SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

# 1991 Festival of American Folklife

*Complimentary Copy*

On the cover: *Manuela Gonzáles Pérez, Mayan Tzotzil weaver from San Andrés Larrainzar, Mexico, spins cotton with a drop spindle.* Photo by Ricardo Martínez

On the back cover, top: *A sidewalk food vendor in Jakarta fans the fire under his speciality,* sate ayam *(charcoal-grilled chicken). His portable "kitchen" is ornately carved in Madurese style.* Photo by Katrinka Ebbe

Bottom: *Harlan Borman hands his daughter, Kate, up to her grandfather Raymond Atkinson, sitting in the combine. Kate is now 23 years old and an active participant in the family farm in Kingdom City, Missouri.* Photo courtesy Borman family

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Festival of American Folklife

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# The 25th Annual Festival: Land and Culture

Robert McC. Adams
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

This year, the Festival is about human relationships to land. Culturally, land is never just soil and terrain. It is roamed or owned, wilderness or property. Land can have borders or be a path to different realms. Ideas of mother nature, son or daughter of the soil, the fatherland, and heaven, earth and underworld, for example, show how intimately our understanding of land is intertwined with ways of thinking about cosmology, ecology, society, and personal and national identity.

Indonesian land punctuates sea and ocean to form some 13,000 volcanic islands. On these islands is an amazing diversity of environments, ranging from the sandy beaches of Sumatra to snowcapped mountains that rise above the rainforests in Irian Jaya on New Guinea. To sample this diversity, the Festival presents cultural traditions from three particular environments — the forests of Kalimantan, the fields of Java and the sea coast of Sulawesi. Kenyah and Modang people of Kalimantan show us how they have made life possible and meaningful in the rainforest. Witness their careful use of indigenous plants for medicine, trees for vernacular longhouses, and other forest products for aesthetic and religious practices. Buginese and Makassarese boatbuilders, seafarers, cooks and silk makers demonstrate skills they use to live with and from the sea — the economic trade and natural bounty it has historically provided. And from East Java come village agriculturalists, rice farmers of that island's rich soil who have developed an intricate fabric of social, material and performance arts. These rich traditions are the expression of a civilization whose cultural sources — local, Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic — are as complex as any on earth.

Half a world away from Indonesia and much closer to home is the American "heartland." American culture embodies a few elemental self-images with mythic stature — the frontier is surely one; the family farm is surely another. The idea of the family farm also entails some of our strongest values — hard work, self-reliance, family solidarity and community life. At the Festival, farming families from twelve midwestern states present their culture through family folklore and storytelling, community celebrations and demonstrations of work skills — from machinery repair to computer-based management of breeding records. Farm families try to preserve a way of life and to remain stewards of the land. But today their task is more complex than it has ever been, given the economic, technological and informational revolutions in farming. Tensions between an increased productivity through innovation on one hand and a preservation of family lifeways and values on the other, animate the present challenge of living off and caring for the land.

Land is also important as we begin to commemorate the Columbus Quincentenary and to consider the meaning and consequences of Columbus' voyages. Five hundred years ago, the year before those voyages, the western hemisphere was home to a wonderful array of peoples, cultures and civilizations. The land was populated by the descendants of peoples who crossed over from Asia to Alaska some tens of thousands of years ago. For millennia, this land was theirs. With a knowledge and understanding of this land developed over generations, native peoples gathered and cultivated its bounty, bred new crops, derived medicines to cure sickness, mined ores for making tools and ornaments, used its earth, stone and wood for building homes, made dyes for cloth and invented ways of preparing and cooking food. Land and its use informed social, moral, religious and cosmological beliefs, and sacred and secular practices. Some of this knowledge and practice of land use and its symbolic elaboration in artistic forms are still continued among many Native American

groups. At the Festival, culture bearers from the Haida, Tlingit and Tsimshian people from Alaska; Hopi from Arizona; Maya and Lacandón from Chiapas, Mexico; Zapotec and Ikood from Oaxaca, Mexico; Shuar, Achuar and Canelos Quichua from Ecuador; Jalq'a and Tiwanaku from Bolivia; and Taquile from Peru illustrate how the land in many varied environments is cared for and thought about, and how, almost five hundred years after Columbus, the wise and humane use, the knowledge and power of land must be re-"discovered."

The Festival itself is no less about land. The Festival is mounted annually in a symbolically powerful place, the National Mall of the United States, surely among our nation's most sacred plots of land. In the Festival's 25 year history, it has brought more than 16,000 of the world's musicians, craftspeople, storytellers, cooks, performers, workers, ritual specialists and others from every part of the United States and more than 50 nations to the National Mall. Farmers and fishermen, bluesmen and quilters, taro growers and *matachines*, bricklayers and potters, representing only a sample of human cultural diversity, have demonstrated their knowledge, skill, aesthetics and wisdom. In doing so, they have told their story to some 20 million visitors. They have brought issues of cultural conservation, survival, continuity and creativity to the symbolic center of our nation, to national and to international consciousness.

The Festival is the foremost example of a research-based presentation of living culture. It has enriched the spirits of the people — artists, scholars, government officials and visiting children and adults — who annually come to meet each other on the nation's front lawn. The Festival has shown that people of different backgrounds, beliefs and sensibilities can indeed talk together and understand one another if given the opportunity. And the Festival has had strong impacts back home, on the creative lives of individuals and the institutional life of communities.

The Festival does not celebrate itself loudly, perhaps in keeping with the character of the people it represents. The Festival resists commercialization, glitter and stylization. It is nonetheless a complex undertaking, undergirded by extensive research, detailed logistics, intricate funding arrangements and the like. The Festival is sometimes messy and unpredictable, but that is because it speaks in and through many voices. It is a 20th century genre of complex human interaction invented to get people to talk, listen, share, understand and appreciate one another, and to do it in a way that is indeed filled with fun and sometimes wonder. The Festival is firmly rooted in specially endowed land — land that belongs to and provides a place for everyone. The National Mall nourishes the mind, the spirit and the identities of those who stand upon it. Our Festival on the Mall helps empower cultures presented here to invite you to cross boundaries not regularly crossed and hear the voices of the earth's peoples, from around the world and from close to home.

# Presenting America's Cultural Heritage

James M. Ridenour
Director, National Park Service

Ever since 1973, the National Park Service has been a co-sponsor of the Festival of American Folklife on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. We are proud to join with the Smithsonian in celebrating this, the 25th annual Festival. The Festival is a nationally and internationally acclaimed model of research and public education, which informs our citizens and foreign visitors about the rich and diverse cultural heritage of our nation and the larger world.

This year also marks the 75th anniversary of the National Park Service. The National Park Service is actively at work, every day throughout the United States, to preserve and protect the natural, historical and cultural heritage we all hold so dear. The National Park Service is a steward for the American people of Yellowstone National Park, Grand Canyon National Park, the Statue of Liberty, the Lincoln Memorial and literally hundreds of other natural areas, historical sites and monuments that grace the landscape and the public consciousness of our nation.

We have worked with numerous local, state and regional agencies throughout the United States to promote the preservation, understanding and interpretation of folklife and grassroots cultural traditions. We have cooperated closely with the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress in developing cultural conservation policies and specific research projects with Lowell National Historical Park and now an Acadian Cultural Center in Maine. Ongoing festivals, performance programs and skills demonstrations such as the National Folk Festival held at America's Industrial Park in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and others at Jean Lafitte National Historical Park in Louisiana, Golden Gate National Recreation Area in California, Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, Chamizal National Memorial Park in Texas, Blue Ridge National Parkway in Virginia and North Carolina, Cuyahoga National Recreation Area in Ohio, and Virgin Islands National Park on St. John testify to our commitment.

This year, at the Festival of American Folklife and beginning in October at Columbus Plaza, Union Station and in other venues, the National Park Service will develop exhibitions, programs and publications to mark the Columbus Quincentenary. The Quincentenary provides an opportune moment for all Americans to re-examine and re-consider the history of our hemisphere and its varied peoples and cultures. The National Park Service is proud to play a key role and to join with the Smithsonian to make that history accessible to the broadest public. In visiting the National Mall and many other national parks, sites and monuments, one can observe not only remnants of that five hundred year history, but also its results in the practices and beliefs of living cultures. Understanding how our cultural history was made is of great importance for Americans and for all the world's people. It is a knowledge that we can build upon as we begin to shape our history and culture in the next five hundred years.

# The Festival of American Folklife: Building on Tradition

Richard Kurin

This summer marks the 25th annual Festival of American Folklife. Over the years more than 16,000 musicians, dancers, craftspeople, storytellers, cooks, workers, and other bearers of traditional culture from every region of the United States and every part of the globe have come to the National Mall in Washington to illustrate the art, knowledge, skill and wisdom developed within their local communities. They have sung and woven, cooked and danced, spun and stitched a tapestry of human cultural diversity; they have aptly demonstrated its priceless value. Their presence has changed the National Mall and the Smithsonian Institution. Their performances and demonstrations have shown millions of people a larger world. And their success has encouraged actions, policies and laws that promote human cultural rights. The Festival has been a vehicle for this. And while it has changed in various ways over the years, sometimes only to change back once again, the Festival's basic purpose has remained the same. Its energy and strength is rooted in the very communities and cultural exemplars it seeks to represent, and in small, but sometimes significant ways, to help.

## The First Festival

> The marble museums of the Smithsonian Institution are filled with beautiful hand-worn things made long ago by forgotten American craftsmen. Nostalgic reminders of our folk craft heritage, the museum exhibits are discreetly displayed, precisely labeled, and dead.
>
> But the folk craft tradition has not died. Yesterday it burst into life before the astonished eyes of hundreds of visitors on the Mall. (Paul Richard in *The Washington Post*, July 2, 1967, on the first Festival of American Folklife)

Mary McGrory, then a reporter for *The Evening Star*, wrote,

> Thanks to S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, thousands of people have been having a ball on the Mall, watching dulcimer-makers, quilters, potters and woodcarvers and listing to music. "My thought," said Ripley, "is that we have dulcimers in cases in the museum, but how many people have actually heard one or seen one being made?"

During the mid-1960s the Smithsonian Institution re-evaluated its approach to understanding and interpreting American culture and its attendant institutional responsibilities. Secretary Ripley reported his initiative to mount the first Festival to the Board of Regents, the Smithsonian's governing body, in February, 1967:

> A program sponsored by the Smithsonian should reflect the Institution's founding philosophy and current role. Although it has the world's largest collections of American folk artifacts, the Smithsonian, like all museums in our nation, fails to present folk culture fully and accurately. Through the Bureau of American Ethnology, it has pioneered the collection, archiving, analysis and publication of American Indian cultural data, [but] neither the Smithsonian nor any other research institution has employed the methods of cultural anthropology in an extensive fieldwork program in American folk cultures.
>
> The lack of museum expertise and the absence of adequate field programs in American folklife studies has resulted from a general ignorance of the abundance of our traditional cultures. Related to the collections and based on the philosophy of the Smithsonian, an exposition of the

*Dejan's Olympia Brass Band from Louisiana performs on the National Mall at the first Festival in 1967. Festival stages have generally remained small, encouraging intimate audience interaction.* Photo Smithsonian Institution

folk aesthetic on the Mall accompanied by a seminar would be provocative.

A program presenting traditional craftsmen and dancers as well as musicians would convincingly demonstrate the vigor of our folk traditions. At an interdisciplinary seminar, individuals with mutual interests who are not ordinarily in communication — including scholars, government and foundation representatives as well as concerned laymen — will explore the significance of the traditions displayed.

Secretary Ripley also envisioned the eventual formation of an American Folklife Institute that would establish "standards for research and interpretation of our folkways" and "enable the Smithsonian to provide the basis for a total view of American culture."

James Morris, then Director of the Smithsonian's Museum Service, Ralph Rinzler, coming from the Newport Folk Foundation as an applied folklore consultant, and others took up the task and the leadership of the project. Morris became Director of the newly constituted Division of Performing Arts, Rinzler became the Festival's Director and Marion Hope became the project assistant and then Festival coordinator and assistant director.

Some in the U.S. Congress felt that Ripley's plans for the National Mall — which in addition to a Festival of American Folklife included a carousel, outdoor evening concerts at the museums, and a kite-flying contest — were frivolous, that they would turn the Mall into a "midway." But Ripley and his supporters prevailed. Ripley thought it made sense for the Smithsonian to go outdoors and establish what some members of Congress termed "a living museum." Education could be fun. Serious purposes could be accomplished on the nation's front lawn, historically known as "Smithsonian Park." The Civil Rights marches had already dramatically demonstrated this.

Professors and scientists had their universities and publications; fine artists had their art galleries and museums; fine musicians had their symphonies and operas. The work of popular and commercial artists was proclaimed in the mass media of television, radio, recordings and magazines. Where could the voices of "folks back home" be

heard so they too would contribute to our sense of national culture, wisdom and art? Simply, the National Mall provided just such a platform for people to speak to the rest of the nation. Through the Festival, everyone could be represented; it made good sense as part of the national museum charged with presenting the story of human accomplishments. Members of Congress understood this meant that their constituents, the people, the folks back home, would have a place in the cultural life of the nation. Texans and Ohioans, Mississippians and Hawaiians, Anglo-Americans from Appalachia and American Indians from the Plains, new and older urban immigrants, children and elders, miners, cowboys, carpenters and many others would all have a place — a special place — to represent their cultural contributions.

The first Festival included a variety of musicians and craftspeople from across the country — Bessie Jones and the Georgia Sea Island Singers, Moving Star Hall Singer Janie Hunter and coil basketmaker Louise Jones from South Carolina, dulcimer maker Edd Presenell from North Carolina, Dejan's Olympia Brass Band from New Orleans, Navajo sandpainter Harry Belone, Acoma Pueblo potter Marie Chino, the Yomo Toro Puerto Rican Band and an Irish Ceilidh Band from New York, cowboy singer Glenn Ohrlin, bluesman John Jackson, Libba Cotton, Russian Glinka dancers from New Jersey, King Island Eskimo dancers from Alaska, and country blues singer Fred McDowell among many others.

The first Festival represented a convergence and distillation of several ideas. The name, "folklife" was taken from the Pennsylvania Folklife Festival and Don Yoder's scholarly adoption of the European term. The Festival's juxtaposition of musical performance with crafts, narrative sessions, foodways and sales came from Rinzler's pioneering experience at the Newport Festival. The dominant idea — that of a festival combining art, education and the struggle for cultural recognition — came from Rinzler through the influences of ethnomusicologist Charles Seeger, social activist and educator Myles Horton, and folklorist A. L. Lloyd.

From its inception, the Festival was to have a strong scholarly base. Festival presentations would indicate the cultural and social history of featured traditions. It would represent them accurately. Concurrent with the first Festival was an American Folklife Conference, organized by Morris, Rinzler and Henry Glassie, then state folklorist for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Conference participants included Smithsonian curators, folklorists D. K. Wilgus, Richard Dorson, Roger Abrahams, Austin Fife, Archie Green and Don Yoder, anthropologist Ward Goodenough, cantometrician Alan Lomax, cultural geographer Fred Kniffen, architect James Marston Fitch, record producer Moses Asch, historians, educators and other scholars from Mexico, Ireland, Canada, and Switzerland. The conference addressed topics of American and international folklife studies, the relationship between folklife and history, applied folklife, and folklife in schools, museums, communities and government agencies.

In the first Festival and Conference, several important ideas emerged. The study of grassroots traditional cultures was a multidisciplinary project; factors affecting the survival of cultural traditions in contemporary life had to be addressed; the study and presentation of cultures, through schools and other institutions was an essential part of public education; the Festival provided a collaborative means for scholars and culture bearers to discuss and present their understandings of particular traditions and communities.

The Festival and Conference project was viewed in 1967 as part of a larger strategy to study, present and conserve traditional grassroots cultures. The last session of the conference was devoted to planning for a National, or American Folklore Institute. The Institute would sponsor intensive scholarly fieldwork on American folk cultures, stimulate and preserve folk traditions through economic and educational assistance, produce an annual festival, encourage regional festivals and seminars, publish scholarly monographs and seminar proceedings as well as more popular works, produce documentary films, maintain an archive, compile resource guides for folk culture, disseminate educational materials to schools, advise other government agencies on cultural conditions related to their programs, and develop proposals for a national folk performance company and a national folklife museum.

The first Festival was indeed a public success, with more than 431,000 visitors attending. As Alan Lomax said,

> In affairs like this we realize our strength. We realize how beautiful we are. Black is beautiful. Appalachia is beautiful and even old, tired, Washington sometimes is beautiful when the American people gather to sing and fall in love with each other again.

At the Festival people do talk, meet, and understand something of each other as they easily cross social boundaries usually not negotiated in their everyday life. And through the Festival,

*Ernie Cornelison from Bybee, Kentucky, demonstrates a Dutch American pottery tradition, preserved in his family for generations, at the 1968 Festival. Crafts processes demonstrated at the Festival typically invite close observation and questions.* Photo by Robert Yellin, Smithsonian Institution

tradition bearers enlarge the measure of cultural pride they brought with them to the Mall and bring it back home, energized by the experience of presenting their traditions in a national context. While not all of the suggestions developed in the 1967 American Folklife Conference have been realized, most of them have indeed come to pass.

### Festival Benchmarks

It is difficult, if not impossible, to summarize all the milestones, all the accomplishments of the Festival of American Folklife. Key benchmarks merely signal its scope and contributions to scholarship, museology, government policy and the life of cultural communities themselves.

#### *Community Involvement and Staffing*

The Festival was intended to help present and interpret in a direct, public way the sometimes overlooked artistic creations of America's diverse, grassroots cultural communities. Influenced by the Civil Rights Movement, the Festival was to provide a means whereby many Americans could tell their story and exhibit their aesthetics, their knowledge, their skill and their wisdom to the rest of the nation. Crucial to this process was the involvement of community members, not only as performers, but also as audience and as curatorial and professional staff.

In the late 1960s, the Smithsonian museums attracted very few visitors from minority communities and had only one minority curator. Following the first Festival, Rinzler met with civil rights activist, singer and cultural historian Bernice Reagon, Anacostia Museum Director John Kinard, writer Julius Lester and others to develop programs through which African Americans in Washington might see the Festival and the Smithsonian as worthy of their participation. Similar efforts were directed toward other communities traditionally left out of Smithsonian museums and activities.

These efforts led to the appointment of Clydia Nahwooksy, the first Native American professional at the Smithsonian, and to the establishment of the Festival's American Indian Awareness program. Portions of the 1968 Festival were held at the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum. An African Diaspora Advisory Group was formed in 1971 to develop programs on African-derived cultures, foster community involvement, and engage scholars in finding solutions to questions of cultural representation. Gerald Davis, Reagon, James Early, Worth Long, Roland Freeman, and many others became involved. Over the years, the Festival played an important role of bringing scholars and cultural thinkers to the Smithsonian from previously unrepresented or underrepresented communities. Many, such as Reagon, Early, Manuel Melendez, Alicia González, Rayna Green, Fred Nahwooksy have held positions of increasing responsibility and scope within the Smithsonian.

The Festival also provided an opportunity for networks of minority scholars to develop. Freeman, a documentary photographer, and Long, a civil rights community organizer, teamed up in 1974 to survey and document the folklife of Mississippi's Black communities for the Festival; over the years they have collaborated on many projects, and are working together again this year.

The Festival has long attempted to provide research, training and presentational experience to members of minority communities. This has served two purposes. On one hand the Festival has helped enhance community self-documentation and presentation. On the other, the discourses of the Festival, the Smithsonian and a broad public have been enriched with the perspectives of minority professional and lay scholars

on their own community's cultures and on broader issues of social and cultural history.

This kind of involvement has become a regular feature of the Festival. Field research conducted to help select traditions and participants for the Festival is typically done by trained and lay scholars from the studied communities themselves. When Hawaiians, Virgin Islanders, Senegalese, or members of a deaf community are presented to the public at the Festival, scholars from those communities usually frame the presentations with background information. When this is not possible, presentations are done by scholars who, though not of the community, have collaborated closely with local scholars.

This ongoing commitment to cultural dialogue took the form of a Summer Folklore Institute in 1989 and 1990. Hundreds of lay scholars work in communities across the United States documenting, preserving and presenting their community's traditions without benefit of professional training, institutional networks or adequate human and financial resources. The Institute, organized around the Festival, exposed fellows, most from minority backgrounds, to techniques and methods used within the field. It also provided a means whereby they could meet one another as well as academic and museum scholars and interested public officials whose help they might draw upon. The Festival provided a fertile field for discussing, illustrating and examining questions of cultural documentation and presentation for the Institute's fellows. Just as the Festival has, the Institute has assisted community-level work on local cultures by encouraging its practitioners.

### *The Program Book*

At the 1968 Festival, a program book accompanied Festival presentations. Noted scholars from a variety of disciplines addressed general issues of folklore and folklife and the specific traditions illustrated in the Festival in a writing style accessible to public audiences. In 1970 the Festival program book included many documentary photographs, recipes, statements by and interviews with craftspeople and musicians. It attempted to bring the many voices of the Festival event to its printed publication. Over the years, the program book has included seminal and informative articles on traditions and issues presented by Festival programs. The contents of the 24 program books provide a compendium of multidisciplinary and multivocal folklore scholarship, with articles on regional American culture, American Indian culture, the cultures of African Americans and of other peoples of the diaspora, on ethnicity, community musics, biographical profiles of important musicians, verbal arts, deaf culture, material culture, vernacular architecture, foodways, communities and community celebrations, occupational folklife, children's folklore, the folklore of the elderly, the cultures of other countries, and issues of cultural policy. Several articles have focused on institutional practice and reflected on the production of the Festival itself — the ideas used to develop programmatic themes, to decide on who is to be represented and how and why. Program books are broadly distributed to the general public every year and used in university classrooms for teaching about American cultural traditions. Many states and locales have reprinted articles for use in their schools.

### *Featured State and Region*

First in 1968 and then in ensuing years, the Festival adopted and in some cases developed innovative categories for understanding and presenting folklife traditions. In 1968 the Festival began its ongoing concern with the regional cultures of America with a distinct, "featured state" program about Texas. The program illustrated that regional culture often crosses ethnic communities and provides a particular cultural identity and aesthetic style. At the same time, regions generally host considerable cultural variation and diversity. Since then, Festival programs have been produced for every region of the United States and for 17 states and territories.

Regional and state programs have been important in projecting to the American public a knowledge of the talents, sensibilities and values of their fellow citizens and neighbors. John Waihee, Governor of Hawaii, eloquently spoke of this at the 1989 Festival.

> It is with joy that we bring what is special about Hawaii to you, which is the spirit of aloha. Because we are more than wonderful weather, or beautiful beaches or powerful volcanoes. We are a people. We are people from many different backgrounds, and yet one, in the middle of God's Pacific, based on our native Hawaiian heritage, which binds us together in a spirit of love and pride, and built upon those who came later for a better life, reaching out so that their children's future would be secure. All of this we bring to Washington. To you, from the community of communities, to the nation of nations, we bring our spirit of aloha.

State and regional programs at the Festival have also been important in generating lasting institu-

*Horsemen race down the Mall for the Oklahoma program featured at the 1982 Festival. The Festival's presentations attempt to contextualize performances and skills, sometimes through large-scale structures, often through directed attention to a particular individual.* Photo by Jeff Tinsley, Smithsonian Institution

tional effects back home. Working in concert with the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts, the Festival has provided a useful means of encouraging folk arts programs within various states.

Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon spoke of this impact at the 1978 Festival:

> This is a national Festival, but not just for Washington, D.C. My congressional colleagues and I are very much aware of the impact this Festival has had on our own states and regions. For example, my state, Oregon, has had two successful folklife festivals as a result of the Festival here. A young woman who did the fieldwork for the 1976 Bicentennial Festival returned home to Oregon to direct a north coast festival in Astoria in 1977 and a central Oregon festival this year. The festival demonstrated the breadth of folkways in just one state. From loggers and fishermen on the coast to buckeroos and smoke jumpers in the rugged central part of the state. These regional festivals demonstrate that the cultural traditions brought out by the Smithsonian are worthy of respect, celebration and scholarship on the home turf.
>
> For a century, I believe the Smithsonian has been noted primarily for the collection of artifacts of the American experience and has become the nation's attic. But it is the life of the American folk that we celebrate here today, not their encased artifacts as important as they may be. For it is the people themselves here in festivals like this across the country that provide us with an understanding of our own community. No curator can convey through a glass display case what the people themselves can say to us directly.

Most states have remounted a Festival program back home — Oklahoma in 1982, Michigan, every year since being on the Mall in 1987, Massachusetts in 1988, and Hawaii in 1990. The U.S. Virgin Islands plans to remount the Festival on St. Croix later this year and next year on St. Thomas. States have also used the Festival to develop their own on-going programs for the study, presentation and conservation of local cultures. Michigan has done this effectively; Hawaii is now consider-


*Iroquois teenagers play and demonstrate the Indian-originated game of lacrosse at the 1975 Festival. The Festival's presentation of American Indian culture has spanned music and dance, crafts, foodways, architecture, storytelling, ritual performance, subsistence activities, sports and efforts at self-documentation and cultural revitalization.* Photo by Jim Pickerell, Smithsonian Institution

ing a collaboration with the Smithsonian for a cultural institute; and the Virgin Islands, based upon its experience, is poised to establish a state folk arts program, pass a Cultural Preservation Act and establish a Virgin Islands Cultural Institute.

The impact of such state and regional programs is not limited to formal institutions, but also extends to participating artists, cultural exemplars and scholars. For some, the Festival represents a personal highlight, a benchmark from which they take encouragement and inspiration.

### *Native American Programs*

The 1970 Festival expanded to include a unified program focussed on Native American cultures. While the Smithsonian's long established Bureau of American Ethnology had collected and documented evidences of previous lifeways, the Festival's thrust was to complement this with the rich dance, craft, foodways and ritual traditions of contemporary Indian peoples. The Festival worked closely with members of American Indian tribes to document and present traditions on the Mall. Collaboration in planning the Festival, in training community people, and having American Indians speak directly to the public marked the development of these programs over the years.

Since 1970, representatives from more than 130 Native American tribes have illustrated their cultures at the Festival. Survey programs were followed with thematic presentations, so that in 1978, 1979 and 1980, American Indians demonstrated the uses of vernacular architecture, the skills and knowledge needed for its construction and its ecological soundness. In 1989 an American Indian program examined the access to natural resources necessary for the continuity of tribal cultures; that year's program was accompanied by the publication of Thomas Vennum's influential *Wild Rice and the Ojibway People.*

The American Indian program at this year's Festival examines use and knowledge of the land among Native American groups from Alaska and the U.S. Southwest, Mexico, the Andes, and Ecuadorian rainforest. In a continuation of the dialogue begun through the Festival model, Native American Festival participants will, during and after the Festival, work with staff and curators of the Smithsonian's new National Museum of the American Indian to help shape its operations and plan its initial exhibits.

### *Working Americans and Occupational Folklife*

The 1971 Festival marked the beginning of another series of programs, one concerned with the occupational folklife of working Americans. Rarely presented publically as culture prior to the Festival of American Folklife, occupational folklife consists of the skills, knowledge and lore people develop as members of occupational groups or communities. In 1971, during a summer of great national division, young people harboring stereotypes of people in hard hats had the opportunity to meet, talk with and reach a greater understanding of construction workers. Since then, Festival programs have illustrated the folklife of meat cutters, bakers, garment workers, carpenters and joiners, cowboys, farmers, stone

*Logger Gary Winnop of Sitka, Alaska, checks rigging at the 1984 Festival. Occupational presentations have seen barns, threshers, livestock, railroad tracks and cars, building frames, boats and computers on the Mall to help workers demonstrate and explain how they work for a living.*
Photo by Jeff Ploskonka, Smithsonian Institution

masons, oil and gas workers, sheet metal workers, railroad workers, seafarers, truck and taxi drivers, bartenders, firefighters and in 1986, even trial lawyers, who demonstrated their dramatic, strategic, storytelling and people-reading skills.

Some occupational groups and organizations, such as the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center and the American Trial Lawyers Association, have used their Festival experience in self-presentation, in turning work skills into performance, to study and interpret their occupational culture. Programs in the Festival have also resulted in longer term research studies and documentary films, such as Robert McCarl's *D.C. Firefighters* for the Smithsonian Folklife Studies series, and Marjorie Hunt's 1984 Academy and Emmy Award winning film, *The Stone Carvers*.

### *Folklife Legislation*

The 1971 Festival also was the setting for what Oklahoma Senator Fred Harris called, "a folk hearing down on the Mall." Senator Harris, co-sponsor of a bill called the American Folklife Foundation Act, felt that

> American cultures have not been viewed with the pride they warrant; too often, they have been scorned as the life-style of an uncultured lower class. Nothing American was allowed to bear the label "culture." We had no national policy of appreciation and support for America's folklife.

The legislation was proposed as an effort to invest in the culture of America's common man. The bill, according to Harris,

> says that the country fiddler need not feel uncultured simply because his fiddle does not produce a concert tone; it says that the pottery of Jugtown, North Carolina, and the sandpainting of the southwestern Indians are artistic treasures in the same sense as those from the dynasties of China; it says that the black bluesmen along the Brazos Valley in Texas are recognized as pure artists and welcome as a national treasure; it says that the American Indian philosopher has something urgently important for America today and that society wants to hear him as well as the ancient Greeks; it says that the total lifestyles of Swedish Americans in Milwaukee, of Polish Americans in Chicago and of Italian Americans in Boston have brought a perspective and a contribution to this country that has enobled us as a society; and it says that the bluegrass band has developed a music with a complexity and richness that will grow and that will endure always as a living monument to American musical genius. In short, the bill says that there is a vast cultural treasure in America's common man, and that our society will be a better one if we focus on that treasure and build on it.

The bill defined folklife and called for the establishment of an American Folklife Foundation that would give grants, loans and scholarships to groups and individuals to organize folklife festivals, exhibits and workshops, to support research, scholarship and training, to establish archives and material and documentary collections, and to develop and to disseminate educational materials relating to folklife. It was modeled on a

bill first proposed by Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough in 1969 and inspired by the Festival of American Folklife, by the initial 1967 conference and by the subsequent interest the conference had generated. Sen. Harris and Rep. Thompson of New Jersey, the sponsor of the companion bill in the House of Representatives, chaired the public "folk hearing" on the Mall at the Festival. Festival participants Dewey Balfa, a Cajun fiddler from Louisiana, Barbara Farmet and Rosetta Ruyle, American Indians from the Northwest Coast, Florence Reece a coal-mining wife and singer from Tennessee, building tradesman Phil Ricos, and others testified at the hearing as did singer and folk documentor Mike Seeger, folklorists Archie Green and Francis Utely, and Festival American Indian programs coordinator, Clydia Nahwooksy.

The bill was not voted upon in 1971 but laid the legislative groundwork for the establishment of two other federal programs — the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts, and the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress. The former assumed responsibility for grant-making to individuals and local, state and regional arts agencies, while the latter, under the terms of the 1976 American Folklife Preservation Act, concentrated on archival collections, folklife research and other programs.

### *Old Ways in the New World*

While the emphasis of the Festival was on American folk traditions, staff folklorists and others had interests in the root traditions from which many American traditions had derived. In 1973 the Festival initiated the first of a series of annual programs on "Old Ways in the New World." These programs sought to research and present the ways in which traditional practices of community and ethnic identity, rooted in the "old world," were perserved and transformed in the American context. Programs like the one on Cajun culture in Louisiana examined this process through music, and rather than seeing immigrants as dispossessed of culture, presented examples of living cultural continuity, vitality and creativity. These programs fostered pride and, in some cases such as among Cajuns and Irish Americans, local renaissances of traditional cultural forms. Folks whose traditions had been devalued even by themselves and their children reinvested energy in those traditions. Cajun fiddler Dewey Balfa, who appreared at the 1964 Newport Folk Festival at the urging of Rinzler and came away promising "to take the applause that echoed in my ears back to Louisiana," expressed this point of view at the 1982 Festival. Said Balfa,

> It matters not what part or what nationality you are. You should be proud of your nationality, you should be proud of your region. I want to respect your culture, you respect my culture. And if we ever learn to do this, America is a beautiful country, but it would be even more beautiful. And we can do that. Some of us has some work to do, but I think we are all together. We can do that.

Balfa, now retired as a school bus driver, but still playing his fiddle, was recently appointed an adjunct professor at Southwest Louisiana State College to convey his knowledge of Cajun culture to the next generation.

Old Ways in the New World programs from 1973 to 1976 focused on ethnic groups with roots in Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Tunisia, Greece, Germany, Italy, Lebanon, Japan and Mexico. They generally reunited American communities with cultural exemplars from "back home." The connection between an American immigrant group, whether newly arrived or long settled, and its root population has continued to be important in Festival research and programming. The impact of these combinations on performing artists, craftspeople and musicians was sometimes profound. Said Balfa in 1989 when at the Festival with French-style fiddlers from Western France, Quebec, New England, North Dakota and Louisiana,

> This afternoon we were all [together] doing a workshop. I imagined in my mind while this was going on how long it would have taken me to travel all these miles and hear this music. I got it in one hour on the Mall, and I think that is beautiful.

The Old Ways in the New World concept framed the need to include in our cultural history the new immigrant groups reaching American shores as a result of the 1965 immigration act and the war in Southeast Asia. Presentations of these groups at the Festival coincided with the Smithsonian's establishment of a Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies headed by Roy Bryce-Laporte.

Recognizing similarities in the immigrant experience between different eras and from different continents prompted a program at the 1988 Festival on "Migration to Metropolitan Washington: Making a New Place Home." African American, Chinese, Oromo, Amhara, Salvadoran and other immigrant communities were brought together to

illustrate cultural processes which they all shared, and which, when understood, could help promote neighborly intercultural exchanges in an urban environment.

Programmatic interest in newly immigrant communities and their interactions has continued in the research work carried out by staff folklorist Olivia Cadaval on Salvadoran and Latino communities in Washington, D.C. Another researcher, Frank Proschan, is working on the recovery and conservation of Kmhmu verbal art in collaboration with elders and lay scholars in a community widely disbursed geographically throughout the United States. Currently, we are engaged in a research project on Soviet American and cognate Soviet cultures resulting from a 1988 Festival program on Soviet musics. Joint teams of American and Soviet researchers are conducting fieldwork on Bukharin Jewish communities in Uzbekistan and in Queens, New York; on Old Believers in southern Russia and in Oregon and California; Ukranians in the Soviet Union and U.S. cities; and other such root and cognate communities. The project examines the transformations of identity and folklife within these communities and will probably result in a Festival program in the mid-1990s.

The Old Ways in the New World programs involved cultural exemplars from some 40 nations in the Festival and provided a means for the American public to approach cultures and peoples usually far removed from them. In 1978 the Festival began "featured country" programs with the participation of Mexico and Mexican Americans. Such country programs as those on Korea, India, Japan, France, the Soviet Union, Senegal and this year, Indonesia, provide Festival visitors with an opportunity to see artistic and cultural expressions rarely glimpsed through mass media. These programs also provide an opportunity for close collaborative ties between American and international scholars and sometimes even influence cultural policies in the represented nation. The 1985 Festival program, "Mela: An Indian Fair," was accomplished with strong collaboration of Indian folklorists, community activists, designers, and local communities who were struggling to maintain their artistic traditions. This program, conceptually and aesthetically organized by Indian principles and sensibilities, provided a powerful cultural representation, which not only gave visitors a sense of Indian cultures, but also influenced policies and practices aimed at broadening human cultural rights in India.

### *African Diaspora*

A similar impulse informed the founding of the African Diaspora program conceived in 1970 and produced at the 1974 Festival. The African Diaspora program, first proposed by Gerald Davis and developed in collaboration with the African Diaspora Advisory Group, which included Bernice Reagon, A. B. Spellman, Kathryn Morgan and others, was a ground-breaking attempt to make a statement about the continuity of African cultural forms in the many places in which African peoples live.

African American culture forms are rooted in Africa, often via the Caribbean and Latin America. Some forms, such as Sea Island basket making, folktales, hair braiding, and some musical and verbal styles have aesthetically and functionally survived intact; others were synthesized and transformed to deal with historical and daily exigencies. The 1974 Festival program made a tri-continental statement, linking musicians, dancers, cooks, woodcarvers, hairdressers, basket weavers and others from Ghana and Nigeria, Trinidad and Tobago, and varied African American communities in the United States.

African Diaspora programs in 1975 and 1976 continued to look at commonalities of the African experience as found in a diversity of North American, Caribbean, South American and African settings. Participants at the Festival, millions of visitors, African Americans, European Americans, scholars and Smithsonian staff discovered the many ways in which common aesthetics in foodways, personal adornment, music, dance, use of language and use of space were expressed by peoples from Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Zaire, and Senegal; from Jamaica, Haiti, Trinidad & Tobago, Surinam and Brazil; and from the Mississippi Delta, from the Georgia Sea Islands, from urban New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago and Washington, D.C. African Diaspora programs marked a major development in the scholarly and public treatment of African-based cultures and helped set the foundation for programs in the National Museum of American History.

The need and impetus for such programs continues. The 1990 Festival featured a program on Senegal involving the participation of Senegalese and Senegalese Americans. Joined with the U.S. Virgin Islands at the Festival, participants, scholars and officials "re-discovered" many of the cultural commonalities — in storytelling, *mocko jumbi*, music, narrative, foodways and adornment traditions — which unite them. At the Festival, the Senegalese Minister of Culture and the Governor of the U.S. Virgin Islands announced plans for a

*Yugoslavian participants and visitors join hands in dancing to* tamburashi *band music at the 1973 Festival Old Ways in the New World program.* Photo Smithsonian Institution

bilateral cultural exchange program. Staff folklorist Diana N'Diaye and others are currently working on educational kits for the school systems in Senegal, the Virgin Islands and Washington, D.C. so that children will have access to their cultural heritage, spanning as it does, oceans, continents and centuries. We also continue to work with Senegal in developing a West Africa Research Center to promote continuing studies of the linkages between African and African American populations. And as the Smithsonian develops its new African American Museum, and Senegal its Goree Island Memorial, we trust the Festival will have played a role in bridging cultural connections.

### *The U.S. Bicentennial*

In sheer size and public impact, the 1976 Festival for the U.S. Bicentennial was formidable. The Festival was held over a 12-week period and involved the participation of every region of the United States, 38 foreign governments, scores of American Indian tribes, and many labor organizations and corporate sponsors. Despite what might be expected, the Festival avoided massive state spectacle and retained its intimate presentational modes — relatively small performance stages, narrative workshops, intimate crafts and foodways demonstration areas, children's participation areas and the like.

The Bicentennial Festival illustrated in the strongest terms the living nature of folk culture throughout the United States and the world. Rather than dying in the industrial revolution, or having been smothered by the influence of mass culture, community-based, grassroots cultural traditions were still practiced, still meaningful in the contemporary lives of Americans and other people of the world. This was easy for millions of visitors to see and experience on the National Mall.

The Bicentennial Festival was an immense undertaking and illustrated the collaboration of the Smithsonian with literally thousands of national and international scholars, community spokespeople and cultural exemplars involved in the documentation, presentation, transmission and conservation of cultural traditions. The plan-

*Ghanaian praise singer Salisu Mahama, playing the* gonje, *and group illustrate the traditional music played for the court of the Dagomba king at the 1975 Festival.* Photo Smithsonian Institution

ning for the Bicentennial Festival had begun in 1974 and provided an unprecedented means of establishing cultural networks, training students, and providing opportunities for diverse peoples to interpret and present their traditions.

The Bicentennial also saw the flowering of a touring program, originally begun in 1973, in which groups at the Festival would tour the United States, bringing part of the Festival to cities, rural areas, midwestern towns, concert halls, local school classrooms, city parks and shopping malls. Through these touring programs, the Smithsonian put people across the breadth of America in touch with traditional domestic and foreign cultures. While these tours are no longer formally done, they served as a model of taking grassroots performance to local people for other organizations and for the Smithsonian's own special programs. For example, the Festival sent contingents of American performing groups to the Soviet Union in 1988 and 1990. Groups included musicians for stage performances, street musicians, a New Orleans brass band and a girls double-dutch jump rope team. On tour in the Soviet Union, the Americans performed not only in concert halls, but also in the factories of the Leninski shipyards, on a collective farm, in a Ukranian town square, on the streets of Kiev and in apartment complexes.

### *The Office of Folklife Programs*

Preliminary plans to discontinue the Festival of American Folklife after the Bicentennial were swept aside by the enormous outpouring of public support for the Festival and its educational and cultural mission. After the Bicentennial, the Smithsonian formally established the Office of Folklife Programs, with Ralph Rinzler as its founding director. The Office, now with a permanent staff, was able to approach the larger task set out by the initial American Folklife Conference of extending beyond the Festival to more thorough, broad ranging and varied means of documenting, studying, presenting and disseminating educational materials on folk cultural traditions.

The web of activity generated initially by the Festival and then by the Office has grown large and complex. In addition to producing the annual Festival and mounting the archival and field research which makes it possible, the Office is engaged in numerous projects. The Smithsonian Folklife Studies series, formally begun in 1976 publishes documentary studies on American and worldwide folk traditions in the form of scholarly monographs and ethnographic films. Monographs and films such as *The Meaders Family: North Georgia Potters, Tule Technology: Northern Paiute Uses of Marsh Resources in Western Nevada, The Drummaker* and *The Korean Onggi Potter,* among others, are technical, documentary studies used by scholars, community people and university educators. This series is supplemented by many other books, pamphlets and articles by Office scholars, some related to Festival programs, such as *Family Folklore*, others based on ongoing fieldwork and scholarship.

Since its inception the Festival has collaborated with Smithsonian museums in mounting exhibitions related to folk culture. Exhibits of folk art incorporating objects, photographs, song and spoken word recordings and sales were held in the National Museum of American History and then toured by the Smithsonian Traveling Exhibition Service. An exhibit of Copp family textiles in the Museum of American History encouraged living practitioners, like Norman Kennedy, to work with the museum to help document and interpret its collection. Consultations between practitioners and museum curators have since become a regular Festival feature.

The Office of Folklife Programs has produced several traveling exhibits including *Southeastern Pottery, The Grand Generation*, which presents the folklife of the elderly, and recently *Stand by Me: African American Expressive Culture in Philadelphia*. All grew out of Festival programs and research. In 1982-83 the Office collaborated

with the Renwick Gallery to mount *Celebration,* an exhibition of objects related to human ritual behavior curated by Victor Turner. During the 15 month-long exhibition, artifacts in the Gallery were contextualized by living performances, demonstrations and rituals offered by numerous cultural communities. The exhibit resulted in a catalog and three books and established the groundwork for the inclusion of living people as integral participants in museum exhibitions. This practice was at the center of *Aditi: A Celebration of Life,* mounted in 1985 at the National Museum of Natural History for the Festival of India. This exhibition, one of the Smithsonian's most ambitious and successful, gained national and international attention, set high standards for museologists in design, content and programming, and served to connect museum display with issues of cultural survival.

The Office of Folklife Programs has produced numerous symposia, often in collaboration with other Smithsonian units and with national and international cultural and educational organizations. Symposia have ranged from those on popular culture and traditional puppetry to those for the Columbus Quincentenary on Native American agriculture and the relationship of commerce and industry to expressive culture.

The Festival has always generated educational materials and media products. Many documentary films have been produced about the Festival and its particular programs over the years in different regions of the country and abroad. Radio Smithsonian has featured series of programs generated from the Festival and other research projects; Smithsonian World has featured the Festival in its television segments. A record produced from music performed at the Festival was released in 1970 and helped establish the Smithsonian Recordings Division.

In 1987 the Office of Folklife Programs acquired Folkways Records from the family of Moses Asch. Folkways — a long established company with a 50 year archive and catalog of 2,200 titles spanning U.S. and world musics, verbal art, spoken word, and historical and scientific documentary recordings — took root at the Smithsonian under the care of musical anthropologist Anthony Seeger. To help pay for the acquisition, popular musicians agreed to produce a benefit album and donate their royalties to the Smithsonian. Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen, Emmylou Harris, U2, Little Richard, Pete Seeger, Arlo Guthrie, Willie Nelson, Taj Mahal and others performed their versions of Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly songs in the Folkways collection. The effort, *Folkways: A Vision Shared,* generated considerable sales and won a Grammy Award. It also led to a companion music-cultural history video on Guthrie and Leadbelly, a release of original recordings from the archives, and educational materials produced in concert with the Music Educators National Conference. Smithsonian/Folkways is keeping every title in the original Folkways catalog in print and is stabilizing the archives. More than 70 titles have been remastered and rereleased on CD and cassette. New albums and series are being researched and produced — *Hawaiian Drum Dance Chants, The Doc Watson Family, Musics of the Soviet Union, Lightnin' Hopkins,* and many more — sometimes in concert with Festival projects and often in collaboration with local scholars and institutions. With the help of the Ford Foundation, Smithsonian/Folkways has worked closely with the Indonesian ethnomusicological society to train fieldworkers and documentors and to produce a series of recordings surveying the musical culture of that diverse nation. A version of the series with Indonesian language notes will be produced so that adults, but especially children, there can have access to their own, sometimes fragile traditions. Smithsonian/Folkways may also be found in unlikely places — the Boston Children's Museum plays its recordings in the bathrooms and computer-based educational programs use Folkways music to teach geography and cultural awareness. Folkways co-distributes a world music and dance encyclopedia and is about to embark on laser disc and high definition television projects. Its archival holdings attract scholars in ethnomusicology, folklore and cultural history and invite the attention of people from the communities whose music, words and art it seeks to preserve.

The range of scholarly, museum, educational and public service activities undertaken by the Office confirms the vision of the first Festival and Conference. But there is yet more to do.

### *Cultural Conservation*

The Festival had long been conceived as promoting cultural pluralism, continuity and equity. The concern for preserving and encouraging cultural diversity and creativity framed Rinzler's work from the beginning. In 1973, Secretary Ripley made this explicit in his statement for the Festival program book:

> We are a conservation organization, and it seems to us that conservation extends to human cultural practices. The possibility

> of using a museum that is essentially a historical documentary museum as a theater of live performance where people actually show that the objects in cases were made by human hands, and are still being made, practiced on, worked with, is a very valuable asset for our role as a preserver and conservator of living cultural forms, and should be understood in those terms.

Programs in 1979 and ensuing years examined community efforts to preserve and extend their cultural traditions in such activities as vernacular architecture, food procurement and processing, and ritual life. Rinzler took this concern for cultural conservation to larger arenas in the Smithsonian when he became Assistant Secretary for Public Service in 1982.

