms. Ingrid Ruitel
Professor Viacheslav
Shchurov and the staff
of the Office of Folk
Music, Moscow
Conservatory of Music
Staffs, U.S.S.R. and
R.S.F.S.R. Folklore
Commissions of the
Soviet Composers'
Union
*Migration to Metro-
politan Washington:
Making a New Place
Home*
Alfonso Aguilar
Tadesse Ambachew
Dr. Kenneth Boatwright,
Dir. of Seed & Grain
Program, Texas Dept.
of Agriculture

Shirley Cherkasky
 Tony Cooper
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 Club of D.C.
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 Ebonne Machunda
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 Mayor's Office for Latino
 Affairs
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 Oromo Cultural
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 Helen Peterson
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 Alice Skarder
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 Virginia Club of Vermont
 Avenue
 The Washington Post
 Andrew Welch, Texas
 Dept. of Agriculture
 Rev. Wheeler
 Rev. Leamon White
 Marshall Wong
 Ruth Wong
*American Folklore
 Society Centennial*
 Roger Abrahams
 Muriel and Malcolm Bell,
 Jr.

Mrs. Gertrude Botkin
 Charles Briggs
 Simon J. Bronner
 Olivia Cadaval
 Leo Calac
 Emory Campbell, Penn
 Center
 Liz Clancy, Denver
 Museum of Natural
 History
 Doug De Natale
 Charlotte Dugan, Lyons
 Memorial Library, The
 School of the Ozarks
 Susan Dyal
 Dr. J. Manuel Espinosa
 Carl Fleischhauer,
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 Center, Library of
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 Museums of Canada
 Hilda Lea, The University
 of Georgia Press
 Timothy Lloyd
 Louisiana State University
 Archives
 William K. McNeil
 Marty Miller, Nebraska
 State Historical Society
 National Anthropological
 Archives
 National Film Board of
 Canada
 Arthur Olivas, Museum
 of New Mexico
 Gerald E. Parsons,
 Archive of Folk
 Culture, Library of
 Congress
 Rincon Band of Luisenos
 Dr. Gerald Roberts,
 Berea College

Richard Rudisill, Museum
 of New Museum
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 James Sefcik, Director,
 Louisiana State
 Museum
 Malcolm Taylor, The
 English Folk Dance
 and Song Society
 Kay Turner, Texas
 Folklife Resources
 John White, University of
 North Carolina, Chapel
 Hill
Festival Music Stage
 Tony Isaacs
 Lance LeRoy
 D.C. Metropolitan Police
 Department
 Officer Janice Roddy
 Annette Thornton



Participants in the 1988 Festival of American Folklife

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

Crafts

Karolina Danek, Polish
iconographer –
Worcester
Bienvenida Figueroa
Negron, Puerto Rican
needleworker – Lowell
Ann Horkan, Irish
needleworker –
Watertown
Susan Lind-Sinanian,
needleworker,
dancer – Watertown
Tim Sao, Cambodian kite
maker – Lowell
Ruth Thomasian,
Armenian photograph
collector and
historian – Watertown
Sourn Veuk, Cambodian
kite maker helper –
Lowell
Gladys "Wild Cranberry"
Widdiss, Wampanoag
Indian potter and
beadworker – Gay
Head

Urban Ethnic Gardens

Julia Gelowtsky, Polish
gardener, cook – East
Cambridge
Stephanie Gelowtsky
Falzone, Polish
gardener, cook – Glen
Burnie, Maryland
Marcessia Gelowtsky,
Polish gardener, cook –
East Cambridge
Bertha McCrary, Afro-
American gardener,
cook – Boston
Frank Mirasola, Italian
gardener, winemaker –
East Weymouth

Irene Mirasola, Italian
gardener, cook – East
Weymouth
James Mirasola, Italian
gardener, cook – East
Weymouth
Lurdes Rodrigues, cook –
Medford
Manuel Rodrigues,
Portuguese gardener,
cook – Medford
Basilio Sousa, Portuguese
gardener – North
Dartmouth
Ligia Sousa, Portuguese
gardener, cook – North
Dartmouth

Industrial Crafts

Louis Charpentier, wood-
carver – Leominster
Donato DiBona,
clockmaker – Chelsea
Robert DiGiacomo, glass
blower – Chelmsford
Peter Erickson,
silversmith – Gardner
Archie Nahman,
machinist, menorah
maker – Greenfield
Paul Piquette, metal
engraver – Feeding
Hills
Anne Zaccari, hand-
bordered stationery –
Pittsfield

Bocce

Richard Barzottini –
Pittsfield
Anthony Saltamartini –
North Adams

Clambake

Julie Ford Brown, herb
farmer – South
Dartmouth
Priscilla Davoll, cook –
South Dartmouth
Raymond Davoll,
clambake rake-out –
South Dartmouth

Burney Gifford, herb
farmer – South
Dartmouth
Cathi Gonet, clambake
food preparation –
South Dartmouth
Peter Gonet, bakemaster –
South Dartmouth
Marjorie Macomber,
cook – Acushnet
Ralph Macomber,
clambake rake-out –
Acushnet
Wilfred Morrison, general
store proprietor –
Dartmouth

Foodways

Anahid Kazazian, cook,
needleworker –
Lexington
Albina Martin, Acadian
cook – Gardner

Stone Wall Building

David Gilson – Groton

Maritime

Al Doucette, scrimshaw
carver – New Bedford
David Francis, fisherman,
lobster cook –
Wellfleet
Frank James, scrimshaw
carver – Brewster
Lynne Multer, scrimshaw
carver – Brewster
Dan Oldale, boatbuilder –
North Falmouth
Steve Smith, boatbuilder –
South Dartmouth
Steve Sperry, sailmaker –
Marion
Carl M. Widdiss, scallop
fisherman – Gay Head
Charles York,
boatbuilder – South
Dartmouth

Agriculture Fair Area

Grace Andruk, cranberry
cook and screener –
Bridgewater
Dorothy Angley,
cranberry cook and
screener – Carver
Josephine Burnett, maple
sugar producer –
Conway
Willis Burnett, maple
sugar producer –
Conway

Kyle Clark, oxen raiser,
logger – Heath
William Clark, oxen
raiser, logger – Heath
Lawrence Cole, cranberry
grower – North Carver
Daniel Fleuriel, tobacco
farmer – Buckland
Preston Horton, maple
sugar producer –
Cummington
Melvin Longley, ox yoke
maker – Shirley
Alan Sanderson, Jr.,
tobacco farmer –
Whately

Francis Wells, maple
sugar producer –
Cummington

Music

Portuguese Fado
Fernando Barreto,
guitartist for fado
singers – New Bedford
Alice Lebre,
fado singer – Fall River
Antonio Lebre, fado
singer – Fall River
Sasha Lima, fado singer –
Tiverton, Rhode Island
Sergio Lima, fado singer –
Tiverton, Rhode Island
Manuel Antonio Ramos,
guitarist for fado
singers – Fall River
Natalia Ritchie, fado
singer – Tiverton,
Rhode Island

Fiddlers

Edmond Boudreau,
guitarist for Acadian
fiddler – Waltham
John Campbell, Cape
Breton fiddle player –
Watertown
Seamus Connolly, Irish
fiddle player –
Watertown
Julie Horkan, Irish
stepdancer –
Watertown
Helen Kisiel, pianist for
Irish fiddle player –
Watertown
Mary Jesse MacDonald,
pianist for Cape Breton
fiddler – Watertown
Gerald Robichaud,
Acadian fiddle player –
Waltham

