1995 FESTIVAL of AMERICAN FOLKLIFE





Photo by Marcia Keegan ® Marcia Keegan

Above: Basket Dance on Mother's Day,1994, at San Ildefonso Pueblo, New Mexico. The women strike the baskets with sticks. On the front cover:
Nha Nacia Gomi and
her neighbors perform
the batuku at her home
in Santa Cruz, Santiago
Island, Cape Verde.
Photo by Ray Almeida

On the back cover: Carnival celebration in the Czech Republic precedes the somber Lent observance and the intensive labor of the spring season. With the nights still long and snowy, villagers revive this tradition by gathering for caroling, masquerade parades, dances, and balls. Photo courtesy Wallachian Museum



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION



FESTIVAL of AMERICAN FOLKLIFE

JUNE 23-27 AND JUNE 30-JULY 4
ON THE NATIONAL MALL OF THE UNITED STATES

The Cape Verdean Connection

The Czech Republic: Tradition and Transformation

Heartbeat:

The Voices of First Nations Women

Russian Roots, American Branches: Music in Two Worlds



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The Festival As Model

I. MICHAEL HEYMAN

Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

very summer, a new museum with neither roof nor walls arises on the National Mall. Its congeries of people, performances, lectures, processions, signs, and foods offer a somewhat incongruous presence on the nation's front lawn, flanked as it is by monuments, federal buildings, and national museums. But the Festival of American Folklife, now in its 29th year, has become a mainstay of the Smithsonian, an immensely popular exhibition of American and worldwide cultural heritage. The Festival, which has been called a "living museum," "a national treasure," "a service at the Church of the Great American Idea." is an extension of the Smithsonian outdoors, with the same mission but a somewhat different approach than most museums.

The Festival's approach is to help people represent themselves, to be broadly inclusive, and to present grassroots cultural traditions in an engaging, educational way. The Festival assumes that people who create much of the art, artifacts, and technology housed in our museums are themselves national treasures. Our researchers work with represented communities to develop accurate and insightful public presentations that usually include museum-like signs, a printed program book, scholarly introductions to events, musical performances, craft and cooking demonstrations, celebratory reenactments, and narrative discussions. Overall, the tone is conversational, the spirit free, the event participatory. The list of states, nations, occupations, communities, and themes that have been represented at the Festival is encyclopedic. The Festival has illustrated the cultural richness and diversity of our nation and the world. It has also demonstrated how differences can be appreciated and serve as a source of strength and creativity. If only for a few days, the Festival provides a good example of bringing people together—no mean feat in these troubled times. Understandably, the Festival served as a centerpiece of the American Bicentennial in 1976, and more recently as a model for such large-scale public events as the Black Family Reunion, the L.A. Festival, presidential inaugural festivals, and Olympic Arts festivals.

The Festival extends beyond the Mall with the production of Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, traveling exhibitions, books, films, and educational programs. Some products have won Academy, Emmy, and Grammy awards. Michigan, Massachusetts, Hawai'i, Oklahoma, New Mexico, the Virgin Islands, and several nations have reproduced their Festival programs at home and sometimes used them to establish ongoing cultural heritage projects. White House Workers - a 1992 Festival program on the work lore of White House butlers, doormen, seamstresses, and others - exemplifies this Festival afterlife. The Festival program was filmed and edited into a recently aired television documentary. It was also developed into an exhibition now traveling to presidential libraries across the country. A second version of the exhibition was mounted for local schools and served as a basis for educational programs (one of them hosted by the First Lady). The exhibition will eventually rest in the new White House Visitors Center. The Festival program also stimulated a "Blacks in the White House" issue of American Visions magazine.

This year's Festival features American Indian women's musical traditions, the heritage of the Czech Republic and Czech Americans, music of Russian and Russian-American groups, and the cultural life of the Cape Verdean community. These programs

testify to the vitality of the human spirit, to how people, ideas, and forms of cultural expression increasingly cross boundaries of geography, politics, language, race, and gender.

Heartbeat: The Voices of First Nations Women presents the musical culture of American Indian women. The program examines how these women express their identity through the use of a variety of musical forms - from traditional songs of home to contemporary songs of Indian life, from the appropriation of men's music to the fusion of root music with country, folk, blues, and gospel. The Republic: Czech Tradition and Transformation provides a broad survey of the ways national, regional, ethnic, and local traditions have been defined in a complex state located at the crossroads of Central Europe. The "Velvet Revolution" of 1989 and the separation of the Czech and Slovak Republics in 1993 have prompted further examinations of cultural identity, the relationship between the state and popular expression, creativity and tradition. Czech Americans, too, have looked at these changes and the reestablishment of relationships to their ancestral homeland. A third program, Russian Roots, American Branches: Music in Two Worlds, explores the musical culture of Old Believers and Molokans, Russian religious communities created in the 17th and 18th centuries. The program unites immigrant communities long established in the United States with those from Russia, and brings together people who, separated by generations and different social environments, have nonetheless faced parallel issues with regard to cultural persistence and adaptation.