In 1985 with Peter Seitel as Director of the Office of Folklife Programs and Diana Parker as Director of the Festival, a specific program called Cultural Conservation was developed for the Festival that examined how institutional practices and pressures threatened Mayan Indian, Puerto Rican, Cajun, Kmhmu and other communities and how local and sometimes national and international efforts worked to assist their cultural survival. Cultural conservation programs continued in following years to examine the role of local social institutions, the maintenance of language and the use of natural resources in preserving American cultural communities and allowing them to define their own futures.

The concern for the conservation of cultural diversity and creativity has been expressed in various publications and through various Festival projects, and it informs ongoing and developing collaborations with international organizations and federal, state and local agencies.

## Conclusion

As the Festival passes its 25th year it will continue to experiment with presentational techniques and to explore categories for understanding varieties of grassroots cultural expression. Festival staff, and the scores of officials, academic colleagues, public folklorists and community people who yearly write and talk about the Festival continue to use it as a vehicle for thinking through issues of cultural representation and conservation.

An unfinished agenda from 1967 still resonates today. It would be a mistake to think that the promulgation of global mass culture will inevitably wipe out all forms of tradition-generated, community-held, creatively performed grassroots culture. Not all culture is or will be produced in Hollywood, Paris, Nashville or on Madison Avenue. Local folks, people in families, communities, tribes, regions and occupations continue to make culture. More research must be done on the contexts within which local forms of grassroots culture do survive and indeed, may flourish. If we think cultural diversity is worth conserving, then the time is ripe to examine how economic development strategies can encourage the continuity of local culture, how local cultural practices and knowledge can support environmental preservation, how local communities can participate in the shaping of the images used, too often by others, to represent them, and how the wisdom, knowledge and aesthetics of diverse cultures can directly, and through innovative media, be brought into classrooms and other forums of public education.

The Festival and the Office of Folklife Programs will continue its work. It will continue to tap into the great streams of tradition and creativity which, though threatened, still abound in the United States and throughout the world. It will continue to heed, honor and celebrate remarkable people who, in exemplary ways, carry with them lessons learned by word of mouth over generations, so that the next generation of young artists can return to root forms when shaping new creations. And the Festival will continue to encourage practitioners to practice, scholars to research, and the public to learn.

To museums, educational systems, community groups, governments and the general public that seek forms for presenting information about cultural knowledge, practice, wisdom and aesthetics, the Festival offers an important resource. And as American society, and indeed societies around the world, daily confront cultural issues in schools, homes, market places and political arenas, the Festival provides a model, however emergent, of how diverse forms of cultural expression can be accommodated, communicated and appreciated within a broad framework that recognizes human cultural rights.

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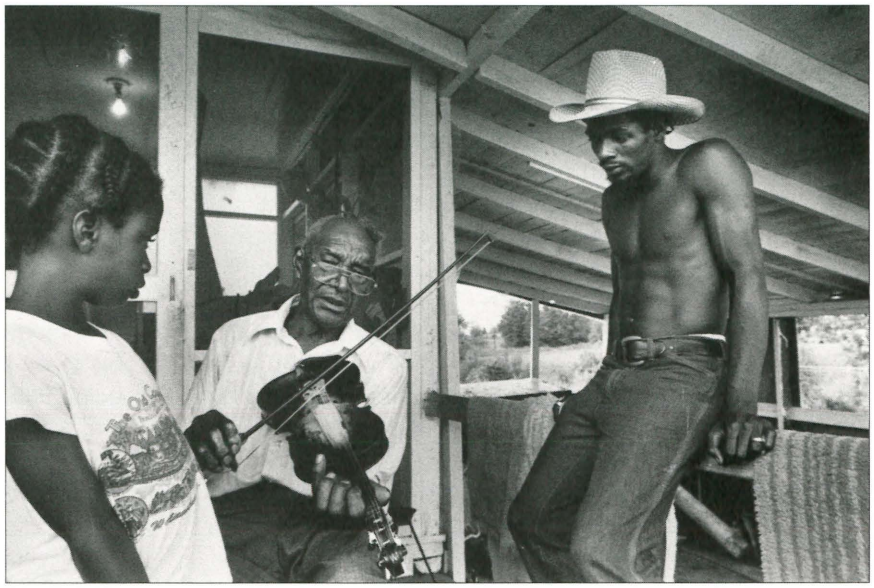
*Richard Kurin is Director of the Smithsonian Institution Office of Folklife Programs and a Professorial Lecturer at The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He is a cultural anthropologist with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago who has done most of his research work in India and Pakistan. He first worked on the Festival of American Folklife in 1976.*

# Blues at the Festival: A Community Music with Global Impact

Worth Long and Ralph Rinzler



*Fiddler Mr. Kennedy and his grandchildren. Tuckers Grove, North Carolina, 1979.* Photo by Roland L. Freeman, © 1991

At the very first Smithsonian Folklife Festival back in 1967, you would have heard performers similar to the artists in this program. Grassroots singers and instrumentalists from the Georgia and South Carolina Sea Islands, New Orleans French Quarter, New York City, and the Mississippi Delta offered the oldest songs they knew, then described in music and words their creative innovations. They explained how their music coordinated work, praised and lifted the spirit, danced out joy or sorrow, and helped them struggle for change. In every succeeding Festival, the oldest, root traditions have been here alongside emergent forms created by artists fired and inspired by their heritage.

Museums exist to study and exhibit history, science, and art — sometimes great, ofttimes ordinary — through the perspective of time. The Smithsonian has long collected visual and plastic art treasures and artifacts of history, but prior to the 1967 Festival, it had not systematically curated and presented living forms of grassroots music and craft. Once included, living folklife traditions were acknowledged as though they had been there from the outset and should always remain.

"The Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era" embodies a tried and true Festival approach: start with the roots and present the full flower of the traditions, old and young; highlight links in the creative chain of a people's art. Robert Johnson was a potent and significant link in tradition . . . a Picasso, a Rodin of the blues. He passionately absorbed and then reforged the music of his community and era. His art decisively influenced the music of today's world. This program is meant to explore that story of creative change and cultural continuity.

Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era *has been made possible by the Smithsonian Institution and a grant from its Special Exhibition Fund, and by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.*

*Blues historian and folklorist Worth Long has spent over 20 years doing research on Black culture in the South. He has been a Smithsonian Institution researcher specializing in blues, spiritual, and gospel music since the early 1970s. His publications include a film, made with Alan Lomax, titled "The Land Where the Blues Began."*

*Ralph Rinzler was the founding Director of the Festival of American Folklife and of the Office of Folklife Programs from 1967 to 1982. He was the Assistant Secretary for Public Service from 1983 to 1990. Through his museum projects, books, articles, films and audio recordings, he has supported cultural diversity and institutional recognition of the aesthetic and ethical values expressed in folk and working class cultures.*

# Robert Johnson in the '90s: A Dream Journey

Peter Guralnick

Who would ever have thought that 52 years after his death Robert Johnson would go gold?

A friend of mine wrote recently and asked: Can you imagine him walking down a crowded city street, seeing his name and face displayed in a store window? Well, I can and I can't. It's a metaphor I've imagined many times in the past: Blind Willie McTell wandering into the TK studio in Miami in the late 1970s (don't ask me why TK; remember, this is just a dream); Robert Johnson hearing his songs on the radio on a hot summer's night. I think the movie "Crossroads" forever drove this fantasy out of my mind: my dream was rich in possibilities and associations, I felt. It was pure. Perhaps it was the mundaneness of the movie's conceit; more likely, it was just the reality of finding a secret treasure dug up and exposed to the light. The music was just as magical, but somehow the fantasy had grown old.

> I don't think I'd even heard of Robert Johnson when I found the record, it was probably just fresh out. I was 15 or 16, and it was a real shock that there was something that powerful. It seemed as if he wasn't playing for an audience. It didn't obey the rules of time or harmony or anything. It all led me to believe that here was a guy who really didn't want to play for people at all, that his thing was so unbearable to have to live with that he was almost ashamed of it. This was an image that I was very, very keen to hang on to.
>
> — Eric Clapton

We all were. It was the sustaining image of a generation, the central thesis of the liner notes to the first album, even the cover illustration for the second: the romantic loner with his face turned to the wall. And yet the real Robert Johnson played for people; he traveled the land; he played the juke joints, he was a fixture in courthouse squares, he even played on the radio. He was a professional bluesman. And that was how he died.

What are we to make of all this implausible latter-day success, the commercialization, and canonization, of something that would have seemed, to Eric Clapton and Keith Richards, or to me, when we were all 15 or 16 years old, impervious to exploitation? There are movies in the making; there are bitter disputes over ownership of something that was once declared by Columbia to be in the "public domain." What is now being talked about is something both more — and less — than a priceless cultural legacy. We are talking about Robert Johnson as cultural commodity: we are talking about the inevitable price of success.

I don't know what to think about it all, quite honestly. It would be easy to say that America likes its heroes dead — but that would probably be true of most cultures. While an artist is still creating, he is always dangerous, there is no telling what he might do next. Robert Johnson? He recorded 29 songs — there are rumors of another one or two. There are 12 alternate takes. His work makes up a convenient canon — it can be studied and quantified.

And what of the audience that hears his music now for the first time? How can they/we relate? The world that he lived in, the language that he employs ("She's got Elgin movements from her head down to her toes": Elgin has to be explained, place names have to be explained, sexual metaphors have to be explained and excused — different time, different place). But somehow something essential comes through. What is it? I don't know. What is it that captured me, that captured Eric Clapton, that captured a generation that listened with its ear glued to a tinny speaker, that studied every crackle on that first LP when it came out in 1961? King of the Delta Blues Singers. Even the title is indicative of the misunderstanding. Howlin' Wolf might introduce himself,

*Studio portrait of Robert Johnson, circa 1935.*
Photo courtesy of Stephen C. LaVere, © 1989 Stephen C. LaVere

mythopoetically, as "The Wolf," but Robert Johnson? Can you imagine him referring to himself as royalty?

> One time in St. Louis we were playing one of the songs that Robert would like to play with someone once in a great while, "Come On In My Kitchen." He was playing very slow and passionately, and when we had quit, I noticed no one was saying anything. Then I realized they were crying — both women and men.
>
> —Johnny Shines

That is what Robert Johnson is about. It's what we have to keep on reminding ourselves, not just about Robert Johnson but about art itself or anything that we value in our lives. It's not about tag lines, it's not about commercial slogans, it's not about comparing one experience or achievement to another, it's not about ownership and it's not about sales. It's about a spirit, it's about something that lingers in the air, it's about something that can persist 52 years after a man's death, that will keep knocking slyly, over and over again, ignoring the rebuffs of history, ignoring the deafening silence of time, until at last it is let on in.



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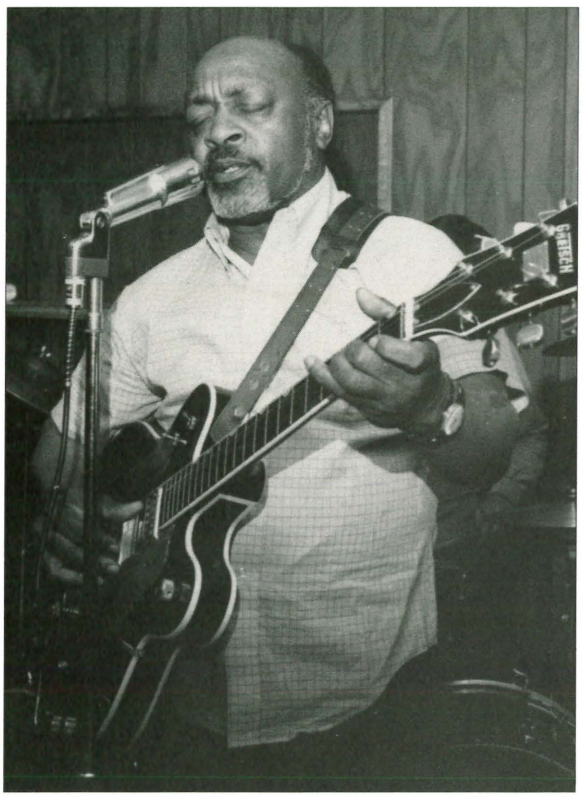
*Peter Guralnick is the author of* Searching for Robert Johnson *as well as a trilogy on American roots music,* Feel Like Going Home, Lost Highway *and* Sweet Soul Music. *He is currently at work on a biography of Elvis Presley.*

# Robert Johnson, Blues Musician

## Robert Jr. Lockwood

*Compiled from an interview with Worth Long*



*Robert Jr. Lockwood*

When I turned 13, Robert Johnson followed my mother home in Helena, Arkansas, and she couldn't get rid of him. Robert looked awful young to me, and he looked young to my mother. But he was making believe that he was older than my mother. He was full of Indian, and he didn't have a beard or mustache. When he died, when he got killed, he didn't have a beard either.

When I met Robert, he was playing just like these records are today. He played by himself but sounded like somebody sitting at the piano. I never had heard the guitar played like that. I always felt like I wanted to play the piano until Robert Johnson turned me onto his guitar style.

When I was young, I couldn't play reels and popular tunes at home 'cause I was living with my grandfather. We played them on the organ when my folks would leave. But when they'd come back, we'd play church music.

There was no name for the first songs I started playing. I had two cousins who could play two or three little tunes on the piano, and I just watched them and learned how to play it. Maybe I was born to play.

Because Robert was living with my mother, he told me I could go watch him play. I didn't have a guitar. Everytime he set the guitar down, I'd pick it up. He'd set the guitar down, and he'd be with momma, and I'd pick it up. He finally asked me, "Do you really want to play?" and he decided to teach me.

He'd play a tune and then show me how he did it, and I would do it. He didn't have to do it but once for me. I had a sense of time, and I knew three musical changes, so when I started playing the guitar, it wasn't a problem. I couldn't get the real feel of it like he was doing but I could still do the notes. Within three months time, I was playing. I was only 14.

After I learned to play, I went to Clarksdale with Robert. You got the Sunflower River ferry there. So Robert put me on one side of the bridge, and he went on the other side. He was real smart. He said, "Robert Jr., we do it like this, we'll make more money." He said, "Now you sit here and play, and I'm going on the other side and play." I didn't realize what he was really doing but the people were transferring across the bridge both ways, confused about who Robert Johnson was. I said, "I'll be doggoned." We set on each end of the bridge and played about 35 minutes and made almost $20 apiece when they passed the hat around.

Soon I was playing all over Mississippi and Arkansas and Tennessee. I started playing with Sonny Boy Williamson and also went with Robert

*Richard "Hacksaw" Harney in performance at the National Folk Festival, 1971.* Photo courtesy Stephen C. LaVere, © 1971 Stephen C. LaVere

to a lot of little places. Most of the places where we played, where I played in Mississippi, me and Sonny Boy Williamson was on street corners . . . we made a lot of money. Be a lot of people downtown, and we'd go down and get permission from the police to play, and we were making $75 and $80 dollars apiece. That was a lot of money then . . . it's a lot of money now.

They had house parties and things going at that time, "Saturday night suppers" they called them. The guys would be shooting dice and dancing and drinking and playing on the street corners. I done a lot of that.

Guitar players at that time couldn't hardly get a job in a band because you couldn't hear it. I always did like big bands. I liked a whole lot of pretty changes and I couldn't get all of that out of three changes. The very first band I had was with the Starkey Brothers when I left King Biscuit Time and went on Mothers Best Flour Time. I had a jazz band made up of James, Will and Camellia Starkey. One was playing piano, the others were playing horns, and we had drums and bass . . . about six pieces. That was in 1942.

In 1939, the Melrose pick-up came out and I think me and Charlie Christian were the first people to have one. You could just push it across the hole in the guitar and plug it up. Amplifiers then, you would call them practice amplifiers now. They was just loud enough to bring the guitar up to the piano.

Robert Johnson could play the harmonica and the piano, but he didn't really care too much about neither of those. Robert played the guitar by himself and sounded like two guitars. He was playing the bass and lead at the same time. He was playing background for himself on the bass strings and playing melody on the lead.

Hacksaw Harney could do that. He was a monster player. He was also a piano maker. I ran into Hacksaw back when I was coming under Robert Johnson. He could play the piano well. He couldn't talk plain, he stuttered. And I used to catch him watching me and I would ask him, "Why you watching me?"

He could play the guitar, and with the same hand he was picking with, he'd be playing drum parts against the guitar. Me and Robert was real close to him. Hacksaw was playing old standards, and Robert was playing the blues and old standards like "Chinatown" . . . but more blues. Robert was playing ragtime, show tunes like "Sweet Sue" and all them old tunes. Hacksaw had a lot to do with Robert's playing because they played somewhat similar. [Robert] was living in Clarksdale for a while and there wasn't no demand for what he was doing because the city was too small. He was playing ballads — you could call it jazz.

Blind Blake was playing ragtime and jazz like Hacksaw did. But, at that time, the white folks called the blues "devil's music" so everybody played a little jazz or something like that and tried to stay away from the blues. Robert Johnson didn't care nothing about the blues being bad. He played the blues even when it was abandoned by the white society.

I first met Willie Dixon in Helena, Arkansas, and then in Clarksdale, Mississippi. Later, when I moved to Chicago, me and Dixon played for Chess 17 years. We did nothing but session work, backing up everybody. Roosevelt Sykes, Willie Mayburn, Little Walter. I played with almost everybody who was doing blues. I played with

Muddy. I recorded in 1940 before he recorded. Muddy Waters didn't record until 1945 or something like that.

When I first went to Chicago, I recorded by myself. "Little Boy Blue" was my first recording and "Take a Little Walk With Me." One on each side. My first recording session was "Mean Black Spider Blues," "Little Boy Blue," "Take a Little Walk with Me," and "Train My Baby." I wrote all the songs. I been writing my own songs ever since I learned how to play. That was my first four tunes recorded on RCA Victor, which was the Bluebird label. They sold but I don't know how well they sold because I didn't get nothing from them. I got the first money that the man paid me, and I ain't got no royalties. Twelve fifty a song. Everybody got caught in that.

Wasn't no segregation about that. Twelve fifty a side and 13% of one cent for royalty. I didn't even get that. [Once] I made Bluebird pay me $500 for the recording session. I went to Chicago with Dr. Clayton, who was pretty smart. And with all these record companies bucking against each other, me and Clayton got paid $500. I ain't ever got no royalties from nobody, and I ain't ever got no publishing money from nobody, and I have often wondered how in the hell do they expect you to keep working for them when they don't give you your money? It's very wierd.

Finally, I had to draw a line and said, "If I'm going to make a living, I'm going to have to do something better than this." I have my own label now, Lockwood Records. I think by me having that and by me and my wife working so hard, we're getting the company known all over the world, so I think things are going to tee off in a little bit.

I'm so glad I am able to do this. I don't have to listen to no one tell me, "Well, I don't like the songs." Do you know how disappointing that is? That's really bad when they say, "Well, I don't like so and so." Then you got to try to do something they like in order to sell it. Now, I just go ahead and record what I want to record, and I put it out. And if they don't like it, it don't make no difference. And if they do like it, fine.

The audiences don't know what they like no way until good creators do them. And after we do them, then they say they like it. But if they don't want to accept nothing they ain't never heard, how do unexplored people ever get recognized? How they going to keep creating? There ain't no point in creating nothing.

Fifty-two years after he died, Robert Johnson is getting on the charts. Here I am living and playing just like him and ain't getting no breaks. I know there's some prejudice in this. There has to be.

Robert Johnson was at least 55 or 60 years ahead of his time. There wasn't nothing like him. What was there to hold him? I've seen him sit on street corners and make $100 in a hour and a half in nickels and dimes and quarters. Except for Hacksaw, there is nobody else I know of that could do any of the things that Robert did. I hate to see them good ones go like that.

That man was something. He could play and sing. He didn't need no help. That was the real strong thing about his career. If I just want to play the blues, I don't need no help.

John Hammond is making his living off of Robert. He works hard and I like him. But there ain't nobody that I've taught that sounds like Robert. I was teaching Johnny Shines when he had that stroke. If he hadn't had that stroke, he'd be doing pretty good now.

You know, I'm responsible for B.B.'s career. I taught Luke Stuckey, Willie Johnson and I kinda helped M.T. Murphy, and taught Lonnie Pitchford, who plays in my style. If the record companies were smart, they would have me playing Robert Johnson tunes right now. But I know what the problem is. I'm free, Black and 76 years old, and they think I might fall dead tomorrow. But I got news for them. I ain't going nowhere.

There are some people who want to try to get some glory because Robert is so popular. They say they knew Robert, and they don't know a damn thing. They talked about him selling his soul to the devil. I want to know how you do that! If anybody sold their souls to the devil, it's the groups that have to have a million dollars worth of dope and have to make a million dollars in money to play. I don't like the way they are trying to label him. He was a blues musician, just like the rest of them.

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*Robert Jr. Lockwood, the adopted son of Robert Johnson, was born in Marvel, Arkansas, in 1915. Changing instruments from piano to guitar, he first became a prominent bluesman in Memphis, in the company of Sonny Boy Williamson and B.B. and Albert King, among others. After a stint in St. Louis, where he worked with the influential vocalist Dr. Clayton, Lockwood became a studio guitarist in Chicago in the 1940s. Here he worked with many great blues artists. In 1960 he moved to Cleveland and has remained — with frequent journeys to festivals and other performance stages — ever since.*

# Wisdom of the Blues

## Willie Dixon

*Compiled from an interview with Worth Long*

*Willie Dixon, born in Mississippi the same year as Robert Jr. Lockwood, is a poet-philosopher and blues activist. He did not know Robert Johnson, but like Johnson, Dixon created a conceptually rich repertoire of blues songs that candidly offer his deep thoughts and feelings about critical social and cultural issues.*

*In this interview, Willie Dixon shares some of his insight on African American secular and sacred musics. He also provides an autobiographical framework that deepens our comprehension of the genius and complexities of African American music. His observations on issues of segregation, the industrialization of community musical forms and the impact of corporate manipulation of Black people's culture are trenchant and insightful.*

Worth Long
Ralph Rinzler

My name is Willie Dixon and I was born in Vicksburg, Mississippi, July 1, 1915. My whole family was from that area. I went to school there for a while. I lived around there as long as I possibly could under starving conditions, until I had to get the hell out, so somebody else could eat.

Ain't but one part of Vicksburg, and that's Vicksburg. I lived on the outskirts of town. I was about one, two blocks from the bus. At that time, we had a street car. You got on the trolley car and went straight to the back. That's where you'd sit until you got off. And if a white person came over and needed your seat, you had to get up and let him in there — that's all.

They had just about the same conditions all over, you know. But the thing was, that some were well enough brainwashed, so that they thought this was the best. And others knew it wasn't the best. Now, there were others that knew it wasn't the best and were afraid to say different, afraid to act different. Anytime you're born and raised in Mississippi . . . in those days, it was the experience that happened to anybody that moved.

*Willie Dixon at the 1989 Handy Awards, Memphis, Tennessee.* Photo by Lauri Lawson, © 1989 Lauri Lawson

My father used to say, "If you don't learn nothing, you have nothing, you know nothing, and you do nothing"; but Little Brother Montgomery used to say that everybody was born naked. When I first met him as a youngster, I used to ask him, "Why do you say that everybody was born naked all the time?" When I was older, and he and I were getting around together, he said that meant we all started the same way — you can gain if you want to, or lose if you please, but ain't nobody came in here with nothing, and ain't nobody going to take nothing away. So get what

you can while you're here. And be the best you can. And try to make arrangements for somebody else while you're here.

I knew Little Brother Montgomery since I was quite young. I used to play hooky from school just to hear those guys playing on the street corner. He was little, and I thought then — because he was a little short guy — that he was a boy. But he was grown. At that particular time, he played all the different styles, all the styles other people never heard of. He did a song called the "Vicksburg Blues," which was real popular in Vicksburg, and then Roosevelt Sykes changed it into the "Forty-Four Blues." It was the same music. Little Brother had to sit down at different times and show me how they first started to play it, and then how they added a little bit here and there, and how different people who had died long before they got a chance to record, how they played. He knew all of them.

They all start from the original stuff because the blues — the rearrangement of the blues — created all these other styles, and it's really very easy to see. It's like "Dudlow" out of Dudlow, Mississippi. He was one of the guys that inspired that left hand to the original 12-bar blues. When I was a kid they used to call it "Dudlow" — all the real old-timers, they called it that name. But after the people decided they were going to commercialize it, record it, they started to call it "boogie-woogie." And by calling it boogie-woogie, then everybody could get into the act, and everybody did get in the act. Everybody come up with a boogie of his own. But it was all 12-bar blues.

You learn a lot of things when you are young, and a lot of things you can tell people about. And then, some things you can't tell people. Especially in the South, where people didn't know too much at that time and weren't allowed to learn very much. They thought every time you brought up a conversation about something, it was something to argue about. But afterwards, you learned they were playing the same identical music, the same identical tunes.

One was called a spiritual, and the other was called the blues. And the only difference was: one of them was dedicated to the earth and the facts of life, which was the blues; and the spiritual things were dedicated to heaven and after death, you know. So that was the difference between the spirituals and the blues. And the experience you receive on earth was the only thing you had to go on because nobody had the experience of heaven. And I don't think they have had it yet.

You see, I had a chance for two sides of things because my mother was definitely a Christian all of the way around, and my father was sometimes a Christian and sometimes anything he wanted to be. But he thought of the difference. Christianity and his thing were two different things. He thought the Christian thing was just psychologizing people so they could be under control. And after I got older, I could make my own decision either way I'd feel.

My father always said, "You got to live before you die. And don't get ready to die before you get ready to live." So that was kind of my philosophy, that I have to live before I died. I figured getting ready to live was better than getting ready to die. When I'd get old enough, then I'd start getting ready to die. This organization I have, the Blues Heaven Foundation[1] helps you get a little heaven before you die. Then, if you happen to miss, you have a little taste of it anyway.

The reason I have the Blues Heaven Foundation is so the blues will be properly advertised, publicized, emphasized, talked about and understood. Once you understand the blues, it will give everybody a better life because you'll have a better life with each other. That's what Blues Heaven is all about.

I always had great expectations in the singing field. I sung my first song — I must have been about four or five years old — in the Spring Hill Baptist Church in Vicksburg. My mother always used to tell us to learn how to sing in harmony. And there was a fellow down there in Vicksburg called Phelps — he was a jubilee singer. He taught harmony singing. Well, I was with him at that particular time he started singing. The group was called the Union Jubilee Singers in Vicksburg.

Then after that, I was singing spirituals. Once in a while the kids would move on to other things, by singing other songs that weren't spirituals. And at that particular time, when you didn't sing spirituals, they called the other songs "reels." And the reels weren't considered as good music for all the spiritual-minded people then.

We used to broadcast at WQBC radio station, down there in Vicksburg, once a week, mostly on Friday. We rehearsed just about every day or so. Let me see now, that goes back to 1934... '35.

When Theo Phelps was teaching us harmony, I began to learn quite a bit about it, and I loved it. I

[1] The Blues Heaven Foundation, a not-for-profit organization, was founded by Willie Dixon for the purpose of garnering proper recognition and broader acknowledgement of the blues. It provides an annual scholarship, The Muddy Waters Scholarship, and, with matching grants, has donated a selection of band instruments to high schools around the country.

still love it. I found out things done in harmony are always better than things done without harmony, don't care what it is.

You know all kids always play all kinds of instruments, but one that I actually tried to play on was a bass. Then I did play the guitar for a little while, mostly in Europe, when Memphis Slim and I went over there.

I didn't get interested in the bass until I came to Chicago. After I came to Chicago, I won the Golden Gloves as a novice fighter . . . that's in 1937. At the same time I was in the gymnasium, guys would be singing and playing around there. And I'd get in there harmonizing a little bit because I knew most of the bass lines for all the things. In those days the Ink Spots were just starting, and the Mills Brothers. And everybody was imitating the Mills Brothers because they imitated instruments. I used to imitate the bass instrument all the time because I knew most of the bass lines.

Things got rough for me in the fight game. I decided to hang around with Baby Doo Castin, a piano player, and he insisted on making me a homemade bass out of a big oil can. And that's the way I started playing the bass. We put a stick on the oil can. That oil can had an open bottom to it, and we put this stick on the back of it and made it like an African instrument. Then he made another thing like a fingerboard and put this one bass string on it, attached to the center of the oil can and on top of the stick. And the stick had a little adjusting thing that he could wind up and down to play into whatever key we were playing in. Well, I just called it a tin can bass. I didn't make any other instruments, but Baby Doo did. He came from Natchez, and he made his own guitar. He always told me about it, and then he made one when he was in Chicago. He made it out of something like a cigar box. But he would make the box, you know, so that it was strong enough to hold the strings. He died last year in Minneapolis.

I got together with two or three groups before we got together with Baby Doo. One of them was with a guy called Bernard Dennis. He used to play with me and Little Brother and Brother Radcliff, and we'd name a different group a different thing every two or three weeks. But we never got a chance to record with him. And first thing I ever actually recorded was this thing called the "Bumping Boys." That was with me and my brother and my nephew and another fellow and Baby Doo. We always got together and did some things on Decca for J. Mayo Williams. After that we had the Five Breezes, and after that we had a group called the Four Jumps of Jive. Most of the time we consisted of some of the same guys, and then we cut it on down to the Big Three Trio. We began making a little noise for Columbia, doing background for people like Big Bill and also Rosetta Howard . . . folks like that.

My mother used to write all types of poems and things, and I'd always tell her that I was going to sing them when I got older. She made a lot of little old poem books when I was a kid. They were consisting of nothing but spiritual ideas and things out of the Bible. Some of them I remember. Then I had a whole book of poems that I wrote as a kid.

I never was good at art, but I always did like poems. Poems of everything, of anything. There's room enough in the world for everything, and there's more ideas in the world than your head can hold. Get these ideas together and make them into verses so people are interested. My mother always tried to put the verses in a poetic form.

Many people have something that they would like to say to the world and would like the world to know about. But most people never get a chance to say these things. And then, you're going to try to make them see something in a song that an individual can't see for themselves. Like the average man has his own feeling about women or love or whatever — what's in his heart or what's in his mind. All of a sudden, here comes somebody that's singing it out right. You know good and well what he's talking about, and he knows what you're talking about. Then that gives you an inspiration because here's a guy who's saying just what you wanted to say. That's what makes hit songs. Things that are common to any individual — and it's not a complicated thing. It makes it easier for life, easy to express, easy to say. Blues songs are facts of life, whether it's our life or somebody else's.

The songs that I like the best are generally the ones that I am writing on as of now. I try to keep my songs up to the condition where they can be educational and provide understanding to the audience that's listening. I feel like the audience today doesn't know the value of peace. I made two different songs on peace. "You Can't Make Peace" speaks for itself:

You take one man's heart
And make another man live.
You go to the moon
And come back thrilled.
You can crush any country
In a matter of weeks,

But it don't make sense
When you can't make peace.

Most of the songs I write offer wisdom, and this is why I say most of them are considered as wisdom of the blues. I made this song up about "Evil, Ignorance and Stupidity." When I say "evil, ignorance and stupidity," I mean that everything that's been done wrong on the face of the earth *happens* because of:

Evil, ignorance and stupidity
The three worst things in the world.
It ain't no good for no man or woman,
Neither no boy or girl.

'Cause if you're evil, you're ignorant,
And if you're stupid, you're wrong.
And there's no way in the world
You can ever get along.

If you're evil, ignorant and stupid,
You create prejudice and hate.
If it don't be tomorrow,
It will be sooner or late.

I try to say it in the facts of life — one way or the other, whether it's the fact of my life or somebody else's. That's why I make these particular types of songs. The blues are the true facts of life expressed in words and songs and inspirations with feeling and understanding. The people, regardless of what condition an individual is in, they want to be in better shape. They believe in letting somebody know what condition they're in, in order to help themselves. Whether it's good, whether it's bad. Right or wrong.

The world has woken up to the facts of life, and blues are about the facts of life, have been since the beginning. The blues have been around a long time. Even before Robert Johnson there were many people singing the blues. At that time, people hadn't been taught that the blues was wrong. When I was a youngster, a lot of people used to talk about Robert Johnson. I never did actually meet him, but I saw him and I ran into Robert Jr., who he partly raised, and also Johnny Shines. Johnson looked very much like the original picture that he had there. I was a youngster singing spirituals. I always did like any kind of music. I was in Mississippi in one of those little Delta towns, and I saw Robert Jr. and was excited to see him.

In that day, there weren't very many recordings out there, and anybody that could get a recording made was somebody that you had to hear. And there were very few Black ones out there at all. Records were played in places downtown, and people would be playing them out in stores. And everybody would stop and listen. I remember we finally got an old record player. You'd fool around and wind it up too tight — the spring jumped loose, and nobody knew how to fix it.

Folks played everything; they didn't have radio. I remember my brother, he was working where they made the little crystal radio, and he brought one home. We had earphones, and you could hardly hear anything, only about two or three stations on the line. But at the same time they played most of what they wanted to. Most was country-western. They had so many different kinds of songs . . . and dances, too. Nobody in the world could keep up with all the different dances: the two-step, the black bottom, the snake hip. Everybody that could do anything, they done it and named it that dance.

When I write a song, I hope that people like it well enough to dance to it. Because most of the time if people dance to something — ten to one — they learn something about the words of it that gives them a certain education they wouldn't learn otherwise. They learn because they like it. But they don't have to be listening directly to the words. As you know, rhythm is the thing. Everything moves to rhythm. Everything that's under the sun, that crawls, flies or swims, likes music.

But blues is the greatest, because blues is the only one that, along with the rhythm and the music, brings wisdom. When youngsters get a chance to hear the wisdom along with the music — it gives them a chance to get a better education and have a better understanding.

Most people never have looked at it like that. This is why I say the youngsters today are brighter and wiser than they were yesterday. Because old folks told you something, you believed it like that — you couldn't believe the old folks lied. But we found out the old folks lied so long [that now] you can't get the young folks to trust anybody.

I made a poem that was made out of clichés of the world. Clichés are always made to the facts of life. They say them all over the world in different languages. I began to take all these different clichés from various parts of the world and put them together. And I call it "Good Advice." One of the poems I put together:

People strain at a gnat,
But they swallow a camel.
A wise man bets
And a fool gambles.

The difference between a better and a gambler: a gambler is going to stay there to win it all.

But the better bets this and bets that, and says, "If I lose, I'm through."

Barking dogs
Seldom bite.

A barking dog always warns the people, and there's nobody going to look for him to bite them. Everytime somebody gets bit by a dog — ten to one — he didn't see him coming or didn't hear him.

What's done in the dark,
Will come to the light.

That's a fact. Because many things done in the dark, take a long time to get here. Some of them take nine months or more. Most of the time it's done in the dark.

You can't tell a farmer
From a lover.
You can't tell a book
By its cover.

So these are the facts of life.
Repeat each one as above.
Then add, "That's good advice."
You keep on going
When you're sure you're right.

A weak brain
And a narrow mind
Cause many a man
To be left behind.

A heap of people see
But a very few know.
Many a one start,
But a mighty few go.

The darkest part of night
Is just before day.
And when the cat is gone
The mice gonna play.

All these things
Is good advice, you know.

You can't get blood from a turnip.
All glitter ain't gold.
You can get good music
When you play with soul.

'Cause everything that's started
Has to have an end.
And if you keep on betting,
Sooner or later you'll win.

A still tongue
Makes a wise head.
These are the things
That the wise folks said.

Now all this is good advice.

When I go to the source, the roots of all American music, I find out it was the blues to begin with. All American music comes from the blues. We put the roots down. It was like discovering America.

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*Willie Dixon, musician, composer and founder of Blues Heaven Foundation, Inc., is often referred to as "the poet laureate of the blues." For more than 50 years, Willie Dixon has shaped the course of this musical genre and has campaigned for the recognition of the blues and its artists as the cornerstone of American popular music.*

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# Family Farm Folklore

## Betty J. Belanus


*Three generations of the Peters family of Vallonia, Indiana, pose in front of the sign that shows their farm as having been in the family for over a century.*
Photo courtesy Jackson County Schneck Memorial Hospital

The "economic crisis" of the early 1980s rivaled the Great Depression of the 1930s in its impact on family farming. Its effects are still being felt today. Some farms that have been in families for a century or more have gone bankrupt; people who love working the land have been forced to move to towns or cities and work in factories or offices. In many rural areas, churches and schools have closed or merged with those in nearby towns because populations have become depleted. Some farmers complain they don't know their neighbors any more, as farmland is turned into housing developments or is bought up by large agribusinesses.

But many family farms have survived. In spite of the ups and downs of fluctuating agricultural markets, unpredictable weather, and debt payments, they have found strategies to persevere. Strategies include redividing labor among family members, diversifying crops and livestock, and establishing a farm-related "side business" to supplement income. There seem to be as many combinations of strategies for survival as there are farm families. And even in the "Heartland" states of the Midwest, often considered a homogenous region of European Americans, a great variety of family farms exists.

Midwestern family farms include small "truck patches" and huge hog producers; medium-sized beef cattle farms and thousands of acres in corn, soybeans and wheat; fruit orchards and large dairy farms. And the families that operate the farms include African American farmers, whose grandfathers moved north to work in the city long enough to afford a piece of land; descendants of Northern, Central and Eastern European farmers, who came to America seeking land and opportunities unavailable to them in the Old Country; American Indian farmers whose agricultural tradition stretches back millennia on the continent; and recent Southeast Asian immigrant farmers, who work cooperatively to provide their communities with foods they were familiar with in their homeland.

It's almost impossible, therefore, to define "the Heartland family farmer." It's easier to mention a few common traits. We've found two things that the families researched for this year's Festival have in common — a body of skills and knowledge inherited between generations within an ethnic and rural tradition; and a keen interest in and understanding of their rural past, reflected in family histories, stories, photos and memorabilia. These two qualities — knowledge and consciousness — can be called "family farm folklore," and they have helped rural families maintain a way of life few of them would willingly trade for easier and often more profitable lives in towns and cities.

The folklore of farm families is unique, for it emerges where occupation intertwines with family, where all household members are, or have been at one time, involved with the life of the

Family Farming in the Heartland *has been made possible by the Smithsonian Institution and the U.S. Department of Agriculture.*

*Mandan Indians, Lydia Sage-Chase and her husband, Bob, in their garden in North Dakota. Today, Lydia and other members of her family carry on farming traditions, using seeds passed down through the generations, blessing the crops each year with special ceremonies.* Photo courtesy Lydia Sage-Chase

farm. Farm families are not like those where father and often mother work outside the home and interact with children only in mornings and evenings, on weekends and during vacation. Most farm families live in an almost constant state of "togetherness." This often extends to grandparents and sometimes even great-grandparents, who live nearby and still help on the farm. The folklore of families owning other types of family businesses may be somewhat similar — but farming is as much a distinctive lifestyle as it is a business. Some examples will bring this unique type of family folklore into focus.

### Consciousness of a Rural Past

Like many other families, Heartland farm families mark their histories with documents, photographs, stories and various types of material objects. But the way a farm family constructs its history is remarkable in the extent to which their history reflects that of the farm itself. Large aerial photographs of the farm 20 years ago and today may take up part of the living room wall; home displays of photographs mix family portraits with images of children showing prize dairy or beef cattle, Future Farmers of America (FFA) certificates of merit, and blue ribbons won at the 4-H fair for perfect garden vegetables.

Some families have written lengthy histories of their ancestors, or are included as founding members in community or county histories. Along with writing, other families have found unique ways of preserving and displaying their past. Iona Todd and her daughter, Deonna Todd Green, from Mecosta County, Michigan, created an extraordinary family quilt. It tells the story of Stephen Todd's escape from slavery, his marriage to Caroline Todd, their eventual settlement as pioneer farmers, and their six generations of descendants; the quilt incorporates family oral narratives, Bible records, and documents found through library research. The mother and daughter quilters have also created an "old settler's quilt" commemorating other African American homestead farmers in the history of their county.

Family stories are one of the most important means of conveying family history. Like photographs, these also can reflect a rural past. For instance, Ordell ("Bud") Gustad who farms with his three sons in Volin, South Dakota, likes to tell the story of how his father raised enough cash to start farming on his own in the 1930s. Ineligible for a WPA (Works Project Administration) job, Bud's father got the ingenious idea of selling coffee and doughnuts to the WPA workers. The next year, he started farming on his "coffee and doughnut" money.

Another recollection from the recent past gives a humorous family story a rural twist. Judy Borman, who grew up on and now runs her family's

*Marktavious Smith with his son and mother-in-law, Marie Berry Cross, at home in Mecosta County, Michigan. Their ancestors settled in Michigan as farmers in 1860. The fiddle has been handed down for five generations from the time of the first settlement.* Photo by Roland Freeman, © 1986

dairy farm in Kingdom City, Missouri, with her husband, Harlan, tells the story of how she was almost late to her own wedding. Before the ceremony she spent a little too much time showing off the family farm to the out-of-town guests. By the time she arrived at the church to get dressed, most of the guests had already arrived and were seated. To avoid being seen by anyone, she sneaked into the dressing room by climbing up the fire escape.

Along with stories, the material items that farm families choose to collect also reflect the importance of the farm in their lives. A common collectible is model farm machinery. A wall of shelves in the living room or family room often displays their collection, which more often than not reflects the type of machinery currently or once owned by the family. Larry Loganbach, whose family has raised cucumbers, tomatoes, and sugar beets for several generations in northwestern Ohio, found himself in a dilemma when his young son requested a model sugar beet harvester for a Christmas present. Since none of the commercial farm machinery model companies carried such a relatively uncommon item, Larry and his wife, Connie, labored for weeks after the children were asleep to build the desired toy. Larry has since completed 14 of these models at the request of other sugar beet farming families.

While many families proclaim their rural past by displaying old plows or other parts of used machinery on a lawn, or by incorporating them into a mailbox post, the Arnold family of Rushville, Indiana, restored the original 1820 log homestead on their farm as a tribute to the farm's founders. The modest cabin stands as a physical reminder of the humble beginnings of the family, and of their progress over the years. The farmhouse that Eleanor and Jake Arnold live in — the second house on the farm, built in 1853 — is itself a tribute to earlier members of the family.

### Knowledge and Skills

Most knowledge and skills needed to run a family farm are passed down from one generation to the next through a process combining informal learning and formal apprenticeship. As children follow their parents around the home and farm, they are gradually introduced to simple tasks. They graduate to more complex ones as time goes on. At the same time, most farm children in the past several generations have been

encouraged to join rural-based clubs that more formally prepare them for farm life. Recently, more and more young people have attended college, studying agriculture and bringing modern innovations back to the farm. The older generation has embraced what they find useful in this new knowledge, combining it with the tried and true methods of the farm operation.

As most farmers will admit, farming often relies more on continual trial-and-error than on science. Traditional knowledge also helps. Dave Jones of Brown County, Nebraska, explains how his father used the phases of the moon and the information in a farm almanac to guide his planting. While Dave does not always use this method today, he has become known in his family and community as a weather predictor in recent years. Applying information he read several years ago in a farm magazine, Dave predicts the coming winter's snowfall by examining the chokecherry and plum bushes in the area. If there is not enough fruit on these bushes for small animals to store, then there will be less snowfall to allow them to forage for food. This knowledge has served Dave and his two farming sons, Tom and Jim, well in the past few years, warning them to store more feed and hay for farm animals if a severe winter is predicted.

Children are usually introduced to more complex chores on the farm before the age of ten. Bradley Peters of Jackson County, Indiana, was almost eight last year when he received his first heifer calf, which he raised under his father Larry's supervision as a 4-H project. The heifer has now been bred, and when she calves, Bradley will get to raise the offspring as well. He trades work on the farm for feed for the heifer. His father proudly says that his son is building "a little business of his own" and saving money toward his college education. Other farm children have started their own profitable side businesses as well, building on what they learn from their parents as well as the skills they learn from clubs like 4-H and FFA.

Recently, many farmers have been attempting to reduce the chemicals used in the form of fertilizers and herbicides on the farm, and to employ more aggressive soil conservation methods. For the Cerny brothers of Cobden, Illinois, this means a blend of traditional practices they have already been engaged in for years, and soil conservation techniques like "no-till," which leaves corn residue in the field after harvest to act as mulch and reduce erosion. As Norbert Cerney puts it, "This land has been farmed for a long time, and it's been farmed hard. . . . Maybe we can leave things a little better than we found them."

*Close by the original family farm house, the Cerny brothers of Cobden, Illinois, prepare to plant tomato seeds in the hotbed their grandfather built. Most vegetable growers now begin their seeds in green-houses, but the Cernys prefer the older method.* Photo by LeeEllen Friedland

Generally, family farmers seem conservative and progressive at the same time. Machine sheds house small tractors dating back to the 1940s, which are often still used for some farm operations, side-by-side with giant tractors with computerized dashboard controls and stereo sound systems. The old and the new, the older generation and the younger generation, come together on the family farm. Like folklore itself, life on the family farm embodies both continuity and disjuncture, change and durability.

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*Betty Belanus is the Curator of this year's Family Farm program. She grew up on a farm in the dairying area of Addison County, Vermont, and holds her Ph.D. in folklore from Indiana University.*

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# A Year in the Life of a Family Farmer

## Steven Berntson

*Steven Berntson farms with his wife, Joanne, and son Daniel in northwest Iowa, near Paullina. The farm has been in the family for 80 years, established by Steven's grandfather, a Norwegian immigrant. The following are excerpts from his personal journal for the year 1990.*

**Thursday, January 11**

In Roman mythology, Janus, guardian of portals and patron of beginnings, was a god of two faces: one looked forward, the other back.

We are deep into winter, and the great snows of the season are swirling upon us. These days are an enforced break from busyness, a rare time for quiet thought. And so I look forward and back in my own inner inventory of what it means to belong to the land.

Robert Frost once wrote, "We were the land's before the land was ours." It is a line that seems paradoxical but isn't. We claim ownership in titles and deeds, but in the end, what are we without cornfields? Without the farmer, the earth is yet the earth. Without the earth, what is the farmer?

We do not own the land, it owns us. It garners our days and steals our hearts. If farming were a drug, we would all be addicts.

Somehow, when you farm, everything gets all mixed up together — your wife and kids, your acres and your work, your home and your life itself. It gets all knitted together in what we call the home place. Painted on the great white barns with a date neatly inscribed below, the name of the home place is spoken in a reverential, almost holy way.

The home place: a remembered place. A place of secrets and memories and dreams. Of mistakes as well.