Bay State IV – Polish
 Janice Bajgier, polka
 instructor – South
 Deerfield
 Bill Belina – Easthampton
 Polka band
 Jack Libera,
 trumpet, clarinet,
 keyboard player –
 Oxford
 John Libera, polka
 instructor, historian –
 Southbridge
 Jim Motyka – Palmer
 Gary Ogulewicz –
 Westfield
Oscar Lugo Y Su
Conjunto Jibaro –
 Puerto Rican *Jibaro*
 Miguel Almestica,
 Caribbean musician
 and cook – Worcester
 Angel Figueroa, Jibaro
 musician – Holyoke
 Ramon Lopes, Jibaro
 musician – Holyoke
 Elvin Lugo, Jibaro
 musician – Southbridge
 Oscar Lugo, Jibaro
 musician – Southbridge
 Jose Luna, decima singer
 and cook – Lowell
 Antonio Peres, Jibaro
 musician – Holyoke
 David Rodrigues, Jibaro
 musician – Holyoke
Silas Hubbard Jr. & The
Hot Ribs – Blues and
 Jazz
 Silas Hubbard Jr.,
 harmonica player,
 blues singer – Boston
 Thomas McMullen, guitar
 player – Cambridge
 Charles Robinson,
 drummer – Cambridge
 Ed Williams, bass player –
 Quincy
Toi Grace & the Verda-
tones – Cape Verdean
 Jean Andrade – New
 Bedford
 Charlie Gomes –
 Providence, Rhode
 Island
 Antone Grace – New
 Bedford
 Frank Penha – New
 Bedford
 Fred Silva – New Bedford
Artie Barsamian
Orchestra – Armenian
 Artie Barsamian, clarinet
 player – Lexington
 Vuddy Barsamian –
 Ashland
 Edward Meligian –
 Lexington
 Edwardo Melikian –
 Worcester
 Sharkis Sarkisian – Natick
The Motivators – Afro-
 American Gospel
 David Bass – Springfield
 Gary Bass – Springfield
 Jesse Lee Burgess –
 Springfield
 Rev. Robert Leon
 Winston – Springfield
 James Edward Milner –
 Springfield
 John Winberly –
 Springfield
 Showndu Winberly –
 Springfield
The Contemporary Greek
Ensemble – Greek
 John Bogis, guitar
 player – Boston
 Gary Gianoukow,
 bouzouki player –
 Arlington
 Klotsonis Satirios, bajlama
 player – Arlington
 Kosmas Vrouvlianis,
 bouzouki player –
 Newton
Krom Phleang Propeni
Prasat Bayon –
 Cambodian
 Chann Nhak, takhe
 player – Lowell
 Chorb Chan, tro so
 player – Lowell
 Hong Kla, khim player –
 Lowell
 Cheap Sophal, vocalist –
 Lowell
 Souen Tim, vocalist and
 tro ou player – Lowell
 Pha Vith, skor player –
 Lowell
 Sorn Veuk, skor player –
 Lowell
Saints Day Celebration
Cosmas and Damian
Society
 Stephen Bertoncini
 Charles DeFrancesco
 Marie DiDomenico, co-
 coordinator, Cosmas
 and Damian Society
 Sal DiDomenico, co-
 coordinator, Cosmas
 and Damian Society
 Salvatore N. DiDomenico
 Roland Farinato
 Anthony Leccese
 Salvatore Nardella
 Joseph Nardella
 Mike Nocoloro
 Salvatore Reale
 Charles Reale
Filarmónica Santo
Antônio
 Davide Alamo, alto
 saxophone player
 Álvaro Amaral, trombone
 player
 Otilia Amaral, flag girl
 Luís Arruda, trombone
 player
 Alexandre Bicalho,
 trumpet player
 Dinarte Botelho, clarinet
 player
 João Cardoso
 Eddie Carvalho, trumpet
 player
 Júlio Carvalho, trumpet
 player
 Cristina Costa, flag girl
 Davide M. Costa, baritone
 horn player
 João Pedro Da Ponte,
 conductor
 Manuel G. Da Silva,
 baritone horn player
 Manuel Da Silva, alto
 horn player
 Fernando Doó, alto horn
 player
 Elizabeth Fagundes, flag
 girl
 José A. Fagundes, trumpet
 player
 John Feitor, trumpet
 player
 John C. Feitor, president,
 general assembly
 Luís Garcia
 Francisco Jorge Gil, band
 president
 Carlos Jacome
 Gabriel Madeiros, alto
 saxophone player
 António C. Marques,
 clarinet player
 Moises Moreira, clarinet
 player
 José Pacheco, tuba player
 António J. Pacheco,
 percussionist
 Carlos A. Pascoal,
 baritone sax player
 Carlos Pascoal Jr., alto
 horn player
 José M. Pinheiro,
 trombone player
 Joseph Ramos,
 percussionist
 Antonio Ramos,
 percussionist
 Mário Raposo, E flat
 clarinet player
 Judith Hothan Riley,
 trombone player
 Manuel Rodrigues, tuba
 player
 Manuel S. Ramos,
 percussionist
 Armando Santos, clarinet
 player
 Paulo J. Santos, baritone
 clarinet player
 Manuel Santos
 Francisco M. Soares, alto
 saxophone player
 Walter Silva, alto
 saxophone player
 Luís Simao
 Ana Sousa, flag girl
 Ivone Sousa, flag girl
 Joseph Sousa
 Rui Sousa, clarinet player
 João Sousa
 Joe Sousa
 Jose M. Tavares, trumpet
 player
 Joao Tavares, clarinet
 player
 Paulo J. Tavares, baritone
 horn player
 Manuel Tavares,
 percussionist
 William Vasconcelos
North End Italian Band
 Eddie Aloisi, clarinet
 player
 Sidney Bornari, trombone
 player
 Leo Brandenburg, clarinet
 player
 Murray Burnstine,
 clarinet player
 Howard Caster,
 percussionist

Elaine Corrieri Ziegner,
trumpet player
Tony DiCiccio, clarinet
player
Felix Dicienzo, clarinet
player
David Dunton, clarinet
player
Guy Giarrappa, conductor
Rickie Gimmelli,
percussionist
John Gimmelli, baritone
horn player
Nunzio Innocenzo,
trumpet player
Heidi Larisch, alto sax
player
Guy Laudato,
percussionist
Joseph Mauro,
percussionist
Cosmo Nardella, french
horn player
Sammy Pinella,
percussionist
Salvatore Pugliesi,
trumpet player
Irving Shine, trombone
player
Lyle Shubert, baritone
horn player
Arthur Spellman,
percussionist
Neal Sugarman, tenor sax
player
Chris Teixeira, trumpet
player
Robert Vanaria, tenor
William Voight,
sousaphone player
Saint Anthony's Society
Joseph Aufero
Charles Chicarello
Joseph Colarusso
Frank Contrado
Anthony DeStefano
Paul DeGregorio
Gerry DiPrizio, president,
Saint Anthony's Society
Peter Grieco, co-
chairman, Feast of
Saint Anthony
Phil Pennacchio, Sr.
Richard Rago
Robert Ragucci
James Ryan
Carl Salvi, co-chairman,
Feast of Saint Anthony
Ralph Statuto

John Taminine
Geno Testa
*The Society of the
Madonna del Soccorso
di Sciacca*
Richard Beilski
Raymond Bono
Peter Bruno
Andrew Cardinale
Vincent Ciulla
Sal Deicidue
James Geany, chairman,
Madonna del Soccorso
Feast
Ray Geany, president,
Madonna del Soccorso
Society
Gus Graffeo
Joseph Graffeo
Joe Guarino
Raymond Guarino
Richard Guarino
Lonnie Langone
Marc Letizia
James Licata
James Marino
Edward Marino
Anthony Primo
Anthony Primo
John Primo
James Primo
Gus Primo
Frank Sclafani

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Music

Solo Performers

Ivan Egorovich Alexeev –
Yakut ASSR
Gennadii Tiuliushevich
Chash – Tuvan ASSR
Uliana Petrovna Kot –
Rovenski Province,
Ukrainian SSR
Veronika Povilioniene –
Lithuanian SSR
*"Elesa" Men's Choir –
Makharadze, Georgian
SSR*
Valerian Vasilievich
Bereshvili
Amiran Victorovich
Chkhartishvili
Anzor Davidovich
Erkomaishvili
Kote Isidorovich Gelekva

Chichiko Victorovich
Kechakmadze
Alexander Alexandrovich
Mikadze
Ivan Victorovich
Mkurnalidze
Guri Ipolitovich
Sikharulidze
Amiran Lukich Toidze
Remiko Serapionovich
Vashalomidze
*Estonian Duo – Estonian
SSR*
Ants Taul
Johannes Taul
*Mugam Trio – Baku,
Azerbaijan SSR*
Shafiga Alkhas Eyvazova
Alim Gamza Kasumov
Ramiz Eyiub Kuliev
*Southern Russian
Ensemble –
Podserednee, Belgorod
Province, RSFSR*
Vera Vasilievna Afanasieva
Evdokiia Gerasimovna
Barykina
Nikolai Mitrofanovich
Bashkatov
Pelageia Kuzminichna
Hodykina
Valentina Ivanovna
Hodykina
Varvara Dmitrievna
Hodykina
Pelageia Kuzminichna
Iartseva
Alexander Ivanovich
Koliadin
Maria Mitrofanovna
Koliadin
Olga Ivanovna
Manichkina
Ekaterina Dmitrievna
Panina
Evdokiia Timofeevna
Popova
*Uzbek Trio – Fergana
Province, Uzbek SSR*
Musozhon Arifdzhonov
Oinakhon Burkhanova
Ibragim Isakov

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

Crafts

Viola Canady, Daughters
of Dorcas, quiltmakers –
Washington, D.C.
Al Carter, urban muralist –
Washington, D.C.
David Chung, urban
muralist – Washington,
D.C.
George B. Liu,
calligrapher –
Washington, D.C.
Z. P. Lu, embroiderer,
migration storyteller –
Arlington, Virginia
Helen Sze McCarthy,
brush painter – Silver
Spring, Maryland
Wilfredo "El Burro"
Ortiz – Washington,
D.C.
Kendrick Smith,
Trinidadian costume
maker – Rockville,
Maryland
Marjorie Smith,
Trinidadian costume
maker – Rockville,
Maryland

Crafts/Garden

Elguar Aguilar, farmer,
gardener – Alexandria,
Virginia

Foodways

Zufan Abraha, Ethiopian
cook – Arlington,
Virginia
Enma Aviles, butcher,
baker, home remedy
maker – Silver Spring,
Maryland
Lazina "Dolly"
Boodhoosingh,
Trinidadian cook –
Washington, D.C.,
Belay Embaye, Ethiopian
cook – Arlington,
Virginia

Anna Gilliard, Afro-American cook, migration storyteller – Forestville, Maryland
 Addie Green, Trinidadian cook, gardener – Washington, D.C.
 Herbert Jasper, gardener, storyteller – Washington, D.C.
 Irab Juman, Trinidadian cook, gardener – Alexandria, Virginia
 Shaliza Juman, cook, gardener – Alexandria, Virginia
 Sharoza Lisa Juman, Trinidadian cook, gardener – Alexandria, Virginia
 Teresa “Mamatere” Martinez, butcher, Salvadoran cook, home remedy maker – Washington, D.C.
 Cecilia “Calypso Caterer” Ojoe, Trinidadian cook – Bethesda, Maryland
 Zalina Monaysar, Trinidadian cook, gardener – Arlington, Virginia
 Adriana Palacios, Salvadoran cook, home remedy maker – Washington, D.C.
 Doris Palacios, Salvadoran cook, home remedy maker – Washington, D.C.
 John Henry Pitt, cook, gardener – Washington, D.C.
 Marie Tucker, Afro-American cook, gardener – Washington, D.C.
 Wei-Na Zhang, Chinese cook – Washington, D.C.