A safe place. A place where you know who you are. A place of stories. A place to go back to, sometimes in person, more often in mind.

For myself, I am deeply grateful to my parents and grandparents for the rich life they gave me as a child on this particular home place, the place of my moorings.

**Tuesday, February 6**

I'm deep in the art of taxes; my tax appointment is Friday. Bookkeeping is not my forte, but it must be done.

Today I also paid for some of my seed corn but won't pick it up until late April, just before planting. Is seed corn ever getting expensive! Some of it is now over $70 a bushel. In return, I'm lucky if I can get $2 a bushel for the corn I grow and sell. Who said farming ever made sense?

**Saturday, February 17**

My attention is shifting from the farming year past to the year upcoming. I have finished my taxes and am doing some thinking about crop insurance for the next year. How much risk should I take?

This afternoon I'm going to a meeting to hear about the government farm program for 1990.

**Thursday, March 1**

March 1 is the traditional date for the major moves of the year: taking possession of a newly-bought farm, making payments on a mortgage, moving to a rented place, etc. In that sense, it is the beginning of a farmer's year.

I can never begin a new farming season without thinking of my Grandpa Berntson, a Norwegian immigrant, who exactly 80 years ago this very day made that fateful move from an 80-acre hill farm in Marshall County in southeastern Iowa to this farm near Paullina. How many times have I heard that long and eloquent story! How he loaded his family and machinery and livestock and furniture on two freight cars, and then on an unseasonably warm March day was surprised to be met at the Paullina depot by his new neighbors, who helped him move the final five miles

*Dried soybeans are lifted by elevator into a steel bin for winter storage. Steve and his father, Glenn, watch from below.*
Photo by Bill Neibergall, courtesy *Des Moines Register*

to a new farm and a new life. Here he and his wife, Karina, the enchanting evangelist from Mayville, North Dakota, who had stolen his heart at a tent meeting, achieved a good measure of worldly success in their farming (buying a second farm in the midst of the Great Depression), only to have their confidence in themselves and in their God grievously shaken when scarlet fever plucked two of their children, Burdette and Beulah, from the bloom of childhood.

I write this in the very house — indeed, in the very room — they died. And that has meaning, too: if the story of my immigrant grandfather sustains and fortifies me, it also scares me, in caution and apprehension.

I am a keeper of his story, a custodian of his old-but-not-so-odd dream of land, and the inheritor of that promise. But in a larger and truer sense, I am more than curator. I am creator. For I own the land adjacent to his land; my dream borders his. His place has become my place.

And yet it is not a case of intrusion, of a stranger in his place. It is the fulfillment of his place.

**Monday, March 26**

The snowstorm that swirled in just ahead of April had to give way quickly to the sun and the thaw.

It was a rich snow, indeed, for it leaves behind a greening earth that contrasts wildly with the dirtiness of fall's leftovers. And this is a green like no other. I have often marveled at the solid green of corn neck-deep in a wet July, and then after the harvest another kind of richness in the color of money. But here in the green spring there is no price whatever, but a bargain basement value of promise and hope.

**Tuesday, April 10**

These spring days are tentative and yet decisive.

I began field work today, seeding 20 acres of oats on last year's cornstalks. There is something elemental and fundamental about sowing oats — no high-tech machinery, no herbicides, no fertilizer except for what I haul out of the barn.

The crisp air was utterly intoxicating, the crunch of cornstalks a potent medicine for a farmer's soul.

High overhead, flocks of Canada geese plowed faint furrows into their own vast blue prairie fields.

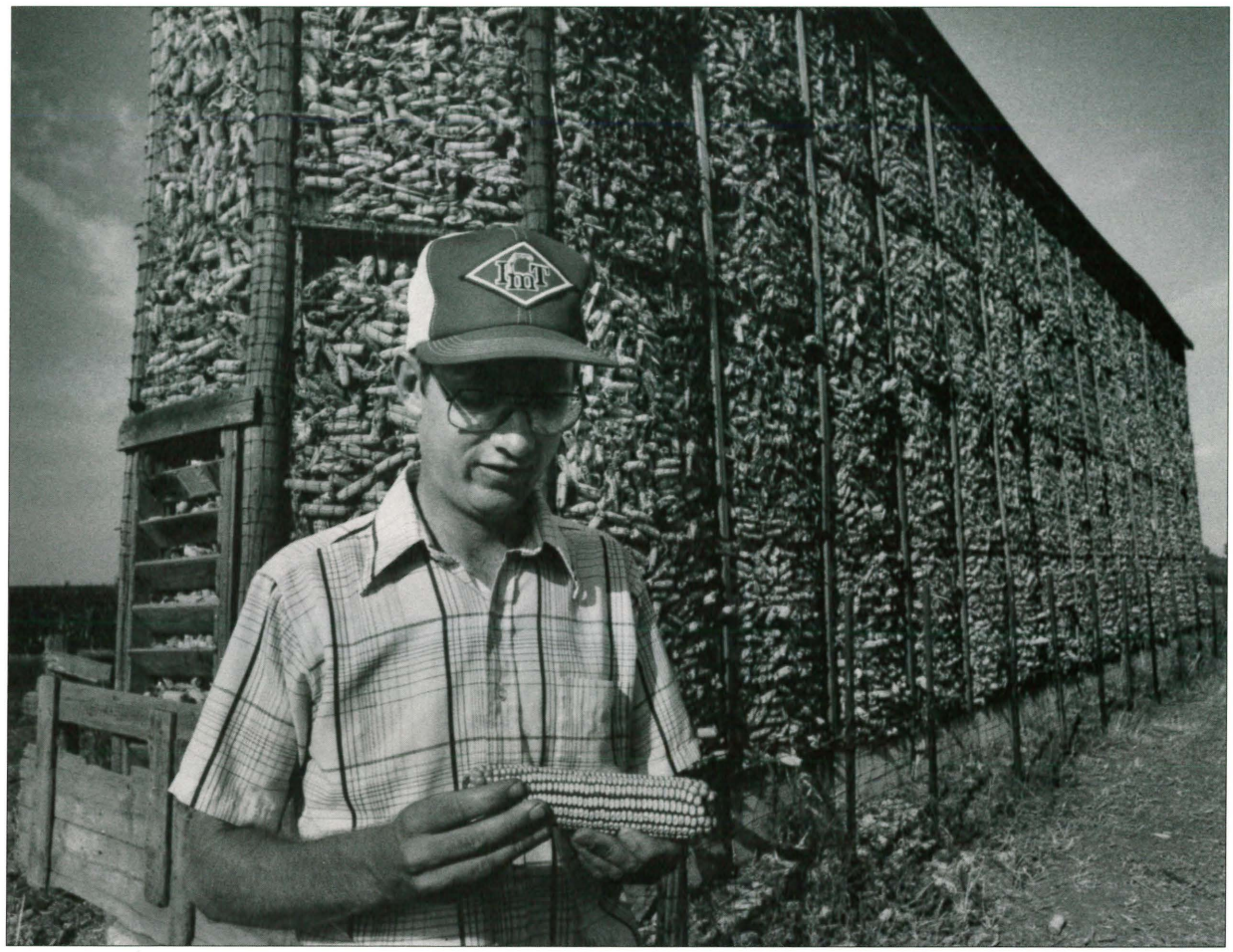
What a marvelous day!

**Saturday, April 21**

We still haven't had a good spring rain, so farmers can work in their fields without interruption from the weather. Joanne and Daniel and I have been flying kites in the evenings when the wind goes down.

**Wednesday, May 2**

I started planting corn today. Here in northwest Iowa we try to plant our corn between May 1 and



*Steve inspects an ear of corn. Steve's father built this storage bin in 1972 from wire and old telephone poles. The sun and the wind dry these ears naturally, unlike the mechanical process used in closed steel bins.*
Photo by Bill Neibergall, courtesy *Des Moines Register*

May 10 — earlier than May 1 and you risk damage from frost, later than May 10 and the crop doesn't have a full growing season.

**Friday, May 18**

Daniel was excited today to have one of the nests of ducks hatch out. The mother has 18 in her brood. Where but on a farm does a child grow up so close to life, to birth and death itself?

**Saturday, May 26**

I finished planting soybeans today. It's a job I enjoy for many reasons: it doesn't require quite the precision corn planting does, the days are warmer, it's the end of spring planting.

Memorial Day is just around the corner; I'm ready for a nap!

**Monday, June 4**

It is the season of motherhood again. The farm teems with life.

The hoghouse is full of hog music, sometimes nearly deafening as the sows, with deep rhythmic grunts, call their piglets, who squeal and fight over their milk.

Several litters of kittens have been born in the bales of the barn, but it will be a few weeks yet before the tabbies bring their young out into the world.

Daniel's ducks have hatched four nests, totalling 47 ducklings, and some of the ducks are now sitting on their second clutch of eggs.

Our grove is home to squirrels, owls, wood ducks and a host of smaller birds. Badgers and foxes have dug dens for their young in the grassback terraces, and pheasants and partridge are nesting in the grassy waterways of the fields.

Life is on its legs again, and I exult.

**Tuesday, June 12**

What a terrible hailstorm last night! I doubt if there is a more horrifying sound to a farmer than the clanging and banging of hailstones on the roof.

I have been through desiccating drought be-

fore — it wears on the soul like a lingering, languishing cancer. Hail is easier to take — like a heart attack — sudden, swift, definite, definable.

My beans have been hurt the worst, but not enough to warrant replanting.

**Wednesday, June 20**

Late this afternoon Daniel raced out to the field to ride the tractor with me while I finished cultivating the beans. Back and forth, back and forth we went, to the throaty solo of the Farmall M.

Then, as the day was dying, a doe and not one, but two fawns shadowed forth to our little stream for an evening drink. They came closer, ever so close, and we sensed then a kinship with them.

Utterly motionless, they stared, but music like the "Moonlight Sonata" cascaded from their wild brown eyes, and I understood every note. Both melodies are inscribed this hour upon my heart. I know which is the more beautiful.

**Monday, July 2**

We baled our second cutting of hay today. The recent rains have made for a lot of hay, but it's also tougher to get the hay to dry properly.

**Sunday, July 22**

Both sides of my family have been having their annual summer reunions. Typical summer reunions: lots of talk (same old stories, a few new ones), too much food, a few new babies, pictures, too much lemonade, relatives I see every day and others I see only at reunions.

What compels these family reunions? It is, I believe, a fundamental curiosity about yourself. Apart from your kin, you cannot begin to understand who you are or what you mean. Their story gives the sense to your story.

Bound by kinship to the soil and to one another, these are my people. We relish our time together. Good families don't just happen; they need to be nourished and nurtured.

**Tuesday, August 7**

We've been busy shelling last year's corn. As farmers go, I am about as average as average can be, farming a half section of land in a typical corn/soybean rotation and raising hogs.

But I am decidedly old-fashioned in picking corn in the ear and then shelling it the next summer, rather than simply combining my corn in the field.

Corn shelling is some of the most grueling, hot and dusty work on the farm, yet we seem to enjoy it. That's in part because we enjoy each other — joking, telling stories, eating together.

There is a place for everyone. I remember how my grandfather in his eighties could still take pride in just being able to bring out lunch, even though he couldn't scoop corn the vigorous way he once did.[1]

**Thursday, August 23**

This morning I went to an auction of 80 acres of land about five miles from home. Early speculation was that the land might go for around $2,300 an acre. That was optimistic; it sold for $1,940.

Sometimes I get a little weary from all the talk about what land is worth, and I think that in the deepest sense, to the true farmer, it's beyond and apart from dollars. Sure, I suppose it's more fun the more digits that are on your net worth statement, but it's a shallow measure. One of the greatest crimes inflicted upon rural America is the notion that somehow a man's net worth and his human worth are one and the same. When you belong to the earth it really doesn't matter.

**Tuesday, September 25**

We had our first hard, killing frost last night, a reminder of how fickle fall can be.

One day you marvel in an immense sky and heady, crisp air. And the next day the sky turns sullen and melancholy and leaden, and the wind, like work, finds you no matter where you try to hide.

I suppose you could decipher the season in terms of jet streams and fading chlorophyll and mean temperatures, and you would be correct, in a sense. But not really, for fall has more to do with meanings than reasons.

**Wednesday, October 3**

Our soybean harvest is in full swing now. Most of the beans are averaging 24 bushels an acre, which is about half the normal crop. It's the biggest loss I've had in my 15 years of farming.

When you farm, you take your losses with your gains.

**Saturday, October 20**

We picked corn again today, and it looks like

[1] Author's note: Corn shelling is the process in which ears of corn are removed from a corn crib using a horizontal elevator called a dragfeed, and then run through a sheller — a combine-like machine which removes the kernels from the cobs. A typical shelling crew includes two or three men in the crib to scoop the corn into the dragfeed, one man to run the sheller and others to level off cobwagons and truck the corn to town. Corn shelling is considered hard work both because of the physical exertion required and because it is dusty work, often done in the hottest days of summer and the coldest days of winter.

*Steve and Daniel inspect the farm from their pickup truck.* Photo by Bill Neibergall, courtesy *Des Moines Register*

we could get done this next week with any luck at all. Dad drives the picker tractor, and Daniel and I haul and unload the corn. Joanne and I will be relieved when harvest is over because we worry about the danger of all these machines. Accidents happen in a twinkling.

Daniel's job is to stay on the tractor and work the hydraulic lever that raises the wagon as I unload the corn into the elevator. He's very proud that he can "higher the wagon," as he calls it.

I'm not sure which I enjoy more: listening to dad as he tells about his 50 years of cornpicking, or answering Daniel's delightful questions.

At 36, I wonder — at what other job are you blessed at once with the wisdom of a 76-year-old and the wonder of a 6-year-old?

**Saturday, November 3**

Today Daniel and I tore out an ancient, sagging fence just north of our cattle shed. It wasn't a long stretch, only 150 feet or so, and it served no useful purpose, holding nothing either in or out.

When the day was done, all that was left were two sets of footprints in the mud, irresistibly metaphorical. Daniel was walking, quite literally, in my footsteps.

One of my favorite and most comical images of my father comes from when he would get home from a long day in the field, and then, doing chores, would be trailed by — in approximately this order — his elderly father, his brother and partner in farming, his youngest son, the dog and at least a dozen cats. The cats were waiting for him to milk the cow; the rest of the procession had assorted concerns of the day. It made for quite a collection of footsteps.

**Tuesday, November 13**

We received our first serious snow of the season today, about three inches. The first snow is a marker of the season, like the first frost. The gray slate of the land and the year are now cleared. There is no finer imagery than snow; even the Scriptures use it: crimson sins are washed "whiter than snow." The snow has blanketed our fields, covering whatever the sins of our farming were.

**Sunday, November 18**

As I write on this quiet, rural autumn evening, the western sky, like embers upon a hearth, sends marvelous shadows across the land. It is spectacular in its subtlety. We are but four days from Thanksgiving. I wonder, could Thanksgiving have found a more reflective time of year?

**Tuesday, December 18**

Working with the soil doesn't automatically endow a man with either wisdom or philosophy, but it does accord him an understanding of the sequences and cycles of the seasons.

A farmer lives by these seasons, and it is good to have them clearly and cleanly defined, not by the calendar, but by the days themselves. You plant your fields; you harvest them in their due season, again and again and again, in endless repetition, until one day you are worn out and used up and gone. And then in that final harvest, the farmer himself is planted into the soil, his final seed.

We are slipping again into the deep midwinter. I walk into the still, star-shot night, pondering the year past, looking up, like Whitman's learned astronomer, in perfect silence at the stars.

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*Steven Berntson farms and writes about farming in northwest Iowa. He has been published in the* Des Moines Register, *the* Northwest Iowa Review, *and farm cooperative magazines. Steven graduated from Dana College, Blair, Nebraska, with a B.A. in English.*

# The Changing Role of Women on the Farm

Eleanor Arnold

## Introduction

The role women have played in the farm family has changed many times over the years, but one thing has remained constant —women have always been an essential part of the team.

Pioneer women came into the forest and the plains, bringing with them one or two cherished pieces of furniture and "starts" of flowers from their previous homes. They moved into their log cabins and sod houses and began the long hard work ahead of them. They often worked side-by-side with their husbands, making the land ready for farming, while at the same time raising their families, cooking and preserving food, spinning and weaving cloth, and making a home in the wilderness.

Their daughters and granddaughters in the late 1800s and the early 1900s had their spheres of responsibility on the busy, self-sufficient farms of the era. As always, the family was the first concern of a homemaker, as she did the housework and child care. In addition, however, she would be responsible for the poultry, the dairy cows, the care of the milk and butter, the garden and the preserving of food for winter. Laundry, ironing, cooking, baking, sewing and mending took much of her waking hours. She also might be called on for occasional light work in the fields, but the mores of the era argued that women didn't do field work. This was just as well, since she was busy from morning to night with her own work, in addition to being pregnant or nursing through most of her work years.

The decades surrounding World War II were a watershed. The advent of electricity and gasoline engines lightened many back-breaking and time-consuming chores and created some discretionary time in women's lives. The wartime call to the nation's factories and businesses made working outside the home a possibility for women. Also during the war, women and girls worked in the fields to keep farm land in production, taking up the slack left by rural men who were in the services.

Peacetime found farm women with more work options than ever before. Their responsibility for homemaking and child rearing did not change, but some continued to help with the farm work outside, as larger equipment and other technology made it possible for a single family to farm larger acreage. Other farm women continued their traditional "around the house" roles but took on further responsibility for bookkeeping, marketing and other paper-work functions. Some farm women took full- or part-time employment off the farm. These trends continue to the present.

Unlike urban families, whose daytime interests may vary widely, a farm family has always been involved in the family business together. They live in the midst of it; they are at their work site from the time they awaken. Family members work as a unit, sharing the work, the worries and the benefits of their lifestyle.

This is especially true for the farm woman. She has always been essential to farm life. Her love of her family and the energy she expends to make life good for them are the central part of her life, just as they are for urban women. But the farm woman is also vital to the financial success of the family business — their farm. Her work, and sometimes her salary, help to make the farm economically viable. Her homemaking and mothering make the home a warm, welcoming center for the whole enterprise.

Methods of farming and the part the women play in the intricacies of farm and family life have changed through the years, but woman's vital role — as an essential component of the farm family team — has never changed.

# Interview

*Note: Eleanor and Clarence "Jake" Arnold and their family own and operate a 1,200 acre grain and livestock farm in Rush County, Indiana, which has been continuously farmed for over 170 years by six generations of Arnolds. The following is excerpted from an interview with Eleanor and Jake Arnold conducted by folklorist Marjorie Hunt.*

**Marjorie:** *When you were growing up, what type of work did women do on the farm?*

**Eleanor:** When I was young, women nearly always took care of all the poultry. If you had turkeys or chickens — then that was women's work. My mother always did all the gardening — that was traditionally a farm woman's thing. You put out about as much as you were going to eat because that's where food came from. We were raised in the '30s — the late '20s and '30s — and that was very hard times on the farm. And essentially you didn't want to buy anything at the grocery store if you could manage it at home. I've seen many a time my mother would sit down at a table like this and say, "Everything on here except the sugar — I grew." My mother tried to preserve everything that she grew. She even canned meat because she didn't have any other way to preserve it except curing; and so she canned all her beef. Because if she didn't have it put away, we just didn't have it!

**Marjorie**: *What other things would women of your mother's generation do?*

**Eleanor**: Well, mother mowed the lawn, and she always went down and helped with milking in the evening. In the morning she didn't, because she was busy getting breakfast. Now, mother didn't do field work. A lot of people thought it was terrible when women did field work at that time. In fact, there were a couple of sisters who helped their brother in the field, and it was the talk of the neighborhood! That just wasn't done when we were growing up — it was a shame to a man.

There were a lot of things I saw as a child that my mother knew, like making soap and things like that. Those were women's skills: what to do with your meat after it was butchered, how to cut it up, how to cure it, how to make the different sausages. These were real skills, women's skills; and they're no longer necessary, so they're gone.

Well, you know the old saying, "A man works from sun to sun, but a woman's work is never done." It definitely came from the time of an agrarian society, because men couldn't do much after dark. There were no lights on the horses, you know, and they had to come in. But a woman kept right on working.

**Marjorie:** *When you were growing up, what were your responsibilities on the farm?*

**Eleanor:** There were two boys and two girls in my family. The boys helped dad, and my sis and I helped mother. The boys had to feed the horses, feed the cows, and we fed the chickens and gathered the eggs, brought in the corn, brought in the wood, pumped the water and brought it in. There were all sorts of chores that were done daily — sometimes two or three times daily.

Of course there was plenty to do in the house, too. We had kerosene lamps, and every morning we washed the chimneys because they got sooty. And so that was part of the morning chores: we used to wash them, clean them up, refill them and have them ready for when night came because, of course, all your light was from kerosene. It wasn't that you were looking for something to do. Especially before electricity, everything was physically hard to do in the home.

**Marjorie:** *How did changes in technology — like electricity — affect your family?*

**Eleanor:** Oh, electricity! That was the watershed — because before that everything was done by somebody's muscle, either your muscle or a horse's muscle. We didn't get electricity until I was nine years old, which would have been 1938. After that, you had all sorts of help in all sorts of different directions.

Like ironing — we had these big black irons. You put them on the old coal range. And when you thought they were warm, you held them up, and put your finger [out], and licked it, and touched it. And if it went *ssst!* it was warm enough. You ironed with it. And then when it got cool you had two or three other ones waiting on the stove. Most women, when they got electricity — the first thing they got was an electric iron. They weren't very expensive, and they did save so much work.

Another big change was plumbing. Jake and I didn't have water in the house until 1955 — after three children! We had a privy in the back and a well with a pump. When I was going to [do a] wash, I went out to pump the water, and put it on the stove, and heated it, and then carried it

*Four generations of Arnold women — Jake's great-grandmother, Sarah Arnold, her granddaughter, Sarah, great-granddaughter, Flora and her great-great-granddaughter, Leona — pose for a picture taken in the early 1900s.* Photo courtesy Arnold family

back out and put it in a conventional washing machine. It was *so* much work. And it was even more so when my mother had to wash clothes by rubbing on the board. Back then, laundry was a real skill. Now anybody can go and open up the door and put in laundry. But a white wash was something a woman was really proud of — "She puts out a good white wash" — that's what you'd hear.

No one wants to go back to washing on a board who's ever done it. No one wants to go out to privies at night who's ever had to. There were lots of nice things about the good old days, but no one who has ever done both ways would want to give up the technology.

**Marjorie:** *After you got married, how did you and Jake divide the work on your farm?*

**Eleanor:** We've always worked as a team. But, you know, you divide things up. It's more efficient that way . . . and a lot of it falls along traditional lines. At first Jake was so busy on the farm, and I had the little children at home, so I couldn't get out and help very much. So I ended up doing what was traditionally thought of as women's work on the farm. He would come in and help a little with the children. But he was tired. He was out all the time, so he didn't participate a lot in child care.

**Jake:** After they got a little older I'd take them with me out on the tractor. In fact, I can even remember John . . . I'd actually take him on the cultivator. He'd crawl in between the frame and sit up there and ride back and forth across the field. And I remember one field had raspberries at one end that was ripe at that time. And he'd get off and eat some raspberries. And then he'd get back on and go around. And then he'd crawl underneath the truck and go to sleep. That's where he took his nap.

**Eleanor:** He wanted me to have little red jackets for them to wear because he said he could see them all over the field that way. He was always worried — the safety factor, you know.

Our kids have always helped. John, you just had to scrape him out of the [tractor] seat. He's always wanted to farm, and always was fascinated by machinery, and was always right there to help. When the kids were growing up — we were sort of in that transition period — we didn't have as many actual chores that had to be done. We had quit the chickens and the milk cows, so hog feeding was about the only thing that they really had to do.

The kids always helped me in the garden. They enjoyed it, and we always had a lot of fun.

As far as household chores, the girls always helped me. They shelled peas, and snapped beans, and helped me can, and helped clean the house. They just helped. Whatever I was doing, they were helping, too. We just all kind of worked together. Everyone pitched in.

*Mary Arnold pretends to help with the ironing by imitating her mother, Eleanor.*
Photo courtesy Arnold family

**Marjorie:** *Did you work in the fields?*

**Eleanor:** Oh yes, I went out to the fields in the spring and the fall. I usually plowed and disked. I was one of the first ones who actually started working in the fields around here, but everybody admired it — "Oh, that's wonderful, you know, you're helping."

I never planted because that's a very crucial part of it, and I never combined. I used to drive the tractors and the wagons or the trucks away from the combines. I'd take the seed corn into town because you had to sit there and wait. And Jake's so antsy, and sitting and waiting in harvest season was just . . . he couldn't do it.

Jake always was good, when I was working out in the fields, to come in and help me with what had gotten behind in the house. But with people our age, I think there's a lot more separation of men's work and women's work than there is with kids nowadays — the young farming couples. My son just comes in and does everything. I mean he cooks, he does whatever needs to be done.

**Marjorie:** *What are some of the other changes you see in your children's generation?*

**Eleanor:** So many women now work off the farm. I think a common pattern is to work until you have your children, stay home until the children are in school, and then go back to working at least part-time; and, maybe when the children are older, working full-time. I think that's a very common pattern now in farm housewives.

Well, coming out of the home was definitely begun during the Second World War. There was just very little of anything. Women were not employed outside except as teachers, perhaps nurses, sometimes social work, and as sort of an informal thing, the hired girl. Those were the things that were open. But in the Second World War, it was a patriotic duty to come out of the home and be "Rosie the Riveter," and you got lots of acclaim for doing that sort of thing.

Once they had found that they could earn money and that they could work outside the home, they felt freer — financially freer — because they didn't feel as dependent on the father, husband, brother, whatever. And also, the fact that their work had value meant something to them — like it or not, we do value by the dollar; if you're paid for it, the work means more — and I think this was a profound change with women.When the war was over, it never was unthinkable again to work outside the home. It wasn't an option in my mother's time and my sister's time, but in my time, it was an option.

Just in our community, if you go around, you'll find very few farms that are absolutely 100% farmers. I mean either the husband or the wife works outside extra, too.

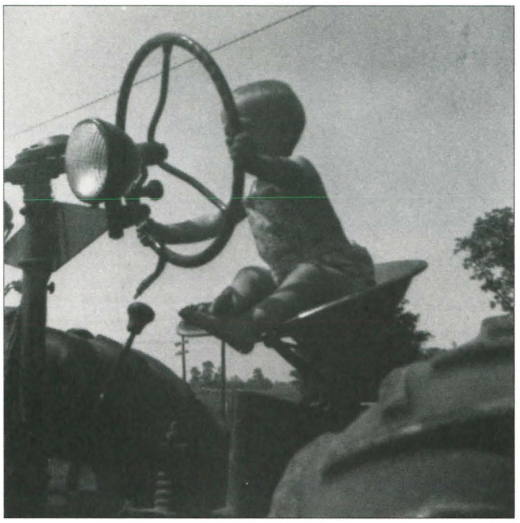
**Marjorie:** *What sort of support groups did farm women have?*

**Eleanor:** Women's club work was, many times, the real salvation for women. Farm women, they stayed so close to home, and they had only a few things that were socially acceptable that took them out. That's why extension homemakers and

church groups were popular — because they gave women sociability.

**Marjorie:** *How has that changed over the years?*

**Eleanor:** It's changed a lot. The isolated country woman image is done for. You know, people look to find time to be home now, because they're on the go so much. There are so many demands on their time that a night at home, I think, is treasured now; where before, my mother went to her ladies aid, and she went to her home ec[onomics club] — and those were her two times out. She went to church on Sunday morning, and every two weeks she went to town to cash the milk check — and, literally, mother might not be off the place other than that. And so her home ec club and her ladies aid — the support of women, the talking with women, the being with women — meant a great deal to her. They meant a very great deal to her. Now, you might have visiting back and forth on Sunday afternoon, but I tell you: the rural woman's life was isolated.



*John Arnold pretends to drive his father's tractor.*
Photo courtesy Arnold family

**Marjorie:** *Getting back to your own family farm, what made you decide to go into farming?*

**Eleanor:** It's a choice we made together when we were still down at school. We were two farm kids, and we knew what life was like on the farm, the good and the bad. And we stood at a crossroads, you might say. "Shall we go on with our education and do something else that will probably make us more money — more spendable income — or shall we go back to the life we know?" And we both together decided we wanted to go back to the life we knew. Because we felt there's so many values there that we wanted to have for ourselves, that we'd had in our own lives. And we wanted our children to have them, too.

**Marjorie:** *What do you value most about your way of life?*

**Eleanor:** Well, the fact that we're together. We're working together, and we have common and shared aims. It's not just the man and the wife, it's the children also. I think [the farm] is the finest place there is to raise a family. For one thing, you don't have as many worries because the children are always there with you. They're sharing and working, and they're talking to you about what's going on. They see what daddy does, and he's right there. He's in and he's out, and they're in and out with him. I think it's fairer to the male. Because I think [in urban life] when the male goes away early in the morning and comes back home tired, and the woman has to do all the discipline and so forth — I think it's unfair to the male.

**Jake:** I'll agree with that. You've got to realize, when I walk out the door I'm at my workplace. No commuting time! It's great, you know. I come in, and — we've always had a noonday meal — we see the kids. Actually, you're really getting down to the basis of farm life. We chose it and we enjoy it.

**Marjorie:** *Eleanor, what do you consider your most important contribution to your family farm?*

**Eleanor:** Well I undoubtedly think my children are my greatest accomplishment. And I think that most women would say that. Because whether a farmer or otherwise, we're very happy that we've raised three good children and feel that we've made a contribution to the community. And that's my greatest accomplishment.

Now, if you're wanting to think about — as a farmer or as a farm woman, what's the best thing I've done? I don't know . . . The work I did on the farm for years. I worked for about 20 years on the tractor, and that helped us economically. But another thing I did that helped economically was that I was a very thrifty person. I always canned, I always froze, I sewed. I tried to use our funds wisely and tried to look ahead and see that we needed to save. I think that's a good deal of my contribution — spending the money wisely.

There's an old country saying — "She can throw it out the front door with a teaspoon faster than he can scoop it in the backdoor with a

*The Arnold family in 1991.* Photo by Marjorie Hunt

scoop shovel" — for a woman who isn't thrifty. Because there's only a certain amount of money that comes in from the farm, and how you use that limited amount makes a good deal of difference.

**Marjorie:** *Are you still canning?*

**Eleanor:** Oh yes! I can and freeze. I can green beans. I can applesauce. I can peaches. I can pickles. I can tomatoes, and I do jellies and preserves with whatever we have that year. . . . And I freeze peas and peaches and all the fruits — cherries, raspberries, blueberries. Everything is grist to my mill — whatever comes that we can't eat fresh, why, I freeze it.

**Marjorie:** *Who does the books in your family?*

**Eleanor:** He was an accounting major — I have nothing to do with them! I'm the world's worst with books.

**Marjorie:** *I understand that in some farm families women have that responsibility.*

**Eleanor:** Many, many times. I would say we're an exception. An awful lot of women do it.

**Jake:** A lot of women do marketing. Quite a few of them, they're quite good at it. They're not as emotional as a man. I think they look at it more objectively. They're better traders than a man in some cases.

**Marjorie:** *You mentioned to me that there used to be a farm on every 80 acres?*

**Eleanor:** That's so very true. You can look up and down this road and see where there are homesites — the homes are no longer there. Because as the people who were living on the 80s got older and died or moved into town, the person next to them bought the land. He wanted to farm it. . . . So you have all these old homesites where maybe the daffodils still come up or there's still a lilac bush blooming, but the homeplaces are gone.This is not just here, it's happening everywhere. The technological advances, the larger equipment, means a farmer's able to farm more land.

**Marjorie:** *You once told me that there's no money in farming, you have to love farming to farm.*

**Jake**: You asked me if I could tell a successful farmer driving down the road. And then I got to thinking, "What *is* a successful farmer?" And I came to the conclusion that if he's kept half way financially secure, and raised a good family with decent kids, and put a little something else back into the community, he was a success — whether he had 10,000 acres or just five. That's the truth. I feel that.

**Eleanor:** We could sell all our land, and we could put the money in the bank, and we could live off the interest better than we do now. We want to live like this.

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# The Farmer and American Folklore

James P. Leary

Alert visitors to rural America will note a proliferation of bumper stickers proclaiming, "If you criticize the farmer, don't talk with your mouth full," and "Farming is everybody's bread and butter." In an era when many farmers feel that market forces and government policies threaten the family farm, in a time when too many people think milk, bread, and meat come from the store, these combative and pithy slogans stress the fundamental importance of farming and food. Through them, farmers remind their non-agrarian neighbors, "you need me"; they inform their occupational fellows, "I'm one of you"; and they tell themselves, "I'm proud to be a farmer."

Such conscious and complex cultural expressions beg consideration of the farmer's symbolic place in rural life and in American society as a whole. Unfortunately, Ray Allen Billington's characterization of the farmer as "the forgotten man" of American folklore remains accurate (Fite 1966). While investigations of the rural scene have been a mainstay of American folklore scholars, studies generally have been done according to cultural regions, ethnic groups, or folklore genres. We know about Appalachians, or Ozarkers, or Illinois "Egyptians"; about the Pennsylvania Dutch, or the Cajun French; about barns, or agricultural beliefs, or rural tall tales, or common folks' food. But our understanding of the expressive dimensions of farming as a changing occupation has lagged.

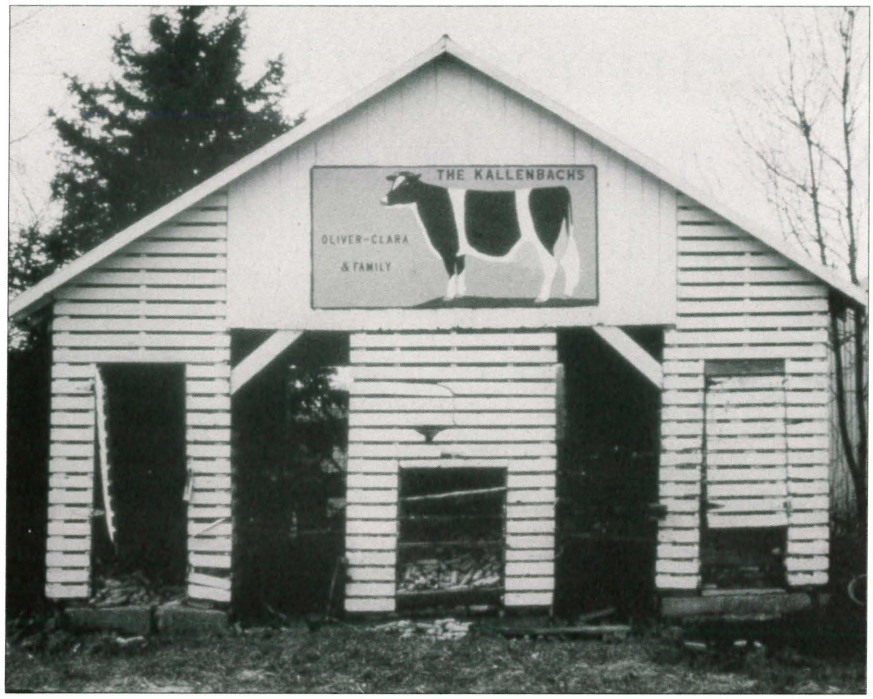
American farmers have stayed at home when frontier adventure and city lights beckoned, and home has always been a place where hard, repetitive, dirty work is done. Farmers have been maligned accordingly as unsophisticated rustics: rubes, hicks, yokels, and bumpkins. They have been lumped with regional fare and its procurement and have been associated unfavorably with outdoor work and topography through slurs like prune-pickers and rednecks.

No wonder John Lomax informed the American Folklore Society in 1913 that the nation's folksongs concerned miners, lumbermen, sailors, soldiers, railroaders, cowboys, and members of "the down and out classes — the outcast girl, the dope fiend, the convict, the jailbird, and the tramp." No wonder Richard Dorson's *America in Legend* declared sixty years later that the nation's heroes were preachers, frontiersmen, boatmen, mill hands, bowery toughs, peddlers, cowboys, loggers, miners, oil drillers, railroaders, acid heads, and draft dodgers. The steady, family-oriented farmer, the backbone of the community, seems to have sparked few songs or stories. The farmer apparently embodied the dull background against which others loomed large.

Despite name-calling and neglect, farmers have always made profound symbolic statements about their life and work — often in deceptively simple ways. One late May afternoon in 1978, I was driving through Portage County in central Wisconsin. The corn was just poking through the soil as I encountered a farmer with a hand planter working in the corner of a field. His mechanical planter's turning radius had prevented him from filling out the corn row — and he wanted symmetry.

Farmers take pride in the true furrow, the straight row, the verdant crop-signs of their skill, their industry, their dedication to the land. In contrast to other heroes in American folklore, their triumph has been one of community and harmony, not individualism and conquest. My old Barron County, Wisconsin, neighbor, George Russell, once told me about

> . . . a city girl named Foy. She was a lawyer's daughter and [my sister] Ann worked for them. Ann took the girl home to the farm country one time, and we were out riding in the buggy. It was the late summertime and we were going




*A cow sign by farmer/artist Ewald Klein adorns an outbuilding on the Kallenbach place in Barron County, Wisconsin.*
Photo by James P. Lear

> through the fields. And Ann said, "Nice country, isn't it?" She said, "Yes, but you can't see over the corn."

Ms. Foy missed the point. The corn *was* the country.

The Russells not only took pride in their crops, but they considered their ample farm a "showplace." The driveway and house were bordered with a stately pine windbreak. Flowers brightened the yard. The barns and outbuildings were painted vivid yellow and adorned with murals of livestock. Woodlot, pastures and fields were well-maintained and bountiful. The entire farmstead exemplified a balance between nature and culture. It presented the very image that aerial photographers capture nowadays and farmers frame on their fireplace mantles: a God's-eye view of the farm at harvest time.

This blissful image of the farm — drawn from life and emblematic of a way of life — has been replicated countless times, either entirely or in part, by countless farmers using assorted media. Some give their farms lyrical names and install portraits of fattened Herefords and full-uddered Holsteins on signs along the road. Some tell stories, write reminiscences or compose poems celebrating life. Others paint pictures of shared harvest chores, build models of equipment, sculpt domestic animals and fellow farmers, or stitch "story quilts."

Seasons turn and times change. The harvest — when it comes, if it comes — is too short. Drought, deluge, disease, insects, frost, fires threaten. Accidents occur. Always there are bills to pay, and income is never certain. More give up farming every year.

I was visiting Max Trzebiatowski that cornfield afternoon in Portage County. Born on a farm in 1902, he had farmed all his life, raised 11 children with his wife, Rose, and done well. He had also had brushes with death from a fall in a silo, a runaway team, a falling timber, an angry bull. But his most miserable experience was a brief stretch in the Great Depression when he sought cash to pay the mortgage by working in a Milwaukee brewery.

He told me a story about a young man who was forced to leave the farm.

> One time there was a family. They had a lot of boys. They didn't need them all. So in the spring of the year dad says, "Boys, some of youse'll have to go out and find yourselves a job. There isn't enough work for all of us." So one morning one of the boys took off. And he went looking for a job. And he went to the neighbor, if the neighbor needed a man for the summer? "No, no, we don't need a man for the summer." He'd go to the next place. It was the same way. "We don't need." He tried maybe a dozen places. And — no work. Then he — by that time he was just about in the village.

[Like the heroes of "old country" magic tales, the youngest son sets out to seek his fortune. But there is no beggar or helpful animal to give him aid, and there are no workers needed on the farms. Max took his tale to town.]

> So he went into the drug store to see if the druggist would hire him. Druggist was hard up for help; he needed a helper. But what did a farm boy know about a drug

store? Nothing. He didn't know what this is called, what this sells for. He didn't know nothing. But the druggist thought: I'll keep him here for a little while and see what he would make.

He had him there for two weeks and the boy was getting pretty good. He knew what this was being called, and what that sells for. And he thought he'd hire him. He asked the boy, "How much would you have to have if I hired you?"

Well, the boy hesitated. He thought if he was going to say too much, he wouldn't be hired. If he's going to say too little, he'll lose out. Oh he didn't say anything.

And the druggist says: "Well, how about a dollar an hour?"

And the boy hesitated for a while, and he says, "No, give me fifty cents."

Then that stunned the druggist. "Why, I wanted to give you a dollar, you just want fifty cents," he says, "Why?"

"Well," the boy says, "just in case you wouldn't pay me, I wouldn't lose so much."

The farmboy's response, foolish by urban standards, nonetheless reflects such rural virtues as economic conservatism and mistrust of commercial middlemen. While in-town wages may be fixed by contract, farmers' pay depends upon the nature of the harvest and a fluctuating market. He who borrows against expected revenue, who counts proverbial chickens before they hatch, may easily "lose out."

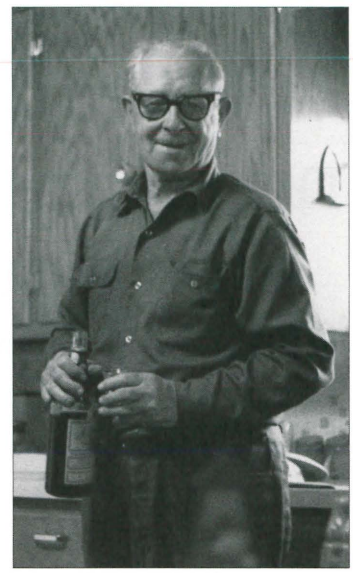
Family farmers as a whole have been losing out and leaving steadily throughout this century, a process revealed in recent jokes like the following:

What can a bird do that a farmer can't? —
Make a deposit on a tractor.

and

Did you hear about the farmer who was arrested for child abuse? —
He willed the farm to his son.

Coping with an altered rural community and an unstable economy also affects the expressive culture of those who continue. Modern farmers monitor the chemical composition of their soil, breed and feed their livestock in a way that maximizes production, and follow market trends on home computers. More than a few prefer terms like "milk producer" or "livestock manager" to "farmer." Some even speak of farms as "food factories." But as yet this is not the prevailing rhetoric of family farmers. To be sure, they are astute businessmen and women; yet they are part of a long tradition that is more a way of life than a way to make a living, and that has more to do with beasts and land than with products and cash. How future farmers will deal with the tug between agribusiness and agriculture may depend upon their image of just what a farm is. We'd better watch those bumper stickers.



*Max Trzebiatowski breaks out a social bottle of brandy while his wife, Rose, readies a lunch. Portage County, Wisconsin.* Photo by James P. Leary

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# Threshing Reunions and Threshing Talk: Recollection and Reflection in the Midwest

J. Sanford Rikoon

During summer and early fall in every midwestern state, public festivities celebrate agricultural technology and farm life from the first half of the 20th century. Variously called "farm machinery exhibits," "threshermen reunions," "steam and gas shows," "antique engine displays," and "old settlers' reunions," these typically weekend events are never quite identical, but almost all blend themes of community, historic farm technology, education, and celebration.

Threshing reunions (and celebrations with different names that center around threshing technologies) are perhaps the most alluring and popular of the gatherings. The oldest reunions started in the late 1940s and early 1950s as small informal meetings of rural male residents who liked to collect and tinker with "old" machinery. Most of these men were farmers or retired farmers, and their "old" machinery included the generations of threshing separators, steam engines, and tractors largely abandoned for pull-type combines and improved all-purpose tractors by 1950. People who had used the devices as part of their everyday operation now found themselves to possess "historical" artifacts and information about work processes increasingly unfamiliar to the owners' children and grandchildren.

Small local gatherings with periodic demonstrations have now grown into multi-activity events lasting up to five days and attracting thousands of visitors. Their complex planning and organizing have become formally attached to threshermen associations, engine clubs, Lions Clubs and other fraternal organizations, Chambers of Commerce, and County Fair Boards. Expansion and popularity, however, have generally not diluted original goals. A typical statement of the primary intentions of show organizers is the "Creed of the Midwest Old Settlers and Threshers Association," adopted soon after their initial show in 1950:

> Knowing from experience that each generation enjoys a clean, wholesome gathering of an educational and historic nature such as ours, the Association hopes to always keep gathering like this, where we can meet and harvest the golden memories of yesteryear and pause in our daily tasks each year to visit and relax, always with a thought in so doing, to improve the future harvests of good fellowship and good citizenship.

In contrast to most museum displays or antique shows, threshermen reunions stress working exhibitions. Visitors can often witness horse-sweeps, steam engines, and internal combustion engines powering grain separators of 1880-1940 vintage. Threshing typically occupies a place at the center of the grounds or in front of the grandstands. In addition, and depending on the number and interests of exhibitors, there may be demonstrations of hay baling, sawmilling and veneer-making, silo filling, corn shelling, and meal and grain grinding. As one Ohio show advertises, "The Steam Show offers the entire family an opportunity to see history in action. Hundreds of steam and gas engines, antique tractors and equipment in use, just as they were operated during 'the golden age of steam.'"

The celebratory and educational functions of these events is further emphasized in the marked absence of midways and carnival rides. "We provide a Festival Atmosphere, Not a Carnival" advertises the Miami Valley Steam Threshers Association in London, Ohio. As individual threshing reunions grow in popularity and size, organizers typically add activities they believe appropriate to a family-oriented event. Music performances tend to be popular country-and-western acts or old-time fiddle contests. Food is served by local organizations, and camping is generally offered on

the grounds. Some activities are not especially associated with agricultural tasks, but fit within the overall historic theme; these include antique shows, arts and craft displays, pioneer buildings and skills, horse and antique tractor pulls, steam railroads, calliopes, and hay and pony rides.

Expression of regional values and beliefs is an important part of these celebrations. Many shows include an invocation by a local religious leader, flag raising ceremonies with the singing of the national anthem, local beauty, baby, and other competitions, a parade through town, Sunday morning church services, and other activities that reflect what a central Illinois organizer calls "the homespun and wholesome values of the Heartland." While the Midwest is, and has likely always been, a region of often competing and conflicting voices, the threshing reunion is in many ways a public performance of a grassroots and dominant Heartland middle-class ethos.

One thread of this ethos is the public presentation of a regional and national patriotism perhaps made more siginificant in recent years by patterns of agricultural globalization and industrial concentration and a belief, shared by many midwesterners, that the rest of the country has lost touch with basic values and sentiments. The threshing reunion incorporates a great deal of red, white, and blue, both explicitly in public ceremony and implicitly in patterns of technological display and performance. Machinery on display carries names of now-disappeared, but once well-known regional midwestern implement manufacturers (e.g., Aultman-Taylor of Ohio and Gaar-Scott of Indiana) or of the present-day giants of American farm industries (e.g., Case and John Deere).