Industrial Crafts

Juan Angel Villalobos, carpenter, brickmaker – Silver Spring, Maryland

Music

Solo performers

Marama Dilgassa, drummer, vocalist – Takoma Park, Maryland

Archie Edwards, blues guitar player – Seat Pleasant, Maryland
 Abteu Kebede Fufa, vocalist – Washington, D.C.
 John & James Jackson, blues – Fairfax Station, Virginia
 Conrado Rosales, Salvadoran music
 Don Stover, guitar, banjo player – Brandywine, Maryland
Chinese Opera Society
 George Yang – Bethesda, Maryland
 Chu Shang Zahu – Bethesda, Maryland
Hazel Dickens Band
 Hazel Dickens, vocalist, guitar player – Washington, D.C.
 Raymond Thomas “Tom” Adams, banjo player – Winchester, Virginia
 Dudley Connell, guitar player, vocalist, composer – Germantown, Maryland
 Marshall Willborn, bass player – Winchester, Virginia

Extempo

Hollis Patrick “Flash” Lashley, vocalist, percussionist – Silver Spring, Maryland
 Emlyn “John” Roseman, guitar player – Rockville, Maryland
 Kendrick “Blackbird” Sheen, vocalist – Washington, D.C.

Four Echoes, Gospel

Edward David, bass singer
 Deacon William Evans, vocalist, guitar player
 Willie Green, vocalist
 Charles Johnson, bass guitar player
 James Nelson, lead and tenor vocalist
 James Stein, lead and baritone vocalist
 Glen Taylor, bass and lead guitar player

Fusion, Calypso – Silver Spring, Maryland

Patrick T. Belle, steel drum player
 June A. Charles, bass player
 Lennard Jack, steel drummer
 Kenneth C. Joseph, drummer
 Chris A. Toussaint, percussionist

Hobbs and Partners, Bluegrass – Fairfax, Virginia

Arnold Hobbs, guitar player

Kings of Harmony Quartet, Gospel

Dean Cavanaugh
 Richard Jones
 Charles “Bobby” McElven, second tenor
 Louis Simpkins, bass player
 Robert “Bobby” Terry, first tenor
 Robert “Bobby” Terry Jr., lead guitar player
 Alvin L. Tucker
 Clement H. Tucker, lead vocalist
 Johnnie “Manager” Tucker, guitar player, lead vocalist
 Louis A. Tucker, bass player
 Marvin G. Tucker, drummer

Las Estrellitas Paranderos

Linton Corbie, vocalist – Washington, D.C.
 Patrice Frances “Patti” Gouveia, vocalist – Washington, D.C.

McCullough’s Kings of Harmony, Brass band

Alexander Bryant, third trombone player
 Joe L. Chambers, tenor trombone player
 Henry Cleveland, third trombone player
 Samuel “Sam” Cole, run horn player
 James E. Freeman, bass drummer
 Josh Hampton, bass horn player

Joseph Heyward, snare drummer
 Ivan Jackson, bass player
 Norvus “Little Butch” Miller, trombone player
 Melvin Reid, baritone horn player
 Hannibal Russell, run leader player
 Hezekiah Shepherd, run horn player
 Perry Smith, third trombone player
 Virgil Smith, second trombone player
 Myrick or Ivan Steward, bass horn player
 Herbert Whitner, lead vocalist

Oromo Culture Committee

Yahya S. “Abbaa-Faaro’o” Aba-Jobir, chanter, vocalist, dancer – Washington, D.C.
 Zewdie Lube Birru, chanter, storyteller, vocalist – Riverdale, Maryland
 Marama Dilgassa, drummer, vocalist – Takoma Park, Maryland
 Abteu Kebede Fufa, vocalist – Washington, D.C.
 Bekele Geleta Shure, musician, storyteller – Takoma Park, Maryland
 Yeshi Lemau, chanter, storyteller, vocalist – Riverdale, Maryland

Ross School Kids

Lenwood “Gato” Bentley, director – Washington, D.C.

Singing Angels, Gospel

Sally Allen, soprano vocalist
 Vincent Belfield, synthesizer player
 Dean Cary, organ player
 Mason Gaines, bass player
 Lisa Hillary, drummer
 Beverly Miller, lead vocalist
 Margaret “Tony” Ross, alto vocalist

Terch Siegler, second
alto vocalist
Robert "Manager" Walker
Robin Walker, lead
vocalist
Vincent Walker, lead
guitar player
Sons of Grace, Gospel –
Washington, D.C.
Gerald Cummins, bass
guitar player
Lee C. "Flint" Halsey
Ernest J. Mitchell, guitar
player
James E. Pinkney
David Wade
Herbert "Herb" Whitner,
manager, vocalist
*Trinidad and Tobago
Steel Band*
Michael Carrera, steel
drummer
Vernon A. "Jay" Cross,
drummer
Hubert "Mumbles"
Griffith, piano player
Franklin Martin "Ticky-
manager" Harding,
steel drummer
Lloyd Arnim "Hawkady"
Haynes, steel drummer
Patricia Holloway, steel
drummer
Stetson King, steel
drummer
Michael "Mikey" King Sr.,
steel drummer
Linda Myers-Phifer, steel
drummer
Nick O'Reilly, steel
drummer
Patricia Phillips, steel
drummer
Keith "Captain" Preddie,
steel drummer
Robert Roy "Bullet or
Junior" Thwaites, steel
drummer
Rudolph Worren Walker,
steel drummer
*United Indian
Merrymakers*
Anirudh Boodram,
manager, musician –
Beltsville, Maryland
Shariff Juman,
percussionist –
Alexandria, Virginia

Gocool "Carl Gocool"
Monaysar, harmonium
player – Arlington,
Virginia
*Washington Singing
Convention*, Gospel –
Washington, D.C.
Airstine Barbour
Ola Mae Leach
Eva Gaston Rearden
Redding
William Redding
*Wong Boxing
Association*, Kung Fu/
Tai Chi/Lion Dance –
Washington, D.C.
Terheran James "Tie"
Brighthaupt
Cheng-Wu Huang
Li-Ling Li
Chikk Yin Tam Wanyi
Tan
Raymond Wong

American Folklore Society Centennial

Roger D. Abrahams,
folklorist –
Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania
Barry Jean Ancelet,
folklorist – Lafayette,
Louisiana
Dewey Balfa, Cajun fiddle
player – Basile,
Louisiana
Louis Bashell, Slovenian
accordion player –
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Barry Bergey, folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Horace Boyer,
ethnomusicologist –
Amherst, Massachusetts
C. Ray Brassieur,
folklorist –
St. Martinville,
Louisiana
Olivia Cadaval, folklorist,
Washington, D.C.
Norma Cantu, folklorist –
Laredo, Texas
Nora Dauenhauer, Tlingit
narrative specialist –
Juneau, Alaska
Richard Dauenhauer,
anthropologist –
Juneau, Alaska

Carl Fleischhauer, media
folklife specialist,
Washington, D.C.
Gladys-Marie Fry,
folklorist – College
Park, Maryland
Henry Glassie, folklorist –
Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania
Kenny Goldstein,
folklorist –
Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania
Teresa Maria Gonzalez,
Matachines dancer –
Laredo, Texas
Rayna Green, folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Clifford Hardesty, Anglo
fiddle player and
maker – West Lafayette,
Ohio
Bess Lomax Hawes,
folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Joseph C. Hickerson,
archivist – Washington,
D.C.
Marjorie Hunt, folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Alan Jabbour, folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Mary Jackson, Afro-
American basket maker –
Charleston, South
Carolina
Geraldine Johnson,
folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Suzi Jones, folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Susan Kalcik, folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Richard Kurin,
anthropologist –
Washington, D.C.
Michael S. Licht,
folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Alan Lomax, folklorist –
New York, New York
Worth Long, folklorist –
Atlanta, Georgia
Richard March, folklorist –
Madison, Wisconsin
Lynn Martin, folklorist –
Honolulu, Hawaii
Margarita Mazo,
ethnomusicologist –

Washington, D.C.
Robert McCarl, folklorist –
Boise, Idaho
Clydia Nahwooksy, Native
American cultural
specialist – Rochester,
New York
Barry Lee Pearson,
folklorist – College
Park, Maryland
Lonnie Pitchford, blues
guitar player –
Lexington, Mississippi
Frank Proschan, folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Bernice Reagon, cultural
historian –
Washington, D.C.
Ralph Rinzler, folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Howard Sacks,
sociologist – Gambier,
Ohio
Raymond Sedotal, Cajun
boatbuilder – Pierre
Part, Louisiana
Anthony Seeger,
ethnomusicologist –
Washington, D.C.
Daniel Sheehy,
ethnomusicologist –
Washington, D.C.
Nicholas R. Spitzer,
folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Richard K. Spottswood,
discographer –
Washington, D.C.
William C. Sturtevant,
anthropologist –
Washington, D.C.
Thomas Vennum, Jr.,
ethnomusicologist –
Washington, D.C.
John Michael Vlach,
folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Stephen Wade, musician –
Washington, D.C.
Joseph T. Wilson,
folklorist –
Washington, D.C.
Margaret R. Yocom,
folklorist –
Fairfax, Virginia

Festival Music Stage

Appalachian Regional and Topical Song

Hazel Dickens, vocalist,
guitar player –
Washington, D.C.

The Badland Singers, American Indian performance

Ray Azure – Roseglen,
North Dakota

Butch Brown – Poplar,
Montana

Ben Gray Hawk – Poplar,
Montana

Earl Jones – Poplar,
Montana

Adrian C. Spotted Bird,
Sr. – Brockton,
Montana

Harry Three Stars –
Poplar, Montana

Kipp White Cloud – Fort
Kipp, Montana

Cajun Music

Eddie Lejeune, accordion
player – Morse,
Louisiana

Lionel I. LeLeux, fiddle
player – Kaplan,
Louisiana

Ray Junior Thibodeaux,
guitar player – Morse,
Louisiana

Piedmont Blues

John Cephas, guitar
player, vocalist –
Woodford, Virginia

Phil Wiggins, harmonica
player – Washington,
D.C.

Del McCoury Band, Bluegrass

Del McCoury, guitar
player, vocalist –
Glenville, Pennsylvania

Jerry McCoury, bass
player – Thomasville,
Pennsylvania

Robbie McCoury, banjo
player – Glenville,
Pennsylvania

Ronny McCoury,
mandolin player,
vocalist – Glenville,
Pennsylvania

Tim Smith, fiddle player –
Kernersville, North
Carolina

H.D. Cooke Double Dutch Team – Washington, D.C.

Theresa Atta
Rochelle Battle
Shannel Battle
Danielle Brown

Los Pleneros de la 21, Puerto Rican performance – New York, New York

Alberto Cepeda,
pandereta, bomba
player, vocalist

Juan Gutierrez,
pandereta, bomba,
fua player, vocalist

Edgardo Miranda, *cuatro*
player

Pablo Ortiz, *pandereta*
player, lead *plena*
vocalist

Eugenia Ramos, *guiro*
player, vocalist, dancer

Francisco Rivera,
pandereta player, lead
bomba vocalist, dancer

Jose Rivera, *pandereta,*
bomba player, vocalist

Nelly Tanco, *pandereta,*
maraca player, lead
plena vocalist

Sam Tanco, *guiro* player,
lead *plena* and *bomba*
vocalist

Thursday June 23

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

Sign language interpreters will be available from 11:00-5:30.

Festival Music Stage

American Folklore Society Centennial

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

Chinese New Year Day

	Music	Workshop Stage		Music	Foodways	Workshop/Narrative	Ongoing Presentations	Garden Plaza
11:00			11:00					
12:00	Opening Ceremony		12:00					
1:00	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Anglo-American Folklore	1:00	Chinese Lion Dance	Afro-American Cooking	Family Saga: The Jacksons	Chinese Brush Painting and Calligraphy	Salvadoran Garden Tours
	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	The Sacred, The Personal, The Offensive: Do We Preserve and Present?		Southern Mountain Music: Hazel Dickens Band		Migration Interviews with the Public		
2:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Conservation: Natural and Cultural	2:00	Blues: John & James Jackson	Chinese New Year's Cooking	Crossing the Border: Coyote Stories	Salvadoran Brick Oven Making	Chinese Kung Fu
	Greek Music: The Contemporary Greek Ensemble	Folklore as a Helping Profession		Southern Mountain Music: Don Stover		Migration Interviews with the Public		
3:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	What Folklore Is . . . and Isn't	3:00	Music from the Horn of Africa	Trinidadian Cooking	Children of Migration: The Chinese	Trinidadian Costume Making	Chinese New Year: Veneration of Ancestors
	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	American Government and American Traditions		4:00		Chinese Opera Society of Washington		
4:00	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	Crossing the Line: Folk Artist — Folklorist	5:00	Caribbean Music: Trinidad & Tobago Steel Band	Salvadoran Cooking	Migration Interviews with the Public	Afro-American Quilting	Chinese Mah Jong
	Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family	Afro-American Folklore						
5:30	Puerto Rican Music & Dance							
		Dance Party						

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Music	Foodways	Gazebo	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations	Learning Center Workshops		Main Stage	Workshop Stage	Ongoing Demonstrations	
						11:00				
						12:00			Periodic crafts demonstrations and informal musical performances throughout the area	
Puerto Rican <i>Jibaro</i> Music: Oscar Lugo y su Conjunto	Polish-American Traditions	City, Town and Countryside	Ongoing Demonstrations: Industrial crafts — metal work, glass blowing, wood carving, silversmithing, computer assembly, clock making; Urban ethnic gardening; Puerto Rican and Irish needlework, Polish iconography, bocce, stone wall building, American Indian pottery; Maritime crafts — scallop and lobster fishing, scrimshaw, boat building, sail making; Agricultural occupations — cranberry growing, maple syrup producing, tobacco, produce, & herb farming, oxen raising, ox yoke making, rural crafts	Ox Pull	Silas Hubbard, Jr. Singing the Blues		Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul		
Cape Breton Fiddling: John Campbell		Migration to Massachusetts		Farming in Massachusetts in the Agricultural Fair Tent			1:00	Southern Russian Choral Music: Podserednee		Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev
Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family	Italian-American Traditions						2:00	Music from Uzbekistan		Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash
		Oxen Lore				Woodcrafts with Louis Charpentier		Azerbaijani Mugam Trio		Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene
Cape Verdean Music: Toi Grace and the Verdatones	Puerto Rican Traditions						3:00			Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot
		Tomatoes: A Common Denominator			Ox Pull	The Wampanoag Indian Calendar with Gladys Widdis		Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash		Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul
Boston Blues and Jazz: Silas Hubbard, Jr. and the Hot Ribs	Cooking with Cranberries						4:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"		Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev
										Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot
Greek Music: The Contemporary Greek Ensemble		Town Meeting			Rigging a Beetle Cat Boat in the Maritime Area		5:00	Music from Uzbekistan		Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene
								Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Southern Russian Song & Dance: Podserednee	

Friday June 24

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

Sign language interpreters will be available from 11:00-5:30.

Festival Music Stage

American Folklore Society Centennial

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

	Music	Workshop Stage		Music	Foodways	Workshop/ Narrative	Ongoing Presentations	Garden Plaza
11:00			11:00					
	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	French-American Folklore		Southern Mountain Music: Hazel Dickens Band		Strings to Home: Blues Workshop with John Jackson & Archie Edwards		
12:00	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Afro-American Folklore	12:00	Music from the Horn of Africa: Oromo Cultural Committee	Afro-American Cooking	Migration Interviews with the Public	Afro-American Quilting	Chinese Tai Chi & Kung Fu
1:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Festivals: Their Folklore and Their Influence	1:00	Southern Mountain Music: Don Stover	Chinese Cooking	Children of Migration		
2:00	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	Personal Politics: Folk Community Members and Folklorists	2:00	Blues: John & James Jackson		Migration Interviews with the Public	Chinese Brush Painting and Calligraphy	Trinidadian Garden Tours
3:00	Southern Mountain Music: Hazel Dickens Band	Building Community Networks		Bluegrass: Hobbs & Partners	Trinidadian Cooking			
	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	Public Service and Public Responsibility	3:00	Blues: Archie Edwards		Making a New Place Home: Hazel Dickens & Arnold Hobbs	Salvadoran Activities: Brick Oven Making, Corn Grinding, Gallardetes Making, Piñata Decorating	Oromo Storytelling
4:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	The Material World: Preserving, Presenting, Pretending	4:00	Southern Mountain Music: Don Stover	Cooking from the Horn of Africa	Double Migration: Trinidadian East Indian		
5:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Folklore and Media: Access, Control and Use	5:00	Trinidadian Music: United Indian Merry Makers		Migration Interviews with the Public		Trinidadian "All-Fours" Card Game
5:30	Caribbean Music: The Trinidad & Tobago Steel Band	Strangers in Your Town		Gospel: Kings of Harmony Quartet	Salvadoran Cooking			
		Dance Party						

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Massachusetts Music	Foodways	Gazebo	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations	Learning Center Workshops		Main Stage	Workshop Stage	Ongoing Demonstrations	
Cape Breton Fiddling: John Campbell	Puerto Rican Traditions	What is a "Yankee"?	Industrial crafts — metal work, glass blowing, wood carving, silversmithing, computer assembly, clock making Urban ethnic gardening Puerto Rican and Irish needlework, Polish iconography, bocce, stone wall building, American Indian pottery Maritime crafts — scallop and lobster fishing, scrimshaw, boat building, sail making Agricultural occupations — cranberry growing, maple syrup producing, tobacco, produce & herb farming, oxen raising, ox yoke making, rural crafts			11:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev	Periodic crafts demonstrations and informal musical performances throughout the area	
Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family		Italian-American Communities		Ox Pull	Polish Stories and Drawing with Karolina Danec	12:00	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot		
Cape Verdean Music: Toi Grace and the Verdatones		Irish-American Traditions		Farming in Massachusetts in the Agricultural Fair Tent		1:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul		
Greek Music: The Contemporary Greek Ensemble	Polish-American Traditions	Song Styles			2:00	Southern Russian Choral Music: Podserednee	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Poviloniene Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev			
		Living by the Sea		Woodcrafts with Melvin Longley	3:00	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash			
Puerto Rican <i>Jibaro</i> Music: Oscar Lugo y su Conjunto with Jose Luna	Italian-American Traditions	Industrial Folklore		Ox Pull	Portuguese Fado Singing with the Lebre Family	4:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot Lithuanian Song: Veronika Poviloniene		
Cape Breton Fiddling: John Campbell						5:00	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Southern Russian Song & Dance: Podserednee Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev		
Boston Blues and Jazz: Silas Hubbard, Jr. and the Hot Ribs	Herbal Remedies	Growing up in Massachusetts		Rigging a Beetle Cat Boat in the Maritime Area			Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul		Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash

Saturday June 25

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

Sign language interpreters will be available from 11:00-5:30.

*A musical tribute to Fred Cockerham, Libba Cotten and Tommy Jarrell will be held at 7:15, Carmichael Auditorium, American History Museum, on the occasion of their instruments being donated to the Smithsonian Institution.