The heart of threshing reunions are, of course, the machines gathered together for public display, admiration and demonstration. And the keepers of the heart are the former threshermen, farmers, and machinery buffs who collect, restore and maintain the machinery. A highlight of most events is the machinery parade, often held each day around noon, but sometimes occurring two or three time a day. The cavalcades provide viewers with a procession of the tractors, steam engines, wagons and other implements of agriculture during the first half of the 20th century. Simultaneous commentary by announcers point out the year, model, and manufacturer of each machine as well as the name and hometown of the individual owners and restorers.

The centerpieces of threshing reunions are the steam engines that dominated midwestern threshing between 1885 and 1925. The romance of steam is compounded by the machines' status as the first major manifestation of America's industrial revolution to appear in many farming regions. Further, the threshermen who purchased, used and maintained these devices were role models for adults and children during the transition of farming from horse-power to horsepower. Threshing reunions thus expose a technological core of midwestern rural society through celebration of mechanical power, inventiveness and knowledge.



Displays of threshing machines and the engines used to run them represent more than a history of agricultural technology and mechanical inventiveness. For the midwesterners who used these devices, grain separators conjure memories of an annual rural social and economic institution — the threshing ring. Most rural neighborhoods developed cooperative groups called "rings" so that families could help one another with the labor and equipment needed to complete each member's threshing. This cooperation was necessary because machinery used to thresh before the adoption of pull-type combines was costly and

*This crew is ready to thresh on the P.C. Frok farm in central Iowa, 1900.* Photo courtesy State Historical Society of Iowa

was employed for only one to three days a year on most farms. Steam threshing equipment was hard to repair compared with other implements of the time, and it needed large crews of ten to twenty persons to bring the crop to the machine and handle the threshed grain and straw. The work generally took place in July and August, and a ring's "run" lasted between two and four weeks.

There were many variations in the way families formed and operated a ring. Some groups cooperatively purchased a set of machinery, but most contracted the services of an itinerant thresherman, who provided the equipment and the crew to run it and was paid by the bushel. Groups also differed in how they divided the work, figured each family's labor contribution, and equalized differences in acreage and labor contributions among farmer-members. The social life of cooperative labor was rich and usually included a dinner (at noon) provided by the host farmer's family and a post-harvest event, like a picnic or ice cream social, to mark a completed season.

At threshing reunions, one ever present, though not highly visible, activity is what might be called "threshing talk" by older rural residents who participated in the last phases of threshing rings. People may talk threshing when they meet to admire engines and separators and watch working demonstrations, when they eat together as families away from the heat and noise of the machinery, and in other informal contexts. The dialogue is certainly not always on threshing itself, although one usually hears all sorts of stories about threshing meals, job experiences, local threshermen, good and bad crops, practical jokes carried out by ring members, and accidents. A group of men and women with shared experience often exchange narratives (and often the same ones) year after year, and at reunions one can usually find a few people with reputations as threshing raconteurs.

Outsiders may view threshing talk as reminiscing. Such exchanges do provide older residents an oral history forum, a means of repainting some of the signposts that mark life experience. To families retired from active farming, threshing discussions may recall younger years, better health, and greater energy and activity. Today's discussions of threshing rings often become inventories of rural neighborhoods, as former neighbors try to recall the members of their rings and catch up on the news of area families. In this sense, the cooperative nature of threshing rings is a perfect vehicle for shared discussion of people, places and experiences. The flow of conversation is typically not chronological or bound by agricultural tasks or seasons; it is rather the associations of people and places — all perhaps bound together by shared participation in an occupational task — that provide the turns and cues for

*A farmer harvests soybeans using a modern combine in southwest Iowa.* Photo courtesy U.S. Department of Agriculture

continued discussion.

Threshing talk also frequently educates younger generations of rural residents, many of whom do not farm, about farming systems no longer practiced except among some Amish and Mennonite groups. Reunion visitors may see machinery and exhibitions, but the technology is, after all, inanimate and demonstrations are recreative in selective fashion. Embedded in threshing talk are descriptions of farm tasks, activities and cultural landscapes, as well as verbal expressions, which often seem foreign to the current farming generation. Oral and visual history lessons of neighborhood processes, machinery and occupational techniques provide the "rest of the story" for equipment displays through specific recollections of local and regional uses of technologies. They remind listeners of individual values, social goals, and a degree of local control in mechanically complex occupational contexts.

Threshing talk, however, is not simply didactic, for through them participants also engage in a debate over change and the impact of current agricultural structures on cherished cultural and social norms. Many farm residents do identify their occupation as "a way of life" or "expression of life." They recognize that the social life associated with a community's way of farming expresses and develops dominant rural norms. And, importantly, those men and women who have lived through the stepped-up phases of mechanical — and then chemical and now biogenetic — revolutions often feel a sense of decline in the quality of rural life. Quality in this sense is not solely measured by crop yields or numbers of conveniences or quantities of household goods, but rather is tied to the perpetuation of subjective social values and traditional cultural practices. Perceptions of a declining quality of life thus often portray a sense of loss or abandonment of cultural and social norms.

This perception is a complex idea that should not be confused with nostalgia or selective memory. The result of giving up important cultural traditions can be felt like the loss of a relative or friend; both may include emotions of denial, anger, or remorse. Years after their last bundles passed through grain separators, threshing ring members accept the past and the necessary cultural compromises they made to participate in

technological change. People who talk threshing do not associate the "good old days" of the threshing ring with easy work or high profits. Nor do former participants advocate returning to horse farming or to the technologies exhibited at these reunions. The modern, pull-type combine resolved many farm needs, and most farmers (and threshermen) welcome its speed and efficiency.

The change from threshing ring member to combine owner becomes more significant in the wider context of changes in rural life, from technological developments to school and church consolidations and the decline in the farm population. For many older midwesterners, the threshing ring is a reminder of a time when shared participation and local tradition were guideposts of social activity and expectations. In contrast, they perceive today's rural society as fragmented and impersonal, in part because technological evolutions have distanced families from the land, the lifestyle, and each other. Threshing attains special symbolic status in conceiving this duality, and contemporary discourse about cooperative work becomes a form of social criticism.

According to the many midwesterners' world view, the present rural crisis is older than the past decade. Events of the 1980s, however, demonstrated that the disruption of long-standing occupational patterns continues to have profound social and cultural impacts. Many midwesterners now feel that occupational "progress" is not synonymous with social progress. And a sustainable agriculture may not in itself stem the disintegration of many small midwestern communities. It is not simply that "neighbors don't get together like they used to," noted Dan Jones of Oak Hill, Ohio, but that "people don't have any idea anymore about traditions in their own places, they've lost so much."

To talk threshing, then, is to point to a perceived historical time and regional place when the work itself included opportunities to maintain desired cultural and social norms. Threshing, and the wider discussions of the period that naturally stem from the subject, declare that the agricultural "way of life" has at times supported people's basic social needs and desired cultural goals. Threshing ring participation satisfied the labor needs of a complex technology, but in a way that also fulfilled shared perceptions and values grounded in local traditions and expectations. Older rural residents who congregate at threshing reunions and talk threshing tend to view current agricultural structures and transformations in rural life as being directed by outside influences, corporate manipulations, and decisions made with little sensitivity to or understanding of traditional rural patterns. In contrast, threshing experiences suggest things familiar, comfortable and shared.

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# Forest, Field and Sea: Cultural Diversity in the Indonesian Archipelago

Richard Kennedy

On the Indonesian national emblem the 14th century Hindu-Javanese phrase, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, "Unity in Diversity," appears on a banner clutched in the talons of an eagle. The phrase honors these sometimes contradictory national goals, which seek to unify a complex nation and at the same time to respect the enormous cultural diversity of its 300 distinct ethnic groups living on more than 1,000 islands distributed across 3,000 miles of ocean. Indonesia is the fifth most populous country in the world with a population of over 180 million.

Unity is an old concept in Indonesia and the motto, "Unity in Diversity," was taken from texts written under much earlier rulers. In the 9th century and later in the 14th, royal kingdoms secured varying degrees of political control over many of the western islands. And even before this dominion was achieved, established commercial routes linked the peoples of Borneo and the Moluccas with Java, China and India.

Today, examples of successful programs of national unification are evident throughout the archipelago. A vast majority of the people now speak Bahasa Indonesia, the lingua franca of the nation, and schools, newspapers and TV are found in even the most remote corners of the country. As a result, however, some of the diverse cultural traditions of Indonesia have a fragile existence.

Modern mass communication and extensive air travel have greatly increased the islands' internal unity and external participation in international trade, information exchange and politics. In fact, the classic Indonesian description of their country, *tanah air kita,* "our land and sea," perhaps now should be reformulated. This phrase, used to underscore the major role that water and the seas have played in traditional Indonesian life, has lost some of its authority in the face of the overwhelming influence of air waves, airplanes and air mail. However, if the skies have helped to unite the country, its distinctive lands and waters still encourage its diversity.

Examples of cultural adaptations by people from three Indonesian provinces to vastly different environments can provide an introduction to Indonesia's great diversity — Kenyah and Modang people living in the lowland and upland forests of East Kalimantan, Bugis and Makassarese maritime people living in coastal South Sulawesi, and rural Javanese and Madurese agriculturalists living in coastal and inland East Java. These communities also display some of the indigenous skills and traditional knowledge that have developed in environments outside the urban centers and fertile river valleys of the Indonesian heartland.

## Forest: Upriver People of East Kalimantan

Indonesia has one of the largest areas of tropical rainforest in the world. From Sumatra to Kalimantan to Irian Jaya the dense, biologically diverse environment of the rainforest contains one of the most varied populations of flora species in the world. In one small five-acre area in Kalimantan, the Indonesian area of Borneo, for example, 250 species of lowland trees have recently been identified. People who live in the Indonesian rainforests have a complex, systematic understanding of this rich environment.

The human population of Indonesia's rainforests represents some of the archipelago's earliest inhabitants. Descendants of the earliest Austronesian peoples who arrived from the Asian mainland tens of thousands of years ago still live in the upland forests of Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. Many of these people moved inland

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*Field: Terraced fields such as these are found throughout Sumatra, Java and Bali. Elaborate irrigation systems were introduced into Java over 1,000 years ago enabling the island to support large populations.* Photo by Hermine Dreyfuss

*Forest: (above) Dayak farmers clear and burn plots in the forest to plant swidden fields for dry (unirrigated) rice cultivation. Farmers plant these fields for several seasons and then move to a nearby plot. The swidden fields are usually left fallow for several years until they are fertile enough to be planted again.* Photo by Cynthia Mackie

*Sea: (right) This Mandar fisherman works on a* rampong *platform off the coast of South Sulawesi. Fishermen sail to these platforms in the evening and sleep there to start work the next morning. This platform floats in 6,000 foot waters.* Photo by Charles Zerner


after the subsequent migrations of other Austronesian people from China and Southeast Asia, Hindus from the Indian subcontinent and Muslim traders from the Middle East. These relative newcomers settled in the coastal regions of the islands and established extensive trade networks. They maintained commercial contact with other Indonesian islands, India and China for over 1,500 years. The earlier settlers retreated inland to the forests where they continued many of their beliefs and social practices well into the 20th century. Resisting both Hindu and Muslim conversion, many were later converted to Christianity by missionaries.

Kalimantan has the largest population of descendants of these early Indonesian settlers. This island and especially its upland peoples have been a target of adventurous fantasy in the Western world in the 19th and 20th centuries. Often characterized as isolated, remote and even foreboding, Kalimantan is, in fact, a complex society of settled traders and farmers, with remnants of a royal courtly life as well as numerous semi-nomadic tribes.

Dayaks, the inland people of Kalimantan, have been relatively isolated from most of the major currents of regional history and the societies of coastal peoples. Furthermore, as semi-nomads the Dayak tribes have for centuries remained separated from each other by language and local tradition. In fact, the term "Dayak" is used, sometimes pejoratively, by coastal people to refer to all upriver people and has limited currency. Reference to individual ethnic groups such as Kenyah, Modang and Iban is more appropriate, but Dayak is the only common term for the groups as a whole.

Most aspects of Dayak social life are closely associated with the forest. Previously, these upriver people were primarily hunters and swidden agriculturalists (preparing fields by clearing and burning) who established only temporary villages. This nomadic lifestyle is changing rapidly. A vast majority of Dayak people are now settled farmers, and some have migrated to cities for work with logging and oil interests that have boomed in the past decade. However, even today, when more and more communities have established permanent homes in villages, their culture remains rooted in the forest environment.

Many Dayaks maintain a sharply honed knowledge of the fragile forest environment. Although they are dwindling in number, some remember nomadic life and carry with them a sophisticated knowledge of the flora and fauna in the vast tracts of uninhabited forest land through which they used to travel and hunt. The forest provided them with edible and medicinal plants as well as potent poisons for their arrows.

Even within settled communities Dayaks re-

*Schooners from throughout Indonesia line up at Sunda Kelapa, the port for Jakarta. Some of these ships, especially the mighty* pinissi, *are still being built by South Sulawesi boatbuilders for trade throughout the archipelago.*
Photo by Owen Franken

main minimally dependent on outside resources. Rice, pigs and chickens are raised locally; and timber for individual dwellings or longhouses, rattan and other fibers for weaving, bamboo for containers and — in the recent past — bark for cloth and feathers for decoration have usually been available near the village.

The Dayak economy, however, has always required some contact with coastal and maritime people. Mainstays of the inland tribal culture such as salt, pottery containers and decorative beads were traded with Muslim and Chinese merchants for rattan, birds' nests and medicinal supplies. These commercial contacts have widened in the past decades, and national education and medical systems have reduced some of the isolation.

### Field: Rural Tradition in East Java

> *Religion comes from the sea,* adat *(custom) comes from the hills.*

The coastal regions (*pasisir*) of the major Indonesian islands have historically been the meeting ground for indigenous and migrant peoples. Here traders and conquerors from China, India, Europe and Arab lands arrived and established local centers of activity and power. Some of these immigrants brought sophisticated methods of irrigation and elaborate systems of dams and water catchments with which they annually produced two and three crops of rice in the rich volcanic earth of Sumatra, Java and Bali. These yields provided resources to support an increasing population and a succession of powerful empires.

In the 10th century the eastern part of Java was settled by Hindus. One center of state power in Java remained in the eastern part of the island for the next 500 years, but it moved to central Java during the rise of Islam in the 15th century and continued there under the subsequent colonial rule of the Dutch. Since 1500, East Java — especially outside the northern port cities — has been less influenced by outside forces and the rise of the Islamic states to the west such as Surakarta, Jogyakarta and Cirebon. East Java is "deep Java," or quintessential Java, inheritor of some of the island's oldest traditions.

Not all of the land on Java has benefitted from the elaborate irrigation systems built over the past 1,000 years in the fertile river valleys of the island. On much of the land, subsistence crops have provided little surplus income for farmers. On these lands outside the fertile river valleys, life has been less affected by the social, economic and cultural changes brought by empire, commercial trade and outside cultural values. In these marginal lands local custom is strong, even though Islam is the faith of 90% of all Indonesians. Pre-Islamic traditions, Hindu and pre-Hindu, remain powerful.

Many older traditions can still be found in communities throughout East Java and rural Madura. For example, women in the village of Kerek still weave their own cloth, which they dye with natural colors. Worn as sarongs, these everyday cloths are sturdy enough for work in the fields. And across the strait in Sumanep on

*Lumber provides income for workers in some upriver villages as well as in sawmills in larger cities of East Kalimantan. But the rapid rate of deforestation of the land is altering the fragile ecology of the region and destroying hundreds of plant species that have potential benefit to mankind.* Photo by Owen Franken

Madura Island, Indian epic tales are still performed by the local *topeng* (mask) dance troupes. Kerek batik artists experiment with new dyes and storytellers in Sumanep include tales of contemporary life in their repertoire, yet at the same time, both retain traditions that embody local values and tastes.

### Sea: Coastal People of South Sulawesi

*The sea unites and the land divides.*

Maritime people from China, Southeast Asia and India settled Indonesia in waves. Many brought navigational skills and knowledge, with which they maintained commercial and social relationships with mainland Asia. Their skills not only tied island with island and the archipelago with the mainland but also enabled further exploration of Melanesia and Polynesia. Navigators who sailed from Indonesia settled most of the islands in the Pacific more than 3,000 years ago.

The navigators and boatbuilders of South Sulawesi still maintain some of these skills. Bugis, Makassarese and Mandar peoples of the Province of South Sulawesi continue to draw their income from the sea as fishermen, navigators and merchants. For nearly 300 years Bugis and Makassarese controlled much of the trade in Sulawesi and established commercial and even political power in ports throughout the archipelago and on the mainland of Southeast Asia. During most of the Dutch colonial presence in the country, the Bugis ruled a vast commercial and political empire from their capital at Bone, and the profits of this maritime trade supported an elaborate court life. At one time, the royal rulers of the East Kalimantan kingdom of Kutei were merchant Bugis. In fact, coastal (*pasisir*) peoples throughout the archipelago often have closer social ties with one another than they have with neighboring lowland farmers or upland tribal groups.

The tie between Kalimantan and Sulawesi continues into the 20th century as Sulawesi merchants and sailors maintain the trade in lumber, spices and grains. Twentieth century technology, however, has radically changed the boats which ply the sea routes between Indonesian islands. Motors have now supplanted sails, while compasses and electronic monitoring have replaced navigation by seasonal winds, wave patterns and stars. Nevertheless, the mighty 200-ton *pinissi* sailing ship or the delicate *sandeq* outrigger can

still occasionally be seen in harbors throughout the archipelago, and the courtly dances of the royal cities of Gowa and Bone are still performed in a few villages of South Sulawesi. Like a Kenyah farmer's intimate knowledge of East Kalimantan's rainforest or the tales of valor told by a Javanese storyteller, the Bugis' deep understanding of Indonesian seas is an important link to the country's past and may provide critical cultural knowledge for its future identity.

Encouraging the diverse cultural traditions of peoples of the forests, fields and seas of Indonesia is an important component of Indonesian national unity. This diversity is a source of strength and stability.

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# Longhouses of East Kalimantan

Timothy C. Jessup

Longhouses are large dwellings built by the Kenyah, Bahau, Modang, Lun Dayeh, and other peoples of the interior highlands of East Kalimantan and surrounding areas in central Borneo. Building a longhouse requires great expenditures of labor and materials as well as considerable skill in wood-working and engineering. Formerly found widely throughout East Kalimantan, longhouses are now built only in a few remote parts of the province; and only in the isolated Apo Kayan plateau are they still the predominant form of dwelling. (Longhouses of a modern type described below are still common in the Malaysian state of Sarawak in northwestern Borneo.)

A longhouse (Kenyah *umaq*)[1] is actually a row of contiguous family sections, each consisting of an enclosed apartment on one side of the house and an open veranda on the other. Both are covered by one roof, with a dividing wall between apartment and veranda under a ridge-pole. Extending outward from the front and rear of some sections are uncovered platforms used for drying rice, and some apartments have enclosed extensions at the rear to provide more interior space. Inside are sleeping compartments and places for cooking and eating, for storing household goods, and for various intimate social activities.

The veranda sections joined end-to-end create a continuous gallery along the whole length of the house. The veranda is a place for all manner of work and play and for meetings, rituals, and storytelling. It is also sometimes a sleeping place for visitors and bachelors and always for the ubiquitous hunting dogs.

House sections are owned by the households or families living in them, although traditionally a local aristocrat or chief occupying the central section has certain rights that resemble "ownership" of the house as a whole. Houses are therefore sometimes referred to as "the house of so-and-so," the aristocrat. For example, *Umaq Pelenjau* means "Grandfather Lenjau's House" (*lenjau* —"tiger," an aristocratic symbol and name). The central apartment of the aristocratic family is larger than its neighbors, and its roof is higher. Its exterior may be decorated with murals, wooden statuary, or roof ornaments.

Each house is also given the name of a nearby geographical feature, such as *Umaq Mudung*, "Hill House," or *Umaq Laran*, "House of the Laran Tree" (*Dipterocarpus oblongifolius*). Many communities occupy, or at one time occupied, a single longhouse, and perhaps for this reason the word *umaq* (or *uma*) can refer not only to a particular house but also to an ethnic community. This association with ethnic identity points to the material and symbolic importance of longhouses in the lives of central Borneo people.

Longhouses in the 19th century ranged up to about 400 meters (1,300 feet) in length, with as many as 120 apartments housing some 500 to 600 inhabitants. The width of a house was 8 to 18 meters (25 to 60 feet), and the height of the floor, raised above the ground on great hardwood piles, was generally 1 to 6 meters (3 to 20 feet). Some houses were raised even higher — as much as 12 meters (40 feet) — for defensive purposes, while others were built on fortified hilltops. The roof rose another 8 meters (25 feet) or so above the floor and was supported on a massive frame of columns and beams. The hewn planks of the floor were up to 12 meters (40 feet) long and a meter wide.

Longhouses today are smaller than they were in the last century. Communities themselves are smaller, in large part because many have emigrated to the lowlands where economic opportunities are greater, and because large populations

[1] The terminology used in this article is in the Kenyah language unless indicated otherwise; most longhouse dwellers in East Kalimantan today are Kenyah. A terminal "q" indicates a glottal stop, rather like a "k" in the back of the throat. The Kayan word for house is *uma*, without a glottal stop.

*The most distinctive feature of a traditional Dayak village is the longhouse. This communal longhouse in the north-central highlands of Kalimantan accommodates more than a dozen families. Each family lives in an individual apartment* (lamin) *with a kitchen extension off the back of the building.*
Photo by Mady Villard, courtesy of Bernard Sellato

are no longer required for defensive purposes. Similarly, massive fortified houses are no longer needed, as they once were, to protect against marauding enemies. Changes in religion and social organization, which formerly bound people more closely to "house-owning" aristocrats, have also contributed to a reduction in the size of houses.

### House Construction

Houses are periodically built or rebuilt, usually when a village group migrates. During the 19th century, many Kayan and Kenyah communities moved as often as once a decade, although some remained in one spot for much longer. Since the 1930s, with the cessation of tribal warfare and increased government control over population movements, migration has become less frequent, and so houses are rebuilt less often.

Pioneer migrants moving to previously uninhabited areas, sometimes far from their former villages, must build completely new houses. However, when houses are rebuilt on their earlier sites, or close to them, or on the sites of previous longhouses, some parts of the old houses can often be used again. If necessary, the old parts can be transported overland or by river. Even heavy beams and columns can be lashed to canoes and floated downriver to be erected again at a new site.

Each family is responsible for preparing its own section of a longhouse, and all must contribute to the chief's central section. These preparations include selecting the various kinds of timber and other materials needed, felling and dressing the timber, and transporting the finished pieces to the house site. All this can take several years, as the work is done intermittently between agricultural seasons and may be delayed by various distractions, misfortunes, or bad omens.

The major structural elements of a longhouse are the roof-columns, beams and floorboards. For its various components, builders select different species of timber trees, palms (such as the mountain sago palms, *Eugeissona* species, whose leaves are sometimes used as roofing material), and rattan (used to fasten the other parts). Borneo ironwood (*Eusideroxylon zwagerii*) is prized where durability is important, as in shingles and piles, while lighter wood with a clear, straight grain (such as that of *Shorea* species and other dipterocarps or the coniferous *Podocarpus* and

*The covered veranda of this Iban longhouse shows the gallery where daily activities and periodic ceremonies take place. Women weave and prepare food while children play nearby. Individual family apartments open onto this communal space.* Photo from Dorothy Pelzer Collection, courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

*Agathis* species) is preferred for making floorboards. Tropical oaks (*Lithocarpus* and *Quercus* species) are used to make shingles wherever ironwood is not available, as in the Apo Kayan. Altogether a great many species are used for building materials. A large amount of timber is required to build and maintain a house, and principally for this reason, villages are located wherever possible near stands of old-growth forest. Residents protect these forest reserves from overexploitation or agricultural clearing.

Once all the parts of the house have been prepared and assembled at the building site, the actual erection of the structure is remarkably swift. The columns and beams are raised into position by teams of men, then fastened with mortised joints and rattan lashings or, in some newer houses, with nails. After the framework of the house is in place, each family, working on its own section, lays down the floorboards and fastens the lighter wallboards and shingles in place.

Until fairly recently, when saws began to be used, the wooden parts of a longhouse were worked entirely with a few simple tools, particularly axes and adzes. Kayan and Kenyah smiths forged these tools from locally obtained ores until around the turn of the century, when trade steel came into wide use. Axes and adzes are still used in house construction, but other tools such as planes, handsaws, and even power saws have been added.

### Architectural Variation

Longhouses differ in construction technique, materials and architectural style. Sometimes these differences can be attributed to the ethnic identity of their builders, but more often they occur as a consequence of local conditions, such as variations in terrain, the abundance or scarcity of different kinds of building materials and (in the past) vulnerability to or security from attack.

In 1900 for example, the Dutch explorer, A. W. Nieuwenhuis, observed differences between longhouses on the upper Mahakam River and those in the Apo Kayan. Apo Kayan houses were built much closer to the ground: their remote location and their inhabitants' reputation as fierce warriors made them relatively safe from attack. Other architectural differences reflected the availability of building materials. Here is Nieuwenhuis' description of the Kenyah village of Tanah Putih in the Apo Kayan:

> All ten longhouses in the village were built in the usual Bahau [or Kayan] style, . . . but they stood on posts only one to two meters high and were made from different materials. The reason was that the dense population had exhausted the high forest in the surrounding area, and the quantity of timber necessary for the construction of such a large village could be obtained only from a great distance. Most of the people therefore had recourse to bamboo for constructing floors, and to large tree-leaves arranged in the form of mats for making walls and roofs. Only the houses of the heads [i.e., aristocrats] were built completely of wood. (Nieuwenhuis 1904-07, v. 2:368-369; my translation, assisted by Berthold Seibert)

Similar variations in the availability and use of materials can still be seen among the various Kenyah communities in the Apo Kayan.

A major innovation in longhouse construction appeared in Sarawak in the 1970s and spread to East Kalimantan in the 1980s. The new building technique uses relatively light-weight, sawn wooden members in place of heavy, hand-hewn timbers. (It is thus similar to the transition from framing with heavy timber to the use of the light "balloon frame" in the United States during the 19th century). This change was made possible by the introduction of power saws, which let builders cut wood into smaller, more easily transported pieces in far less time than was spent preparing timber by hand. The new houses also incorporate other modifications in design such as increased ventilation and semi-detached kitchens (to protect against the spread of fire). These changes were initially made at the behest of government officials but have since gained popularity.

## Conclusion

A Dayak longhouse shelters a whole community within a single structure. They are built with locally available materials by skilled craftsmen, who adapt form and construction techniques to the Kalimantan environment and to changing historical conditions. This adaptability can be seen in the architectural variety of houses, past and present, and in the structural innovations of recent years.

Nevertheless, it is sad (especially to one of Romantic temperament) to see the disappearance of the last old houses, with their massive hand-hewn timbers, their quaintly crooked lines, and their dark and homely smoke-filled interiors. Even more distressing is the complete abandonment of longhouses that has occurred, often through force of social pressures, in many parts of Kalimantan. In this light, the continuing innovation in longhouse construction should be welcomed as a way of combining economic development (which the people universally want) with cultural continuity and the spirit of community.

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# Environmental Knowledge and Biological Diversity in East Kalimantan

Herwasono Soedjito

Longhouses, the characteristic dwelling of many Dayak groups, require a great many plant species for building materials. To sustain their supply of materials, Dayaks have always protected their forests. Today we recognize the need for more forest cover for the earth, which may die without it. Indeed, the need for forests and, more importantly, for biological diversity is now becoming obvious. This diversity is important for people as well as nature. In the past, when Dayaks could still practice their traditional way of life, they helped maintain biological diversity.

Dayaks live interdependently and harmoniously with tropical rainforests. But we, who arrogantly call ourselves *modern* people from developing or already developed countries, have little regard for or appreciation of these traditional people. We harvest tropical wood only for our own economic benefit and thereby push the Dayaks to abandon their culture. They often cannot practice their culture because of modernization and because there is no forest left.

Fortunately, on this rare occasion organized by the Smithsonian Institution and Festival of Indonesia 1990-1991 Committee, we will be able to communicate directly with some of the Dayaks from East Kalimantan. From this communication, there is a chance for mutual understanding and a hope for mutual appreciation. Dayaks will present aspects of their valuable culture that still have relevance and importance for contemporary life. In this short essay I will use ethnobotany — the study of native peoples' systematic knowledge of the plant world — to illustrate how building longhouses, producing food, curing the sick, and making the tools of everyday life embody Dayak skills for exploiting and conserving the resources of their environment. There is considerable variation in architectural styles and building skills, as Tim Jessup discusses elsewhere in this collection; but Dayaks' skill and knowledge of selecting building materials from natural resources is uniformly exceptional.

## Botany of Longhouses

As noted, a great many plant species are used for building a longhouse. For example, in the construction of one longhouse in the Apo Kayan plateau of East Kalimantan, 48 different plant species have been identified. These building materials — plants of varying ages, wild and cultivated, from recently tilled and fallow fields — are collected from the surrounding environment, a living mosaic composed of rainforest, fields and village. To make various parts of a house, villagers select species of plants ranging from herbs, vines, rattan, palms and shrubs to big trees.

Strong hardwood, prized for its durability, is used for making piles and shingles. The best wood for these purposes is Borneo ironwood (*Eusideroxylon zwageri*), which is locally called *ulin*. Sixteen species of large trees have been identified that are used for the piles alone.[1] And some tree species are used for making shingles alone.[2] Not all parts of a tree can be made into shingles, only those with straight fibers that allow the wood to be split in thin sections. Not all longhouse roofs are made of shingles. Some villages use leaves of the trees *Eugeissona utilis* and

[1] Among these are *Aglaia ganggo, Dipterocarpus kunstlerri, Dipterocarpus spp., Elaeocarpus spp., Eugenia spp., Hopea dryobalanoides, Ochanostachys amentacea, Ochrosia spp., Podocarpus neriifolius, Shorea spp., Tristania whitianum,* and *Vatica cupularis.*

[2] Among these are *Castanopsis spp., Ficus concosiata, Lansium domesticum, Lithocarpus spp., Quercus argentata,* and *Shores spp.*

*Kenyah women pound bark to extract dye for decorating woven baskets.* Photo by Cynthia Mackie

*Phacelophrynium maximum* for their roofs.

Lighter wood with a clear and straight grain is preferred for making floorboards.[3] A good floor also should be properly resonant, for it is usually used as a musical instrument played to accompany dances, especially the *datan julut* dance. In their performances, dancers stamp on the floor creating loud and beautiful sounds. A longhouse floor capable of producing the most beautiful sounds is usually preferred for important ceremonies. The same tree species used for the floors is also used for making planks that separate longhouse apartments, or *lamin*.

The beams of the middle *lamin* that belongs to the "owner" of the house are usually longer and thicker than others. But the tree species is no different. The main criteria for selecting beams are straightness and length.[4] Rafters are made of timbers from the same species used for beams, but the most preferred is *Eugenia polyantha*.

Roof laths, which support the shingles, are made of the long, straight but small stems (approximately 4 cm in diameter) of a variety of species. There is apparently no preference as to the species used. Villagers usually collect the sapling stage of main canopy species (the tallest rainforest trees) or understory species (less tall). What they look for is straightness and durability.

Rattan rather than nails is used to fasten parts of the building together. A large number of rattan strips are used to fasten shingles to the roof laths. There are dozens of rattan species used to lash joints.[5] Do you know that rattan is in the same family with the coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*), and that a single stem of one kind of rattan (*Calamus caesius*) can reach more than 100 meters long? People should learn more about the rich diversity of species in tropical rainforests.

### Food Plants

The Dayak farmers carefully maintain a diversity of species in their fields as well as in their gardens close to home. Traditional tropical agriculturalists diversify their production to make their food supply as secure as possible. In one village of Long Sungai Barang, for example, farmers use at least 150 species of food plants, including 67 wild species. In their home gardens alone, there were 91 species that belong to 70 genera and 38 families. All of the specimens have been identified, recorded and preserved in the Herbarium Bogoriense, in the city of Bogor, West Java. Surprisingly, for one species of rice (*Oriza sativa*) alone, villagers have more than 25 local varieties, which are specialized for certain soil conditions such as wet soil, flat land, dry soil in slopes, black soil, etc.

Genetic diversity is very important for future agricultural development. Many breeders stress that we need more gene pools available because continuous cropping of rice can lead to serious problems like pest epidemics. This problem in food supply may come soon because, as Hargrove, et al. (1988) found, a large number of improved rice varieties carry similar cytoplasm. If we are not careful to preserve the germplasm resources that are still in the hands of traditional farmers, we may not be able to rebuild high yield crops, should disease or other forms of pestilence strike.

The Dayak environment might have wild species of crops that will be important in the future. For example, the shoot of the *Diplazium esculentum* fern (of the family *Polypodiaceae*) is now

[3] Among these are *Agathis borneensis, Cinnamomum sp., Lithocarpus spp., Persea rimosa, Podocarpus imbricatus, Podocarpus neriifolius, Polyosma intergrifolia, Schima walichii,* and *Shorea spp.*

[4] The species used for beams include *Dysoxylum hexandrum, Elaeocarpus glaber, Elteriospermum tapos, Eugenia sp., Ochanostachys amantacea, Ochrosia sp., Persea rimosa,* and *Scorodocarpus borneensis.*

[5] Some of them are *Calamus spp., Ceratorobus concolor* and *Karthalsia echinometra.*

harvested from a wild habitat but in the future may produce a vegetable as valuable as asparagus. And *Setaria palmifolia*, a species of grass (*Poaceae*), yields a bigger edible shoot in formerly cultivated fields than in wild habitats. Its evolution might be unintentionally affected by human agriculture. As Jackson (1980) notes, the ancestors of our current crops may well have been "camp followers," colonizers of the disturbed ground around human habitation. Varieties of habitat and successive forest stages — not just jungles or primary forests — yield valuable species for agriculture as well as for medicine and crafts. This shows the importance of cultural practices of Dayaks and other forest dwellers to the evolution and maintenance of biological diversity.

*These Aoheng women who live several days upriver from the coastal city of Samarinda, East Kalimantan, are reviving the art of weaving local fibers of pineapple and orchid. Abandoned after World War II this weaving tradition was revived in the early 1980s to produce materials for sale to outside markets.* Photo by Bernard Sellato

### Medicinal Plants

Traditional medicine derived from plants still plays an important role in curing diseases and wounds. In Long Sungai Barang village, 37 species, 33 genera and 26 families of plants that have medicinal value have been recorded.[6] These species grow in a variety of habitats: in the home garden, in the fields, in very young secondary forests in primary forests and on riverbanks. At present, many institutes and universities are hunting medicinal plants in tropical forests throughout the world that might contain a curing material for cancer and AIDS.

### Plants for Crafts

Almost all utensils and handicrafts used by Dayaks are made from material available in the area. There have been at least 96 species identified that belong to 74 genera and 40 families. This is a very great biological diversity. They use almost all the parts of the plants: stems, leaves, bark, sap, fruit, branches, twigs and seeds. These species are also found in an array of habitats — home gardens, fields, secondary and primary forests. Habitat diversity is very important in sustaining a supply of materials for the Dayaks' handicrafts, some of which attain high artistic value.

### Biosphere Reserve

To conclude this short article, it is obvious that the biological and ecological diversity in Dayak villages, especially in the Apo Kayan, is very high. This area embraces a great many species

[6] Species that were considered especially powerful were *Callicarpa longifolia f. subglabrata, Cassia alata, Fagraea racemosa, Kadsura scandens* and *Lindera polyantha*.

useful for food, medicines, crafts, building construction and aesthetic uses. It is impossible to separate this useful diversity from the fact that Apo Kayan farmers practice shifting cultivation, carefully exploit the mountainous forest environment, and have cultures that enable them to live harmoniously with nature. Accordingly, it is essential to save this area from destructive economic development. This does not mean that local people should live unchanged or that farmers should be prevented from improving the quality of their lives. The welfare of indigenous peoples, their role in the environment, and natural conservation are combined in a new approach to conservation known as the "biosphere reserve."

The biosphere reserve concept is more realistic than earlier approaches that exclude humans, since it includes local populations as key contributors to and beneficiaries of the environmental process (Tangley 1988). Jackson (1980), for example, states that the most efficient storage of genetic variations is in the living plants, while seed storage in a laboratory is expensive and has difficult requirements. Therefore, many more species sanctuaries must be established throughout the world (Hill 1983). Indeed, it is time to recognize traditional farmers' active role in genetic resource conservation (Altieri, et al. 1987). Furthermore, when not disturbed by economic or political forces, farmers' modes of production generally preserve rather than destroy natural resources.

Finally, the most appropriate way to develop the Apo Kayan might be through the establishment of a biosphere reserve to conserve examples of the world's characteristic ecosystems, "landscapes for learning" about both natural and locally managed ecosystems. The Apo Kayan already achieves one of the goals of a biosphere reserve, which is to provide models for sustainable resource use. The Kayan needs the legitimate status of biosphere reserve in order to protect the area from destructive powers before the beauty and value of its ecological diversity are gone.

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# Craft and Performance in Rural East Java

Dede Oetomo

The rich earth of the volcanic islands of Java and Madura has nurtured its people for millennia: Sundanese in western Java, Javanese in central and eastern Java, and Madurese on Madura Island and the northeastern coastal areas of Java. Agriculture directly supports nearly three-quarters of the more than 32 million inhabitants of East Java, a province that consists of the eastern third of Java, all of Madura and a few smaller islands. The vast majority of these rural villagers are landless farm workers or peasants with little land. They mostly cultivate rice but also grow cash crops including tobacco, cotton, sugarcane, nuts and various fruits.

For the last 300 years, the peoples of East Java have generally contrasted their way of life with that of the Javanese of Central Java, whose societies have been dominated by the kingdoms of Mataram. The influence of this imperial past can be seen in the distinctions Indonesians frequently draw between a courtly, refined style marked by politeness and indirection (*halus*) and a rural, earthy style marked by quick speech and frankness (*kasar*). The people living in and around the valleys of the great East Java rivers, the Branta and the Solo, in the so-called *Mancanegari,* or "outer realm," of the central kingdom, are said to be more like the Central Javanese in their refined style of speech and behavior. On the other hand, those living in the arid limestone regions of the north coast, in the capital city of Surabaya, on the island of Madura, and in the eastern region of Java are said to talk faster and more frankly.


The people of East Java have developed a great variety of art forms. With no royal courts in the Province after the fall of Mojopahit Dynasty in the 16th century, the majority of the arts remained those of the common people (*wong cilik*). In the towns and cities, the elite (*priyayi*) continue to be connoisseurs of the high arts of the neighboring courts, such as shadow puppet (*wayang*) plays and their derivatives. These forms are also enjoyed by common people but mostly by those living in what was the "outer realm" of the Central Javanese courts.

Performers from four artistic traditions have come from East Java to the Festival of American Folklife this year. The traditions represented are: peasant batik from Tuban on the north coast, which uses hand-woven cotton; masked dance-drama (*topeng dhlang*) of Madura, which is based on stories from the Indian epics, *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana; gandrung* social dance of Banyuwangi; and the music and dance performance known as *reyog* from the region of Ponorogo on the western side of the Province. To illustrate the relationship between rural life and art forms, two of these, the batik of Kerek and *reyog* of Ponorogo, both symbols of the continuity of the Province's rural heritage, are examined below.

### The Peasant Batik of Kerek

To the north of the limestone hills in northeastern Java lie dozens of arid and rather bleak rural districts. Kerek, a subdistrict 30 km northwest of the coastal town of Tuban, is typical of the region except for the type of batik produced in several local villages.

Approaching Kerek by way of the paved road leading into the district, one notices homespun

*At a weekly market, women in Tuban Regency of East Java inspect cotton for batik. Although some of the women wear machine-made sarongs they all use a* selendang *(shawl worn over the shoulder) of local handmade batik material to carry their purchases.* Photo by Rens Heringa

batik sarongs worn by women working in the fields or walking along the road carrying woven bamboo baskets supported by an equally coarse batik *selendang* (a shawl-like sling worn over one shoulder). Perhaps nowhere else in Indonesia can one find this kind of batik, dyed on homespun fabric with bold, brightly-colored free-hand birds, flowers and other more abstract designs. Batik crafted elsewhere in Java is worked on fine, factory-produced cotton or even synthetic material and tends to use more muted colors.

Remarkably, some women of a single household, as in the past, still grow the cotton, spin it into yarn, weave yarn into cloth, make dyes from plants, and design and dye the cloth into batik. Natural dyes such as indigo for blue and *soga*, another vegetable dye for brown, remain the primary colors used in the process. They work on each piece collectively, in between planting, harvesting and other tasks of subsistence farming, the major source of livelihood in the community. Today the batik is still valued for being sturdy enough to wear in the fields, and some prized pieces are handed down as cherished heirlooms.

In the past, a piece of batik was never sold as a commodity; it was worn by a woman of the household in which it was made. This has been gradually changing over the past five or six decades. Today people often take new or used batiks to sell on market days at the marketplace in Kerek. Local people have become aware of the value outsiders place on the material.

Batik making has recently become part of a rural development scheme. For the past decade the Ministry of Industries office in Tuban, pursuing a policy of promoting local small-scale industries within a framework of economic development, has tried to assist women of Kerek in transforming batik crafting into a truly income-generating industry. Officials in the Ministry would like the Tuban region to become known for a unique craft. The new uses created for Kerek's batik include tablecloths, pillowcases, modern dresses, skirts, vests, coats and even blazers.

One labor-saving idea that has been introduced into Kerek's batik industry is the use of the commercial dye naphthol. Though some traditionalists, both in Kerek and in the outside world, still prefer natural dyes, which they believe last much longer, most batik craftswomen now prefer to buy batik dyes rather than make natural dyes themselves. These new batik dyes include non-traditional colors such as yellow, green and purple. The availability of these dyes has changed the batik tradition of Kerek, but even some younger women who enjoy experimenting with these new colors continue to use the natural dyes side by side with commercial colors.

### Reyog Ponorogo

The Regency of Ponorogo is located in the Madiun river valley near the border of Central Java. It has been known for hundreds of years for

*Above: Young men from the village near Salatiga in Central Java perform a hobby-horse dance with a lion figure similar to the* reyog *tradition in East Java.*
Photo by Rachel Cooper


*Right: The figure of the* reyog *passes through the town of Ponorogo in East Java. The procession, which includes musicians, acrobats and clowns, re-enacts a battle between the tiger and the forces of a king.*
Photo by Sal Murgiyanto

its men (and women) of prowess, the *warok.* In this region, some of which was part of the "outer realm" of the kingdom of Mataram but was often difficult to rule, *warok* have until very recently been economically, politically and magically powerful local personages surrounded by bands of youths in a patron-client relationship. *Warok* and their followers, *warokan* and *gemblok,* perform *reyog* — a public dance drama — as a display of their power.

In any group of *reyog* performers, the *warok* and *warokan* can easily be identified as the older, more mature and fierce looking men dressed in black, loose-fitting three-quarter length trousers and collarless shirts. They wear a belt of twisted cotton yarn and coarse leather slippers. A number of them play musical instruments associated with the *reyog* performance: shawm (*slompret*), metal kettles (*kenong*), suspended gongs (*kempul*), small drum (*tipung*), very large drum (*kendhang* Ponorogo) and several three-tube bamboo *angklung*. One or two *warok* or *warokan* carry the heavy tiger/lion mask and headdress that is the centerpiece of the *reyog* pageant and is decorated with hundreds of peacock feathers. Other *warok* and *warokan* take different roles in the play — clowns, nobles, etc.

The *gemblak,* junior members of the troupe

who enter into patron-client relationships with particular *warok* and *warokan,* perform the hobby-horse (*jaran kepang* or *jathilan*) dance. They are dressed in a more refined way, in imitation of the courtly dress of Central Javanese performers in *wayang* or *kethopak* plays. In the past these hobby-horse performers were often trance dancers. Nowadays the dancers sometimes cross-dress and — especially in the big cities outside Ponorogo where *reyog* troupes have also formed themselves — they may even be young girls who are not *gemblak.* In these big-city troupes men dress in the traditional black attire, but they do not seem to practice the traditional *warok/ warokan* lifestyle, a change lamented by purists in Ponorogo.

In his quest for power, a person becomes a *warok* by following its traditional lifestyle, refraining from heterosexual relationships. In most cases this is a man who has accumulated wealth in agricultural land and livestock and feels ready to become a patron of less wealthy members of his village and surrounding communities. A few cases of female *warok* have been recorded, though these do not seem to exist today.

*Warok* arrange patron-client relationships with youths, the *gemblak* of the troupe. The rights and duties of this alliance, like those of a marriage, include economic and sexual aspects. The *warok* employs a matchmaker to reach an agreement with the parents of a particular youth. *Warok* provide the parents with cows, water buffaloes, or the use of a plot of land. A *warok's* power is proportional to the number of *gemblak* he can keep. When a youth comes of age, his *warok*-patron must arrange and pay for his marriage. A few *gemblak* do become *warok,* but this is rare.

In addition to independently wealthy *warok,* there have also been bands of unmarried young men who search for power, either in the service of a *warok* or not. These men are the *warokan* and normally share resources to keep a *gemblak* communally.

A *reyog* troupe did not originally perform for money or on a special occasion. Performances were primarily spectacular displays of prowess to villagers. Performances nowadays, especially in urban areas, are focused on the acrobatics of lifting the heavy tiger/lion and peacock feather headdress and on the antics of the clowns. Some of these performances are done for a fee.

*Reyog* performances may last several hours and are usually performed during the day. They typically involve elaborate costumes, music and a lengthy procession of dancers and actors. There never seems to have been a set number of episodes in a *reyog* performance. Particular episodes in the performance are drawn from the following story. King Klanasewandana of Bantarangin traveled to the town of Kedhiri to ask for the princess in marriage. He was accompanied by 144 knights under the command of Bujangganong. In the jungle, the tiger Rajawana (the king of the woods) tried to devour the horses. Bujangganong fought the tiger but could not defeat him. The king asked help from the hermit Kyai Gunaresa. After the hermit rendered the tiger harmless, the king gave a feast that was graced by gamelan music and dancing, including a dance by a woman named Wayang Jopre and the clown Patrajaya. A contemporary performance of *reyog* retells this story in the earthy style of rural East Java and provides the viewer with a glance into a world of heroes, supernatural powers and trance.