Festival American Folklore Music Society Stage Centennial

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

	Music	Workshop Stage		Music	Foodways	Workshop/Narrative	Ongoing Presentations	Garden Plaza
11:00			11:00					
12:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Folklore and Media: Access, Control and Use	12:00	Gospel: The Four Echoes	Afro-American Cooking	Crossing the Border: Chinese Migration	Afro-American Quilting	Chinese Tai Chi
	Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family	Folklore as a Helping Profession		Southern Mountain Music: Hazel Dickens Band		Migration Interviews with the Public		
1:00	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	Conservation: Natural and Cultural	1:00	Blues: John & James Jackson	Chinese Cooking	First Job/First Impression: Domestic Workers	Chinese Brush Painting and Calligraphy	Oromo Storytelling
	Gospel: The Four Echoes	Crossing the Line: Folk Artist—Folklorist		Trinidadian Extempo: "Flash" Lashley & "Blackbird"		Migration Interviews with the Public		
2:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	American Indian Folklore	2:00	Southern Mountain Music: Don Stover	Cooking from the Horn of Africa	Comparative Workshop on Blues & Gospel	Salvadoran Brick Oven Making, Brick Making, Polleton Making, Celebratory Crafts	Strings to Home: Dickens & Stover
	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	What Folklore Is . . . and Isn't		Music from the Horn of Africa: Oromo Cultural Committee		Migration Interviews with the Public		
3:00	Greek Music: The Contemporary Greek Ensemble	Anglo-American Folklore	3:00	Trinidadian Calypso: "Flash" Lashley "Blackbird" & "Fusion"	Salvadoran Cooking	Making a New Place Home: Salvadorans	Trinidadian Costume Making	Salvadoran Garden Tours
	Southern Russian Song & Dance: Podserednee	Tradition: Learning from our Teachers				Migration Interviews with the Public		
4:00			4:00					
5:00	Square Dance* in Honor of Fred Cockerham Libba Cotten Tommy Jarrell	Folklore on Stage & Screen: The Good, the Bad & the Ugly	5:00		Trinidadian Cooking		Trinidadian Costume Making	Trinidadian "All-Fours" Card Game
5:30								

Dance Party

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

All day Puerto Rican pig roast
next to Foodways Area

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Massachusetts Music	Foodways	Gazebo	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations	Learning Center Workshops		Main Stage	Workshop Stage	Ongoing Demonstrations
Cape Verdean Music: Toi Grace and the Verdatones	Italian-American and Polish-American Holiday Traditions	Rocky Old Massachusetts	Industrial crafts — metal work, glass blowing, wood carving, silversmithing, computer assembly, clock making Urban ethnic gardening Puerto Rican and Irish needlework, Polish iconography, bocce, stone wall building, American Indian pottery Maritime crafts — scallop and lobster fishing, scrimshaw, boat building, sail making Agricultural occupations — cranberry growing, maple syrup producing, tobacco, produce & herb farming, oxen raising, ox yoke making, rural crafts			11:00	Southern Russian Choral Music: Podserednee	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	Periodic crafts demonstrations and informal musical performances throughout the area
Greek Music: The Contemporary Greek Ensemble		Black Presence in Massachusetts		Ox Pull	Armenian Embroidery with Anahid Kazazia	12:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev	
Puerto Rican Music: Oscar Lugo y su Conjunto	Armenian-American Traditions	A Reverence for Wood		Farming in Massachusetts in the Agricultural Fair Tent	Portuguese Fado Singing with the Lebre Family	1:00	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	
Cape Breton Fiddling: John Campbell		"The Second Generation"				Music from Uzbekistan	2:00	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene	
Cape Verdean Music: Toi Grace and the Verdatones	Puerto Rican Pig Roast Traditions	"On the Breeze"		Ox Pull	Beginning Knitting with Ann Horkan	3:00	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	Southern Russian Song & Dance: Podserednee	
Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family	Clambake Trimmings	Ingenuity and Tradition: Access to Natural Resources		Rigging a Beetle Cat Boat in the Maritime Area		4:00	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	
Boston Blues and Jazz: Silas Hubbard, Jr. and the Hot Ribs	Afro-American Traditions					5:00	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	
							Music from Uzbekistan	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	
						Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev		
							Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul		

Sunday June 26

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

Sign language interpreters will be available from 11:00-5:30.

Festival Music Stage

American Folklore Society Centennial

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

Afro-American Gospel Sunday

	Music	Workshop Stage		Music	Foodways	Workshop/Narrative	Ongoing Presentations	Garden Plaza
11:00			11:00					
12:00	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Tradition: Learning from our Teachers	12:00	Blues: John & James Jackson	Chinese Cooking	Family Saga: Viola Canady	Afro-American Quilting	Workshops in Chinese Calligraphy
1:00	Children's Games: The H. D. Cooke Double Dutch Team	French-American Folklore	1:00	Blues: Archie Edwards		Trinidadian Cooking		
2:00	Bluegrass: The Del McCoury Band	Public Service and Public Responsibility	2:00	Blues: The Jacksons & Archie Edwards	Afro-American Cooking from South Carolina		Making a New Place Home: The Trinidadians	Chinese Brush Painting and Calligraphy
3:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Building Community Networks	3:00	Gospel: Sons of Grace		Afro-American Cooking from Virginia	Migration Interviews with the Public	
4:00	Children's Games: The H. D. Cooke Double Dutch Team	The Material World: Preserving, Presenting, Pretending	4:00	Gospel: The Singing Angels	Afro-American Cooking from North Carolina		Children of Migration: "Singing Angels"	Salvadoran Activities: Enramada Building, Bread Baking, Brick Making
5:00	Bluegrass: The Del McCoury Band	Folklore and Media: Access, Control and Use	5:00	Gospel: Sons of Grace			Migration Interviews with the Public	
5:30	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	What Folklore Is . . . and Isn't		Gospel: Washington Singing Convention			Comparative Gospel Workshop: Washington Singing Convention & Sons of Grace	
	Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family	Crossing the Line: Folk Artist—Folklorist		Gospel: Kings of Harmony Quartet				
	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	American Indian Folklore						
		Dance Party						

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

All day clambake demonstration
in the clambake area

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Massachusetts Music	Foodways	Gazebo	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations	Learning Center Workshops		Main Stage	Workshop Stage	Ongoing Demonstrations
Greek Music: The Contemporary Greek Ensemble	Clambake Trimmings	Clubs, Churches and Living Rooms	Industrial crafts — metal work, glass blowing, wood carving, silversmithing, computer assembly, clock making Urban ethnic gardening Puerto Rican and Irish needlework, Polish iconography, bocce, stone wall building, American Indian pottery Maritime crafts — scallop and lobster fishing, scrimshaw, boat building, sail making Agricultural occupations — cranberry growing, maple syrup producing, tobacco, produce & herb farming, oxen raising, ox yoke making, rural crafts			11:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene	Periodic crafts demonstrations and informal musical performances throughout the area
Cape Breton Fiddling: John Campbell		Sweet and Tart: Maple and Cranberries		Ox Pull	Maraca Making and Playing with Toi Grace	12:00	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	
Puerto Rican <i>Jibaro</i> Music: Oscar Lugo y su Conjunto	Portuguese-American Traditions	Tripe: What It Is and Who Eats It		Farming in Massachusetts in the Agricultural Fair Tent	The Wampanoag Indian Calendar with Gladys Widdiss	1:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	
Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family		Cooking with Cranberries		A Quaker Clambake		2:00	Southern Russian Choral Music: Podserednee	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev	
Greek Music: The Contemporary Greek Ensemble	Irish-American Traditions	"Games We Used To Play"		Ox Pull	Puerto Rican Needlework with Bienvenida Negron	3:00	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	Soviet/American Song Tradition: Uliana Kot V. Povilioniene Hazel Dickens Bernice Reagon	
Cape Verdean Music: Toi Grace and the Verdatonos		Clambake Trimmings		Rotaries and other Obstacles: Driving in Massachusetts	Rigging a Beetle Cat Boat in the Maritime Area	4:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev	
Boston Blues and Jazz: Silas Hubbard, Jr. and the Hot Ribs						5:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	
							Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	
								Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	

Monday June 27

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

Sign language interpreters will be available from 11:00-5:30.

Festival Music Stage

American Folklore Society Centennial

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

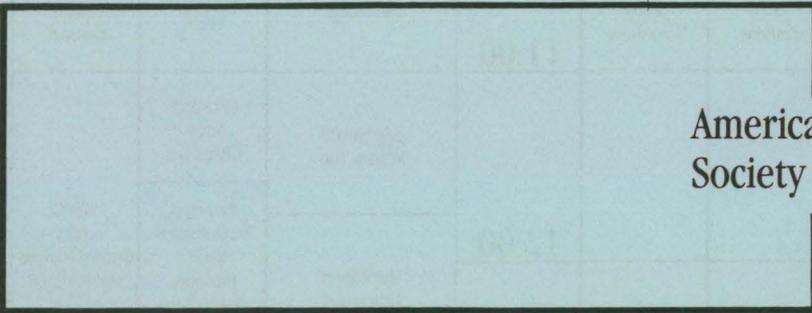
	Music	Workshop Stage		Music	Foodways	Workshop/Narrative	Ongoing Presentations	Garden Plaza
11:00			11:00					
12:00	Children's Games: The H. D. Cooke Double Dutch Team	What Happens When the Folklorist Leaves?	12:00	Southern Mountain Music: Don Stover	Cooking from the Horn of Africa	Making a New Place Home: Carnival in the U.S.	Afro-American Quilting	Chinese Tai Chi
1:00	Bluegrass: The Del McCoury Band	Strangers in Your Town	1:00	Blues: John & James Jackson		Migration Interviews with the Public		Chinese Brush Painting
2:00	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	Tradition: Learning from our Teachers	2:00	Bluegrass: Hobbs & Partners	Salvadoran Cooking	Crossing the Border: Chinese Migration	Chinese Embroidery, Brush Painting, Calligraphy	Afro-American & Salvadoran Children's Games
3:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Folklore on Stage & Screen: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly	3:00	Chinese Opera		Comparative Music: Extempo vs. Caliche		Chinese Language School
4:00	Children's Games: The Double Dutch Team	Conservation: Natural and Cultural	4:00	Blues: Archie Edwards	Trinidadian Creole Cooking	Migration Interviews with the Public	Salvadoran Activities: Enramada Building, Corn Grinding, Celebratory Crafts	Chinese Kung Fu
5:00	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	Festivals: Their Folklore and their Influence	5:00	Trinidadian Calypso: "Flash" "Blackbird" "Fusion"		Afro-American Cooking		Strings to Home: Afro-American Migrants
5:30	Bluegrass: The Del McCoury Band	Hispanic-American Folklore		Gospel: Sons of Grace	Chinese Rice Cooking		Strings to Home: Oromo Music	Trinidadian Costume Making
	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Folklore and Media: Access, Control and Use		Gospel: Kings of Harmony Quartet			Migration Interviews with the Public	
	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Building Community Networks						
	Southern Russian Dance: Podserednee	Dance Party						