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# Boatbuilding Myth and Ritual in South Sulawesi

Mukhlis and Darmawan M. Rahman

For many centuries before European colonial powers came to Indonesia, trade was carried on throughout the archipelago. Makassarese and Buginese islanders traveled by sea throughout Southeast Asia and even to China. Only after the Portuguese and Dutch arrived in the late 16th century was the sea trade lost to European fleets, which forced local cultures to submit to the monopoly of the Dutch East India Company. Local boatbuilding traditions adapted to the arrival of Europeans, and they have continued to evolve to this day. For centuries now, particular ethnic groups have been building boats of many sizes and sailing them in inter-island and intercontinental trade.

C. C. Macknight (1979) writes that there are four principal boatbuilding traditions in Indonesia. The first is found among coastal peoples living in Sumatra and on the west and south coasts of the Malay peninsula. A second boatbuilding tradition is found in the port towns and fishing villages of the north coast of Central Java, in the port of Gresik in East Java and on the island of Madura. The third and fourth traditions are found in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago: the South Sulawesi tradition and the tradition of boatbuilding found in Moluccas, Aru islands, and southern Philippines. In this article we examine the South Sulawesi tradition of boatbuilding.

South Sulawesi boatbuilding is still connected in the minds of many people to the following myth of origin called Sawerigading. It is told in the Buginese legend of I Lagaligo that one day Sawerigading, a prince of Luwu, a kingdom in South Sulawesi, fell in love with a beautiful girl, We Tenri Abeng. The two lovers were to be married, but the young girl learned that she was really Sawerigading's twin sister. Seeking a way out, We Tenri Abeng suggested that her twin look for another girl who resembled her — We Cudai, a princess of a neighboring kingdom to the southwest.

We Tenri Abeng had given a very difficult task to Sawerigading, because it would take a large boat and a long time to sail to We Cudai's kingdom. We Tenri Abeng showed Sawerigading a big tree called Walenrang growing in the forest. A boat for the journey could be made from this tree. Sawerigading resolved to follow his twin's suggestion. But although he tried for days to cut down the Walenrang tree he was not successful. In despair Sawerigading went to his grandfather, La Toge Langi Batara Guru, who lived in heaven. He told him what had happened. After hearing the story, La Toge Langi Batara Guru told Sawerigading to return to the world and to wait by the sea.

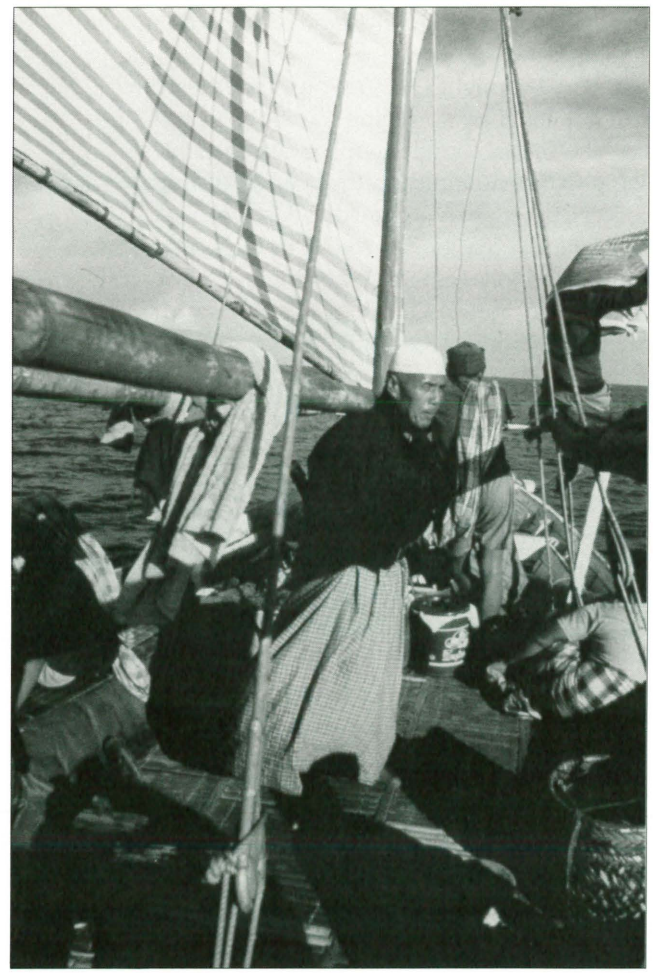
La Toge Langi Batara Guru used his supernatural power to fell the Walenrang tree. It disappeared into the earth and reappeared suddenly on the shore, in the form of a large boat. Sawerigading named his new boat "La Walenrang." Before sailing across the ocean to find his bride, he swore an oath that after he married We Cudai, he would never return to Luwu.

Soon after Sawerigading arrived at his destination, he found his princess, We Cudai, married her and settled in her kingdom.

One day he felt homesick, so he gathered his wife and followers together and sailed his boat back across the sea to his home kingdom of Luwu, thus breaking the oath he had sworn. Before he could arrive, a fierce storm smashed his boat "La Walenrang" to pieces. All its passengers were drowned. The waves beached the keel of his boat on one of the islands to the south, the mast in a different coastal village, the shattered pieces of deck nearby, and the hull on a shore in the same region.

The people who lived nearby collected all the sea-strewn pieces of the boat. Thus it was that from the wreck of Sawerigading's boat "La Walenrang," the ancestors of the Buginese people learned to build large boats, which they have been building for generations ever since.

*Above: Sulawesi boatbuilders are renown throughout Indonesia. This boatbuilder near Majene, South Sulawesi, works with simple tools. The dowels are made of ironwood and the caulk of crushed coral and oil. The large ship he is building will carry cattle and passengers between Kalimantan (Borneo) and Sulawesi.* Photo by Charles Zerner



*Right: Sulawesi navigators have directed their boats through the seas of Indonesia for centuries. Pua' Haji Saniaya, a Mandar captain and navigator, sails to fishing waters offshore from his home in Majene, South Sulawesi.* Photo by Charles Zerner

This myth tells the origin of boatbuilding in South Sulawesi. A typical *prau* (sailboat) from this region has curving stem posts and a broad hull. The mast is a tripod, easily lowered by releasing the front legs so the other two legs can pivot on pins that provide the main footing. The sail is rectangular and slung at an angle.

The initial steps in building a boat are marked by ceremonial and ritual activities. The tree used for a boat must be of a specific type. When cut down, it must topple in the direction decided by a *panrita* (boatbuilding master). If the tree falls otherwise, it should be abandoned. Before starting to saw up the tree, people gather at the boatyard for a ritual. On what will be the rear section of the keel they put traditional Buginese cakes including *onde-onde* (marble-shaped cake with palm sugar filler), *songkolo* (sticky rice), *cucur* (disc-shaped, wrinkle fried brown sugar and sticky rice flour cake), *baje* (steamed sticky rice with palm sugar) and bananas. The keel is then sawn to length with a tool that has been given supernatural power by the master craftsman. It must be cut through without stopping by one man alone.

The night before the boat is launched, another public ceremony takes place. People gather at the boatyard throughout the evening. They are served the traditional Buginese cakes. Everyone who attends this ceremony also comes the following day to help the launch, which is led by a *punggawa* (a traditional respected leader in boatbuilding). The *punggawa* starts the work by drilling into the middle of the keel for about one centimeter. The dust from the drill is then given to the owner of the boat, publically declaring his identity, which was kept secret until this moment. Then, the *punggawa* mounts the front deck and gives the command to launch the boat. A song in the local dialect is sung that encourages and gives spirit to the people pushing the boat into the water.

Myths and ritual in boatbuilding in South Sulawesi still exist in the knowledge and practice of traditional experts, even though their traditional ways face challenges from ever-increasing modern technology.

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# Knowledge and Power: Land in Native American Cultures

Olivia Cadaval

The encounter between the peoples of eastern and western hemispheres that began nearly 500 years ago has had a dramatic effect on the way land and natural resources in the Americas are thought about and used. Exploration and colonization led to land use practices foreign to those developed by indigenous societies and compatible with the existing ecosystem. Almost 500 years ago, newcomers failed to learn from those who understood their home environment. The European campaign of "discovery" and conquest made this exchange impossible. Native populations of the Americas continue to pass on their systematic knowledge about their environment, but usually only within their own communities. This year's commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the year *before* Columbus' voyage has been undertaken in the belief that it is possible for our present society to learn and profit from indigenous knowledge about the land of the Americas. Conserving the earth in the present, as in the past, is as much about indigenous knowledge and society as it is about ecology and economics.

Since 1492, Native American lands and ways of life have been under siege. Native populations were enslaved, exploited and nearly exterminated, systematically driven off their lands, isolated in ecologically marginal reservations and largely disallowed social existence in the contemporary world except as subjects of ethnographic studies. The colonial despoilment of lands and resources, the cultural domination and distortion of native societies, the extinction of entire populations and the conversion of people into second-class citizens was a prelude to the current onslaught of modern economic expansionism.

Today, Native Americans continue to be exploited and their lands continue to be expropriated while their cultural values and symbolic universes are denigrated and denied.

At the core of most Native American cultures are concepts of land, which shape all facets of political, social, economic and symbolic life. To Europeans, the 15th century conquest of the Americas simply provided land to be exploited for the enrichment of European royal states. In contrast, Native American cultures have generally perceived land as part of their cultural environment as well as the source of nourishment and shelter. Land sustains Native American communities. At the 1990 Continental Conference, "500 Years of Indian Resistance," held in Quito, Ecuador, participants formally declared: "We do not consider ourselves owners of the land. It is our mother, not a piece of merchandise. It is an integral part of our life. It is our past, present and future."

The intruders' strategies to control Native Americans and their lands obscured the diversity of indigenous cultures; they defined European life as the only ethical model and classified all Native Americans simply as "savages," who had no valid culture of their own and who needed to be "civilized." The newcomers' lack of respect for the land was matched by the lack of respect they showed native cultures. Diversity was excluded, and Native Americans were categorically called "Indians" ignoring the distinct cultures, histories, languages and ecological circumstances

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that have shaped Native American experience.

The first Europeans to come here encountered a world populated by many ancient and complex societies. The chronicler Bernal Díaz del Castillo writes of Tenochtitlan (the Aztec urban complex that has become Mexico City),

> When we saw all those cities and villages built in the water, and other great towns on dry land, and that straight and level causeway leading to Mexico, we were astounded. These great towns and cues and buildings rising from the water, all made of stone, seemed like an enchanted vision from the tale of Amadis. It was all so wonderful that I do not know how to describe this first glimpse of things never heard, seen or dreamed of before. (Díaz del Castillo 1963)

The Aztec city of Tenochtitlan had a population larger than any city in Europe at the time.


The conquest succeeded in undermining political organization but not in eradicating cultural pluralism. Distinct, unique cultures continue to define the Native American landscape, in spite of profound transformations caused by particular histories of colonization, imposed patterns of settlement, missionary intrusions, and the more recent immigrations and forms of exploitation.

Native horticulture has depended upon crop variety and genetic diversity for maintaining successful food production in different environments. At the base of both Native American culture and horticulture is the concept of living in harmony with the diversity of the natural world. The Mexican anthropologist Arturo Warman uses the analogy of corn, which is native to the Americas. "Maize is our kin," he writes. Like Native American culture, he continues,

> maize was not a natural miracle; maize was a human creation made possible through human intervention. Maize was the collective invention of millions of people over several millennia on this continent. So we have maize as a cultural product. But maize is also diversity and diversity means knowledge and experimentation. Diversity was the way to live near the natural environment and not to fight with it. . . . (Warman 1991)

Contemporary Native Americans do not claim to have retained without change the cultures that existed prior to the European conquest. Much has perished, much has been destroyed and all has changed. In many cases, native communities have been able to absorb and restructure foreign elements to respond to new situations. The Mayan anthropologist, Jacinto Arias explains, "In our stories we tell ourselves our way of being did not die; nor will it ever die, because we have special virtues that compel us to defend ourselves from any threat of destruction." These moral virtues combined with thousands of years' knowledge of the land, cultural pride and struggle for self-deter-

*Textile traditions combine creativity and continuity. Weavers are inspired by dreams, legends, memories and other textiles. Today in many communities, textile revivals have brought about a growing sense of cultural pride and self-worth. A group of Tzotzil Maya weavers from San Andrés Larrainzar study the patterns and brocading technique used in a ceremonial* huipil, *or tunic.* Photo by Ricardo Martínez

mination have forged cultures of resistance.

Oriented both by the Smithsonian's overall concern for the conservation of cultures and by global attention focused on the meaning of the Quincentenary, this program will be an opportunity to hear the voices of members of Native American societies that have persevered for 500 years and have maintained an ancient care for the earth and the continuity of their own cultures.

This program samples the cultural and ecological diversity of Native American societies. The groups selected have for centuries continuously inhabited the regions presented. It is worthy of note that the continuity of their land tenure has depended in a large part on the marginality of the land they inhabit. The Amazonian rainforest, called by the Shuar "the lungs of the world," are almost impenetrable and until recently were ignored by the outside world. The Andean highlands are harsh and inhospitable, as is the arid desert of the Hopi in Arizona. The steep and eroded Mexican mountains of Chiapas and Oaxaca are a challenge even to native agriculturalists. The sandy dune country of the Ikoods is blighted alternately by drought or flood. Although rich in resources, the coastal rainforest of southeastern Alaska is almost inaccessible from the interior because of mountains. Communication even between communities is difficult due to the impenetrable rainforest and has been limited to boats and more recently airplanes, weather permitting.

The program will present Native American knowledge about land as it informs sacred and secular practices, which are often inseparably intertwined. The natural and spiritual relationships between humans and land are central to the world order of many Native Americans. As Chief Robbie Dick of the Cree Indians in Great Whale, Quebec, succinctly states, "It's very hard to explain to white people what we mean by 'Land is part of our life.' We're like rocks and trees." In Hopi tradition, physical and cultural survival derive from the unity of land and corn. Emory Sekaquaptewa explains how the "Hopi language and culture are intimately intertwined, binding corn, people and the land together." (Sekaquaptewa 1986)

The program is about land, ecosystems and cultural knowledge that have sustained Native American cultures before Columbus and in the present. Each culture represented has a vision of the cosmos and the world as a system of dynamic and interconnected processes. Research for the program examined how domestic, economic and ceremonial processes are connected through material and expressive culture to form a social fabric of productivity and meaning. Agricultural and ritual cycles often coincide in Native American cultures and echo seasonal rhythms of the land.

Participants of the Quincentenary program come from 15 cultural groups in six different ecological areas, including northern and tropical rainforests, Andean highlands, Arizona desert, and Sierra Madre mountains and coastal dunes of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Mexico.

The Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian participants come from the Southeast Alaskan rainforest. They represent distinct but related cultures that form part of a broader cultural region extending from Alaska to Washington State commonly known as the Northwest Coast. The Canelos Quichua, Shuar and Achuar participants come from the rainforest region of eastern Ecuador, which forms part of the northwestern region of the Amazon river basin. Canelos Quichua have settlements in this area among the foothills of the Andes, while Shuar live in the region's swampy lowlands, which extend beyond the Ecuadorian borders into Peru. The Achuar are the Shuar's neighbors to the east. The Lacandón participant comes from the rapidly disappearing rainforest region of eastern Chiapas in Mexico. Although different in history, social organization and cultural patterns, these northern and tropical rainforest societies often parallel one another in their management of resources and understanding of the land.

The Andes mountains rise above much of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. They form high plateaus where the climate is cool even at the equator, which passes through the highlands of Ecuador and Colombia. This region has altitudes ranging from 6,600 to 14,600 feet and an impressive diversity of terrains, microclimates and distinct cultural groups that live here.

Andean participants in our Festival come from three different cultural and ecological areas. The Aymara-speaking participants come from communities in the high pampas of Tiwanaku, which slope gradually into Lake Titikaka in Bolivia. Members of these communities are currently engaged in the Wila-Jawira Project to recover the ancient raised-field or *suka kollus,* farming technology of the pre-Inca Tiwanaku society. The Jalq'a participants, who are also from Bolivia but speak Quechua, live in communities in a remote, rugged mountainous area south of Tiwanaku. Jalq'a cultural identity emerged among groups relocated by the Inca empire to be frontier outposts; links with their original communities were later completely severed by Spanish settlers. The third group of participants are Quechua-speaking Taquileños, who live on the island of Taquile in the Peruvian part of Lake Titikaka.

*Subsistence for the Lacandón in the Chiapas rainforest depends on a diversity of crops and the rotation of garden plots, supplemented by resources from forest and river. Vicente K'in Paniagua helps clear the growth on an abandoned plot to prepare a new* milpa, *or garden.*
Photo by Ricardo Martínez

Hopi participants come from the high, arid desert of Arizona. Here the land has been eroded into buttes and mesas cut by deep canyons. Rivers flow only during snow melt or after a rainstorm, and streams flow underground. As in the Andean highlands, people can live in this dry region only with sophisticated agricultural techniques.

Participants from the multiethnic highlands of Chiapas in Mexico come from the Tzotzil-speaking community of San Pedro Chenalho and the Tzeltal-speaking community of Tenejapa. Communities in this Mayan cultural region renown for its textiles distinguished themselves from one another by characteristic styles of dress. Weaving and natural dyeing traditions in the area are currently being revitalized by state and private self-help projects.

Like Chiapas, the state of Oaxaca in Mexico is also multiethnic. Zapotec participants come from the farming communities of Zoogocho and Tenejapa in the northeastern mountainous region of the state. They differ in culture and dialect

from the Zapotec communities to the west and south. Ikood participants come from the fishing community of San Mateo del Mar in the dunes on the Pacific coast of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Although remaining culturally and linguistically distinct from nearby societies, they have long engaged in commercial trade with the dominant Zapotecs, who inhabit the surrounding area, and in bartering relationships with the Chontal, who live just north of them along the coast.

Participants will demonstrate subsistence activities and craft skills, present parts of ritual performances and narrate oral histories. These cultural elements have been passed from generation to generation and speak eloquently of the connections Native Americans have constructed between land and society. Discussion sessions will focus on some of the major issues which confront Native American cultures today. These include: natural resource management, traditional technology, maintenance and destruction of ecological equilibrium and questions of monocultivation, property titles, national parks, transnational corporations, military zones, economic development models, agrarian reform laws, foreign debt, political repression, self determination, cultural identity, intrusion of religious sects, fragmentation of lands and human rights.

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# Conocimiento y Poder: La Tierra en las Culturas Indígenas

Olivia Cadaval
*traducido por Alicia Partnoy*

El encuentro entre los pueblos de los hemisferios occidental y oriental iniciado hace casi 500 años ha tenido un efecto dramático sobre la forma en que la tierra y los recursos naturales en las Américas son concebidos y usados. La exploración y la colonización propició prácticas ajenas en el uso de la tierra a las desarrolladas por las culturas indígenas e incompatibles con el ecosistema existente. Los recién llegados, hace casi 500 años, no supieron aprender de los que conocían su ambiente. La campaña de "descubrimiento" y conquista hizo imposible este intercambio. Las poblaciones nativas de las Américas conservan y utilizan su conocimiento sistemático del ambiente aunque sólo dentro de sus comunidades. La conmemoración del aniversario de los 500 años del año *antes* del viaje de Colón ha sido concebida en la creencia de que es posible para nuestra sociedad aprender y beneficiar del conocimiento indígena en cuanto al uso de la tierra en las Américas. La preservación de la tierra en la actualidad, así como en el pasado, debe basarse tanto en el conocimiento de los indígenas y de la sociedad como en el manejo de la ecología y de la economía.

La mayoría de las culturas indígenas considera como conceptos clave aquellos relativos a la tierra, los que dan forma a todas las facetas de su vida política, social, económica y simbólica. Para los europeos la conquista del siglo XV fue simplemente un hallazgo de tierras para la explotación en pro del enriquecimiento de sus monarquías. En contraste, las culturas indígenas han concebido generalmente a la tierra de manera mas compleja, atribuyéndole tanto valores culturales como económicos.

Los conquistadores consiguieron corroer la organización política de los indígenas, pero no lograron erradicar el pluralismo cultural. El paisaje indígena está marcado por la presencia de culturas diferenciadas y singulares.

El programa de este festival se basa en la preocupación del Smithsonian por la conservación de las culturas y por la significación del quinto centenario. En este marco se podrán escuchar las voces de los miembros de diversas sociedades indígenas que durante 500 años han perseverado en conservar la tierra de sus ancestros y en proteger la continuidad de sus propias culturas. Los participantes provienen de catorce grupos culturalmente diferentes. Las seis zonas ecológicas de origen son el bosque húmedo, la selva tropical, el altiplano, el desierto, la montaña y los médanos costeros. Se incluyen representantes tlingit, haida y tsimshian, del sudeste de Alaska; canelos quichua, shuar y achuar del oriente de Ecuador; indígenas de habla aymara de Tiwanaku; jalq'a de Bolivia y taquileños de la zona peruana del lago Titikaka; los hopi de Arizona en los Estados Unidos; de México, lacandones del oriente de Chiapas, la comunidad de habla tzótzil de San Pedro Chenalhó y la de habla tzeltal de Tenejapa, zapotecas de Zoogocho y Tenejapa, y los ikood del istmo de Tehuantepec.

El programa es sobre la tierra, sus ecosistemas y los conocimientos culturales que han mantenido a las culturas indígenas desde antes de la llegada de Colón hasta nuestros días. Cada cultura representada tiene una visión del cosmos y del mundo como un sistema de procesos dinámicos e interrelacionados. La investigación para este programa consistió en el estudio de los procesos domésticos, económicos y ceremoniales en su relación cultural. La producción y los ciclos rituales coinciden en las culturas indígenas y hacen eco a los ritmos de las estaciones. Los participantes presentarán al público diversas actividades de subsistencia y artesanales, y elementos de sus ceremonias rituales. Además, narrarán historias que han sido transmitidas de generación en generación y que explican elocuentemente la relación entre su tierra y su cultura. Las sesiones de

*Muchos indígenas americanos adoptaron el calendario católico de fiestas para celebrar valores y creencias indígenas. Frecuentemente las celebraciones empiezan y terminan en el atrio de la iglesia. Músicos ikood encabezan una procesión durante la fiesta de la Candelaria en San Mateo del Mar.* Foto de Saul Millán

*Vicente K'in Paniagua talla diferentes puntas de flecha; las puntas varían según el tipo del animal cazado.* Foto de Ricardo Martínez

discusión se centrarán en algunos de los temas principales que actualmente preocupan a los indígenas americanos. Estos temas incluyen el uso de recursos naturales, la tecnología tradicional, la destrucción del equilibrio ecológico, los problemas del monocultivo, los títulos de propiedad, los parques nacionales, les corporaciones transnacionales, las zonas militares, los modelos económicos de desarrollo, las leyes de reforma agraria, la deuda externa, la represión política, la autodeterminación, la identidad cultural, la intromisión de sectas religiosas, la parcelación de tierras y los derechos humanos.

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# We Live in the Amazon Rainforest, the Lungs of the World

## Miguel Puwainchir

We live in the Amazon rainforest, the lungs of the world. We have our our own culture, which is threatened by the aftermath of the Spanish conquest and by western culture. We struggle to restore, to revalidate, the sense of our own worth.

For us, culture is language, and land is our existence. When the land is destroyed, we cease being Shuar and Achuar. We declare our presence and strengthen our alliances with non-natives to continue to survive on this planet.

For us there are three earth spaces: underground, where a Shuar group lives; where we live; and above, where yet another Shuar group lives. We have learned this from our ancestors. Therefore, we defend the underground and the above, the air space, because our family dwells there.

We value the land because it sustains us. We want the land because we want to live on it, not commercialize it. We want it to cultivate and to give it its worth, not a price. We have no other space where we can go. People cannot understand because they think of land as a commercial enterprise, something to divide and sell. We perceive land as a collective entity. We may be the only native group in the world which is all related. I have family wherever I go. We have organized a federation. Land must be global because we are all one family.

From the time of our ancestors, our warrior parents, the Shuar woman has been a major source of strength and support. She implored the gods to protect the warrior; she encouraged the warrior to go to the waterfalls in search of the *arutam* spirits to gain his valor. We want our sisters to remain in their communities to cultivate their lands and raise their animals. Women will be able to have their savings and get credit from the federation. We will fight for real change in our community and the equality between men and women.

Our time is ours, and we depend on no one. We educate our children in our own land, in our community, and prepare them in order that they will always return. That is preparing the future. Other places have witnessed the flight of native professionals. It is a luxury to be in New York, Frankfurt or Paris. But it is a greater luxury to be a professional who defends the rights of your people, defends your own existence. That is why we return and we will continue returning to our communities.

The Shuar Federation is a regional organization and co-founder of the national organization of indigenous organizations. Within three years, we hope to solve the problems with land litigation. We need to expand our programs. But now there is confusion and we need time. Governments do not provide much support to native communities.

We need to defend the people that live in the rainforest, people who are not graduates of the university, but who have maintained the Amazons for thousands and thousands of years. We must defend people, and not the animals or the trees or the underground resources. People know and understand the beauty and richness of the Amazons. They know how to survive in the rainforest. We need to provide them with technical and financial assistance and strengthen programs to prevent their death.

We ask the government: what will you do about the pollution of our rivers, about the destruction of our forests? The reforestation program is ambiguous, political. We need more than rice, some clothes and corregated roofs. We need training for our people, strengthening of our programs in aviation, education, topography, civil registry, health and all the programs organized by the Shuar Federation. We need to defend our position and continue fighting.

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*Miguel Puwainchirs is President of the Shuar and Achuar Federation, a local organization of indigenous peoples located in the rainforest of eastern Ecuador.*

# Vivimos en la Amazonía, El Pulmón del Mundo

Miguel Puwainchir

Somos un pueblo como cualquier otro pueblo del mundo con la diferencia de que vivimos en la amazonía, en el pulmón del mundo. Cada pueblo tiene su propia cultura y lo que hoy tratamos es revalorizar esa cultura por que ya se está perdiéndose. Perdiéndose por que hubo influencia de la conquista española y por que la cultura occidental y la cultura shuar se tergiversaron, y confundieron todo nuestro sentimiento cultural.

Para nosotros la cultura es el idioma y la tierra en nuestra misma existencia. Tenemos que hacer nuestra presencia como seres que todavía estamos en el planeta y dar un mensaje de solidaridad, de unidad hacia quienes no son indígenas para fortalecer lazos de amistad, para que este pueblo siga sobreviviendo en este planeta.

Para nosotros hay tres espacios de tierra. Hay un espacio subsuelo en que vive un grupo shuar, éste en el que estamos ahora, y que es nuestra tierra donde están ubicados los shuar, y arriba hay otro espacio en donde vive otro grupo shuar. Esto fue una enseñanza desde hace muchos años. Creemos en eso y por eso que defendemos el subsuelo por que allí vive nuestra familia. Lo mismo defendemos el espacio aire por que sabemos que allá vive nuestra familia.

El shuar enseñó las técnicas y tácticas de defensa a la guerra. Por ejemplo los compañeros shuar que viven arriba, ellos tenían miedo a esas hormigas *añangos* por que eran asesinas pero un shuar viajó de aquí y les enseñó, de que eso nosotros aquí los shuar comemos *añangos* y les enseñaron a como cazar *añangos* y así abajo en el subsuelo. Hay una mujer, una diosa, que se llama *tsunki*, la diosa del agua. Le enseñó al hombre a vivir bajo el agua, y hay vida bajo esta tierra.

Para nosotros la tierra es el elemento vital de la existencia del pueblo shuar y achuar. Eso es nuestra vida. En el momento de que se acaba la tierra ya no somos shuar, ya no somos achuar. Por eso que nosotros luchamos. No por tener una finca, lo cual es muy contrario a lo que piensen los no shuar. Nosotros queremos tierra por que queremos vivirla y no comercializarla. Queremos tierra por que queremos producir a esta tierra, y dar valor a esta tierra, no precio, por que nosotros no tenemos otro espacio donde ir. Otra gente dirá que nosotros muertos iremos al cielo, pero nosotros tenemos la esperanza de que el shuar nunca muere. Eso ustedes lo podrán averiguar, que el shuar no muere y si muere es por que alguien lo ha matado. Por eso es que nosotros estamos luchando por la supervivencia, y eso nadie nos va a entender por que piensan que la tierra para mucha gente no shuar hay que comercializar; hay que individualizar y entregar retazos de tierra a personas; mientras que nosotros buscamos la colectividad de las tierras. Nuestra característica fundamental creo es que somos los únicos indígenas en el mundo de que todos tenemos el mismo parentesco familiar, no nos diferenciamos. Yo tengo familias, en cualquier lugar que esté, eso es la gran ventaja que tenemos, es por eso que nosotros buscamos y nos hemos organizado en una sola federación. Las tierras globales tienen que ser globales por que es de una familia.

Nosotros hemos pensado que nuestros antepasados, nuestros padres guerreros, hacían guerra pero con el apoyo fundamental de la mujer. Si la mujer *ujaj* no imploraba a los espíritus, esto podía hacer morir al guerrero. Si la mujer no le ayudaba, o no le animaba para que se fuera a las cascadas, en busca del *arutam,* que es el dios para nosotros, entonces el nunca podía ser valiente. Es decir la mujer shuar es la parte fundamental de la existencia del hombre y del pueblo Shuar.

Queremos que todas estas hermanas nuestras queden en su propia tierra, en sus comunidades y que la organización como tal les apoye a ellas, y que sus recursos económicos que ellas generan se vaya ya ahorrándose en cooperativas de

ahorro y crédito que la Federación Shuar ya va a hacer funcionar. Nosotros tenemos fé, en el cambio, un cambio económico social y político, entonces ya no va a haber ese shuar humillado. Hay que darle importancia a la mujer que va a tener su dinero, por la cría de chanchos, pollos, cuyes, maní, poroto, y otros. Vamos a luchar por que se dé un verdadero cambio en nuestro pueblo; y una igualdad entre la mujer y el hombre shuar-achuar.

Esta es nuestra tierra, no tenemos otra. Nosotros somos visitantes cuando andamos en otros lugares, hemos tenido oportunidades y nos han ofrecido que podamos trabajar en las ciudades pero hemos dicho no. Podemos ganar fuera desde mil a dos mil dólares mensuales, pero gasto todo eso viviendo en una sociedad de consumo. Pero en nuestra tierra, hay todo. Aquí yo puedo vivir. Puede haber inflaciones, puede haber crisis económicas al nivel del mundo, pero no así en mi tierra. Por que de nuestros ríos podemos sacar peces, de la montaña puedo obtener animales, y de la tierra podemos cultivar lo que nosotros queremos. Aquí es un paraíso. En el campo podemos trabajar las horas que uno desea, no dependemos de nadie, y podemos producir lo que nosotros queremos, y comercializar nuestros productos, no dependemos de nadie. Educamos nuestros hijos en la propia tierra, en la propia comunidad y los preparamos para que después, ellos regresen a la comunidad y vivan o sea, eso es preparar el futuro. En otros lados ha habido la fuga de muchos profesionales indígenas. Es un lujo y un privilegio para esa gente de estar en Nueva York, Frankfurt, o en París. Pero mejor lujo es cuando, si es profesional, defender los derechos de su pueblo, defender la existencia de sí mismo. Es por eso es que nosotros regresamos y vamos a seguir volviendo a nuestras comunidades.

La Federación Shuar ha dado origen a la formación y organización regional, y hemos sido los cofundadores de la organización nacional de organizaciones indígenas en Ecuador. Esperamos en tres años solucionar los problemas de lideraciones de tierras. Tendremos programas que se van ir ampliando pero habrá dificultades de otra naturaleza, ya no serán de tipo político. Es un proceso que tiene que darse con el tiempo, pues es un cambio. Por que ahorita hay una confusión total con lo cual hay la influencia de todos los sectores. Por eso es que en estos momentos no hay gran apoyo de parte del gobierno hacia las comunidades indígenas.

Lo mas importante es que se debe defender al hombre que vive en la selva, no al animal ni al

*Los shuar del bosque húmedo ecuatoriano usan leyendas mitológicas para enseñar a los jóvenes sobre su cultura y su tierra. Los shuar tienen relaciones especiales con diferentes animales. Dicen haber domesticado al oso que se volvió en su protector. Este dibujo, que forma parte de una serie de dibujos didácticos del Centro de Capacitación en Sucúa, representa a un oso protegiendo a un shuar del ataque de un tigre.* Foto de Pilar Larriamendi Moscoso

árbol, pero a esos recursos que viven bajo tierra, si no a ese hombre, a ese hombre que no se gradúa en la universidad, a ese hombre shuar o achuar que es el que vive la selva, que mantuvo durante miles y miles de años esa amazonía, a él tienen que defender, a él tienen que decir hay que darle asistencia técnica y financiera para que los programas de salud vayan fortaleciéndose, y que ese shuar, ese hombre amazónico no se muera, él sabe, él conoce la belleza y la riqueza de la amazonía. El sabe como curarse con la selva, él sabe como alimentarse de la selva, él sabe como vivir en la selva y como mantener esa selva. Es por eso que estamos preocupados y le hemos dicho al gobierno — ¿que va hacer usted con la contaminación de nuestros rios? — no hablen de agua potable, por que no hay ni agua aquí. Hablen que van a hacer cuando destruyan nuestras selvas. La reforestación es un programa

ambiguo y político nada mas. No nos hablen que no nos van a comprar con arroz o con ropita o con planchas de zinc. Nosotros no necesitamos eso, necesitamos un algo mas allá. Hay que capacitar a nuestra gente, hay que fortalecer los programas que dirige la Federación Shuar como la aviación, la educación, la topografía, el registro civil, la salud y todos los demás programas que esta dirigiendo la Federación Shuar.

Les hemos dicho que nosotros somos ecuatorianos, y por eso es que cuando hablan de que los pueblos indígenas quieren formar un estado dentro de otro estado es atentar contra la seguridad indígena. Hemos sido claros no es que queramos formar un estado, ustedes nos obligan a que haya esa intención de parte de los indígenas. Ustedes se han olvidado. Parece como los pájaros *kupi* que vienen del Perú en las épocas de frutas nada mas, o sea en épocas electorales, y después desaparecen. Hablan de que somos ecuatorianos, cantamos el mismo himno nacional, que estamos cubiertos por la misma bandera pero después eso desaparece. Hay que mantener nuestra posición y seguir luchando contra esa presencia, es una presencia muda, por que no es nada cierto.

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*Miguel Puwainchir es Presidente de la Federación Shuar/Achuar, una organización indígena del oriente de Ecuador.*

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*Shuar iruntramuka chikich tarimiat aents iruntain najanatnniun juarkiniaiti, aintsank Ekuaturnum iruntiamusha.*

*Nakaji ju 3 uwi taasainiai jui shuaran nujá achuaran nunké iwiarturtin. Tura ukunmaka chikich itinrchat takustatji. Chicham emeskamu iruneawai tuma asamtai Ekuaturan untri imian yainmatsji.*

*Tumasha nekas ayampruktinkia Aentsviti, kampunniunam pajaná nuna, auka yajasmaka, numikia imianchaiti. Shuar-Achuar aents yaintiniaiti takakjai, kuvtjiai tura Shuar-Achuar iruntramunam takak juarkimiuana aun yainkiartiniaiti. Tuma asamtai Ekuaturan uuntri paant tímiaji: ii kampunniun emesramsha itiura iwiarattam? ii entsari yajauch umaktajme husha itiurkattam? aratmaktajai turutip, Saar Entsan amastajai turutip, nuka wait chichamaiti, tumatskesha arus, mamush, apachin turujiri surusaip. Ikia au inianksar utsumeaji, tuma asamtai ii takatnin yainmakta.*

*Ikia Ekuatur aentsuitji, nu tesatai tatsuji, auka atumek nuni anentaimprume wari waitruarum anakaitarme, antrarum nuamtakitji tarume, ayatik anaitiukat tusarum tumasha yamaikia penke anentaimkiaji tuma asar takakmakir wetatji, atum tamaka umutsuk waitra asakrumin.*

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# Land and Subsistence in Tlingit Folklife

Nora Marks Dauenhauer and
Richard L. Dauenhauer

For many Native American people, subsistence remains at the heart of traditional culture and of contemporary folklife as well. For other cultures of the United States, "subsistence" may be an unfamiliar concept, but today many Native Americans cling tenaciously and assertively to the subsistence rights that are central to their ethnic heritage, cultural identity, traditional spirituality and legal standing under numerous treaties with the United States government.

The Tlingit Indians live in Southeast Alaska, the part of Alaska that is about the same size and shape as Florida. It is a land of rainforest and fiords, where few communities are connected by road. In this spectacular setting, the natural, material, social, ceremonial and spiritual worlds are tightly connected in most of the activities and artifacts of Tlingit folklife. Animals are central to cultural identities and processes. A Tlingit individual, following his or her mother's line, is born into one of two moieties: Raven or Eagle. Traditionally, one married a spouse from the opposite moiety, so that each person's father and a man's children were of the opposite moiety. Each moiety includes several clans, also named after animals and using animals as their emblem, or totem. We should emphasize here that these totems are not objects of religious worship or veneration, but are heraldic in nature. Often referred to as "crests," they indicate one's ancestry and social identity. Some clans of the Raven moiety and their crests are: *Lukaax̲.ádi* (sockeye, or red salmon), *L'uknax̲.ádi* (coho, or silver salmon), *L'eineidí* (dog salmon), *Kiks.ádi* (frog) and *T'ak̲deintaan* (snail, seagull or tern). Some clans of the Eagle moiety and their crests are: *Teik̲weidí* (brown bear), *Dak̲l'aweidí* (killer whale), *Chookaneidí* (porpoise) and *Kaagwaantaan* (wolf). A person becomes a member of one of the clans at birth and is given a personal name, which often also describes or alludes to an animal.

The social use of resources occurs daily in Tlingit life, especially the sharing of food. As this article was being drafted, a Tlingit man delivered a cardboard box of seal meat as a gift for the mother of one of the co-authors. Seal is important for Tlingits. The skin is used for sewing moccasins and vests, the meat is eaten, and the fat is rendered into oil used to preserve other foods or to be eaten with foods such as dried fish. Traditionally, the intestines were braided and preserved in seal oil, but this practice is relatively rare today.

With spring comes the herring run in Southeast Alaska, and herring eggs are a favorite. The best herring spawn is in Sitka, and the Sitka Tlingit have traditionally been generous to their friends and relatives in other communities, sharing the richness of their harvest. In May the eulachon ("hooligan" — small, smelt-like fish) run, and people who live near the supply commonly share with those who live farther away. Major summer activities are berrying and putting up fish. Berries are picked and jarred or frozen, to be eaten all year in social and ceremonial uses.

Fishing has for centuries been the primary source of food for the people of Southeast Alaska. The summer runs are abundant, and fish were traditionally smoked, dried and stored for winter use. Native people of Southeast Alaska have always been innovative, and now also use new technology such as freezers for storing fish. There are stories of people using hair driers and laundry driers to preserve seaweed at times when the weather is too rainy for drying it in the sun. Smokehouses are not as common as a century ago, but many families and communities continue to smoke and dry fish. The fish are purchased from commercial fishermen, caught by sport fishermen of the family, or are obtained on subsistence permits.

Recently, two problems have emerged. Often, areas designated for subsistence use are at con-

siderable distance from population centers, so that fishing in these areas may cost more money than can be afforded by those who have the greatest economic need for subsistence. In recent years, fish hatcheries have given fish away after their eggs have been removed for breeding. Unfortunately, these hatchery fish are not firm enough to preserve by smoking, and after freezing they are too mushy to be cooked in any way except boiling. Tlingit people are concerned about increased reliance on fish hatcheries if there are problems with the fish.

Tlingit people traditionally use the entire fish. If fish are filleted, backbones are usually smoked or boiled in soup. Heads are baked or boiled in soup, but they may also be fermented (traditionally in a hole on the beach, where they are rinsed with each tide change). The result is a food traditionally called *k'ínk'* in Tlingit and affectionately called "stink heads" in English. It may be compared to the turning of milk into Limburger cheese in European culture. Likewise, fish eggs are not discarded, but are preserved in various ways. Most often they are frozen and later served in a soup with seaweed (which is preserved by drying and then reconstituted). They may be salted (as caviar), or fermented as a dish called *kaháakw kas'eex.*

Fall brings the hunting season. Sitka black tailed deer are abundant in most areas, but many Tlingit hunters complain that in areas of heavy logging, there are fewer deer. The protective cover from deep snow provided by Sitka spruce and other tall trees in the rainforest allows winter grazing on moss, skunk cabbage and other forest plants. Where snowfall is heavy, there is risk of starvation for deer. Brown and black bear are hunted to a much lesser extent, and in some communities and families there are cultural taboos on eating bear meat. Sheep and goat are hunted even less. Deer skin is used for drum making and for sewing moccasins and vests. Deer hoofs are made into dance rattles. Mountain goat is the traditional source of wool for weaving Chilkat blankets but is increasingly difficult for weavers to obtain. One problem is that wool is best for weaving when the goats are not in season, so special permits need to be negotiated. But throughout the deer season, the sharing of deer meat is much in evidence. Many Tlingit hunters consider it bad luck to keep their first kill of the season, and often give the entire animal away rather than keep it for themselves. As with fishing, those who hunt typically share with those who do not have access to the resource, and younger hunters provide meat to elders who are no longer able to hunt for themselves. Also as with fishing, this practice may put traditionally minded Tlingits at odds with the law, because bag limits are designed with the individual in mind, and not the idea that a person may also be hunting or fishing for other people.

In addition to social sharing, the ceremonial distribution of food is at the heart of traditional Tlingit ceremonial and spiritual life. Nowhere is this better demonstrated — and, perhaps, more misunderstood — than in the ceremonial called "potlatch" in English, and *k̲oo.éex'* in Tlingit, where many different aspects of Tlingit folklife come together. It is called "invitation" in Tlingit because the hosts, who have lost a clan member through death, invite guests of the opposite moiety to a ceremonial. The hosts give food and other gifts to the guests, thereby ritually giving comfort to the spirits of the departed by giving comfort to the living. In Tlingit this is called *du naawú x̲'éix̲ at gugatée* — "he will feed his deceased." Death-bed wishes often specifically request that subsistence foods, usually the personal favorites of the departed, be served.

Verbal and visual folk art are important parts of this traditional ceremonial, especially the rites for the removal of grief. During these rites, the guests display their clan crests represented on carved wooden hats, sewn felt beaded button blankets, tunics, woven Chilkat robes, and other regalia, called *at.óow* in Tlingit. As part of the display of these totemic crests, designated orators from among the guests deliver speeches to the hosts. The purpose of the oratory and the display of visual art is to offer spiritual comfort to the hosts, and to help remove their grief.

The visual art becomes the basis of the oratory. In the guests' speeches the visual art is transformed by rhetoric, especially through simile and metaphor. The frog on the hat, for example, is imagined as coming out of hibernation to remove the grief of the hosts by taking it back into its burrow. The beaded terns on a felt blanket (who are identified as the paternal aunts of the hosts) fly out from their rookery, drop soothing down feathers on the grieving hosts, and fly away with their grief, taking it back to the nests. Through the verbal art of the orator, the spirits depicted in the visual art come to the human world, give comfort, and remove the grief of the living to the spirit world.

This interaction is also a good example of the reciprocity or "balance" so important in Tlingit world view. Hosts and guests comfort each other on spiritual, physical and social levels. The hosts feed and clothe the spirits of their departed

*Austin Hammond, wearing a Sockeye Salmon Chilkat robe, faces singers of several clans who gathered at Chilkoot Lake. Referring to this robe, Austin often says, "we wear our history." The robe depicts clan history and serves as claim to the land and subsistence use.*
Photo by Richard Dauenhauer

through gifts of food and clothing to living members of the opposite moiety; and the guests rally their range of spirits to give comfort to the hosts by removing their grief. As we take care of the living, we also take care of the departed. If we take care of the living, the living will take care of us. If we take care of the departed, the departed will take care of us.

Ritual distribution of food and other gifts is explained by Tlingit elder Amy Marvin in her telling of the "Glacier Bay History" (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987:277). Only if food is given and eaten with an opposite clan can it go to the relative who is mourned. "Only when we give to the opposite clan . . . does it become a balm for our spirits." We find this passage so powerful that we used her Tlingit words and a paraphrase translation as the title of our book *Haa Tuwunáagu Yís, for Healing Our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory* (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990). The introduction to this book explains in detail the ceremonial oratory, visual art, and distribution of subsistence food.

Meals are an important part of the memorial ceremony. Subsistence foods are especially valued and are carefully preserved for ritual distribution. Menus typically include: deer stew, seal meat (baked, boiled or smoked), salmon (as dryfish, soup, baked or fried), halibut, seaweed and salmon egg soup. Many families have special pots, often inherited, for preparing ceremonial food. At a recent memorial in Sitka, the cooking pot for the deer stew was two feet high and three feet in diameter!

It is important to notice here the role of visual art in Tlingit folklife. The totemic crests called *at.óow* in Tlingit are not detached objects of art abstractly displayed in static isolation, but are arts ritually displayed in spiritual and social action in ceremonials. To the extent that subsistence materials are needed for making art objects themselves, subsistence and art become linked. For totem carving, one needs large trees; for weaving, one needs spruce roots and cedar bark. For Chilkat weaving one needs mountain goat wool, although sheep wool is now commonly substituted out of necessity. Traditional dyes are made from moss, lichen and minerals.

Subsistence food affects the physical as well as the social and spiritual being. Studies and articles (Drury 1985; Kennedy 1990 a,b; Tepton 1990; Young 1988) have been done on the nutritional value of traditional foods and on the impact of change in diet from Native American to European American food. Obesity, diabetes, cancer and heart disease have become much more prevalent. These effects can be attributed not only to nutritional content, but also to the process by which food is obtained. The act of getting and preserving traditional food keeps one more physically fit than shopping at a store (and using leisure time to sit by the TV and VCR).

For reasons of health, social interaction and spirituality, subsistence rights and activities are as important to the cultural identity of Native Americans as sport hunting and fishing rights are to the individual identity of European Americans and other citizens of the United States. Because these pursuits lie so close to the spiritual core of all the people involved and are so deeply rooted in their respective folk belief systems, subsistence becomes an extremely emotional and highly political issue.

Commercial exploitation of land and resources

is basic to European American world view, and people with this ethnic heritage often find it frustrating to see land and resources *not* used for cash profits and "development." For Native Americans, money has traditionally been an abstraction, whereas their connection to the land has been personal and spiritual. Theirs has been a subsistence, not a cash, economy. Commercial pressure also threatens subsistence. Many Tlingit foods are highly valued by the Japanese, and Native Americans fear commercial exploitation will damage traditional subsistence areas.

Today the subsistence issue remains one of the most heated legal and legislative battles in Alaska, involving both state and federal agencies. Natives are protesting a recent policy to deny subsistence use in some communities because of their size, regardless of ethnicity and lifestyle of the residents. Natives often feel bitter that most people making the law and setting policy in Alaska are newcomers from "outside" who will not retire and die in Alaska. They make laws for others and will leave without having to live with them. Natives feel that laws involving them are being made by Non-natives, people from other cultures not familiar with subsistence and often hostile to it. Natives feel that most subsistence laws and policies discriminate against the lifestyle and culture of Native people. For example, beginning in 1979 it took three years to get legal permission to use traditional gaff hooks to take salmon for subsistence use. Natives often feel increasingly disenfranchised on their own land.

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# Clans and Corporations: Society and Land of the Tlingit Indians

Rosita Worl

*Native Corporations*

Tlingit
Belong to the land.
Free to wander anywhere
Signing pieces of paper
Village
Regional CORPORATIONS
Land in corporations
Stocks replace fish drying
Dividends replace hides curing
Corporate offices replace
Tribal houses
Voting replace storytelling
We are of the land
Not corporations
This was forced upon us
Choices were never ours
Our forefathers taught us well
WE WILL SURVIVE
WE WILL ADAPT
WE WILL SUCCEED
WE WILL THRIVE!

Sherman J. Sumdum
Chookaneidi of Hoonah

With the rich resources of their homeland in Southeast Alaska, the Tlingit Indians developed one of the most complex cultures in indigenous North America. With their vast stores of surplus goods, they extended their aboriginal commerce along ancient trading trails through valleys and mountain passes to the northern interior regions of Alaska and Canada where they traded with the Athabaskans. They traded westward with the Eyak and the Chugach Eskimo along the Gulf of Alaska coast in south-central Alaska. In their 60-foot long canoes, they traveled south to the Queen Charlotte Islands in Canada to trade with the Haida and the Tsimshian on the mainland.

**Relationship to the Land**

The North Pacific Coast has always been a complex environment, abundant in resources but difficult in access. The indigenous population developed knowledge of their habitat, a specialized technology, and well-organized productive labor units to maximize the sustainable exploitation of the environment. Elements that the native population could not control by physical means were appeased through spiritual rituals. An abundant environment, an efficient extractive technology, and extensive methods of food preservation for later use allowed them to pursue a broad spectrum of activities.

A house group consisting of a chief, his brothers and their wives, children and maternal nephews was the basic production unit. Male children over the age of ten moved into their mother's brother's house and received a rigorous course of training from their maternal uncles. The house group had a well-defined organization of labor, which assigned its members various tasks in hunting, fishing, gathering, preparing and preserving their foods. All members of the house were expected to work. Grandparents took care of children too young to help, while their mothers gathered and stored foods for future use. The cycle of production was determined by the seasonal availability of resources. As long as fish were running, men harvested them, and women hung them up to smoke or dry.

Like most American Indian tribes, the Tlingits' relationship to nature is rooted in their religious systems. According to the ancient beliefs of the Tlingit, animals, like humans, are endowed with spirits. These ideas were the basis of their behavior towards animals; people felt a form of kinship with them. But their beliefs did not prevent their effective, sustainable exploitation of the environment and its wildlife. On the one hand, they were skilled hunters, fishermen and foragers who effectively utilized their environment; and on the

other hand, they revered their environment and attributed their success in its exploitation to the spirits and deities which abounded in their world.

The distinctive arts of the Tlingit and the Northwest Coast Indians were visual symbols of their relationships to one another and to nature. They mastered the use of horn, bone, stone, wood, skins, furs, roots and bark to satisfy their utilitarian and aesthetic needs. Their woodworking was unrivaled among American Indian tribes. Artistically inspired by their relationship to the environment, Tlingit adorned their bodies and homes with symbols of their real and supernatural world.

### Historical Overview

Their rich environment and their social and cultural strengths enabled Tlingit to confront the initial arrival of western explorers and traders in 1741 much on their own terms. Fur trading was conducted from the ships that frequented Tlingit communities. Once tenuous peace agreements had been established between Tlingit and Russians, trading posts were built in Yakutat in 1796 and then Sitka in 1799 (Krause 1956). Tlingit used the goods they received in trade to enrich their society.

But nothing in their shamans' or herbalists' repertoire of medical care could resist the waves of infectious disease that the new visitors brought to their shores. The Tlingit aboriginal population, which is estimated at near 15,000, was reduced by more than 50% after the great smallpox epidemic of 1835-1840 (Boyd 1990; De Laguna 1990). With several villages reduced by as much as two-thirds, social and economic systems almost ceased to function.

Another significant element of their culture was undermined, and new religions gained influence, when the Tlingit learned that their shamans were powerless to combat the smallpox. Father Veniaminov observed that three months before the smallpox epidemic a Tlingit forced to submit to the needle probably would have torn the very flesh from his vaccinated arm. But when the Tlingit saw that Russians vaccinated against smallpox survived, they clamored to be vaccinated. Once they realized its effectiveness, they also began to accept the Russian Orthodox faith at the expense of their own religion (Fortuine 1989). The Tlingit who had scoffed at many of the ways of the white men now sought the establishment of churches and schools.

The process of social disintegration heightened after American jurisdiction was established in 1867. Military forces brought other diseases and vices, but perhaps more significantly they introduced a new legal system that suppressed Tlingit customary property laws and rights and paved the way for permanent American settlements and economic expansion into Tlingit territory.

In 1878 two salmon canneries were established at Sitka and Klawock followed by ten more in the next decade (Gruening 1968). And unknowingly, an Auk Tlingit named Kaawaa'ee unleashed the 1880 stampede into Southeast Alaska by showing Joe Juneau and Dick Harris — now credited as discoverers in most historical accounts — where gold could be found (Worl 1990). The biggest gold mill in the world was later established in Juneau (Gruening 1968). The United States recognized the Tlingit as the rightful owners of the land under aboriginal title, but ironically, did not allow them to file gold claims on their own land because they were not citizens of the United States. The traditional hunting and fishing economy that had supported the rich culture of the Tlingit was giving way to a new economic order, which they could neither control socially or share in economically.

### Land Claims

Gathering the inner strengths that had given rise to this proud society, the Tlingit entered the 20th century. They were undaunted by losses — epidemics, Russian occupation, gold rush stampede, bombardments of their villages by the Navy, depletion of fish and wildlife, and dispossession of their ancestral lands — which might have demoralized other people. They strove to learn and use the institutions of the westerners to protect their society; but at the same time, they retained the elements of their ancient culture they deemed appropriate for the modern era.

They repeatedly brought their blankets adorned with clan crests to Washington, D.C. They showed Congressmen these blankets, which served as their title to the land. They told the clan stories and sang the songs that recorded the history of ownership of their territories. With a highly developed system of customary property laws, a powerful conviction of their inherent rights to their land, and a strong love for their homeland, they successfully appealed to the sense of fairness and justice of American jurisprudence. They achieved an unprecedented settlement with Congress and secured legal title to their land.

From the time of their first contact with Europeans, the Tlingit resisted outside claims on their land. They did not allow the first Europeans who set foot on their shores to leave. They removed a

cross the Spaniards left in 1775 as a sign of their claim to Alaska. They extracted payment from the Spanish not only for the fish they brought to them but also for the water the Spaniards got for themselves (Krause 1956). From the time the United States and Russia signed the Treaty of Cession in 1867, the Tlingit protested the foreigners' assertion of ownership. They argued that if the United States wanted to purchase Alaska then they should negotiate with its rightful owners. The Haida joined with the Tlingit to pursue a land claims settlement with the United States. They relentlessly pursued compensation for the land the United States forced them to surrender.

The Southeast Alaska Indians attained two separate land settlements with the United States: the first, a judicial settlement in 1968 through the U.S. Court of Claims; and the second, a legislative compact through an Act of Congress in 1971. The Tlingit and Haida used the first settlement of $7.5 million to establish the Central Council Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska. Its primary function is to promote the social and educational welfare of its tribal members.

The second settlement achieved by the Tlingit and Haida was an unprecedented land settlement with America's indigenous populations. Its uniqueness was not in the size of the settlement, but rather in the means by which it would be accomplished. Under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 (ANCSA), Congress ordered that the Alaska Natives form corporations to administer their land award. Clearly, the intent was economic assimilation. In previous judgments with American Indians, the United States itself acted as a trustee that held land for tribes under a reservation system.

*Fish continues to be the primary source of food for native peoples of southeastern Alaska. However, in recent years, subsistence practices have been limited by governmental regulations. Areas designated for subsistence fishing may be far away from home. A subsistence fisherman skillfully fillets the fish to prepare for smoking and drying.* Photo by Richard Dauenhauer

### Tribal Corporations

With an entrepreneurial drive and vigor worthy of their ancestors, the Tlingit and Haida eagerly joined the market economy with their new corporations. Under ANCSA, the Tlingit and Haida Indians reclaimed ownership of 616,480 acres of land in Southeast Alaska. They were compensated approximately $200 million for the 2 million acres of land that were not covered by the first land claims settlement. They were required to establish regional village and urban corporations to implement their land claims settlement.

While the regional, village and urban corporations are autonomous, they are made interdependent through a unique land ownership scheme. Each village and urban corporation was awarded title to 23,040 acres of land, but they hold title only to the surface estate. The regional corporation, Sealaska, holds title to the subsurface estate of all village and urban corporation lands, in addition to its own 300,000 acres.

Each Tlingit and Haida is enrolled as a shareholder in the regional corporation. In addition, those residing in a village or in Sitka and Juneau were also eligible to enroll as members of their respective village or urban corporations. However, a large number of Tlingit and Haida were not enrolled as members of village or urban corporations because they resided outside their home village or in the five communities that did not receive land. They are classified as "At Large" shareholders enrolled only as members of Sealaska Corporation. The five landless villages recently organized to pursue their just land entitlements. These villages were unjustly denied land on the basis that non-Tlingit and non-Haida residents were a majority of the population in the communities.

While the corporations were organized to be

profit-making, shareholders also asserted other cultural values. A 1981 survey of Sealaska shareholders indicated they felt Sealaska should be more than a profit-making company that provides dividends to its shareholders. They insisted that the corporation provide jobs, educational assistance, support for cultural activities and special programs for the elders. In response, the elected boards of directors have devoted themselves to social as well as business matters. The regional corporation, Sealaska, calculates that as much as 25% of its annual operational costs are for social programs affecting its shareholders. Many of the village and urban corporations have organized separate charitable foundations to promote the cultural heritage of their shareholders. Others have established educational endowments or generous scholarship funds for shareholders. Perhaps the single most important issue is the protection of subsistence hunting and fishing. The corporations have taken the lead in opposing various attempts over the past several years to undermine the subsistence priority rights of rural residents, who are primarily Native.

The corporations have been successful in varying degrees. One corporation filed for protection under bankruptcy laws, while others have been extremely successful and have been able to provide substantial monetary distributions to their shareholders. Financial consultants continue to advise the corporations that they cannot successfully combine business and tribal practices in their corporate operations and focus. Tlingit and Haida continue to develop new forms of tribal corporations. They seek new ways of accomplishing their economic objectives while at the same time fulfilling the social and cultural responsibilities they acquired when they received title to their ancestral lands.

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*Rosita Worl, Yeidiklatsok, is a Chilkat Tlingit. She is an Eagle and a member of the Thunderbird clan and house from Klukwan. She is a child of the Sockeye clan. Her spirit is the shark. She was trained in anthropology at Harvard University, and has lectured and published extensively on Alaskan Native cultures.*

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# Ethno-Development in Taquile

## Kevin Healy

Peru's Taquile Island, 13,000 feet above sea level, is set against spectacular mountain scenery of the Lake Titikaka basin. Quechua-speaking Taquileños farm steep, eroded hillsides and catch fresh trout, pejerrey and catfish for their island economy. Some islanders are master boatbuilders for the Aymara and Quechua communities on the Peruvian side of Lake Titikaka.

Taquile's geography and vibrant folk culture attracts rugged tourists from around the globe. Over the past 15 years, the Island's 1,200 residents have developed a model for Native American community control of tourism, frequently a source of cultural distortions in societies the world over. In Taquile, islander control of tourism has helped them maintain a strong sense of cultural integrity while adding economically to their community. Their local enterprise includes motorboat transportation, housing, restaurants, handicraft stores, a local museum and tour guide services. By working through local families and community organizations, islanders maintain a scale of tourist activity consistent with a people-to-people approach and invite visitors to appreciate their local life and cultural values. The workings of this system has insured an equitable distribution of the economic benefits and dynamic practices of peasant self-management.

Taquileños' everyday attire attests to their thriving weaving tradition. Combining dominant Inca reds, Andean geometric symbols and other fanciful designs, they are among the best weavers in Peru. As a cottage industry weaving provides economic benefits to everyone on the Island. On ground looms women weave woolen belts, bags and ponchos of all sizes, while on treadle looms men weave cloth for peasant shirts. Men also knit vests and stocking caps.

Through their ethno-development strategy of tourism and textiles under Andean community control, Taquile has changed from one of the poorest Lake Titikaka communities to become one of its better-off during the past 20 years. Outside support for Taquile has come from the Inter-American Foundation, a congressionally supported aid agency, which supports alternative community empowerment projects for socio-economic change.

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*Kevin Healy was a Peace Corps volunteer on Taquile Island in the late sixties. He subsequently wrote a book about rural development in Bolivia and since 1978 as a grant officer with the Inter-American Foundation has been funding alternative socio-economic development projects in the Andes, especially Bolivia. He has degrees from Notre Dame, Georgetown and Cornell.*

*Weaving is a major social and economic activity on the island of Taquile in Lake Titikaka, Peru. On a patio surrounded by living quarters a weaver spins sheep's wool with a traditional drop spindle.* Photo by Olivia Cadaval

# The *Suka Kollus:* Pre-Columbian Agriculture of Tiwanaku

Oswaldo Rivera Sundt
*translated by Charles H. Roberts*

The Bolivian highlands (*altiplano*) lie between the eastern and western mountain ranges of the Andes; many valleys and profound ravines stretch down to the Amazon jungle toward the east, and to the desert coasts of the Pacific toward the west. Here, people domesticated the llama and alpaca; they followed them in their permanent search for renewed pastures to the highlands in the hot months and crossed the Andes to the valleys in other seasons. The fate of Andean peoples is inextricably bound up with that of the South American *camelidae* (alpacas, llamas, vicunas, and *guanacos*), which provide wool, leather, meat, bones, fat, and excrement for fuel, and which are also used as beasts of burden.

With the advent of crop farming, people became sedentary. Solidarity in communal work was fundamental to the life of the community, which had a non-hereditary form of government. The *ayllu* (a local descent group) was the basic form of social organization; it persists in the rural communities of Bolivia to this day. Exogamous marriage was a unifying factor creating and sustaining links of kinship among the separate *ayllus*.

Over the centuries major changes took place in the Andes. The vast Andean state of the Tiwanaku arose. Experimentation produced an extraordinary agricultural technology, known as the *suka kollus* (raised agricultural fields), which were complemented by livestock production and fishing in Lake Titikaka. One of the greatest successes was the cultivation of potatoes; indeed, Bolivian archeologist Carlos Ponce has called Tiwanaku the "Culture of the Potato." A confederation of *ayllus* governed under a non-hereditary council. The original Tiwanaku village became the major city with approximately 100,000 inhabitants spread across 600 hectares (about 2.5 square miles), tied to a network of other cities and villages of Tiwanaku society. Religion encompassed all activities, including art.

Beginning in approximately 1150 A.D. climatic changes reduced agricultural yields in the Bolivian highlands. The social organization of the Tiwanaku collapsed, the state disintegrated, and its extensive territories were fragmented. The highlands could support only a subsistence economy; agricultural technologies were lost. The arrival of the Spaniards, who were more interested in exploiting minerals than in cultivating the land, was the final blow. An agricultural people became a mining people. Ever since, the domestic economy of the highlands has revolved around a hunger-based agriculture.

In 1978, researchers Alan Kolata and Oswaldo Rivera traveled throughout the vast plains of Kohani Pampa in the Andes, beginning an archeological research project which years later would lead to the Wila-Jawira Inter-disciplinary Archeological Project. Subsequently, geographers such as William Denevan and others discovered ruins of pre-Columbian agricultural works on the banks of Lake Titikaka. The initial exploration and excavation of small mounds led to archeological research in the pre-Columbian area of the city of Lukurmata. The objective of this study was to investigate the agricultural and fish-farming systems of the ancient Andean society. This city, considered the third leading urban center of the Tiwanaku culture, is located near the pre-Columbian agricultural systems.

During explorations of these raised fields, the question arose as to whether these agricultural works and ancient technology in general could have been capable of generating sufficient wealth for the development of Tiwanaku civilization. Until then, their productivity had not been quantified. At the same time, Ignacio Garaycochea and Clark Erickson were conducting similar research work in the area of Puno, Peru. They were the first to rehabilitate and plant the raised fields. These fields yielded a hefty crop, outstripping the usual production of contemporary peasants.

*Today native communities in the high plateau region of the Andes, with the assistance of anthropologists, archeologists and agronomists, are recovering the ancient raised-field technology of their ancestors. Local farmers join in a* mink'a, *or communal work group, to plant the raised field.* Photo by Alan Kolata

In 1986 reconstruction of the agricultural fields was begun by peasant families in several communities in the area of Tiwanaku. The peasants were skeptical. Previous technological transfer projects undertaken by development organizations had led only to poor harvests and experiences of failure. The lands near the ancient structures had long been abandoned; the peasants did not recall that they had ever been planted. They were being used as pasture for livestock. Some peasants told us that the seeds would rot because of the excessive moisture of the land and that the open fields offer no protection from frost. Nevertheless, when told about the agriculture of their *awichus* (grandparents or ancestors) in the *nayrapacha* (ancient, pre-Columbian times) the majority felt a special sympathy for the project and a pride in their reaffirmed identity. Leaders such as Roberto Cruz from the community of Chukara, Bonifacia Quispe from Lakaya Alta, and Martín Condori of Kiripujo accepted the project on their lands. In order to recover the fields, organized groups of community members dug and rebuilt channels and mounds, collecting the artifacts uncovered in the process. Most of the project effort went into the fields of Lakaya in 1987, and the productivity obtained was 42.5 tons/hectare, as compared to 2.5 tons/hectare obtained by the same community members on surrounding lands. Although this figure has not been equalled, yields continue to reflect the superiority of pre-Columbian technology.

The recovery of technology used in the same place but at an earlier time is a task for rural society. The well-being of future generations will depend on their own involvement and effort.

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# Los *Suka Kollus*: La Agricultura Precolombina del Tiwanaku

Oswaldo Rivera Sundt

El altiplano esta definido por dos cadenas elevadas de montañas a ambos lados y muchos valles y profundas vegas que van a terminar a la selva amazónica por el este y a las desérticas costas del Pacífico por el oeste.

El hombre domesticó a la llama y la alpaca, siguiéndolas en su permanente búsqueda de pastos renovados; subiendo a las alturas en los meses cálidos, y en otras estaciones, trasponiendo la cordillera para llegar a los valles. Una misma suerte une al hombre andino y al camélido que provee de lana, cuero, carne, huesos, cebo y excremento para combustible y es también el animal de carga.

Con la domesticación de las plantas, el hombre se vuelve sedentario. La vida de la comunidad andina se desarrolla dentro de patrones de solidaridad en el trabajo comunitario, bajo una forma de gobierno rotativo.

El *ayllu* fue la organización social básica que germinará y perdura aún en las comunidades rurales bolivianas actuales. El matrimonio exogámico era el factor esencial que aseguraba la vinculación entre *ayllus* y daba a la cultura una homogeneidad de pensamiento y acción.

A través de los siglos transcurren grandes cambios en el escenario andino. Surge el vasto estado andino del Tiwanaku.

Una creciente experimentación agrícola desemboca en una extraordinaria tecnología, la de los *suka kollus,* complementada por la ganadería de camélidos y la explotación de productos piscícolas del lago Titikaka. Uno de los mayores éxitos fue el cultivo de la papa; lo que con razón hizo calificar al arqueólogo boliviano Carlos Ponce a Tiwanaku como la Cultura de la Papa. Se forma la confederación de *ayllus,* gobernando bajo un consejo de carácter no hereditario. La aldea inicial se convirtió en una ciudad completamente planificada con aproximadamente 100,000 habitantes en una área de 600 hectáreas. Lo religioso relaciona todas las actividades incluyendo el arte, dentro de la expresión de pensamiento colectivo.

Alrededor del año 1150 se inician cambios en el clima del planeta que da como resultado en el altiplano boliviano un bajo rendimiento agrícola. La organización social del Tiwanaku se desmorona, el Estado se disuelve y sus extensos territorios se dispersan. El altiplano vuelve a una economía de subsistencia y se pierden tecnologías agrícolas. La llegada de los españoles, quienes se interesaron más en la explotación de minerales que en los productos cultivados de la tierra es el golpe final. Un pueblo agricultor se convirtió en minero y la economía del altiplano desde entonces giró en torno a una agricultura de hambre.

En 1978, los investigadores Alan Kolata y Oswaldo Rivera recorren la extensa planicie de Kohani Pampa, iniciando un trabajo arqueológico que, años más tarde, formará el Proyecto Agroarqueológico Interdisciplinario Wila-Jawira. Más tarde, geógrafos como William Denevan y otros, descubren en las márgenes del lago Titikaka los restos de construcciones agrícolas precolombinas. La exploración y excavación inicial de pequeños montículos, condújo posteriormente a los trabajos de investigación arqueológica en el área precolombina de Lukurmata, con el objetivo de estudiar los sistemas agrícolas y piscícolas de la antigua sociedad. Esta ciudad, considerada como el tercer centro urbano de la cultura Tiwanaku, se encuentra cerca de los sistemas agrícolas precolombinos.

Durante exploraciones de los campos agrícolas surgió la interrogante sobre sí estas construcciones, y la tecnología en general, serían capaces de generar riqueza suficiente para el desarrollo de Tiwanaku. Hasta ese momento no se había cuantificado el rendimiento. Paralelamente, los investigadores Ignacio Garaycochea y Clark Erickson, realizaban labores similares en el área de Puno, Perú;y lograron asi la primera rehabili-

*Las comunidades bolivianas en las alta pampas del Tiwanaku que rodean el lago Titikaka cultivan principalmente tubérculos. Estos cultivos incluyen variedades de papa, oca, habas y quinua que es un cereal de alta proteína. Aquí un grupo de mujeres selecciona papas para el consumo hogareño, para el comercio, para preparar* chuño, *o para la semilla.* Foto de Oswaldo Rivera Sundt

tación de camellones que resultó en una notable producción que superaba la producción que solían obtener los campesinos.

A partir de 1986 se inicia la reconstrucción de campos agrícolas, trabajo realizado en varias comunidades y familias campesinas del área de Tiwanaku. Las malas cosechas y experimentos de transferencias tecnológicas fracasadas, realizadas por diversas instituciones de desarrollo, los habían tornado incrédulos. Los terrenos donde hoy yacen las antiguas construcciones siempre habían estado abandonados; y los campesinos no recordaban que alguna vez hubieran sido sembrados. Ahora son tierras de pastoreo de ganado. Otros campesinos nos advertían que la semilla se pudriría por la excesiva humedad de la tierra, que los campos son abiertos y no ofrecen protección a las heladas. Sin embargo, la mayoría sentía una especial simpatía hacia el proyecto cuando se les hablaba de la agricultura practicada en el *nayrapacha* de los tiempos precolombinos por sus *awichus*, sus abuelos o antecesores. Sentían verdadero orgullo por su identidad reafirmada. Hubo líderes como Roberto Cruz de la comunidad de Chukara, Bonifacia Quispe de Lakaya Alta, y Martín Condori de Kiripujo, quienes entre otros aceptaron el proyecto en sus tierras. Los campos de Lakaya, en 1987, fueron los más atendidos por el proyecto logrando un rendimiento de 42.5 toneladas por hectárea, frente a las 2.5 toneladas obtenidas por los mismos comunarios en hectáreas circundantes. En años posteriores no se ha igualado esa cifra, pero los demás rendimientos marcan la superioridad de la tecnología precolombina frente a la actual.

Las investigaciones arqueológicas se han fortalecido con la incorporación de disciplinas científicas, analíticas y técnicas. Vocablos desconocidos como *suka kollus* hoy se han vuelto palabras técnicas, creándose derivaciones como terrenos sukakolleros. Para tratar de explicar el fenómeno del rescate tecnológico agrícola se han ensayado una serie de conceptos, como arqueología aplicada, agroarqueología, agroecología, revolución verde del altiplano.

Se ha iniciado una investigación científica sobre el conocimiento del pueblo de Tiwanaku, como alternativa para el desarrollo del altiplano. El rescate tecnológico en el tiempo, y su transferencia en el mismo espacio, le corresponde a la sociedad rural. De su participación y esfuerzo depende el bienestar de las futuras generaciones.

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# Ethno-Development Among the Jalq'a

Kevin Healy

The Jalq'a are an Andean ethnic group scattered among 30 communities in the remote, rugged mountainous area in the Chuquisaca region of south-central Bolivia. Families eke out a living from farming and pasturing and earn supplementary income from low paying work in the city. Since 1986, this subsistence economy has changed for a growing number of female weavers (now reaching 380) and their families. Together with a Bolivian organization, Antropólogos del Sur Andino (ASUR), and support from the Inter-American Foundation, Jalq'a's community organizations have begun a revival of a unique textile tradition. The Jalq'a's animal motifs are singular among the weaving traditions of thousands of Andean communities; their *ajsus* or women's overskirts depict a dreamlike world of stylized creatures (condors, monkeys, foxes, lions, bats and cows) in reversible images.

In the past, outside commercial pressures eroded handicraft standards, and foreign dealers bought up the remaining fine textiles in Jalq'a communities. In addition, drought damaged pasture lands causing a drastic drop in the wool supply.

The weaving revival began as an economic development strategy to reverse the decline in their folk art and to increase cultural self-esteem among the population, creating a base for social change. Weavers together with ASUR have now organized weaving workshops, purchased raw material, acquired dyes, opened a store in the city of Sucre and held exhibits in museums to promote their work throughout Bolivia. As a result, the market demand in Bolivia for their *ajsus* has grown rapidly. The Jalq'a have learned bookkeeping and administrative skills for their burgeoning enterprise through ASUR's multicultural community educational program. Organizational and business know-how are as essential to their ambitious future programs as are recovery of weaving skills and the maintenance of a strong sense of ethnic identity.

Their weaving revival has an innovative method of using color photographs of Jalq'a pieces attained from private collections. Jalq'a families use the photographs as guides to recover their rich repertoire of cultural motifs, as they weave for the new community enterprise together in their outdoor patios. They have been successfully creating weavings for sale from these traditional models and drawing inspiration from them for new pictorial compositions.

*A Jalq'a weaver from the community of Potolo in the province of Chuquisaca, Bolivia, weaves on her upright loom in the shade of the* enramada *(arbor) in the patio of her home.*
Photo by Olivia Cadaval

*A statement by the Hopi Tribal Council on Hopi participation in the Quincentenary program of the 1991 Festival of American Folklife.*

*The Hopi people are a caring people. We are a patient people. We consider ourselves stewards of this great land called North America. We have welcomed people to these lands to share its resources. Through a forum of this type, we hope that others may come to understand the Hopi people. Today's lifestyle demands a respite. The Hopi can offer this pause in our hectic lives through the sharing of its cultural ways. We hope that the visitors will go away with a better perspective on life . . .*
*that while life is a real challenge, life is also simple.*
*This is the message of the Hopi.*

# The Hopi Dictionary

## Emory Sekaquaptewa

For the first time in its history, the Hopi language is on the threshold of literacy. A Hopi dictionary is being compiled today by project teams from Northern Arizona University and the University of Arizona in collaboration with the Office of Cultural Preservation of the Hopi Nation. It is near completion.

The Hopi language has been spoken by people who have inhabited the areas of northeastern Arizona for nearly two thousand years. It continues to be the foundation of custom, usage and ceremonialism, which rely on oral tradition for their continued existence. Oral tradition incorporates ritual and ceremonial forms, spatial context, and drama to create a powerful tool that makes an indelible mark on the minds and hearts of those participating. The Hopi language, in association with rituals, customs and other forms of usage, continues to call up memories of the past that give meaning to the present and future. For this reason, the Hopi people feel confident that our language is alive today.

Why then, the need for a written form of the Hopi language? It is a proper question, whether literacy in Hopi will enhance its viability in its own cultural setting, or will detract from the power of the spoken word by undermining its use in the traditional context. It is not a technical question whether Hopi can be systematically written, for that has been practically accomplished.

But some Hopis and students of Hopi have expressed concern about the survival of the language in modern times because of the interventions in Hopi culture by modern social and economic institutions. Under these prevailing influences there is no doubt that the Hopi language is threatened with extinction. New generations of Hopis want to be, and are becoming, more and more involved with the outside world. They seek opportunities to meet their own goals in modern society. This is the reality of today's Hopi world that justifies the writing of our language.

Those who work on and contribute to the dictionary are deeply mindful of the implications that written Hopi holds for the future. In addition to important cultural-historical perspectives on Hopi life that the dictionary can reveal, its stated goal is to preserve the language. In so doing it will be a reference tool for producing Hopi literature, and thereby assist the continued evolution of the language. In this sense, the dictionary addresses the concerns of Hopi and non-Hopi people about the survival of the Hopi language. The dictionary is not intended to replace the oral tradition practiced today by establishing a writing system. Neither is it an instrument for a revival of Hopi culture, but rather a way to new vistas for Hopi studies beyond ethnographic approaches.

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# Two Entries from the Hopi Dictionary

1 ENTRY.....yon|ta
2 ALPHABETIZER.....yonta
3 FORM CLASS.....vt.i.
4 DEFINITION.....be doing s. th. for another in order to obligate the person to reciprocate (e.g., plaque weaving, grinding corn, donating gifts to be used at wedding).
5 ENGLISH.....
6 MORPHOLOGY.....yon-ta [debtor-REP]
7 UNDERLYING FORM...../ yoni -tal /
8 INFLECTED FORMS.....~tota
9 COMBINING FORMS.....
10 PAUSAL.....
11 CROSS-REFERENCE.....
12 EXAMPLES.....ÛNu' pumuy ~{ta}qe oovi pangsoq pumuy amungem put yungyaput yawma.£ By taking that plaque to them (for their use), I'm obligating them to pay me back in kind. – ÛNu' ung ~{ta}niqe oovi ungem yungyaplawni.£ I want to get you indebted to me by weaving a plaque for you. – ÛHimuwa hita, sen m'nghintsakpi'ewakw hintsakqw, hak pangsonen pep put engem hita hintsakye', hak pan hakiy ~{ta}ngwu.£ If someone does something, for example a wedding, and one goes there to do something for that person, one is obligating that person to pay back in kind. – ÛPuma oovi pasat {naa}~{ta}ngwu.£ So then they mutually obligate one another (by weaving plaques).

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1 ENTRY.....yotsihanin|ta
2 ALPHABETIZER.....yotsihaninta
3 FORM CLASS.....vi./vt.i.
4 DEFINITION.....be grinding corn inadequately due to inexperience, allowing some of the large pieces to filter down or slide between the metate and the mano.
5 ENGLISH.....
6 MORPHOLOGY.....yotsi-han-i-n-ta
[push:down:into-grind:corn-Ûi-£CAUS-REP]
7 UNDERLYING FORM...../ yohtsi haana -i -na -tal /
8 INFLECTED FORMS.....~tota
9 COMBINING FORMS.....
10 PAUSAL.....
11 CROSS-REFERENCE.....
12 EXAMPLES..... ÛI' pas okiw naat ~{ta}.£ This poor person still allows large pieces of kernels to filter down because of her inexperience. – ÛÛm qa ~{ta}niya.£ Don't grind inadequately (by overlooking some of the larger pieces).

# Our Zapotec Ethnic Identity

Manuel Ríos Morales

We, the Zapotec from the northern mountains in Oaxaca, Mexico, are a group related linguistically and culturally to other Zapotec groups from the valley, the isthmus and the southern mountains. Even though our dialects differ we share the same historical consciousness, a geographical space and similar cultural traditions. We use our differences and similarities to express our particular identity in the context of our national society, which is composed of diverse ethnic identities.

At the regional level our Zapotec identity is recognized in language, in culture and in a shared geography. At district levels, we, who live in the areas of Zoogocho, Yalalag and part of Villa Alta y Cajonos, define ourselves as the *Be'ne'xon*, to distinguish from the *Be'ne'xísha*, Zapotec from Talca; the *Be'ne'reg*, Zapotec from the area of Ixtlan and the *Be'ne'rashe*, Zapotec from the Valley. And at the local level, our Zapotec ethnic identity is defined by the particular historical-structural conditions of our communities of birth — poverty, exploitation, dialect, local culture.

After more than three centuries of colonial destruction, more than a century of political independence with its forces of social disintegration and cultural assimilation, and a decade of overwhelming modernization in the sixties, our identities emerge today with a new strength, a greater awareness of self-preservation and human dignity. Despite the impact of modernization, we have maintained important parts of our culture — such as our cosmology, our communal organization, our language — all important elements in sustaining our identity.

Zapotec ethnic identity has also been preserved by music. In our region, each town has its own music band, small or large. Music is intimately associated with community life, an important element of social cohesion, a language with which to express joy, nostalgia, abundance or deprivation. The music of the region is common to Zapotec, Mixes and Chinatec groups. It includes a variety of marches, waltzes, *boleros, fantasías, sones* and *jarabes*. These musical rhythms are heard in all religious festivities and social events.

Another distinctive trait of Zapotec ethnic identity is the social group formed for communal work and reciprocal help known as *shin-raue* and *gson*. Through these native institutions, the community meets social needs and collaborates in public works when the need arises. Communal labor is not only a way of working; it is also a strategy for defending identity and sharing responsibility which has allowed our peoples to survive as distinct groups.

Recent Zapotec migrations have made the Valley of Mexico, the city of Oaxaca, and Los Angeles, California, new spaces of conquest and establishment of Zapotec cultures. Migration is not only the physical removal of our brothers and sisters, but also the transfer of traditions, values, beliefs, feelings and patterns of day-to-day life into the new settlement areas. Beginning in the fifties, various migrant voluntary associations have emerged: the Zoogocho Fraternal Union in Mexico City, the Zoogocho Unifying Front in Oaxaca and the Zoogocho Social Union of Los Angeles in California.

As contemporary natives, we recognize the great responsibility we have within the structure of our national society. We recognize that the problem before us is how to overcome the contradictions inherent in every dynamic society, such as marginalization, domination, discrimination, self-contempt and self-degradation. We believe that the essence of our identity will endure at least 500 more years, but we also recognize that if we do not assert our own demands, we will continue to have the status of a minority.

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# Nuestra Identidad Etnica Zapoteca

Manuel Ríos Morales

Los zapotecos de la Sierra Norte de Oaxaca, México, formamos parte de un grupo mayor emparentado, lingüística y culturalmente, con zapotecos del Valle, del Istmo y de la Sierra Sur. Aunque nuestros dialectos difieren, todos hemos compartido una misma conciencia histórica, un espacio geográfico específico, una tradición cultural similar. Estos elementos nos han permitido reconocer tanto nuestras diferencias como nuestras similitudes y expresar de esta forma una particular identidad dentro del contexto de nuestra sociedad nacional que esta compuesta por diversas identidades étnicas.

Al nivel regional la identidad zapoteca se reconoce en el idioma, la cultura y una geografía compartida. Los zapotecos que habitamos en las áreas de Zoogocho, Yalálag, parte de Villa Alta y Cajonos, nos autodefinimos como los *be'ne'xon*, a diferencia del *be'ne'xísha*, zapotecos del área de Talca; del *be'ne'reg*, zapotecos del área de Ixtlán y del *be'ne'ráshe*, zapotecos del Valle. Y en el nivel local nuestra identidad étnica zapoteca está aún más definida específicamente por las condiciones histórico-estructurales de nuestra comunidades natales — pobreza, explotación, lengua, dialecto, cultura local.

Después de más de tres siglos de destrucción colonial, de más de un siglo de vida política acompañada por fuerzas sociales de desintegración y asimilación cultural y una importante época de modernización en los años sesenta, nuestras identidades emergen hoy con nuevas fuerzas, con una mayor conciencia de sobrevivencia y de dignidad humana. A pesar del impacto de la modernización, se mantuvieron otras partes importantes de nuestra cultura como son su cosmovisión, su organización comunitaria y su lengua.

La identidad étnica zapoteca, también se ha podido preservar gracias a la importancia que la música tiene entre nosotros. En nuestra región, cada pueblo tiene su propia banda de música, grande o pequeña. La música se encuentra íntimamente vinculada a la vida comunitaria, es y ha sido el elemento de cohesión social por excelencia, otro lenguaje que puede expresar alegría o nostalgia, abundancia o carencia. La música regional es común a los pueblos zapotecos, mixes y chinantecos. Incluye una variedad de marchas, valses, boleros, fantasías y, básicamente, los sones y jarabes. Son los géneros musicales que acompañan a todas las festividades religiosas y los grandes acontecimientos sociales de la comunidad.

Otros rasgos distintivos de la identidad étnica zapoteca lo constituyen el trabajo comunitario y la ayuda mutua que en nuestro zapoteco se conocen como *shin-raue* y *gson*. Con estas instituciones indígenas el pueblo realiza las diversas obras de carácter social y colabora cuando la necesidad o el compromiso así lo requieren. El trabajo comunitario, por su contenido y por sus implicaciones, constituye más que una simple forma de trabajo. La comunidad es una estrategia de defensa de la identidad, un mecanismo de autoidentidad y de responsabilidad que ha permitido a nuestros pueblos sobrevivir como grupos diferenciados.

Recientes migraciones zapotecas han convertido el Valle de México, la ciudad de Oaxaca y Los Angeles en California, en nuevos espacios de conquista y asientos culturales. La migración no es simplemente el desplazamiento físico de nuestros paisanos sino el traslado a las nuevas áreas, de las tradiciones, de los valores, de las creencias, de los sentimientos y de la vida cotidiana. Se dió origen a diversas organizaciones de migrantes desde los años de 1950 como son la Unión Fraternal Zoogochense en la ciudad de México, el Frente Unificador Zoogochense en la cuidad de Oaxaca y la Unión Social Zoogochense de Los Angeles en California.

Los indígenas actuales reconocemos que tenemos una gran responsabilidad dentro de la

*Los zapotecas de la sierra oaxaqueña cultivan en las laderas del monte y crían animales. En el pueblo de Zoogocho cultivan caña de azúcar que procesan en el pueblo. Después de extraer y hervir el liquido, la melaza es vaciada en moldes de madera y enfriada. El azúcar endurecida se envuelve en hoja de maíz.*
Foto de Manuel Ríos

estructura de nuestra sociedad nacional. El dilema que se les presenta hoy a nuestros pueblos es cómo superar las contradicciones inherentes a toda sociedad dinámica incluyendo situaciones o fenómenos tales como la marginación, la dominación, la discriminación, el autodesprecio y la autodegradación. Creemos que la esencia de nuestra identidad podrá continuar por otros 500 años, pero también reconocemos que mientras no seamos capaces de plantear nuestras propias demandas, seguiremos manteniendo la condición de minoría en el marco de la sociedad pluriétnica.

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## Canción Zapoteca

Recopilación del Sr. Demetrio Morales Vicente.

| | |
|---|---|
| Bene Xoon Neda | *Soy zapoteco* |
| Yeshrio zito zanda | *De tierras lejanas vengo* |
| Yeshrio sdun za neda | *de tierras desconocidas también* |
| Chguanda tu bsu | *subiendo una cuesta* |
| chetga tu retg | *bajando otra igual* |
| Bente xen rasho | *quiero que me perdones* |
| Bí gazen chura | *por lo que yo haga* |
| Bente xen rasho | *quiero que me perdones* |
| Bí dá rish cuiro | *por venir a tu casa.* |
| Tu chéla, tu gurída | *Un abrazo y una caricia* |
| Tu bxidze da shneba | *y un beso nomás yo te pido* |
| Bente xen lasho | *quiero que me perdones* |
| bí gazen shia. | *por lo que te digo.* |

# Politics and Culture of Indigenism in Mexico

José Luis Krafft Vera

*translated by Charles H. Roberts*

In Mexico official "indigenism" began to take shape by the 1910s. Its development was influenced by the great social movement of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. Indigenism was the political means used by the state to attend to the development needs of culturally distinct Mexican populations.

A system of thought known as Mexican Indigenism, which brings together research and social action, has become a substantial part of the Mexican School of Anthropology. Indigenism is also fundamental to an understanding of the peculiarities of Mexican nationalism.

Mexican Indigenism has drawn from various currents at different times in the 20th century. Thus, the indigenist policy is not a finished, perfectly systematized whole. Nevertheless, it has provided a model for government policy towards indigenous peoples in other Latin American countries with large indigenous populations. Mexican Indigenism has inspired the establishment of Indian institutes in several Latin American countries, after the First Inter-American Indian Congress held in Pátzcuaro, Michoacán, in 1940.

The initial postulates of indigenism have been modified in light of experience; dynamic efforts continue to shape indigenism in response to the particular developments in the indigenous world. Mexican Indigenism has gone through agrarianist, educational, and developmentalist — also known as integrationist — phases.

In the last twenty years the outlook for the indigenous peoples in Mexico and throughout Latin America has changed significantly. The indigenous movement has developed economic, political, social and cultural organizations with a strategic outlook. Indigenous peoples' growing effectiveness stems from their more decisive engagement of national societies in defense of their human rights, collective and cultural. Marginalized for over 500 years from the main decision-making centers of government, the indigenous resistance in recent years has produced organizations that foster respect for and understanding of traditional values. These millenary cultures, with a powerful wisdom, have been able to survive in national societies in which indigenous peoples are at the bottom of the economic ladder.

This display of organizational strength has had an impact on the state institutional structures that develop indigenous policy today. The National Indigenist Institute (known as INI: Instituto Nacional Indigenista) has abandoned the theoretical and practical policy of integrationist indigenism, adapting its actions to the organizational renaissance of the indigenous peoples. No longer are indigenous initiatives supplanted by state agents who underestimate indigenous peoples' capacity to manage their own development based on their life experiences, plans and capabilities.

Thus, indigenous peoples play a more prominent role in society. Their organizational movement, which encompasses the 56 ethnic groups that live in Mexico, each with its own culture and language, has stated three main principles that must be made part of the INI's policy:

1. Indigenous peoples and communities must *participate* in planning and implementation of the INI's programs.
2. This participation should culminate in the *transfer of institutional functions and resources* to indigenous organizations and communities, and to other public institutions and social groups involved in and committed to indigenist action.
3. INI must *coordinate* all of its actions with federal, state and municipal institutions, and social organizations and with international agencies.

These general principles for governmental action by the INI are motivated by a firm resolve to break the fetters that inhibit the full and integral development of the indigenous peoples of Mexico. The indigenous peoples number 8 mil-

*In the highland communities of Chiapas, textiles represent complex cultural ideas. Designs may represent the origin of human society or the identity and history of a local community. Petrona Méndez Intzin, a Tzeltal Maya weaver from Tenejapa in the highlands of Chiapas, brocades on the traditional backstrap loom of the region.* Photo by Ricardo Martínez

lion in 1991, accounting for over nine percent of the Mexican population, based on projections from the 1980 National Census. No other country of the Americas has as large an indigenous population as Mexico.

The key demands raised by the indigenous communities and their organizations include equal justice and equality in civil rights and obligations, as required by law for all Mexicans. The National Commission of Justice for the Indigenous Peoples of Mexico was established by presidential initiative in April 1989. This Commission, presided over by the Director of the INI, Dr. Arturo Warman, is charged with proposing changes in the Mexican Constitution, after consultations with indigenous and other organizations involved in development and indigenous affairs. These constitutional changes will lead to recognition of indigenous cultural rights for the first time in the history of independent Mexico. This Presidential initiative was presented to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. Article 4 of the Constitution is to be amended to recognize that Mexico is a multicultural country and that indigenous peoples have specific rights.

Members of the Ikood, Zapotec, Tzotzil, Tzetzal and Lacandon cultures, representing the states of Oaxaca and Chiapas, which have the highest density of indigenous populations and cultures in the country, are participating this summer in the Festival of American Folklife.

This cultural exhibition will offer the public an opportunity to learn about indigenous knowledge and wisdom of the land and the environment. Now that the Western world has begun to turn its attention to the environment of the planet, the indigenous peoples of the Americas — despite having all institutional practices operate against their interests for the last 500 years — offer us their knowledge of the harmony that must be preserved between man and nature.

The hour of the earth has come; and it is time to listen to the indigenous peoples of our America. The subjugation and discrimination of recent centuries will be no more in the new millennium. The cultural resistance of indigenous peoples should find expression in a full renaissance of their indigenous abilities, for the benefit of all inhabitants of this planet.

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# Politica y Cultura en el Presente Indígena de México

José Luis Krafft Vera

El Indigenismo oficial en México se formó dentro de una tradición que comienza, por lo menos,desde la segunda década del presente siglo, bajo la influencia del gran movimiento social que significó la Revolución Mexicana de 1910. Este movimiento fue la política diseñada por el estado para atender el desenvolvimiento integral de las poblaciones consideradas culturalmente diferentes. Entre sus representantes están Manuel Gamio, Moisés Sáenz, Alfonso Caso, Alfonso Villa Rojas, Gonzálo Aguirre Beltrán, Ricardo Pozas, quienes le han dado un cariz teórico básico a ese sistema de pensamiento denominado indigenismo mexicano. Considerado como parte sustancial de la Escuela Mexicana de Antropología, por su carácter inseparable de investigación-acción, se considera un núcleo de pensamiento fundamental para entender las peculiaridades intrínsecas del nacionalismo mexicano.

El indigenismo mexicano se ha nutrido de corrientes diversas en determinados momentos de la historia del presente siglo. Esto impide mostrar la política indigenista como un todo acabado y perfectamente sistematizado, pero ha contribuido a fijar las reglas de acción del ámbito estatal en los países del subcontinente latino-americano, que cuentan con importantes núcleos poblacionales indígenas. Ha sido base fundamental para la fundación de instituciones indigenistas en naciones de la geografía mencionada, después del Primer Congreso Indigenista Interamericano celebrado en Pátzcuaro, Michoacán, en l940.