14th Street

Madison Drive

Museum of American History

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union



American Folklore Society Centennial

Food Concession

Narrative Stage

Music Stage

Learning Center and Narrative Stage

Crafts

B

Information

B

Press

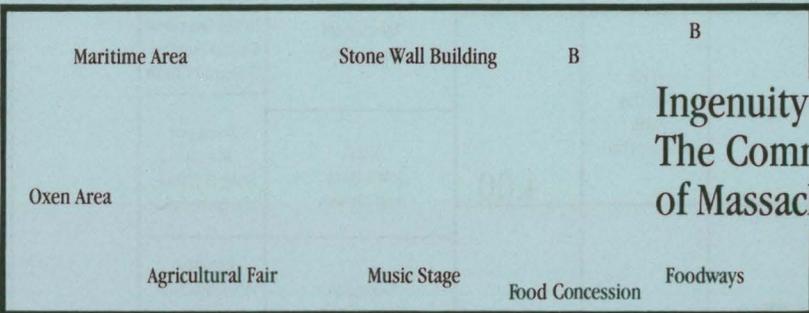
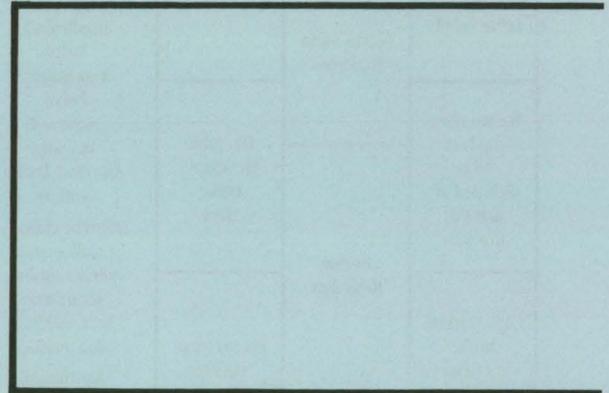
R

Festival Site Map

R=Restroom

B=Beverage Concession

R



Maritime Area

Stone Wall Building

B

B

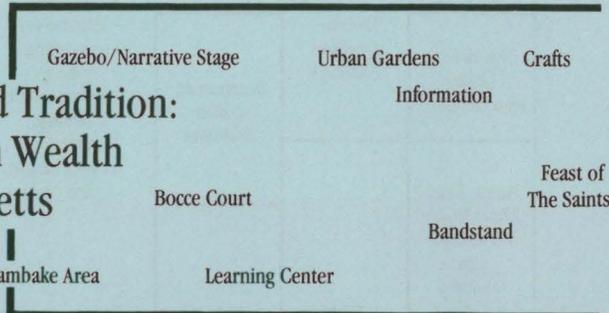
Oxen Area

Agricultural Fair

Music Stage

Food Concession

Foodways



Gazebo/Narrative Stage

Urban Gardens

Crafts

Information

Bocce Court

Feast of The Saints

Bandstand

Clambake Area

Learning Center

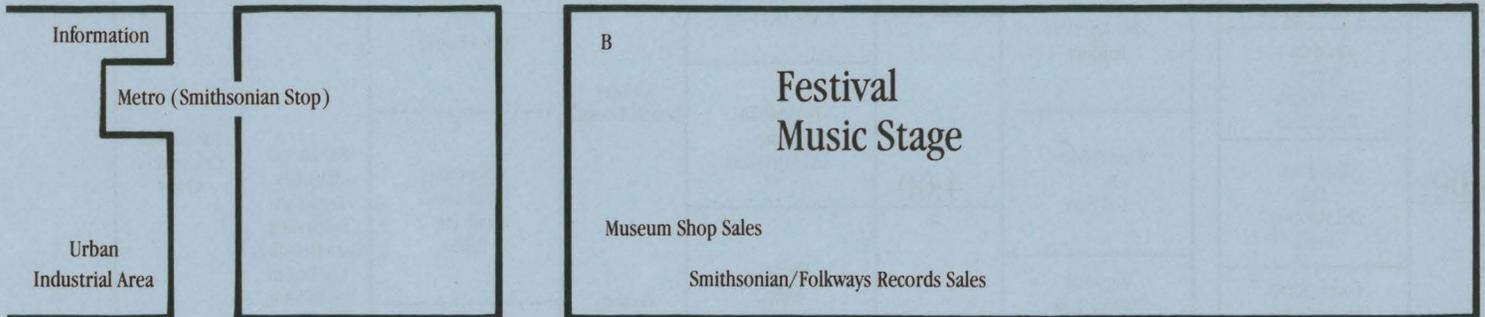
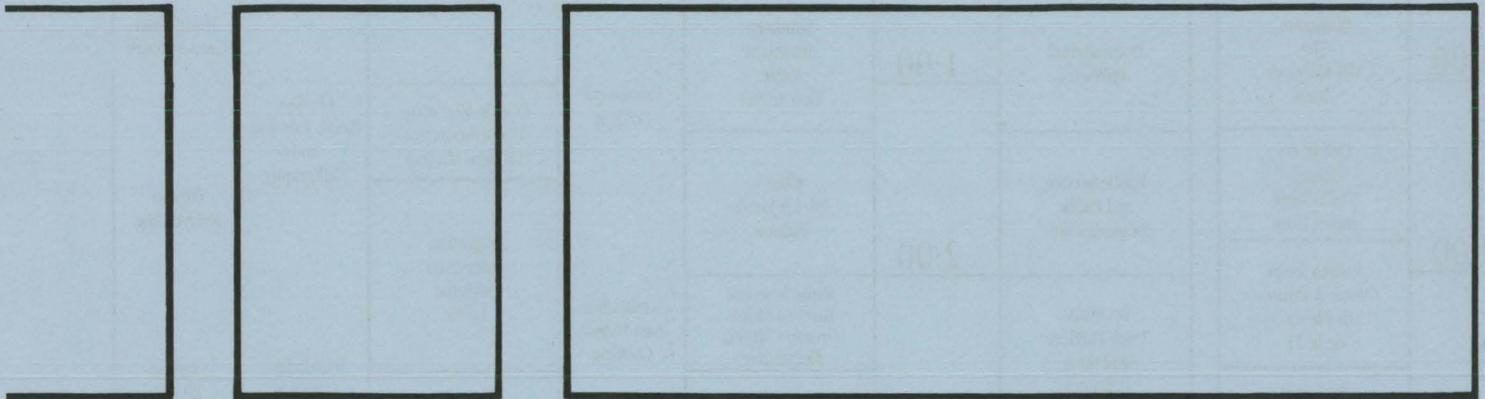
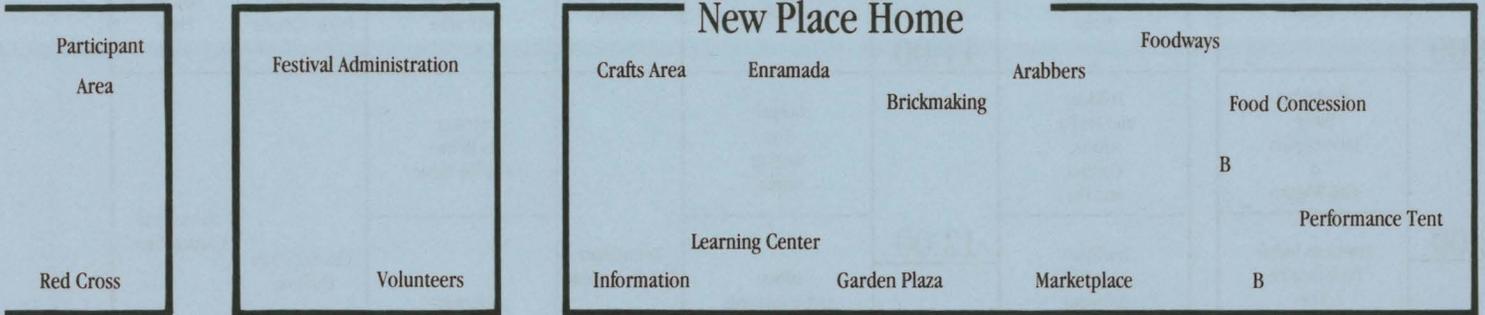
Jefferson Drive

Department of Agriculture

12th Street

Migration to Washington: Making a New Place Home

Museum of Natural History



Thursday June 30

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

Sign language interpreters will be available from 11:00-5:30.