El indigenismo ha atravesado circunstancias concretas habiendo así modificado sus postulados iniciales en un afán dinámico de adecuarse a los ritmos particulares del andar indígena. Se identifican como momentos del indigenismo mexicano: el de corte agrarista, el educacional, y el desarrollista, también conocido como integracionista, cuyo principal exponente es el Dr. Aguirre Beltrán.

En los últimos veinte años el panorama al que se circunscriben los indígenas del país, y en general en toda Latinoamérica, ha mostrado modificaciones considerables. La capacidad organizativa indígena se destaca a nivel económico, político, social y cultural observándose una disposición estratégica. Para el mundo indígena, su efectividad radica en una inmersión más resuelta en las sociedades nacionales que los incluyen y absorben, y en una defensa de sus derechos humanos colectivos y culturales. Marginado de las instancias primeras de decisión del poder gubernamental desde hace medio milenio, en años recientes el poder de resistencia indígena ha establecido organizaciones que los representen y defiendan el respeto y comprensión de sus valores tradicionales. Estas culturas milenarias con un saber poderoso han logrado sobrevivir en sociedades nacionales en las que los indígenas ocupan el nivel económico más bajo.

Esta demostración organizativa ha tenido repercusión en las esferas estatales encargadas de diseñar la política indigenista en el presente. Actualmente el Instituto Nacional Indigenista ha abandonado las direcciones teórico-prácticas del indigenismo integrador para adecuar su acción a este renacimiento organizativo indígena. Se ha terminado con la suplantación de iniciativas indígenas por parte de agentes estatales que desvalorizaban la capacidad de gestión indígena para desarrollar, desde su vivencia, sus proyectos principales y las maneras adecuadas de realizarlos.

Esta "puesta al día" del quehacer indigenista con el movimiento organizacional mostrado por las 56 étnias con cultura y lenguas diferentes que habitan nuestro territorio nacional, tiene tres principios generales de acción:

1. La *participación* de los pueblos y comunidades indígenas en la planificación y ejecución de los programas de la Institución Indigenista.

2. La participación debe culminar en el *traspaso de funciones y recursos* institucionales a las organizaciones y colectividades indígenas, así como a otras instituciones públicas y grupos de la sociedad involucrados y comprometidos en la acción indigenista.

3. La *coordinación* con las instituciones federales, estatales, municipales, de la sociedad, y con los organismos internacionales como un principio permanente en toda la acción implementada por el Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI).

Estos principios generales de acción gubernamental efectivizados por el INI son animados por la intención resuelta de terminar con las amarras que inhiben el desarrollo pleno e integral de los pueblos indígenas de México, una población dinámica que representa, en términos demográficos oficiales, más del 9% del total de mexicanos. Basada en el censo poblacional de 1980, esto significa en 1991 más de ocho millones de indígenas. Ningún otro país del continente americano tiene, en números absolutos, la población indígena que tiene México.

Dentro de las demandas clarificadas por las comunidades indígenas y sus organizaciones es muy importante la de procurar la igualdad de justicia en sus derechos y obligaciones ciudadanas, como lo demanda la ley para todos los mexicanos. Por iniciativa presidencial, se fundó la Comisión Nacional de Justicia para los Pueblos Indios de México en abril de 1989. Esta comisión, presidida por el Dr. Arturo Warman, Director General del INI, tiene la tarea de proponer, después de previas consultas con organizaciones indígenas y de la sociedad involucradas en el desarrollo y el acontecer indígena. Esta iniciativa de Decreto Presidencial que fue sometida a las Cámaras de Diputados y Senadores a mediados de abril de 1991 que reconoce la realidad pluricultural de México en el artículo 4 de la Constitución, admitirá la especificidad cultural de los pueblos indígenas y sus derechos colaterales. El mencionado artículo integraría el siguiente texto:

> La Nación Mexicana tiene una composición pluricultural sustentada originalmente en sus pueblos indígenas. La ley protegerá y promoverá el desarrollo de sus lenguas, culturas, usos, costumbres, recursos, formas especifícas de organización social, y garantizará a sus integrantes el efectivo acceso a la juridicción del estado. En los juicios y procedimientos agrarios en que aquellos sean parte, se tomarán en cuenta sus prácticas y costumbres jurídicas en los términos que establezca la ley.

*María Patistán Licanchiton, una chamula maya tzotzil de los altos de Chiapas en México, hila lana de borrego en el patio de su casa. El borrego que fue traído por los españoles, era llamado "venado de algodón por los mayas."* Foto de Ricardo Martínez

Participan este verano en el Festival de Culturas Tradicionales Americanas miembros de las étnias ikoods, zapoteca, tzotzil, tzetzal y lacandona, representando los estados de Oaxaca y Chiapas, dos de los estados mexicanos con mayor densidad demográfica y cultural indígena de nuestra República.

Con esta muestra cultural el público asistente tendrá la oportunidad de relacionarse con el conocimiento y sabiduría del indígena sobre la tierra y el medio ambiente que lo rodea. Ahora que el mundo occidental ha empezado a preocuparse por el cuidado ambiental del planeta que habitamos, las culturas indígenas de las Américas, a pesar de haber tenido todo en contra en estos últimos quinientos años, nos ofrecen su conocimiento sobre la armonía que el hombre debe guardar en su relación con el entorno natural.

Es la "hora del planeta" y también la hora de escuchar al indígena de nuestro continente. Los siglos últimos de sujeción y discriminación no deben transmitirse al nuevo milenio. La resistencia cultural indígena debe convertirse en el renacimiento pleno de las capacidades indígenas para el mejor provecho de todos los habitantes de nuestro planeta.

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# An Excerpt From *San Pedro Chenalhó: Something of its History, Stories and Customs*

Jacinto Arias

This late 19th or early 20th century episode in the history of San Pedro Chenalhó, a village in the highlands of Chiapas, is told by one a scribe, Manuel Arias. As a village scribe, his role is to chronicle events and transmit written communications between relatives, between community members and between the local village and the outside authorities. In this fragment, he recalls a village scribe who abused this power and betrayed his community, a familiar theme in the history of the subjugation of Native American cultures.

Throughout the period of Spanish domination, natives had to endure being treated like children by the *Kaxlanetik* (the descendants of the Spaniards). The image of the Spanish master was glorified in San Pedro Apostol, father of the Pedrano people. San Pedro is not a native but a European god. The relationship between the patron saint and his children crystallizes the one between *Kaxlanetik* and natives during the time when they felt like the domestic animals of the Spaniards.

For a long time after the Spanish arrived, the Pedrano territory was free from incursions. As early as 1850, there were only two ranches. It was during the Porfirian era that most of the plantations were established, and the Pedrano people started to feel the brunt of slavery. To continue working the land they had owned for generations, peasants had also to work three days a week for the landowners.

The central authority of the native parish (*lum*) did not allow the *Kaxlanetik* to live in the community. They could visit the town only as merchants during holidays and weekends; the rest of the time they lived in their homes in the town of San Cristóbal (*Jobel*). The lands surrounding this town provided firewood only to the native parish. The *Kaxlanetik* had none of the rights to the lands that they have today.

During the Porfirian era the best ally of the *Kaxlanetik* against the natives was a Pedrano scribe named Antonio Bótaz, who instead of protecting his own people, helped the Spaniards acquire land within the *lum* to build houses and sell merchandise. The town was thus profaned, but no one protested because Bótaz had a lot of power. He threatened and abused the people extensively. In a conspiracy with the Presidential office, he gave Spaniards the lands surrounding the town.

This is when the Pedranos began to feel estranged from the land that gave them their identity, security and protection. They assembled with apprehension on Sundays and holidays, for their authorities had not been able to defend the *lum*. Before, a single *Kaxlanetik* gave orders, but now many wanted power. It was not the same to take orders from them when they lived outside in San Cristóbal, as to watch them stroll arrogantly in the middle of the native parish. It was far less humiliating to carry the Spaniards' suitcases when they were only travelers than to carry packages for their wives and daughters, who daily mistreated them.

Pedranos surely felt neglected by their protectors: Why — if they were gods — did they not destroy these people who made them suffer? Were they also weak and afraid like their own sons? But they continued to pray at night, for the night has hidden forces to help the neglected Pedranos gain courage. They prayed and asked for courage from their scribes. They said to their gods:

> If you have not given our authorities
> Enough courage in their hearts,
> If you have not given them
> Enough cleverness in their heads,
> Let someone rise among your children
> With a strong heart
> To face the *Kaxlanetik*.

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# Fragmento de *San Pedro Chenalhó: Algo de su Historia, Cuentos y Costumbres*

Jacinto Arias

Este episodio en la historia a fines del siglo 19 y principios del 20 de San Pedro Chenalhó en los altos de Chiapas, es narrado por el escribano Manuel Arias. Como el cronista del pueblo, el escribano mantiene su historia y facilita la comunicación entre miembros de la comunidad y entre los pueblos y autoridades fuera de la comunidad. En este fragmento, habla de un escribiente que abusó de su poder y traicionó a su comunidad, un tema familiar en la historia de subjugación de las culturas nativas de América.

A lo largo de la dominación española los indios tuvieron que soportar el trato de niños que les daban los *kaxlanetik* (ladinos). La imagen del ladino patrón quedó entronizado en la persona de San Pedro Apóstol que es un gran *kaxlan* padre de los pedranos. San Pedro no es un dios nativo sino ladino. La relación entre el Santo Patrono y sus hijos cristaliza la que existío entre ladinos y nativos en los tiempos más difíciles cuando éstos se sintieron como pollos, puercos o perros, frente a aquéllos.

Durante mucho tiempo, después de la venida de los españoles, el territorio pedrano estuvo libre de las invasiones ladinas. Por 1850, según los títulos de compras que los pedranos hicieron de sus propias tierras al Gobierno, había nada más dos ranchos que estaban en las líneas mojoneras con Pantelhó y Tenejapa; por lo que muy probablemente las haciendas se establecieron en el territorio pedrano durante la jefatura política que estuvo en Larráinzar poco antes y durante el porfiriato. Fue entonces cuando los hijos de San Pedro empezaron a sentir más de cerca la esclavitud de parte de los dueños de las haciendas; fue cuando las tierras que poseían los trabajadores desde generaciones anteriores empezaron a ser baldías y ellos, mozos; entonces varios de ellos comenzarón a trabajar tres días a la semana para el patrón con tal de que pudieran sembrar en las tierras que sus padres les habían dejado; o a servir de mozos para pagar las grandes deudas que tenían con el patrón.

El *lum*, la cabecera municipal, no había aceptado la residencia de los ladinos. Estos visitaban el pueblo sólo como comerciantes durante las fiestas, sábados y domingos; el resto del tiempo vivían en sus casas en *Jobel* (San Cristóbal). Las tierras que están alrededor del pueblo servían sólo para dar leña a las autoridades y demás personas que celebraban las fiestas de los santos; ningún ladino alegaba tener derechos sobre ellas como ahora.

Pero el porfiriato tuvo de aliado a Antonio Bótaz, un escribano que, lejos de ser defensor de su pueblo, se puso del lado de los ladinos. Por unos garrafones de trago, unos manojos de carne salada, unos cigarros y unas cuantas "tortillas ladinas," permitió que los comerciantes hicieran, primero, sus galeras para vender sus mercancías, luego, sus casas dentro del *lum*. Se profanó el pueblo, pero nadie protestaba porque Antonio Bótaz era muy temido; aventajaba a los ladinos en el maltrato a sus paisanos: al saludo reverente de inclinación de cabeza de los que pedían justicia respondía con los pies, en lugar de corresponder con la mano como es costumbre; abusaba de las mujeres de los que mandaba a la cárcel.

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*Jacinto Arias es Director del Departamento de Culturas Etnicas del Instituto Chiapaneco de Cultura del Estado de Chiapas. Se ha dedicado a la defensa de las culturas indígenas de Chiapas y en particular a la preservación de la lengua y su escritura. Recibió su doctorado en antropología de la Universidad de Princeton. Sus publicaciones incluyen* El mundo numinoso de los mayas, *y* San Pedro Chenalhó: Algo de su Historia, Cuentos y Costumbres.

Antonio Bótaz supo dar más miedo a los ya temerosos paisanos suyos: "Si te alzas, si sigues hablando, si no obedeces lo que te digo, te irás muy lejos para no regresar jamás a tu casa," decía a los acusados de cualquier delito. También en complicidad con el secretario de la presidencia José Aguilar Rodas, fue el que dio a los ladinos las parcelas de las orillas del pueblo.

Así los pedranos comenzaron a sentir enajenación del pedazo de tierra que les daba identidad, seguridad, protección; ya con temor se congregaban los domingos y días de fiesta; su ayuntamiento no había sido capaz de ser el baluarte, el fortín, del *lum*. Sí, anteriormente también era el secretario el que mandaba en el pueblo, pero no era lo mismo tener a un ladino que a varios que comenzaban a querer apoderarse de la autoridad del pueblo; no era lo mismo recibir instrucciones del ladino que vivía en San Andrés o en San Cristóbal que ver pasearse altaneramente a varios de ellos en el corazón del mismo pueblo; tampoco era tan humillante para los regidores y los alguaciles cargar las maletas de ladinos transeúntes como cargar a las esposas e hijas de quienes recibían maltratos de diario.

Se sintió seguramente el pedrano abandonado por sus seres protectores. ¿Por qué, si eran dioses, no acababan con esas personas que los hacían sufrir? Acaso los dioses eran también débiles y temerosos como sus hijos? Sin embargo siguieron rezando sobre todo en las noches porque ésta, que esconde fuerzas imperceptibles, da valor al pedrano que se siente abandonado; rezaban y pedían valor a sus escribanos o decían a sus dioses:

Me muk' xavak'be stzatzal sjol yo'onik
ti boch'otik va'al tek'el avu'une, kajval,
ak'o yaluk tal, ak'o tz'ujuk tal avu'un
ti boch'o skotol sjol
skotol yo'on satilta sba
sva'lebin sba xchi'uk
ti sba avol, sba anich'one.

*Si a éstos no les diste*
*valor en sus corazones,*
*si no les diste*
*talento en sus cabezas,*
*que venga, que se levante de entre tus hijos,*
*alguno de corazón fuerte*
*para que se plante a los ladinos.*

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

# 1991 Festival of American Folklife

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## June 28-July 1/July 4-July 7

*Co-sponsored by the National Park Service*

# General Information

## Festival Hours

Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held on the Main Music Stage in the Roots of Rhythm and Blues area at 11:00 a.m., Friday, June 28th. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties every evening 5:30 to 7:00 p.m., except July 4th.

## Horario del Festival

La ceremonia de apertura al Festival se celebrará en el escenario del Programa de "Roots of Rhythm and Blues," el 28 de junio a las 11:00 A.M. A partir de ese día, las horas del Festival serán de 11:00 a.m. a las 5:30 p.m. diariamente, con baile cada noche, excepto el 4 de julio, de 5:30 p.m. a 7:00 P.M.

## Sales

Traditional food from Indonesia, Central and South America and the midwestern United States will be sold. See the site map for locations.

A variety of crafts, books and Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings relating to the 1991 Festival will be sold in the Museum Shop tents on the Festival site.

## Press

Visiting members of the press should register at the Festival Press tent on the Mall near Madison Drive and 12th Street.

## First Aid

A first aid station will be available near the Administration area on the Mall. The Health Units in the Museums of American History and Natural History are open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

## Primeros Auxilios

Una unidad de primeros auxilios se instalará cerca del área de la Administración. Las unidades de salud en los museos de Historia Norteamericana y de Historia Natural estarán abiertos desde las 10:00 a.m. hasta las 5:30 p.m.

## Rest Rooms/Telephones

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

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.

## Personas y objetos Perdido

Las personas que hayan perdido a sus niños o a familiares pueden pasar por la carpa para voluntarios, en el área de la Administración por ellos. Recomendamos que los niños lleven puestos tarjeta de identificación con sus nombres. Los objetos encontrados o extraviados podrán entregarse o reclamarse en dicha carpa.

## 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 and Orange lines.

## Services for Disabled Visitors

Four sign-language interpreters are on site every day at the Festival. Check the printed schedule and signs for interpreted programs. Oral interpreters are available for individuals if a request is made three full days in advance. Call (202) 786-2414 (TDD) or (202) 786-2942 (voice). An audio-loop amplification system for people who are hard of hearing is installed at the Roots of Rhythm and Blues Music Stage.

Large-print copies of the daily schedule and audiocassette versions of the program book and schedule are available free of charge at Festival information kiosks and the Volunteer tent.

Wheelchairs are available at the Festival Volunteer tent, Volunteers are on call to assist wheelchair users and to guide visually handicapped visitors. There are a few designated parking spaces for disabled visitors along both Mall drives. These spaces have three hour time restrictions.

## Evening Dance Parties

Musical groups playing traditional dance music will perform every evening, 5:30-7:00 p.m., except July 4th. See daily schedules for specific locations.

## Program Book

Background information on the cultural traditions of Indonesia, native people of North and South America, family farming in the midwestern United States and the roots of rhythm and blues is available in the *Festival of American Folklife Program Book*, on sale for $3.00 at the Festival site or by mail from the Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institution, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W., Suite 2600, Washington, D.C. 20560.

# Participants in the 1991 Festival of American Folklife

## Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era

**Home/Work/Social Gatherings**

R.P. Hunt, harmonica - Coldwater, Mississippi

*Children's Games*

Brightwood Elementary School students

*Fife & Drum*

Jesse Mae Hemphill, drum - Como, Mississippi
Napolean Strickland, fife - Como, Mississippi
Abe Young, drum - Como, Mississippi

R.L. Boyce, drum - Como, Mississippi
E.P. Burton, drum - Como, Mississippi
Bernice Evans, drum - Senatobia, Mississippi
Otha Turner, fife - Senatobia, Mississippi

*Work Chants*

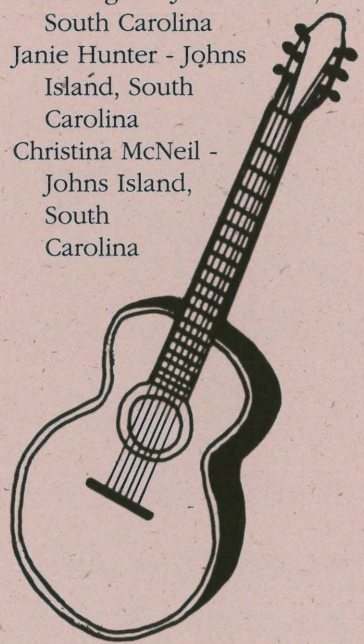
"Railroad Maintenance Workers"
Henry Caffe - Birmingham, Alabama
Arthur James - Birmingham, Alabama
John Henry Mealing - Birmingham, Alabama
Abraham Parker - Birmingham, Alabama
Cornelius Wright - Birmingham, Alabama

David Savage - Greenville, Mississippi
Joseph Savage - Greenville, Mississippi

**Spirituals and Gospel**

"McIntosh County Shouters"
Catherine Campbell - Townsend, Georgia
Thelma Ellison - Townsend, Georgia
Harold Evans - Townsend, Georgia
Lawrence McIver - Townsend, Georgia
Verti McIver - Townsend, Georgia
Benjamin Reed - Townsend, Georgia
Doretha Skipper - Townsend, Georgia
Carletha Sullivan - Townsend, Georgia
Elizabeth Temple - Townsend, Georgia
Odessa Young - Townsend, Georgia

"Moving Star Hall Singers"
Benjamin Bligen - Johns Island, South Carolina
Ruth Bligen - Johns Island, South Carolina
Janie Hunter - Johns Island, South Carolina
Christina McNeil - Johns Island, South Carolina



Mary Pinckney - Johns Island, South Carolina
Loretta Stanley - Johns Island, South Carolina

Reverend Leon Pinson, guitar - New Albany, Mississippi
Lee Russell Howard, keyboards - New Albany, Mississippi

**Delta Blues**

Kent DuChaine, guitar - Birmingham, Alabama
David "Honeyboy" Edwards, guitar - Chicago, Illinois
Michael Frank, harmonica - Chicago, Illinois
Frank Frost, harmonica/ piano - Clarksdale, Mississippi
Robert Jr. Lockwood, guitar - Cleveland, Ohio
Lonnie Pitchford, guitar - Lexington, Mississippi
Gene Schwartz, bass guitar - Cleveland, Ohio
Johnny Shines, guitar - Tuscaloosa, Alabama
Henry Townsend, guitar/ piano - St. Louis, Missouri
Elmore Williams, guitar/ mouth sounds - Natchez, Mississippi

"Mamie Davis Blues Band"
Dale Cusic, drums - Greenville, Mississippi
Mamie Davis, vocals - Greenville, Mississsippi
Albert Foe, bass guitar - Greenville, Mississippi
Larry Blackwell, guitar - Greenville, Mississippi

## Family Farming in the Heartland

**Farm Families**

*Arnold Family*
*Rushville, Indiana*
(hog and grain farming)
Clarence "Jake" Arnold
Eleanor Arnold
John Arnold
Leslie Arnold

*Borman Family*
*Kingdom City, Missouri*
(dairy farming)
Harlan Borman
Katherine Borman
Kelly Borman
Timothy Borman

*Cerny Family*
*Cobden, Illinois*
(tomato, pepper, grain, and beef cattle farming)
Anthony Cerny
Betty Cerny
Eric Cerny
Josephine Cerny
Norbert Cerny
Richard Cerny
Theresa Cerny
Thomas Cerny

*Dahl Family*
*Mineral Point, Wisconsin*
(dairy farming and gardening)
Pascalena Dahl
Tony Dahl
Vickie Dahl

*Gustad Family*
*Volin, South Dakota*
(hog and grain farming)
Jeannie Gustad
Ordell "Bud" Gustad
Paul Gustad
Shari Gustad
Steve Gustad
Virginia Gustad

*Hill Family*
*Imlay City, Michigan*
(potato farming)
Lynnette Hill
Russell Hill

Shannon Hill
Tyrone Hill

*Holmquist Family*
*Smolan, Kansas*
(wheat and beef cattle farming)
Darrel Holmquist
Marlysue Holmquist
Mary Holmquist
Thomas Holmquist

*Jones Family*
*Ainsworth, Nebraska*
(hog, beef cattle and grain farming)
Brendon Jones
Carol Jones
David Jones
Lois Jones

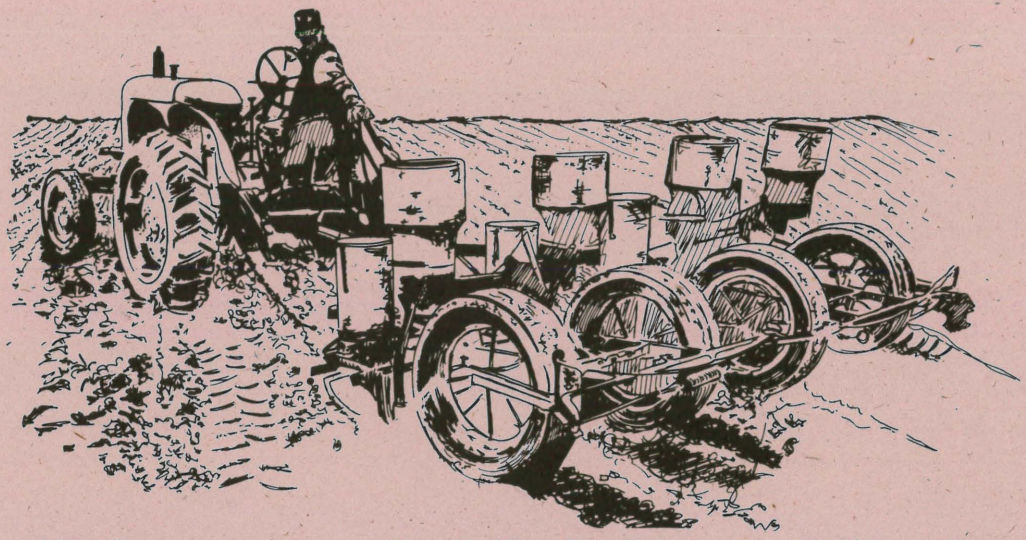
*Logenbach Family*
*Fremont, Ohio*
(cucumber, sugar beet and cattle farming)
Connie Logenbach
Larry Logenbach
Mike Logenbach

*Peters Family*
*Vallonia, Indiana*
(popcorn and beef cattle farming)
Larry Peters
Lavena Peters
Peg Peters
Ralph Peters

*Simanek Family*
*Walker, Iowa*
(grain and beef cattle farming)
Allen Simanek
Arthur Simanek
Dorothy Simanek
Linda Simanek

*Sage-Chase and Voigt Family*
*Halliday, North Dakota*
(Mandan Indian gardening)
Louise Otter "Pretty Eagle" Sage
Bob "Moves Slowly" Sage-Chase
Ann Charity "Cornsilk" Voigt
Janet "Bird Woman" Voigt

*Tomesh Family*
*Rice Lake, Wisconsin*



(dairy farming)
John Tomesh
Joseph Tomesh
Rose Tomesh
Virginia Tomesh

**Crafts**
Wilma Brueggemeier, quilter - Norwood, Minnesota
Marian Day, cook - W. Lebanon, Indiana
William Day, wooden bowl maker - W. Lebanon, Indiana
Deonna Green, quilter - Remus, Michigan
Paula Guhin, corn mural artist - Aberdeen, South Dakota
Elnora Henschen, quilter - Norwood, Minnesota
Gertrude Hornebrink, quilter - Waconia, Minnesota
Arnold Ische, rug weaver - Cologne, Minnesota
Lillian Ische, rug weaver - Cologne, Minnesota
Harold Plate, whirligig maker - Hedrich, Iowa
Patricia Plate, whirligig maker - Hedrich, Iowa
Dale Rippentrop, corn mural decorator - Mitchell, South Dakota
Arthur Sayler, postrock cutter - Albert, Kansas
Arthur Sayler III, postrock cutter - Albert, Kansas
Beatrice Sayler, rug maker - Albert, Kansas
Cal Shultz, corn mural artist - Mitchell, South Dakota
Dean Strand, corn mural decorator - Mitchell, South Dakota
Ione Todd, quilter - Remus, Michigan

**Threshing**
Ronald E. Miller, Genesoe, Illinois
Lora Lea Miller, Geneseo, Illinois
Russell L. Miller, Geneseo, Illinois
James Daniel "J.D." Miller, Geneseo, Illinois
Herb Wessel, Hampstead, Maryland
Russell Wolfinger, Hagerstown, Maryland
Henry Thomas, Washington, D.C.

**Music**
*Old Time Fiddle Contest*
Kenny Applebee, guitar - Rush Hill, Missouri
Amos Chase, fiddle - Grantville, Kansas
Dwight "Red" Lamb, fiddle/button accordion - Onawa, Iowa
Preston "Pete" McMahan, fiddle - Harrisburg, Missouri
Kenneth Sidle, fiddle - Newark, Ohio
Lynn "Chirps" Smith, fiddle - Grayslake, Illinois
Tom Weisgerber, fiddle - St. Peter, Minnesota
Michele Blizzard, fiddle - Frazeyburg, Ohio

*Midwestern Parlor Music Styles*
Art Galbraith, fiddle - Springfield, Missouri
Paul Keller, ragtime piano - Hutchinson, Kansas
Gordon McCann, guitar - Springfield, Missouri
Bob Andresen, guitar - Duluth, Minnesota
Gary Andresen, guitar - Duluth, Minnesota

*Farm Songs and Stories*
Chuck Suchy, singer/songwriter - Mandan, North Dakota
Michael Cotter, storyteller - Austin, Minnesota

*Brian and the Mississippi Valley Dutchmen*
Brian Brueggen, band leader, concertina - Cashton, Wisconsin
Wilhelm Oelke, drums/vocals - Coon Valley, Wisconsin
Louis Allen, tuba - McFarland, Wisconsin
Philip Brueggen, trumpet/vocals - Cashton, Wisconsin
Don Burghardt, trumpet/trombone/vocals - Sturdevant, Wisconsin
Milton "Tony" Jorgenson, banjo - Coon Valley, Wisconsin

*Country Travellers*
Lillie Anderson, bass - Thompsonville, Illinois
Phyllis Davis, rhythm guitar/vocals - Benton, Illinois
Willard Davis, rhythm guitar - Benton, Illinois
Ernest Rhynes, lead guitar - Ina, Illinois

Lloyd "Boot" Shew, fiddle - Thompsonville, Illinois
Sidney Logsdon, square dance caller - Versailles, Illinois

*The Simanek Family*
Allen Simanek, trombone - Walker, Iowa
Anton Simanek, tuba/ baritone horn - Walker, Iowa
Arthur Simanek, accordion - Walker, Iowa

*Eastern Iowa Brass Band*
Barbara Biles, alto horn - Springville, Iowa
Todd Bransky, tuba - Solon, Iowa
Beth Brooks, percussion - Crawfordsville, Iowa
Norman Brooks, tuba - Crawfordsville, Iowa
Jerry Buxton, tuba - Iowa City, Iowa
Nancy Coles, coronet - Mt. Vernon, Iowa
Renee Crisman, trombone - Solon, Iowa
David DeHoff, announcer - Marion, Iowa
Joan DeHoff, coronet - Marion, Iowa
Lyle Hanna, bass trombone - Mt. Vernon, Iowa
Beth Hronek, coronet - Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Fred Hucke, flugelhorn - Cedar Falls, Iowa
Susan Hucke, coronet - Cedar Falls, Iowa
Melissa Karr, trombone - Iowa City, Iowa
Steve Kinney, coronet - Harper's Ferry, Iowa
Viola Koster, coronet - Marion, Iowa
Tim Lockwood, percussion - Mt. Vernon, Iowa
Dennis Modracek, coronet - Cedar Rapids, Iowa
George Mullaly, baritone horn - Iowa City, Iowa
Harvey Nicholson, euphonium - Iowa City, Iowa
Richard Rockrohr, percussion - Mt. Vernon, Iowa
Nancy Roorda, euphonium - Iowa City, Iowa
Don Stine, conductor, euphonium - Mt. Vernon, Iowa
Judy Stine, alto horn - Mt. Vernon, Iowa
Kevin Tiedemann, percussion - Lisbon, Iowa
Robert Upmeyer, alto horn - Solon, Iowa
Robert Warner, coronet - Anamosa, Iowa

*Conjunto Los Bribones*
Juan Herrera, Jr., drums - Defiance, Ohio
Juan Herrera, Sr., bass guitar - Defiance, Ohio
Rudy Tijerina, Jr., guitar - Archboid, Ohio
Rudy Tijerina, Sr., accordion/vocals - Defiance, Ohio
Robert Valle, guitar - Defiance, Ohio

*Swiss American Music*
Martha Bernet, accordion/ vocals - Monroe, Wisconsin
Betty Vetterli, accordion/ vocals - Monroe, Wisconsin

*Moon Mullins and the Traditional Grass*
Paul "Moon" Mullins, fiddle/ vocals - Middletown, Ohio
Gerald Evans, Jr., mandolin/ vocals - Cincinatti, Ohio
Glen Inman, bass - W. Carollton, Ohio
William Joseph "Joe" Mullins, banjo/vocals - Hamilton, Ohio
Charles Mark Rader, guitar/ vocals - Trenton, Ohio

*Farm Broadcasting*
Rich Hawkins, KRVN - Lexington, Nebraska
Lee Kline, WHO - Des Moines, Iowa
Verlene Looker, KMA - Shenandoah, Iowa

# Indonesia

**East Kalimantan**
H. Zailani Idris, Regional Coordinator

*Kenyah*
Pangun Jalung, dancer
Peding Ajang, dancer
Buaq Aring, dancer
Ngang Bilung, dancer
Peluhat Saring, dancer
Pelajam Udou, dancer
Lawai Jalung, musician
Pelenjau Ala, lamin builder
Ajan Ding, lamin builder
Dau Kirung, beadworker
Alina Ubang, weaver
Agang Merang, blacksmith

*Modang*
Lehong Bujai, musician
Jiu Ping Lei, musician
Djeng Hong, hudok dancer
Y. Bayau Lung, hudok dancer
Yonas Wang Beng, hudok carver
Bit Beng, hudok dancer

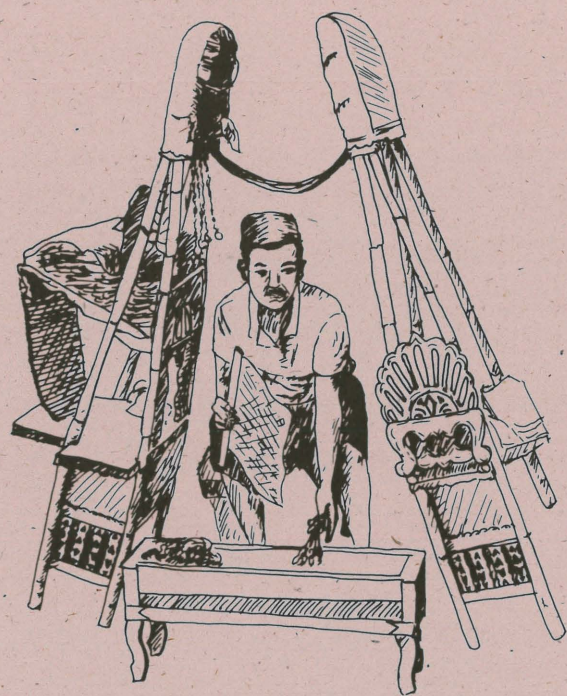
**South Sulawesi**
Halilintar Lathief, Regional Coordinator

Hamsinah Bado, dancer
Hasnah Gassing, dancer
Daeng Gassing musician/ dancer
Mile Ngalle, musician/ dancer
Juma, musician
Jamaluddin, musician
Serang Dakko, musician
Ismail Madung, musician
H. Damang, boat builder
H. Muhammad Tahir, boat builder
Martawang La Pucu, weaver
Roslina Suaib, foodways

**East Java**
A. M. Munardi - Regional Coordinator

*East Java - Madura*
Hosnan P. Atromu, dancer
Fauzi, dancer
Masruna, dancer/musician
Merto, dancer/musician
"Supakra" Sudjibta, dancer/ mask carver
Marzuki, musician
A.S. Marzuki, musician
Muhni, musician
Sahabuddin, musician
Sutayyib, musician
Sutipno, musician
Saleh, musician
Sunarwi, musician
Suraji, musician
Riskijah, foodways
Hadiya, traditional medicine

*East Java - Banyuwangi*
Astani, dancer
Supinah, dancer
Adenan, musician



Praminto Adi, musician
Basuki, musician
Sahuni, musician
Sukidi, musician
Sanali, musician
Sumitro Hadi, musician

*East Java - Ponorogo*
Buwono, reog performer
Harjokemun al Moloq, reog performer
Heri Suprayitno, reog performer
Margono, reog performer
Marwan, reog performer
Nardi, reog performer
Saleh, reog performer
Shodiq, reog performer
Subroto, reog performer
Sunardi, reog performer
Suparman, reog performer
Kusnan, gamelan maker
Misri, gamelan maker

*East Java - Tuban*
Rukaiyah, batik dyer
Tarsi, batik dyer

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# Land in Native American Cultures

**Alaska**
*Haida*
Dolores Churchill, weaver/basketmaker
Holly J. Churchill, weaver/basketmaker

*Tlingit*
Austin Hammond, storyteller/subsistence
Ernestine Hanlon, weaver
Esther Susan Shea, beader/storyteller
Mark Jacobs, Jr., subsistence
Nathan Jackson, carver/dancer/subsistence
Nora Marks Dauenhauer, dancer/singer
Steven Jackson, carver/dancer

*Tsimshian*
Jack Hudson, carver/dancer/singer

**Arizona**
*Hopi*
Fawn Garcia, potter
James "Masa" Garcia, potter
Marcus "Cooch" Coochwikvia, silversmith
Patrick Joshvehma, carver/katsina dolls/toys
Merle Calnimptewa, weaver/belts
Ernie "Patusngwa-Ice" Andrews, weaver
Pearl Kootswytewa, basketmaker/coil
Tamie Jean "T.J." Tootsie, cook/piki bread
Bertrum "Bert" Tsavatawa, painter
Hershel Talashoema, storyteller

**Bolivia**
*Jalq'a*
Apolinaria Mendoza, dancer/cook/weaver
Gerardo Mamani, costume maker/dancer
Honorato Mamani, costume maker/dancer
Juliana Rodríguez, dancer/cook/weaver
Marcelo Cruz, costume maker/dancer

*Tiwanaku*
Cesar Callisaya Yurijra, dancer/cook/weaver
Roberto Cruz Yupanqui, agriculture/dancer
Martin Condori Callisaya, agriculture/dancer
Tito Flores Nina, agriculture/dancer
Bonifacia Quispe Fernandez, dancer/cook/weaver
Patricia Uruchi Limachi, dancer/cook/weaver
Elena Uruchi Quispe, dancer/cook/weaver
Benita Ranos Uruchi, dancer/cook/weaver

**Ecuador**
*Shuar*
Luisa Marta Tunki Kayap, dancer
Numi Vicente Tkakimp Atum, dancer
Felipe Unkush Tsenkush, storyteller/hunter/fisherman
Miguel Puwainchir, storyteller/hunter/fisherman
Jose Shimpu Marit-Saap, weaver/basketmaker
Hilda Gomez, cook
Antonieta Tiwiran Taish, cook
Jose Miguel Tsunki Tempekat Yampanas, musician

**Mexico**
*Maya*
Petrona Intzin, weaver/dyer
Maria Pérez Peso, weaver/dyer/cook
Salvador Lunes Collazo, medicine man
Catalina Meza Guzmăn, interpreter/translator

*Lacandón*
Vincente K'in Paniagua, potter/farmer/arrowmaker

*Ikoods*
Teofila Palafox, weaver
Virginia Tamariz, weaver
Alfredo Abasolo, fisherman/netmaker/dancer
Ricardo Carvajál, chirimia/singer/fisherman/netmaker
Lino Degollado, dancer/netmaker
Albino Figueroa, drum/turtle shell/fisherman/net maker
Apolinar Figueroa, drum/turtle shell/basketmaker/net maker
Juan Olivares, narrator/researcher/fisherman

**Peru**
*Taquile*
Paula Quispe Cruz, dancer/weaver
Terencia Marca Willi, dancer/weaver
Alejandro Flores Huatta, weaver/musician
Alejandro Huatta Machaca, weaver/musician
Salvador Huatta Yucra, weaver/musician
Jesus Marca Quispe, weaver/musician
Cipriano Machaca Quispe, weaver/musician
Mariano Quispe Mamani, weaver/musician

*Zapotec*
Cenorina Garciá, potter
Alberta Martínez "ria-bert" Marcial, weaver/cook
Angela Marcial "ria-ranc" Mendoza, weaver/narrator/cook
Flaviano Beltrán, tanner/leatherworker/farmer
Pedro Rios Hernández, chirimia/basketmaker/dance master
Arnulfo M. Ramos, chirimia/rope maker

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*Forest, Field and Sea: Folklife in Indonesia* has been made possible by the Smithsonian Institution; the National Committee K.I.A.S. (Festival of Indonesia); Garuda Indonesia Airways; American President Lines; Regional Governments of East Java, East Kalimantan and South Sulawesi; and Julius Tahija.

*Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era* has been made possible by the Smithsonian and a grant from the Institution's Special Exhibition Fund and by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.

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# Friday, June 28

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol

## Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era

| | Main Stage | Narrative Stage |
|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Opening Ceremony | |
| 12:00 | Fife & Drum Band | Robert Johnson Remembered |
| 1:00 | McIntosh County Shouters & Moving Star Hall Singers: Spirituals & Dance | Piano Workshop |
| 2:00 | Robert Jr. Lockwood: 12-String Blues Guitar | Women Sing the Blues |
| 3:00 | Henry "Mule" Townsend: City/Country Blues | Children's Material as Root Music |
| 4:00 | Johnny Shines: Delta Blues | Rhythm and Blues: Its Living Legacy |
| 5:00 | Mamie Davis Blues Band: Delta Blues | Songs that Pace Work |
| 5:30 | | Comparative Slide Technique |

## Family Farming in the Heartland

| | Music Stage | Narrative Stage | Food-ways | Learning Center |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | | | | |
| 12:00 | Brian and the Mississippi Valley Dutchmen: Polka Music | Farm Family History | Home Office | Farm Songs and Games |
| 1:00 | Conjunto Los Bribones: Mexican American Music | Live Radio with Verlene Looker, KMA | Heartland Noonday Meal | Czech Feather Stripping Party |
| 2:00 | Chuck Suchey and Michael Cotter: Farm Songs and Stories | Live Radio with Rich Hawkins, KRVN | Canning with Fruits | Learning about Farm Animals |
| 3:00 | Moon Mullins and the Traditional Grass: Ohio Bluegrass | Midwestern Accordion Styles | Home Office | |
| 4:00 | Midwestern Fiddle Styles | Live Radio with Rich Hawkins, KRVN | Cooking with Corn | Creating a Family Quilt |
| 5:00 | Brian and the Mississippi Valley Dutchmen: Polka Music | Changing Roles of Women | Making Sausage | |
| 5:30 | Conjunto Los Bribones: Mexican American Music | Choosing and Planting Seeds | | |
| 7:00 | | | | |

**Dance Party:** Midwestern Fiddlers

## Forest, Field and Sea: Folklife in Indonesia

| | Music and Dance Stage | Children's Area | Narrative/ Long-house Areas |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | | | |
| 12:00 | Topeng Mask Dance | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 1:00 | Reyog Procession | Make Your Own Shadow Puppet | Madurese Cooking |
| 2:00 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | Play Indonesian Games | Indonesian Masks |
| 3:00 | Gandrung Social Dance | | Jamu: Herbal Preparation |
| 4:00 | Topeng/ Gamelan Workshop | Learn Indonesian Batik | Boatbuild-ing and Navigation |
| 5:00 | Reyog Procession | Try Indonesian Music & Dance | Sulawesi Cooking |
| 5:30 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | | Dayak Music & Dance |

## Land in Native American Cultures

| | Rain-forest | Plaza | High-lands |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Shuar Opening Ceremony | | |
| 12:00 | Tlingit Raven Dance/ Shuar Crafts | Ikood Dance/ Zapotec Cooking | Hopi Dictionary/ Andean Cooking |
| 1:00 | Shuar Music & Dance | Jalq'a Carnival Dance/ Chiapas Weaving | Andean Narrative/ Hopi Loom Construction |
| 2:00 | Shuar Screen Painting Haida Weaving | Ikood Narrative/ Taquile Weaving | Hopi Pottery |
| 3:00 | Tlingit Carving | Shuar Cooking | Hopi Dictionary/ Tiwanaku Planting Ceremony |
| 4:00 | Hunting & Animal Sound Imitations | Jalq'a Weaving | |
| 5:00 | SE Alaska Friendship Dance | Zapotec Music/ Hopi Cooking | Taquile Dance |
| 5:30 | Subsistence Workshop | Mayan Healing Ceremony | |
| 7:00 | Rainforest | | Tiwanaku Weaving |

### *Special Demonstrations*

Threshing – 12:00-12:30, 3:00-3:30
Milking the Cow – 4:00-4:30

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

Wooden Bowl Making • Whirligig Making • Corn Mural Decorating • Quilting • Rag Rug Weaving • Norwegian Embroidery • Feather Brush Making • Rug Knitting • Swedish Wedding Crown Making • Mailbox Painting • Crocheting • Fence Making • Machinery Repairing • Mandan Basket Making • Corn Braiding

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

**East Java** — Topeng Mask Carving • Reyog Headdress Making • Tuban Batik & Weaving • Gamelan Making • Jamu: Herbal Preparation

**South Sulawesi** — Boat Building • Drum Making • Silk Weaving

**East Kalimantan** — Longhouse Decorative Painting • Kenyah Bead Work • Rattan Weaving • Mask Carving • Kenyah Blacksmithing

### *Ongoing Exhibition*

In conjunction with the Quincentenary Festival program, an exhibition, "Traditional Native American Textiles from Bolivia," can be seen at the S. Dillon Ripley Center, June 28-July 7, 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

# Saturday, June 29

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol

## Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era

| | Main Stage | Narrative Stage |
|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Fife & Drum Band | Songs that Pace Work |
| 11:30 | Moving Star Hall Singers: Sea Island Spirituals | The "Crossroads" Myth |
| 12:00 | Children's Material as Root Music | 12-Bar, 8-Bar, No-Bar Blues |
| 12:30 | Robert Jr. Lockwood: 12-String Blues Guitar | Vocal Styles |
| 1:00 | Johnny Shines: Delta Blues | Rhythm and Blues: Its Living Legacy |
| 1:30 | McIntosh County Shouters: Shout Spirituals & Dance | Children's Material as Root Music |
| 2:00 | Henry "Mule" Townsend: City/Country Blues | Songs that Pace Work |
| 2:30 | Fife & Drum Band | Bottleneck Slide Technique |
| 3:00 | Mamie Davis Blues Band: Delta Blues | Sea Island Spirituals |
| 3:30 | | |
| 4:00 | | |
| 4:30 | | |
| 5:00 | | |
| 5:30 | | |

## Family Farming in the Heartland

| | Music Stage | Narrative Stage | Food-ways | Learning Center |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Chuck Suchey and Michael Cotter: Farm Songs and Stories | Live Radio with Verlene Looker, KMA | Family Cake Recipe | |
| 11:30 | Moon Mullins and the Traditional Grass: Ohio Bluegrass | Making Hay | Home Office | Family Oral History Projects |
| 12:00 | Conjunto Los Bribones: Mexican American Music | Farm Humor | Heartland Noonday Meal | |
| 12:30 | | Storytelling: Michael Cotter | | Learning about Seeds |
| 1:00 | Midwestern Fiddle Contest | Live Radio with Rich Hawkins, KRVN | Making Sauerkraut | |
| 1:30 | | Cattle Judging and Showing | Home Office | Tomato Packing |
| 2:00 | Brian and the Mississippi Valley Dutchmen: Wisconsin Polka Music | Live Radio with Rich Hawkins, KRVN | Baking Bread | Mandan Indian Legends |
| 2:30 | Chuck Suchey and Michael Cotter: Farm Songs and Stories | Caring for the Land | Norwegian Christmas Dinner | |
| 3:00 | Moon Mullins and the Traditional Grass: Ohio Bluegrass | Midwestern Accordion Styles | | |
| 3:30 | | | | |
| 4:00 | | | | |
| 4:30 | | | | |
| 5:00 | | | | |
| 5:30 | | | | |