Festival Music Stage

American Folklore Society Centennial

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

	Music	Workshop Stage		Music	Foodways	Workshop/Narrative	Ongoing Presentations	Garden Plaza
11:00			11:00					
12:00	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Folklore and Media: Access, Control and Use	12:00	Gospel: The Singing Angels	Trinidadian Creole Cooking	Strings to Home: Oromo Music	Afro-American Quilting	Salvadoran Garden Tours
	American Indian Performance: The Badland Singers	Tradition: Learning from our Teachers		Blues: Archie Edwards		Migration Interviews with the Public		
1:00	Bluegrass: The Del McCoury Band	Occupational Folklore	1:00	Southern Mountain Music: Don Stover	Salvadoran Cooking	Double Migration: Helen McCarthy, Chinese Migrant	Chinese Brush Painting and Calligraphy	Trinidadian Garden Tours
	Children's Games: The Double Dutch Team	Public Service and Public Responsibility		Blues: John & James Jackson		Migration Interviews with the Public		
2:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Festivals: Their Folklore and their Influence	2:00	Music from the Horn of Africa: Oromo Cultural Committee	Trinidadian East Indian Cooking	Family Saga: The Aviles Family	Trinidadian Costume Making	Oromo Storytelling
	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Afro-American Folklore		Blues: Archie Edwards & The Jacksons				
3:00	Children's Games: The Double Dutch Team	What Folklore Is . . . and Isn't	3:00	Trinidadian Parang: Las Estrellitas	Chinese Noodle Cooking	Migration Interviews with the Public	Salvadoran Activities: Enramada Decorating, Corn Grinding, Cooking in the Polleton, Alfombra Making	Chinese Tai Chi and Kung Fu
	Bluegrass: The Del McCoury Band	Personal Politics: Folk Community Members and Folklorists		Gospel: Kings of Harmony Quartet				
4:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Crossing the Line: Folk Artist — Folklorist	4:00		Cooking from the Horn of Africa	Migration Interviews with the Public	Tales of Oromo Migration	Salvadoran Celebratory Crafts
	American Indian Performance: The Badland Singers							
5:00			5:00					
5:30			5:30			Migration Interviews with the Public		
	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	Dance Party						

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Massachusetts Music	Foodways	Gazebo	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations	Learning Center Workshops		Main Stage	Workshop Stage	Ongoing Demonstrations
						11:00			
Polish Music: The Bay State IV	Italian-American Traditions	Occupational Folklore	Industrial crafts — metal work, glass blowing, wood carving, silversmithing, computer assembly, clock making Urban ethnic gardening Puerto Rican and Irish needlework, Polish iconography, bocce, stone wall building, American Indian pottery Maritime crafts — scallop and lobster fishing, scrimshaw, boat building, sail making Agricultural occupations — cranberry growing, maple syrup producing, tobacco, produce & herb farming, oxen raising, ox yoke making, rural crafts			12:00	Southern Russian Choral Music: Podserednee	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	Periodic crafts demonstrations and informal musical performances throughout the area
Cambodian Music		Herbs: Their Many Uses		Ox Pull				Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	
Armenian Music: The Artie Barsamian Orchestra	Polish-American Traditions	"Living by the Sea"		Farming in Massachusetts in the Agricultural Fair Tent	Feast of the Saints Preparation for the Celebration	1:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene	
						2:00	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	
Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family	Irish-American Traditions	Oxen Lore				3:00	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	
Acadian Fiddling: Gerry Robichaud	Cooking with Cranberries	"The Second Generation"		Ox Pull		4:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	
Boston Blues and Jazz: Silas Hubbard, Jr. and the Hot Ribs						5:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene	
	Cooking on the Coast: Traditional Uses of Seafood	Religion in Home and Community		Rigging a Beetle Cat Boat in the Maritime Area			Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Southern Russian Song & Dance: Podserednee	
Polish Music: The Bay State IV							Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	

Friday July 1

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

Sign language interpreters will be available from 11:00-5:30.

Festival Music Stage

American Folklore Society Centennial

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

	Music	Workshop Stage		Music	Foodways	Workshop/Narrative	Ongoing Presentations	Garden Plaza
11:00			11:00					
12:00	American Indian Performance: The Badland Singers	Building Community Networks	12:00	Oromo Traditional Music	Afro-American Cooking	Strings to Home: The Blues Archie Edwards The Jacksons	Trinidadian Costume Making	Chinese Tai Chi
	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Hispanic-American Folklore		Southern Mountain Music: Don Stover		Migration Interviews with the Public		
1:00	Children's Games: The H. D. Cooke Double Dutch Team	Folklore and Media: Access, Control and Use	1:00	Southern Mountain Music: Hazel Dickens Band	Chinese Cooking	Making a New Place Home: La Banda Salvadoreña	Chinese Brush Painting and Calligraphy	Trinidadian Garden Tours
	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	Conservation: Natural and Cultural		Blues: John & James Jackson		Migration Interviews with the Public		Chinese Kung Fu
2:00	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	French-American Folklore	2:00	Blues: Archie Edwards	Cooking from the Horn of Africa	Crossing the Border	Afro-American Quilting	Strings to Home: Hazel Dickens & Don Stover
	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21					Folklore as a Helping Profession		
3:00	Children's Games: The Double Dutch Team	Tradition: Learning from our Teachers	3:00	Gospel: Sons of Grace	Trinidadian Cooking	Steel Pan Workshop	Salvadoran Activities: Enramada Decorating, Cooking in the Polleton, Alfombra Making	Making a New Place Home: Afro-American Migration
	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group							
4:00	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Folklore on Stage & Screen: The Good, the Bad & the Ugly	4:00	Caribbean Music: Trinidad & Tobago Steel Band	Salvadoran Cooking			Chinese Calligraphy Workshop
	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash							
5:00			5:00					
5:30	Cape Breton/Irish Music: Gerry Robichaud Seamus Connolly							

Dance Party

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Massachusetts Music	Foodways	Gazebo	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations	Learning Center Workshops		Main Stage	Workshop Stage	Ongoing Demonstrations
Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family	Afro-American Traditions	Tomatoes: A Common Denominator	Industrial crafts — metal work, glass blowing, wood carving, silversmithing, computer assembly, clock making			11:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev	Periodic crafts demonstrations and informal musical performances throughout the area
Acadian and Irish Fiddling: Gerry Robichaud Seamus Connolly		Industrial Folklore				Urban ethnic gardening	Ox Pull	12:00	
Cambodian Music	Cooking on the Coast: Traditional Uses of Seafood	Song Styles	Puerto Rican and Irish needlework, Polish iconography, bocce, stone wall building, American Indian pottery	Farming in Massachusetts in the Agricultural Fair Tent	Feast of the Saints Preparation for the Celebration	1:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	
						2:00	Southern Russian Choral Music: Podserednee	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene	
Polish Music: The Bay State IV	Acadian Traditions	Dance Styles	Maritime crafts — scallop and lobster fishing, scrimshaw, boat building, sail making			3:00	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev	
Armenian Music: The Artie Barsamian Orchestra						Winemaking	Sweet and Tart: Maple and Cranberries	Agricultural occupations — cranberry growing, maple syrup producing, tobacco, produce & herb farming, oxen raising, ox yoke making, rural crafts	
Afro-American Gospel: The Motivators	Herbal Remedies	Saints' Day Feasts in Italy and America		Rigging a Beetle Cat Boat in the Maritime Area					
Boston Blues and Jazz: Silas Hubbard, Jr. and the Hot Ribs									
							Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	Southern Russian Song & Dance: Podserednee	

Saturday July 2

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

Sign language interpreters will be available from 11:00-5:30.

Festival American Folklore Music Society Stage Centennial

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

Salvadoran Day of the Cross

	Music	Workshop Stage		Music	Foodways	Workshop/ Narrative	Ongoing Presentations	Garden Plaza
11:00	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene and Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	The Material World: Preserving, Presenting, Pretending	11:00	Southern Mountain Music: Hazel Dickens Band		Family Saga: The Aviles Family		
12:00	Children's Games: The H. D. Cooke Double Dutch Team	Occupational Folklore	12:00	Blues: Archie Edwards	Salvadoran Regional Cooking	Migration Interviews with the Public	Trinidadian Costume Making	Chinese Tai Chi and King Fu
1:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Crossing the Line: Folk Artist—Folklorist	1:00	Blues: John & James Jackson	Afro-American Cooking	Crossing the Border: "El Coyote"	Salvadoran Cross Making & Decorating	Salvadoran Garden Tours
2:00	American Indian Performance: The Badland Singers	What Folklore Is . . . and Isn't	2:00	Southern Mountain Music: Don Stover	Salvadoran Regional Cooking	Migration Interviews with the Public	Chinese Brush Painting and Calligraphy	Strings to Home: Hazel Dickens & Don Stover
3:00	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	Folklore on Stage & Screen: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly	3:00	Trinidadian Extempo: "Flash" Lashley & "Blackbird"	Chinese Cooking	Children of Migration: The Singing Angels	Afro-American Quilting	Trinidadian Garden Tours
4:00	Children's Games: The Double Dutch Team	American Indian Folklore	4:00	Gospel: The Four Echoes		Migration Interviews with the Public		Blues Workshop: Archie Edwards and The Jacksons
5:00	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Public Service and Public Responsibility	5:00	Gospel: The Singing Angels	Trinidadian East Indian Cooking	First Job/First Impression: Trinidadian Men	Salvadoran Cross Offering followed by Music from Conrado Rosales y la Banda Salvadoreña	
	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	What Happens When the Folklorist Leaves				Migration Interviews with the Public		
	American Indian Performance: The Badland Singers	Folklore and Media: Access, Control and Use						
	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group							

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

Feast of the Saints evening with
candlelight procession

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Massachusetts Music	Foodways	Gazebo	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations	Learning Center Workshops		Main Stage	Workshop Stage	Ongoing Demonstrations			
						11:00						
Cambodian Music	Cooking on the Coast: Traditional Uses of Seafood	Black Presence in Massachusetts	Industrial crafts — metal work, glass blowing, wood carving, silversmithing, computer assembly, clock making Urban ethnic gardening Puerto Rican and Irish needlework, Polish iconography, bocce, stone wall building, American Indian pottery Maritime crafts — scallop and lobster fishing, scrimshaw, boat building, sail making Agricultural occupations — cranberry growing, maple syrup producing, tobacco, produce & herb farming, oxen raising, ox yoke making, rural crafts		Feast of the Saints Preparation for the Celebration	12:00	Southern Russian Choral Music: Podserednee	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	Periodic crafts demonstrations and informal musical performances throughout the area			
Armenian Music: The Artie Barsamian Orchestra	Polish-American Traditions	City, Town and Countryside		Ox Pull		1:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev				
Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family		Fish Stories		Farming in Massachusetts in the Agricultural Fair Tent		2:00	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul				
Boson Blues and Jazz: Silas Hubbard, Jr. and the Hot Ribs	Herbal Remedies	Tripe: What It Is and Why Do People Eat It?				3:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene				
Acadian and Irish Fiddling: Gerry Robichaud and Seamus Connolly		Armenian-American Traditions		Children's Songs		Ox Pull	4:00	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash		Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot		
Afro-American Gospel: The Motivators	Traditional Breads	Feast of the Saints Stories				5:00	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev				
						Rigging a Beetle Cat Boat in the Maritime Area		Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"		Southern Russian Song & Dance: Podserednee		
Polish Music: The Bay State IV	5:30 Dance Party											

Sunday July 3

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

Sign language interpreters will be available from 11:00-5:30.

Festival Music Stage

American Folklore Society Centennial

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

Trinidad & Tobago Day

	Music	Workshop Stage		Music	Foodways	Workshop/Narrative	Ongoing Presentations	Garden Plaza
11:00			11:00					
12:00	Bluegrass: The Del McCoury Band	The Sacred, the Personal, the Offensive: Do We Preserve and Present?	12:00	Trinidadian Parang: Las Estrillitas	Cooking from the Horn of Africa	First Job/ First Impression	Afro-American Quilting	Chinese Tai Chi
	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Tradition: Learning from our Teachers		Blues: The Jacksons		Migration Interviews with the Public		
1:00	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	What Happens When the Folklorist Leaves	1:00	Southern Mountain Music: Don Stover		Chinese Rice Cooking		
2:00	American Indian Performance: The Badland Singers	Folklore as a Helping Profession	2:00	Trinidadian Extempo: "Flash" Lashley & "Blackbird"	Trinidadian Creole Cooking	Migration Interviews with the Public	Chinese Brush Painting and Calligraphy	Chinese Kung Fu
	Children's Games: The Double Dutch Team	What Folklore Is... and Isn't		Trinidadian Parang: Las Estrellitas		Strings to Home: Carnival Comes to the USA		
3:00	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	The Material World: Preserving, Presenting, Pretending	3:00	Trinidadian Music: United Indian Merrymakers		Salvadoran Cooking		
4:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Conservation: Natural and Cultural	4:00	Trinidadian Calypso: "Flash," "Blackbird," & Fusion	Trinidadian East Indian Cooking	Making a New Place Home: Women of Trinidad	Salvadoran Activities: Bread Baking, Alfombrado Procession, Chicha	"All-Fours" Tournament Finals
	American Indian Performance: The Badland Singers	Strangers in Your Town		Trinidad & Tobago Steel Band and Carnival				
5:00	Bluegrass: The Del McCoury Band	Festivals: Their Folklore and Their Influence	5:00					
5:30	Children's Games: The H. D. Cooke Double Dutch Team							
	Southern Russian Music: Podserednee	Dance Party						

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union

12:30 Feast of the Saints procession
starting at the bandstand

Massachusetts Music	Foodways	Gazebo	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations	Learning Center Workshops		Main Stage	Workshop Stage	Ongoing Demonstrations
Afro-American Gospel: The Motivators	Italian-American Holiday Traditions	"A Reverence for Wood"	Industrial crafts — metal work, glass blowing, wood carving, silversmithing, computer assembly, clock making			11:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene	Periodic crafts demonstrations and informal musical performances throughout the area
Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family	Polish-American Holiday Traditions	Clubs, Churches and Living Rooms	Urban ethnic gardening Puerto Rican and Irish needlework, Polish iconography, bocce, stone wall building, American Indian pottery	Ox Pull		12:00	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	
Acadian and Irish Fiddling: Gerry Robichaud and Seamus Connolly	Portuguese-American Holiday Traditions	Religious Symbols	Maritime crafts — scallop and lobster fishing, scrimshaw, boat building, sail making	Farming in Massachusetts in the Agricultural Fair Tent	Feast of the Saints Preparation for the Celebration	1:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	
Cambodian Music	Portuguese-American Holiday Traditions	Growing Up in the Old Country	Agricultural occupations — cranberry growing, maple syrup producing, tobacco, produce & herb farming, oxen raising, ox yoke making, rural crafts			2:00	Southern Russian Choral Music: Podserednee	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev	Georgian Table Ritual
Polish Music: The Bay State IV	Pickles and Preserves	Games We Used To Play		Ox Pull		3:00	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	
Boston Blues and Jazz: Silas Hubbard, Jr. and the Hot Ribs						4:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	
Armenian Music: The Artie Barsamian Orchestra	Winemaking	Communities in Transition		Rigging a Beetle Cat Boat in the Maritime Area		5:00	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Soviet/American Workshop	
							Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev	
								Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	
								Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	

Monday July 4

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

Sign language interpreters will be available from 11:00-5:30.

Festival American Folklore Music Society Stage Centennial

Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home

	Music	Workshop Stage		Music	Foodways	Workshop/ Narrative	Ongoing Presentations	Garden Plaza
11:00			11:00					
12:00	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	Anglo-American Folklore	12:00	Gospel: The Singing Angels	Trinidadian East Indian Cooking	Strings to Home: Arnold Hobbs & Don Stover	Afro-American Quilting	Chinese Tai Chi and Kung Fu
	American Indian Performance: The Badland Singers			Oromo Wedding Music: Marame Dilgassa		Migration Interviews with the Public		
1:00	Bluegrass: The Del McCoury Band	Tradition: Learning from our Teachers	1:00	Blues: John & James Jackson	Afro-American Cooking	Children of Migration: The Singing Angels	Chinese Brush Painting and Calligraphy	Salvadoran & Afro-American Children's Games
	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21	Personal Politics: Folk Community Members and Folklorists		Bluegrass: Hobbs & Partners		Migration Interviews with the Public		
2:00	Children's Games: The Double Dutch Team	American Indian Folklore	2:00	Blues: Archie Edwards	Chinese Cooking	Making a New Place Home: Preserving Chinese Culture	Trinidadian Costume Making	Chinese Ribbon Dance
	Piedmont Blues: John Cephas & Phil Wiggins	Crossing the Line: Folk Artist—Folklorist		Southern Mountain Music: Don Stover		Migration Interviews with the Public		
3:00	American Indian Performance: The Badland Singers	Conservation: Natural and Cultural	3:00	Trinidadian Calypso: "Flash" & "Blackbird"	Cooking from the Horn of Africa	Roots to Home: Afro-American Folk Culture	Salvadoran Corn Grinding	Trinidadian Extempo: "Flash" Lashley & "Blackbird"
	Cajun Music: Eddie Lejeune Group	American Government and American Traditions		Gospel Brass Band: McCullough Kings of Harmony		Migration Interviews with the Public		
4:00	Children's Games: The Double Dutch Team	Tradition: Learning from our Teachers	4:00	Gospel Brass Band: McCullough Kings of Harmony	Salvadoran Cooking	Migration Interviews with the Public	Salvadoran Corn Grinding	Salvadoran & Trinidadian Garden/Market Tours
	Bluegrass: The Del McCoury Band							
5:00	Puerto Rican Music & Dance: Los Pleneros de la 21		5:00					Piñata Party

Ingenuity and Tradition: The Common Wealth of Massachusetts

Music from the Peoples of the Soviet Union

Massachusetts Music	Foodways	Gazebo	Ongoing Presentations	Special Demonstrations	Learning Center Workshops		Main Stage	Workshop Stage	Ongoing Demonstrations
						11:00			
Polish Music: The Bay State IV	Soups on Monday	"On the Breeze"	Industrial crafts — metal work, glass blowing, wood carving, silversmithing, computer assembly, clock making			12:00	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	Periodic crafts demonstrations and informal musical performances throughout the area
Acadian and Irish Fiddling: Gerry Robichaud and Seamus Connolly	Cooking with Cranberries	Urban Gardens: Vegetables vs. Flowers	Urban ethnic gardening Puerto Rican and Irish needlework, Polish iconography, bocce, stone wall building, American Indian pottery	Ox Pull		1:00	Music from Uzbekistan	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	
Afro-American Gospel: The Motivators		Ingenuity and Tradition: Industrial Techniques	Maritime crafts — scallop and lobster fishing, scrimshaw, boat building, sail making	Farming in Massachusetts in the Agricultural Fair Tent	Feast of the Saints Preparation for the Celebration	2:00	Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene	
Portuguese Fado Singing: The Lebre Family		Dance Styles	Agricultural occupations — cranberry growing, maple syrup producing, tobacco, produce & herb farming, oxen raising, ox yoke making, rural crafts			3:00	Southern Russian Choral Music: Podserednee	Yakut Jew's Harp: Ivan Alexeev	
Cambodian Music	Armenian-American Traditions					4:00	Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	
Armenian Music: The Artie Barsamian Orchestra		Day Jobs: Musicians' Other Lives		Ox Pull		5:00	Azerbaijani Mugam Trio	Ukrainian Song: Uliana Kot	
								Lithuanian Song: Veronika Povilioniene	
								Tuvan Overtone Throat Singing: Gennadii Chash	
								Southern Russian Song & Dance: Podserednee	
								Estonian Instrumental Music: Johannes & Ants Taul	
Boston Blues and Jazz: Silas Hubbard, Jr. and the Hot Ribs	Cooking on the Coast: Traditional Uses of Seafood	Rotaries and Other Obstacles: Driving in Massachusetts		Rigging a Beetle Cat Boat in the Maritime Area			Georgian Men's Choir: "Elesa"	Children's Lithuanian Workshop with Veronika Povilioniene	

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