## Forest, Field and Sea: Folklife in Indonesia

| | Music and Dance Stage | Children's Area | Narrative/ Longhouse Areas |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Gandrung Social Dance | | Madurese Cooking |
| 11:30 | Topeng Mask Dance | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 12:00 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | Learn Indonesian Batik | Boat-building/ Fishing |
| 12:30 | | | Dayak Crafts |
| 1:00 | Reyog Procession | Children's Gamelan Workshop (Meet at the Pendopo) | Topeng Dance Styles |
| 1:30 | | | |
| 2:00 | Gandrung Social Dance | | Sulawesi Cooking |
| 2:30 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | Play Indonesian Games | Pan-Festival Workshop: Silk Weaving |
| 3:00 | Topeng/ Gamelan Workshop | Make Your Own Shadow Puppet | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 3:30 | | | |
| 4:00 | | | |
| 4:30 | | | |
| 5:00 | | | |
| 5:30 | | | |

## Land in Native American Cultures

| | Rain-forest | Plaza | High-lands |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Tlingit Narrative | Ikood Fishing | Tiwanaku Planting Ceremony |
| 11:30 | Shuar Women's Dance | Taquile & Jalq'a | Hopi Dictionary |
| 12:00 | Subsistence Workshop | Shuar Cooking | Zapotec Corn Workshop |
| 12:30 | Raven Dance | Hopi Cooking | Tiwanaku Weaving |
| 1:00 | | Who's The Scholar/ Ikood Cooking | Taquile Dancing |
| 1:30 | Weaving & Beading | Dyeing Workshop | Hopi Dictionary/ Jalq'a Carnival Dance |
| 2:00 | Shuar Crafts | Zapotec Crafts | Basketry/ Andean Cooking |
| 2:30 | Shuar Dance | Mayan Healing Ceremony | Tourism (Taquile & Hopi) |
| 3:00 | | | |
| 3:30 | | | |
| 4:00 | | | |
| 4:30 | | | |
| 5:00 | | | |
| 5:30 | | | |

5:30 – 7:00 **Dance Party:** Brian and the Mississippi Valley Dutchmen

### *Special Demonstrations*

Threshing – 12:00-12:30, 3:00-3:30
Milking the Cow – 4:00-4:30

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

Wooden Bowl Making • Whirligig Making • Corn Mural Decorating • Quilting • Rag Rug Weaving • Norwegian Embroidery • Feather Brush Making • Rug Knitting • Swedish Wedding Crown Making • Mailbox Painting • Crocheting • Fence Making • Machinery Repairing • Mandan Basket Making • Corn Braiding

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

**East Java —** Topeng Mask Carving • Reyog Headdress Making • Tuban Batik & Weaving • Gamelan Making • Jamu: Herbal Preparation

**South Sulawesi** — Boat Building • Drum Making • Silk Weaving

**East Kalimantan** — Longhouse Decorative Painting • Kenyah Bead Work • Rattan Weaving • Mask Carving • Kenyah Blacksmithing

**All-night shadow puppet performance**
9:00 p.m. - 3:00 a.m.

### *Ongoing Exhibition*

In conjunction with the Quincentenary Festival program, an exhibition, "Traditional Native American Textiles from Bolivia," can be seen at the S. Dillon Ripley Center, June 28-July 7, 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

# Sunday, June 30

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol

## Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era

| | Main Stage | Narrative Stage |
|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | McIntosh County Shouters & Moving Star Hall Singers: Spirituals & Dance | Spirituals & Blues |
| 12:00 | Children's Material as Root Music | Songs that Pace Work |
| 12:30 | Fife & Drum Band | Rhythm and Blues: Its Living Legacy |
| 1:00 | Johnny Shines: Delta Blues | Piano Workshop |
| 2:00 | Henry "Mule" Townsend: City/Country Blues | Music in Community/ Music as Commodity |
| 2:30 | | Sea Island Spirituals |
| 3:00 | Robert Jr. Lockwood: 12-String Blues Guitar | Children's Material as Root Music |
| 4:00 | Reverend Leon Pinson: Spiritual-Gospel Piano | Songs that Pace Work |
| 4:30 | Mamie Davis Blues Band: Delta Blues | Guitar Styles |
| 5:00 | | |
| 5:30 | | |

## Family Farming in the Heartland

| | Music Stage | Narrative Stage | Food-ways | Learning Center |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Moon Mullins and the Traditional Grass: Ohio Bluegrass | Live Radio with Verlene Looker, KMA | Swedish Family Recipe | |
| 11:30 | Brian and the Mississippi Valley Dutchmen: Polka Music | Keeping the Family Farm | Home Office | Storytelling with Michael Cotter |
| 12:00 | Conjunto Los Bribones: Mexican American Music | Rural Musical Settings | Czech Holiday Dinner | |
| 12:30 | Chuck Suchey and Michael Cotter: Farm Songs and Stories | Children's Chores | | Czech Card Party |
| 1:00 | Midwestern Fiddle Contest | Live Radio with Rich Hawkins, KRVN | Cooking with Corn | |
| 1:30 | | Women's and Men's Roles | | Quilt Piecing |
| 2:00 | | | Home Office | |
| 2:30 | | Live Radio with Rich Hawkins, KRVN | Czech Baked Goods | Tomato Canning Preparation |
| 3:00 | | Hogs | | |
| 3:30 | Moon Mullins and the Traditional Grass: Ohio Bluegrass | Talking Threshing | Vegetable Canning | |
| 4:00 | Brian and the Mississippi Valley Dutchmen: Polka Music | | | |
| 4:30 | | | | |
| 5:00 | | | | |
| 5:30 | **Dance Party:** Conjunto Los Bribones | | | |
| 7:00 | | | | |

## Forest, Field and Sea: Folklife in Indonesia

| | Music and Dance Stage | Children's Area | Narrative/ Long-house Areas |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 11:30 | | | |
| 12:00 | Reyog Procession | Try Indonesian Music & Dance | Kenyah Longhouse |
| 12:30 | Topeng Mask Dance | | Madurese Cooking |
| 1:00 | | Play Indonesian Games | |
| 1:30 | Gandrung Social Dance | | Reyog |
| 2:00 | | | |
| 2:30 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | Make Your Own Shadow Puppet | Sulawesi Cooking |
| 3:00 | | | |
| 3:30 | Topeng/ Gamelan Workshop | | Back-Strap Loom Weaving |
| 4:00 | Reyog Procession | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 4:30 | | | |
| 5:00 | Gandrung Social Dance | Meet the Artists | Herbs & Spices in Indonesia |
| 5:30 | | | |

## Land in Native American Cultures

| | Rain-forest | Plaza | High-lands |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Tlingit Storytelling | Preparation of Altar (Zapotec)/ Preparation of Enramada (Ikoods) | Tiwanaku Agriculture Dance/ Comparative Basketry |
| 11:30 | | | |
| 12:00 | Shuar Music & Dance/ Tlingit Subsistence | Mayan Healing Ceremony | Katsina Doll Carving |
| 12:30 | | Ikood Music & Dance/ Zapotec Crafts | Land & Traditional Knowledge |
| 1:00 | Tlingit Ceremonial Crafts | | Children's Toys & Games Workshop/ Andean Cooking |
| 1:30 | Rainforest Instrumental Workshop | Andean Instruments Workshop/ Zapotec Cooking | |
| 2:00 | | | Painting & Mythology/ Hopi Pottery |
| 2:30 | Basketry Workshop | Hopi Cooking | Women's Songs/ Jalq'a Ceremonial Crafts |
| 3:00 | | Zapotec Feast/ Shuar Cooking | Andean Dance |
| 3:30 | SE Alaskan Salutation Dance | | |
| 4:00 | | Chiapas Weaving | Hopi Dictionary |
| 4:30 | | | |
| 5:00 | | | |
| 5:30 | | | |

### *Special Demonstrations*

Threshing – 12:00-12:30, 3:00-3:30
Milking the Cow – 4:00-4:30

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

Wooden Bowl Making • Whirligig Making • Corn Mural Decorating • Quilting • Rag Rug Weaving • Norwegian Embroidery • Feather Brush Making • Rug Knitting • Swedish Wedding Crown Making • Mailbox Painting • Crocheting • Fence Making • Machinery Repairing • Mandan Basket Making • Corn Braiding

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

**East Java** — Topeng Mask Carving • Reyog Headdress Making • Tuban Batik & Weaving • Gamelan Making • Jamu: Herbal Preparation

**South Sulawesi** — Boat Building • Drum Making • Silk Weaving

**East Kalimantan** — Longhouse Decorative Painting • Kenyah Bead Work • Rattan Weaving • Mask Carving • Kenyah Blacksmithing

### *Ongoing Exhibition*

In conjunction with the Quincentenary Festival program, an exhibition, "Traditional Native American Textiles from Bolivia," can be seen at the S. Dillon Ripley Center, June 28-July 7, 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

# Monday, July 1

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol

## Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era

| | Main Stage | Narrative Stage |
|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Fife & Drum Band | The Johnson Era |
| 11:30 | | Children's Material as Root Music |
| 12:00 | McIntosh County Shouters: Shout Spirituals & Dance | |
| 12:30 | | Guitar Styles |
| 1:00 | Blues Song Swap | |
| 1:30 | | Pan-Festival Workshop: Fife & Drum |
| 2:00 | Henry "Mule" Townsend: City/Country Blues | Women Sing the Blues |
| 2:30 | Reverend Leon Pinson: Spiritual-Gospel Piano | |
| 3:00 | | Songs that Pace Work |
| 3:30 | Moving Star Hall Singers: Sea Island Spirituals | Blues Composition |
| 4:00 | Fife & Drum Band | |
| 4:30 | | Piano Workshop |
| 5:00 | Johnny Shines: Delta Blues | Songs that Pace Work |
| 5:30 | | |
| 7:00 | **Dance Party:** Blues Special | |

## Family Farming in the Heartland

| | Music Stage | Narrative Stage | Food-ways | Learning Center |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Conjunto Los Bribones: Mexican American Music | Live Radio with Verlene Looker, KMA | Baking Day: Fruit Cobbler | |
| 11:30 | | Harvest: Image and Reality | | |
| 12:00 | Midwestern Fiddle Styles | | Home Office | Farm Songs and Games |
| 12:30 | Brian and the Mississippi Valley Dutchmen: Polka Music | Seasonal Farm Help | Pie Making I | |
| 1:00 | | Record Keeping | | Creating a Family Quilt |
| 1:30 | Moon Mullins and the Traditional Grass: Ohio Bluegrass | Live Radio with Rich Hawkins, KRVN | Pie Making II | |
| 2:00 | Chuck Suchey and Michael Cotter: Farm Songs and Stories | Children's Chores | | Czech Feather Stripping Party |
| 2:30 | | Quilting | | |
| 3:00 | Conjunto Los Bribones: Mexican American Music | | Home Office | |
| 3:30 | Brian and the Mississippi Valley Dutchmen: Polka Music | Live Radio with Rich Hawkins, KRVN | Pie Making III | Mandan Indian Legends |
| 4:00 | Moon Mullins and the Traditional Grass: Ohio Bluegrass | Fences and Borders | | |
| 4:30 | | Rural Clubs and Organizations | Pie Judging with Verlene Looker | |
| 5:00 | Chuck Suchey: Farm Songs | | | |
| 5:30 | | | | |

## Forest, Field and Sea: Folklife in Indonesia

| | Music and Dance Stage | Children's Area | Narrative/ Long-house Areas |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Reyog Procession | | Sulawesi Cooking |
| 11:30 | | | |
| 12:00 | Topeng Mask Dance | Learn Indonesian Batik | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 12:30 | Gandrung Social Dance | | |
| 1:00 | | | Madurese Cooking |
| 1:30 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | Make Your Own Shadow Puppet | |
| 2:00 | | | Dayak Crafts |
| 2:30 | Topeng/ Gamelan Workshop | | |
| 3:00 | | Try Indonesian Music & Dance | Indonesian Textiles |
| 3:30 | Gandrung Social Dance | | |
| 4:00 | | | Indonesian Dance Styles |
| 4:30 | Reyog Procession | Play Indonesian Games | Drum Making |
| 5:00 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 5:30 | | | |

## Land in Native American Cultures

| | Rain-forest | Plaza | High-lands |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Haida, Tlingit & Tsimshian Carving Styles | Mayan Healing Ceremony | Stories, Legends & Myths/ Andean Cooking |
| 11:30 | | | |
| 12:00 | Weaving with Bark (Haida, Lacandon, Shuar) | Taquile Music & Dance/ Zapotec Cooking | Hopi Pottery/ Jalq' a Carnival Dance |
| 12:30 | SE Alaskan Narrative/ Tlingit Subsistence | Mask & Dance Workshop/ Chiapas Weaving | Painting & Land |
| 1:00 | | | |
| 1:30 | Shuar & Narrative Music | Zapotec Crafts | Comparative Weaving & Meaning/ Tiwanaku Weaving |
| 2:00 | SE Alaskan Friendship Dance | Shuar Cooking | Hopi Silver-smithing |
| 2:30 | | | |
| 3:00 | Shuar Music & Dance | Ikood Subsistence/ Taquile Weaving | |
| 3:30 | | | Haida & Hopi Basketry |
| 4:00 | Access to Resources: Fishing & Crafts | Zapotec Music/ Hopi Cooking | |
| 4:30 | | | Hopi Dictionary and Language/ Tiwanaku Planting Ceremony |
| 5:00 | Carving | Jalq'a Weaving | |
| 5:30 | | | |

### *Special Demonstrations*

Threshing – 12:00-12:30, 3:00-3:30
Milking the Cow – 4:00-4:30

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

Wooden Bowl Making • Whirligig Making • Corn Mural Decorating • Quilting • Rag Rug Weaving • Norwegian Embroidery • Feather Brush Making • Rug Knitting • Swedish Wedding Crown Making • Mailbox Painting • Crocheting • Fence Making • Machinery Repairing • Mandan Basket Making • Corn Braiding

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

**East Java** — Topeng Mask Carving • Reyog Headdress Making • Tuban Batik & Weaving • Gamelan Making • Jamu: Herbal Preparation

**South Sulawesi** — Boat Building • Drum Making • Silk Weaving

**East Kalimantan** — Longhouse Decorative Painting • Kenyah Bead Work • Rattan Weaving • Mask Carving • Kenyah Blacksmithing

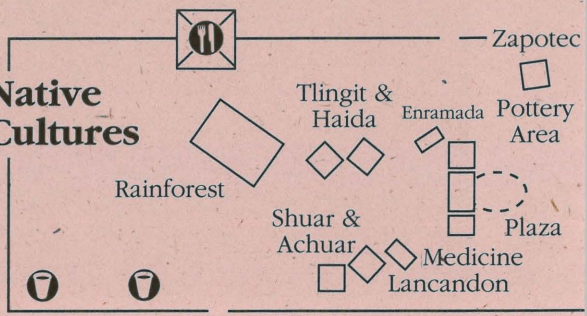
### *Ongoing Exhibition*

In conjunction with the Quincentenary Festival program, an exhibition, "Traditional Native American Textiles from Bolivia," can be seen at the S. Dillon Ripley Center, June 28-July 7, 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

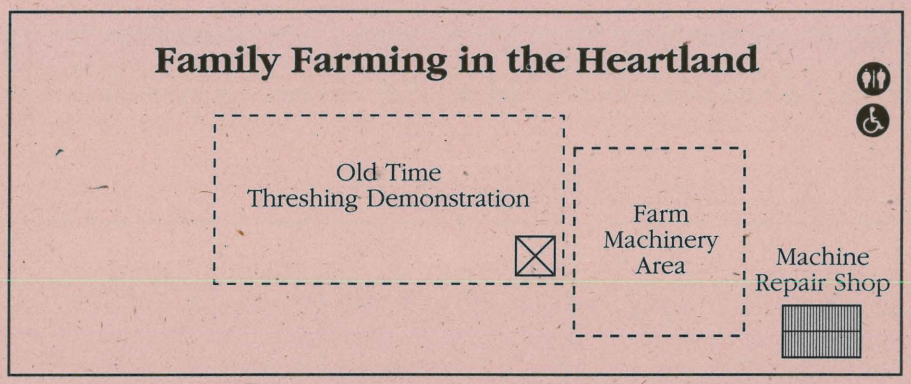
Madison Drive

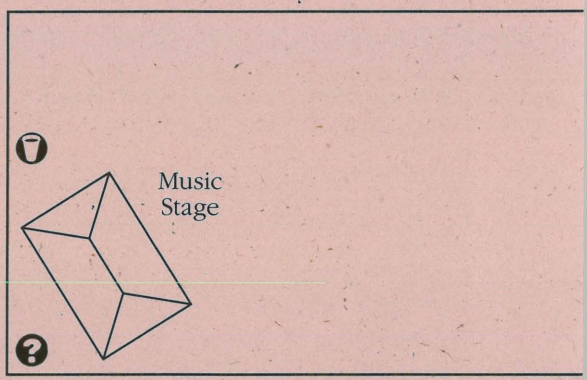
# Festival Site Map

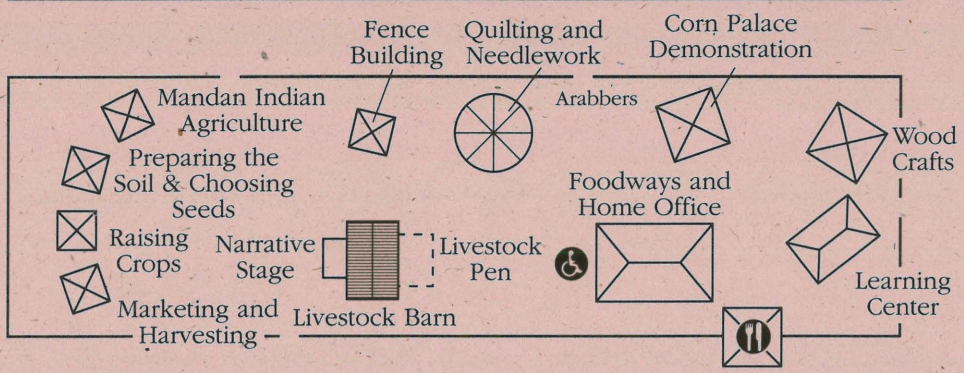
## Land in Native American Cultures




## Family Farming in the Heartland

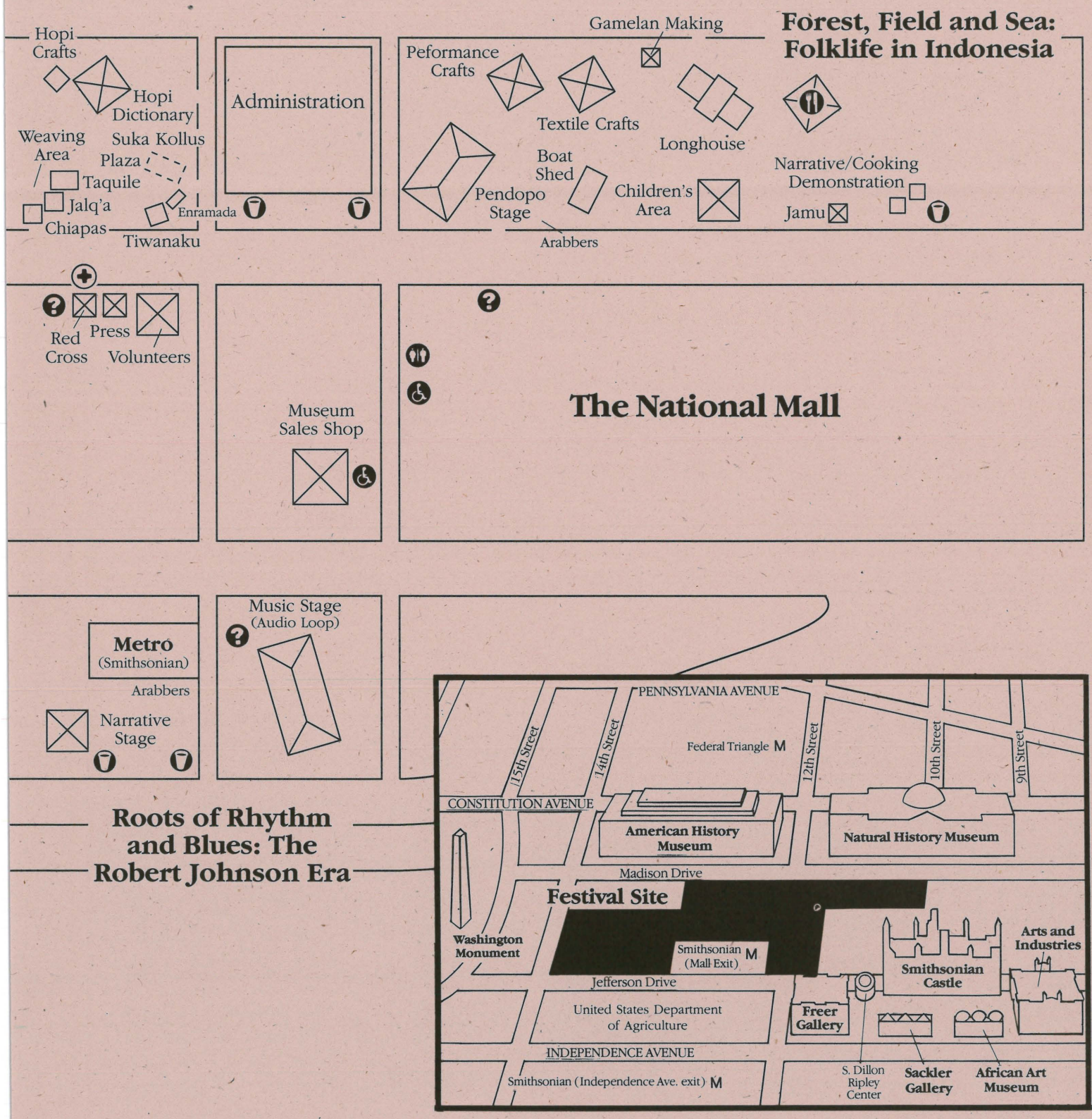



- Information
- First Aid
- Restrooms
- Beverage Concession
- Food Concession
- Accessible to Mobility Impaired

Jefferson Drive


Hopi Crafts
Hopi Dictionary
Weaving Area
Suka Kollus
Plaza
Taquile
Jalq'a
Chiapas
Enramada
Tiwanaku
Administration
Gamelan Making
Peformance Crafts
Textile Crafts
Longhouse
Boat Shed
Pendopo Stage
Children's Area
Arabbers
Forest, Field and Sea: Folklife in Indonesia
Narrative/Cooking Demonstration
Jamu
Red Cross
Press
Volunteers
Museum Sales Shop
The National Mall
Metro (Smithsonian)
Arabbers
Narrative Stage
Music Stage (Audio Loop)
Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era
PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
15th Street
14th Street
Federal Triangle M
12th Street
10th Street
9th Street
CONSTITUTION AVENUE
American History Museum
Natural History Museum
Madison Drive
Festival Site
Washington Monument
Smithsonian (Mall Exit) M
Arts and Industries
Smithsonian Castle
Jefferson Drive
United States Department of Agriculture
Freer Gallery
INDEPENDENCE AVENUE
Smithsonian (Independence Ave. exit) M
S. Dillon Ripley Center
Sackler Gallery
African Art Museum

# Thursday, July 4

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol

## Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era

| | Main Stage | Narrative Stage |
|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Fife & Drum Band | Blues Composition |
| 11:30 | Moving Star Hall Singers: Spirituals | Songs that Pace Work |
| 12:00 | Johnny Shines: Delta Blues | Blues Harmonica |
| 12:30 | Henry "Mule" Townsend: City/Country Blues | Music in Community/ Music as Commodity |
| 1:00 | Blues Song Swap | Songs that Pace Work |
| 1:30 | Dave "Honeyboy" Edwards: Delta Blues | Children's Material as Root Music |
| 2:00 | Mamie Davis Blues Band: Delta Blues | Vocal Styles |
| 2:30 | Blues Special | Guitar Styles |
| 3:00 | | The Johnson Era |
| 3:30 | | |
| 4:00 | | |
| 4:30 | | |
| 5:00 | | |
| 5:30 | | |

## Family Farming in the Heartland

| | Music Stage | Narrative Stage | Food-ways | Learning Center |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Vetterli and Bernet: Swiss American Music | Dairy Farming | Regional Dessert Specialty | |
| 11:30 | Midwestern Parlor Style Music | Butter and Eggs: Supplementing Farm Income | Home Office | Home Remedies |
| 12:00 | Country Travellers: Square Dance Music | Live Radio with Lee Kline, WHO Des Moines, Iowa | Heartland Picnic I | |
| 12:30 | Eastern Iowa Brass Band | | | Butter Making and Yodeling |
| 1:00 | Midwestern Parlor Style Music | Stories about Children | Heartland Picnic II | Storytelling with Michael Cotter |
| 1:30 | Simanek Family: Czech Polka Music | Heritage Gardening | Home Office | |
| 2:00 | Vetterli and Bernet: Swiss American Music | Working with Wood, Metal, and Stone | Cooking with Corn | Learning about Seeds |
| 2:30 | Eastern Iowa Brass Band | | | |
| 3:00 | Country Travellers: Square Dance Music | Rural Ethnic Communities | Vegetable Canning | |
| 3:30 | | | | |
| 4:00 | | | | |
| 4:30 | | | | |
| 5:00 | | | | |
| 5:30 | | | | |

## Forest, Field and Sea: Folklife in Indonesia

| | Music and Dance Stage | Children's Area | Narrative/ Long-house Areas |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Gandrung Social Dance | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 11:30 | Topeng Mask Dance | Make Your Own Shadow Puppet | Madurese Cooking |
| 12:00 | Reyog Procession | | Jamu: Herbal Preparation |
| 12:30 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | Try Indonesian Music & Dance | Dayak Crafts |
| 1:00 | Gandrung Social Dance | Learn Indonesian Batik | Boat-building |
| 1:30 | Topeng/ Gamelan Workshop | | Instrument Making |
| 2:00 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | Play Indonesian Games | Sulawesi Cooking |
| 2:30 | Reyog Procession | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 3:00 | | | |
| 3:30 | | | |
| 4:00 | | | |
| 4:30 | | | |
| 5:00 | | | |
| 5:30 | | | |

## Land in Native American Cultures

| | Rain-forest | Plaza | High-lands |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Tlingit Raven Dance | Ikood Dance/ Zapotec Cooking | Hopi Dictionary/ Tiwanaku, Jalq'a & Taquile Cooking |
| 11:30 | Shuar Music & Dance | Jalq'a Carnival Dance/ Chiapas Weaving | Andean Narrative/ Hopi Silver-smithing |
| 12:00 | Haida Weaving | Zapotec Land, Corn, & Myth/ Taquile Weaving | Hopi Pottery |
| 12:30 | Tlingit Carving | | Tiwanaku Planting Ceremony |
| 1:00 | Hunting & Animal Sound Imitations | Shuar Cooking | |
| 1:30 | | Jalq'a Weaving | Hopi Doll Making (Katsina) |
| 2:00 | SE Alaska Friendship Dance | Ikood Fishing Workshop | |
| 2:30 | Subsistence Workshop | Zapotec Music/ Hopi Cooking | Painting & Legend/ Taquile Dance |
| 3:00 | Rainforest Narrative & Music | Mayan Healing Ceremony | Hopi Dictionary and Basketry |
| 3:30 | | | |
| 4:00 | | | |
| 4:30 | | | |
| 5:00 | | | |
| 5:30 | | | |

### *Special Demonstrations*

Threshing – 12:00-12:30, 3:00-3:30
Milking the Cow – 4:00-4:30

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

Wooden Bowl Making • Whirligig Making • Corn Mural Decorating • Quilting • Rag Rug Weaving • Norwegian Embroidery • Feather Brush Making • Rug Knitting • Swedish Wedding Crown Making • Mailbox Painting • Crocheting • Fence Making • Machinery Repairing • Mandan Basket Making • Corn Braiding

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

**East Java** — Topeng Mask Carving • Reyog Headdress Making • Tuban Batik & Weaving • Gamelan Making • Jamu: Herbal Preparation

**South Sulawesi** — Boat Building • Drum Making • Silk Weaving

**East Kalimantan** — Longhouse Decorative Painting • Kenyah Bead Work • Rattan Weaving • Mask Carving • Kenyah Blacksmithing

### *Ongoing Exhibition*

In conjunction with the Quincentenary Festival program, an exhibition, "Traditional Native American Textiles from Bolivia," can be seen at the S. Dillon Ripley Center, June 28-July 7, 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

# Friday, July 5

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol

## Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era

| | Main Stage | Narrative Stage |
|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Moving Star Hall Singers: Sea Island Spirituals | Songs that Pace Work |
| 11:30 | Children's Material as Root Music | The "Crossroads" Myth |
| 12:00 | Fife & Drum Band | Guitar Styles |
| 12:30 | Reverend Leon Pinson: Spiritual-Gospel Piano | Robert Johnson Remembered |
| 1:00 | Blues Song Swap | Women Sing the Blues |
| 1:30 | Johnny Shines: Delta Blues | Piano Workshop |
| 2:00 | Dave "Honeyboy" Edwards: Delta Blues | Blues Harmonica |
| 2:30 | Mamie Davis Blues Band: Delta Blues | Blues Composition |
| 3:00 | Blues Special | Comparative Slide Technique |
| 3:30 | | |
| 4:00 | | |
| 4:30 | | |
| 5:00 | | |
| 5:30 | | |

## Family Farming in the Heartland

| | Music Stage | Narrative Stage | Foodways | Learning Center |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Simanek Family: Czech Polka Music | Talking Threshing | Mandan Family Recipe | |
| 11:30 | Country Travellers: Square Dance Music | The Rural Home and Yard | Home Office | Fun with Popcorn |
| 12:00 | Eastern Iowa Brass Band | Live Radio with Lee Kline, WHO Des Moines, Iowa | Heartland Noonday Meal | Tomato Packing |
| 12:30 | Vetterli and Bernet: Swiss American Music | | Swedish Sausage Making | |
| 1:00 | Midwestern Parlor Style Music | Caring for the Land | | Farm Songs and Games |
| 1:30 | Country Travellers: Square Dance Music | Rural Community Celebrations | Home Office | |
| 2:00 | Eastern Iowa Brass Band | Changing Roles of Women | Czech Baked Goods | Quilt Piecing |
| 2:30 | Midwestern Parlor Style Music | Selling the Crop | Canning Meat | |
| 3:00 | | | | |
| 3:30 | | | | |
| 4:00 | | | | |
| 4:30 | | | | |
| 5:00 | | | | |
| 5:30 | | | | |

## Forest, Field and Sea: Folklife in Indonesia

| | Music and Dance Stage | Children's Area | Narrative/ Longhouse Areas |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Topeng/ Gamelan Workshop | Make Your Own Shadow Puppet | Sulawesi Cooking |
| 11:30 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 12:00 | Reyog Procession | | Topeng Dance Styles |
| 12:30 | Gandrung Social Dance | Play Indonesian Games | Madurese Cooking |
| 1:00 | Topeng Mask Dance | Learn Indonesian Batik | Kenyah Longhouse |
| 1:30 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | | Gandrung |
| 2:00 | Reyog Procession | Try Indonesian Music & Dance | Blacksmiths |
| 2:30 | Gandrung Social Dance | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 3:00 | | | |
| 3:30 | | | |
| 4:00 | | | |
| 4:30 | | | |
| 5:00 | | | |
| 5:30 | | | |

## Land in Native American Cultures

| | Rainforest | Plaza | Highlands |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Tlingit Storytelling | Pan-Festival Workshop: Highland Vocals/ Shuar Cooking | River & Ocean Narratives/ Andean Cooking |
| 11:30 | Shuar Music & Dance/ Tlingit Subsistence | Taquile & Jalq'a Weaving | Hopi Weaving |
| 12:00 | Tlingit Ceremonial Crafts | Zapotec Corn Workshop/ Hopi Cooking | Tiwanaku Planting |
| 12:30 | Rainforest Instrument Workshop | Ikood & Tlingit Fishing | Painting & Mythology/ Hopi Pottery |
| 1:00 | Basketry & Weaving Workshop | Pan-Festival Workshop: Instrument Making/ Ikood Cooking | Dictionary & Language Barriers/ Tiwanaku Weaving |
| 1:30 | Lacandon & Shuar Crafts | Pan-Festival Workshop: Dyeing Workshop | Hopi Basketry |
| 2:00 | SE Alaska Salutation Dance/ Totem Pole Carving | Ikood Music & Dance/ Zapotec Crafts | Children's Toys & Games/ Jalq'a Carnival Dance |
| 2:30 | | Mayan Healing Ceremony | Tourism & Art |
| 3:00 | | | |
| 3:30 | | | |
| 4:00 | | | |
| 4:30 | | | |
| 5:00 | | | |
| 5:30 | | | |

### *Special Demonstrations*

Threshing – 12:00-12:30, 3:00-3:30

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

Wooden Bowl Making • Whirligig Making • Corn Mural Decorating • Quilting • Rag Rug Weaving • Norwegian Embroidery • Feather Brush Making • Rug Knitting • Swedish Wedding Crown Making • Mailbox Painting • Crocheting • Fence Making • Machinery Repairing • Mandan Basket Making • Corn Braiding

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

**East Java** — Topeng Mask Carving • Reyog Headdress Making • Tuban Batik & Weaving • Gamelan Making • Jamu: Herbal Preparation

**South Sulawesi** — Boat Building • Drum Making • Silk Weaving

**East Kalimantan** — Longhouse Decorative Painting • Kenyah Bead Work • Rattan Weaving • Mask Carving • Kenyah Blacksmithing

### *Ongoing Exhibition*

In conjunction with the Quincentenary Festival program, an exhibition, "Traditional Native American Textiles from Bolivia," can be seen at the S. Dillon Ripley Center, June 28-July 7, 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

**Dance Party** (Jalq'a, Taquile, Tiwanaku) 5:30 – 7:00

# Saturday, July 6

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol

## Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era

| | Main Stage | Narrative Stage |
|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Fife & Drum Band | Songs that Pace Work |
| 11:30 | | Guitar Styles |
| 12:00 | Moving Star Hall Singers: Sea Island Spirituals | |
| 12:30 | Children's Material as Root Music | Vocal Styles |
| 1:00 | Reverend Leon Pinson: Spiritual-Gospel Piano | Blues Harmonica |
| 1:30 | | |
| 2:00 | Henry "Mule" Townsend: City/Country Blues | Fife & Drum Band |
| 2:30 | Blues Song Swap | Children's Material as Root Music |
| 3:00 | | Women Sing the Blues |
| 3:30 | Johnny Shines: Delta Blues | |
| 4:00 | Lonnie Pitchford: Robert Johnson Blues | Songs that Pace Work |
| 4:30 | | |
| 5:00 | Mamie Davis Blues Band: Delta Blues | Blues as Dance Music |
| 5:30 | | |
| 7:00 | **Dance Party** Blues Special | |

## Family Farming in the Heartland

| | Music Stage | Narrative Stage | Food-ways | Learning Center |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Eastern Iowa Brass Band | Neighbors | American Indian Cooking with Corn | |
| 11:30 | | | | |
| 12:00 | Midwestern Parlor Style Music | Grain: Seed to Market | Home Office | Creating a Family Quilt |
| 12:30 | Vetterli and Bernet: Swiss American Music | The Importance of Farm Radio | Heartland Noonday Meal | |
| 1:00 | Country Travellers: Square Dance Music | Keeping the Farm in the Family | | Storytelling with Michael Cotter |
| 1:30 | | | | |
| 2:00 | Eastern Iowa Brass Band | Cattle Judging and Showing | Italian Supper | |
| 2:30 | | | | Learning about Farm Animals |
| 3:00 | Vetterli and Bernet: Swiss American Music | Rural Gathering Places | Home Office | |
| 3:30 | Midwestern Parlor Style Music | Quilting | Swedish Baked Goods | Tomato Canning Preparation |
| 4:00 | | | | |
| 4:30 | Country Travellers: Square Dance Music | Weather Reports | Vegetable Canning | |
| 5:00 | | | | |
| 5:30 | | | | |

***Special Demonstrations***

Threshing – 12:00-12:30, 3:00-3:30

***Ongoing Demonstrations***

Wooden Bowl Making • Whirligig Making • Corn Mural Decorating • Quilting • Rag Rug Weaving • Norwegian Embroidery • Feather Brush Making • Rug Knitting • Swedish Wedding Crown Making • Mailbox Painting • Crocheting • Fence Making • Machinery Repairing • Mandan Basket Making • Corn Braiding

## Forest, Field and Sea: Folklife in Indonesia

| | Music and Dance Stage | Children's Area | Narrative/ Longhouse Areas |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | | Madurese Cooking |
| 11:30 | Gandrung Social Dance | Try Indonesian Music & Dance | Reyog |
| 12:00 | Topeng Mask Dance | | Indonesian Dance Styles |
| 12:30 | Reyog Procession | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 1:00 | Gandrung Social Dance | | Sulawasi Cooking |
| 1:30 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | Learn Indonesian Batik | Boatbuilding |
| 2:00 | Reyog Procession | Make Your Own Shadow Puppet | Indonesian Weaving Tradition |
| 2:30 | Topeng/ Gamelan Workshop | Play Indonesian Games | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 3:00 | | | |
| 3:30 | | | |

***Ongoing Demonstrations***

**East Java** — Topeng Mask Carving • Reyog Headdress Making • Tuban Batik & Weaving • Gamelan Making • Jamu: Herbal Preparation

**South Sulawesi** — Boat Building • Drum Making • Silk Weaving

**East Kalimantan** — Longhouse Decorative Painting • Kenyah Bead Work • Rattan Weaving • Mask Carving • Kenyah Blacksmithing

## Land in Native American Cultures

| | Rain-forest | Plaza | High-lands |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | SE Alaska Narrative | Mayan Healing Ceremony | Stories, Legends & Myths/ Hopi Silversmithing |
| 11:30 | Weaving with Bark | Hopi Cooking/ Mask & Dance Workshop | Weaving & Meaning/ Andean Cooking and Ceremony |
| 12:00 | SE Alaska Dance Styles/ Tlingit Subsistence | Andean Feast/ Chiapas Weaving | Hopi Dictionary/ Animal Imagery |
| 12:30 | Shuar Narrative & Music | Zapotec Crafts | Hopi Katsina Doll Carving |
| 1:00 | SE Alaska Friendship Dance | Shuar Cooking | Basketry & Design |
| 1:30 | Access to Resources: Fishing & Crafts | Ikood Subsistence/ Ikood Fishermen/ Taquile Weaving | Hopi Pottery |
| 2:00 | Shuar Music & Dance | Jalq'a Weaving | Painting & Land |
| 2:30 | Carving | Zapotec Cooking | |
| 3:00 | | | |
| 3:30 | | | |

***Ongoing Exhibition***

In conjunction with the Quincentenary Festival program, an exhibition, "Traditional Native American Textiles from Bolivia," can be seen at the S. Dillon Ripley Center, June 28-July 7, 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

# Sunday, July 7

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information. Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol

## Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era

| | Main Stage | Narrative Stage |
|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Moving Star Hall Singers: Spirituals | The Johnson Era |
| 11:30 | Reverend Leon Pinson: Spiritual-Gospel Piano | Songs that Pace Work |
| 12:00 | Fife & Drum Band | Guitar Styles |
| 12:30 | Children's Material as Root Music | Instrument Making |
| 1:00 | Henry "Mule" Townsend: City/Country Blues | Blues Harmonica |
| 1:30 | Dave "Honeyboy" Edwards: Delta Blues | Children's Material as Root Music |
| 2:00 | Johnny Shines: Delta Blues | Piano Workshop |
| 2:30 | Mamie Davis Blues Band: Delta Blues | Women Sing the Blues |
| 3:00 | Lonnie Pitchford: Robert Johnson Blues | Blues as Dance Music |
| 3:30 | | |
| 4:00 | | |
| 4:30 | | |
| 5:00 | | |
| 5:30 | **Dance Party:** Blues Special | |
| 7:00 | | |

## Family Farming in the Heartland

| | Music Stage | Narrative Stage | Food-ways | Learning Center |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Midwestern Parlor Style Music | Rural Clubs and Organi-zations | Family Cookie Recipes | |
| 11:30 | Country Travellers: Square Dance Music | Importance of Farm Radio | Home Office | Heritage Gardening |
| 12:00 | Vetterli and Bernet: Swiss Ameri-can Music | Hogs | Swedish Christmas Dinner | Fun with Popcorn |
| 12:30 | Eastern Iowa Brass Band | Rural Music Settings | Making Bread | Butter Making and Yodeling |
| 1:00 | Michael Cotter: Farm Stories | "Making Do": Recycling on the Farm | Home Office | Storytelling with Michael Cotter |
| 1:30 | Midwestern Parlor Style Music | Marketing Networks | Canning Relish | |
| 2:00 | Eastern Iowa Brass Band | Partnership on the Family Farm | Cooking with Left-overs | |
| 2:30 | Country Travellers: Square Dance Music | Farm Family History | | |
| 3:00 | | | | |
| 3:30 | | | | |
| 4:00 | | | | |
| 4:30 | | | | |
| 5:00 | | | | |
| 5:30 | | | | |

### *Special Demonstrations*

Threshing – 12:00-12:30, 3:00-3:30
Milking the Cow – 4:00-4:30

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

Wooden Bowl Making • Whirligig Making • Corn Mural Decorating • Quilting • Rag Rug Weaving • Norwegian Embroidery • Feather Brush Making • Rug Knitting • Swedish Wedding Crown Making • Mailbox Painting • Crocheting • Fence Making • Machinery Repairing • Mandan Basket Making • Corn Braiding

## Forest, Field and Sea: Folklife in Indonesia

| | Music and Dance Stage | Children's Area | Narrative/ Long-house Areas |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Reyog Procession | | Sulawesi Cooking |
| 11:30 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 12:00 | Topeng/ Gamelan Workshop | | |
| 12:30 | Gandrung Social Dance | Learn Indonesian Batik | Madurese Cooking |
| 1:00 | Reyog Procession | | Dayak Crafts |
| 1:30 | | Children's Gamelan Workshop (Meet at the Pendopo) | Indonesian Spices |
| 2:00 | Sulawesi Music & Dance | | Hunting & Subsistence |
| 2:30 | Gandrung Social Dance | Make Your Own Shadow Puppet | Reyog |
| 3:00 | Topeng Mask Dance | Meet the Artists | Dayak Music & Dance |
| 3:30 | | | |
| 4:00 | | | |
| 4:30 | | | |
| 5:00 | | | |
| 5:30 | | | |

### *Ongoing Demonstrations*

**East Java** — Topeng Mask Carving • Reyog Headdress Making • Tuban Batik & Weaving • Gamelan Making • Jamu: Herbal Preparation

**South Sulawesi** — Boat Building • Drum Making • Silk Weaving

**East Kalimantan** — Longhouse Decorative Painting • Kenyah Bead Work • Rattan Weaving • Mask Carving • Kenyah Blacksmithing

## Land in Native American Cultures

| | Rain-forest | Plaza | High-lands |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11:00 | Shuar Narrative & Ceremonial Crafts | Zapotec Preparation of Altar/ Ikood Preparation of Enramada | Comparative Basketry/ Tiwanaku Agriculture Dance |
| 11:30 | Tlingit Narrative | Mayan Healing Ceremony | Katsina Doll Carving |
| 12:00 | Subsistence Workshop | Zapotec Music & Procession | Land & Traditional Knowledge |
| 12:30 | Haida Weaving | Jalq'a Weaving | Dictionary/ Weaving |
| 1:00 | | Andean Instrument Workshop | Andean Cooking |
| 1:30 | Shuar Dance | Ikood Cooking | Tales |
| 2:00 | Mask Carving | | Hopi Pottery & Silver-smithing |
| 2:30 | Access to Resources Workshop/ Shuar Crafts | Chiapas Weaving | Women's Songs |
| 3:00 | SE Alaska Friendship Dance | Ikood Feast | Painting & Mythology/ Jalq'a Cermonial Crafts |
| 3:30 | | Hopi Cooking | Andean Dance |
| 4:00 | | | |
| 4:30 | | | |
| 5:00 | | | |
| 5:30 | | | |

### *Ongoing Exhibition*

In conjunction with the Quincentenary Festival program, an exhibition, "Traditional Native American Textiles from Bolivia," can be seen at the S. Dillon Ripley Center, June 28-July 7, 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

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**Rhythm And Blues: The Robert Johnson Era**

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*"Traditional Native American Textiles from Bolivia" Exhibition*

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*Designer:* Carol Hardy

*Design Assistant:* Gloria Alan

*Intern:* Era J. Schrepfer

*Collaborating Institutions:* American Airlines of Ecuador, American Embassy in Bolivia, American Embassy in Ecuador, Botanical Garden, University of California, Casa de las Artesanías del Estado de Chiapas, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Colorado State University, Cultural Presentation Office, Hopi Tribal Council, Dirección Integral de la Familia (DIF) de Chiapas, Mexico, Embassy of Bolivia, Embassy of Ecuador, Embassy of Mexico, Fruit and Spice Park of Miami, Instituto Chiapaneco de Cultura, Instituto Nacional de Arqueología de Bolivia, Instituto Nacional Indigenista de México, National Academy of Sciences, Pet Farm Park of Reston, Virginia, Semilla, Smithsonian Green Houses, U.S. Department of Agriculture

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*Interns:* Suzan Harada, Dewi Indrawati, Anton Winthrop-Sakai Segal

*Presenters:* Rachel Cooper, Virginia Gorlinsky, Mukhlis, Darmawan M. Rahman, Pamela Rogers-Aguiniga, Patti Seery, Herwasono Soedjito, S. Suprapto, Philip Yampolsky, Tinuk Yampolsky

**Family Farming in the Heartland**

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*Traditional Native American Textiles from Bolivia*, S. Dillon Ripley Center, June 28 - July 7.

*Beyond the Java Sea*, National Museum of Natural History, through July 15.

*Indonesian Village Worlds*, National Museum of Natural History, through July 17.

*Nusantara: Lands and Peoples of Indonesia*, National Museum of American History, through December.

*Court Arts of Indonesia*, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, through Sept. 2.

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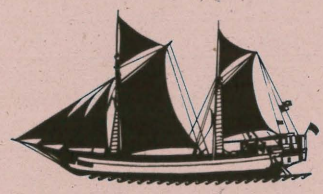

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JOHN DEERE 95