All these programs involve complex institutional arrangements, local-level research

and documentation, and strong commitment to and pride in Festival representation. The Cape Verdean Connection program well demonstrates these processes. Cape Verde is an independent island nation and former Portuguese colony located off the west coast of Africa. Cape Verdean Americans, now numbering about 400,000, most born and raised here, historically settled in New England during the 18th century, playing instrumental roles in the whaling and cranberry industries. Cape Verdeans have an important story to tell about their role in American life, their immigrant and continuing transnational cultural experience, their multiracial heritage, and their enduring sense of community. We have much to learn from their story. Cape Verdeans provided the impetus for the Festival program, carried out most of the research in concert with Smithsonian scholars, led the effort to raise funds from governments, foundations, corporations, and individuals through benefit dances, auctions, and other community events, and, as is fitting, joined with the Smithsonian to share their experiences with the American public.

The Festival can never offer up more than a sample of the rich and complex cultures it seeks to portray. Yet by engaging people in their presentation — the people represented as well as visitors — the Festival can enable the public's understanding of its fellow citizens and neighbors, and help communicate our legacy to future generations. As we look toward 1996, with Festival programs on the American South, on Iowa (for its 150th anniversary), and on the Smithsonian itself (for our 150th), we trust this spirit of cultural dialogue and collaboration will continue to flourish.

Our Dynamic, Living Heritage

BRUCE BABBITT

Secretary, Department of Interior

ore than any other landscape in the country, the National Mall in Washington, D.C., reminds us that national parks are not merely static places to be seen, but dynamic, ever-changing events to experience.

The National Mall is at once our nation's town common and its symbolic center. And, as new chapters are added to our collective life, the Mall grows and changes to reflect them. Where demonstrators once gathered to support or protest America's involvement in Vietnam, there now stands a monument to that war. Six decades ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt laid the cornerstone to the Jefferson Memorial; today, workers have broken ground for a memorial to F.D.R. Not only are new memorials and monuments built; even the oldest buildings that border the Mall, the Smithsonian's national museums, each year exhibit different facets of our heritage, attracting public attention and even vigorous debate.

Perhaps the most dynamic event on the Mall is the Festival of American Folklife. The Festival is a living museum of grassroots culture. But more than that, it is an annual gathering, a reunion of the American people and those from around the world. At the Festival, our history is displayed and made as people share their cultural traditions with each other

through performances, exhibits, discussions, and demonstrations. The Festival illustrates that culture is an active, living process — that history does not stop but is continually being created and written by the people.

Because of this, I am troubled by current proposals to close down our national parks. In my mind, we must not only preserve the parks we have, but expand their number. Fifty years ago, for example, there was no Martin Luther King, Jr., Historical Site to be established or preserved, as there is now. Years ago we did not realize the biological bounty of various natural areas worthy of preservation as national parkland, as we do now. And the movement to create urban parks — windows through which Americans can escape the traffic, the noise, and the violence of cities to encounter their natural heritage — has only just begun.

In short, we must recognize the dynamic character of our nation's cultural, historic, and natural patrimony and the need to develop our institutions in terms consistent with it. To close our parks or abruptly curtail their development is to close the book on our destiny; to expand them is to invest in our ongoing experience and stretch our national horizon. In this spirit, then, enjoy the Festival and the Mall in an open embrace of our living heritage.

"So Long, It's Been Good to Know You" A Remembrance of Festival Director Ralph Rinzler

RICHARD KURIN

Our friend Ralph did not feel above anyone. He helped people to learn to enjoy their differences.... "Be aware of your time and your place," he said to every one of us. "Learn to love the beauty that is closest to you." So I thank the Lord for sending us a friend who could teach us to appreciate the skills of basket weavers, potters, and bricklayers — of hod carriers and the mud mixers. I am deeply indebted to Ralph Rinzler. He did not leave me where he found me.

Arthel "Doc" Watson

Lay down, Ralph Rinzler, lay down and take your rest.

o sang a Bahamian chorus on the National Mall at a wake held for Ralph a day after his passing on the second day of the 1994 Festival. It seems so incongruous to those who knew Ralph Rinzler to imagine him lying down and resting. If there are festivals in heaven, one can only imagine that Ralph is organizing them.

Ralph Rinzler's career at the Festival, the Smithsonian, and beyond was marked by his attention to traditional music and crafts, his development of institutions that support people's culture, his social activism, and his use of electronic media in support of the traditional. He was caring, gentle, and courteous, frustratingly creative, brilliant of wide scope, someone who brought out the best in people. Freewheeling and of boundless energy, he was also charming and a man of incredibly good taste. Self-effacing and quite modest for someone so accomplished, Ralph left thousands of friends on the Mall and around the world.

Ralph came to the Smithsonian Institution in 1967 to develop with James Morris the Festival of American Folklife. The Festival

quickly became a symbol of the Smithsonian under Secretary S. Dillon Ripley, energizing the Mall. It showed that the folks from back home had something to say in the center of the nation's capital. The Festival challenged America's national cultural insecurity. Neither European high art nor commercial pop entertainment represented the essence of American culture. Through the Festival, the Smithsonian gave recognition and respect to the traditions, wisdom, songs, and arts of the American people themselves. The mammoth 1976 Festival became the centerpiece of the American Bicentennial and a living reminder of the strength and energy of a truly wondrous and diverse cultural heritage - a legacy not to be ignored or squandered.

The Festival of American Folklife will remain Rinzler's major contribution, one that has had tremendous influence both in this country and the world. It represents a place where the whole country could be itself and be appreciated.

- Alan Lomax

The Festival for Ralph required sound research and understanding. He also felt that the value of the Festival lay in its impact back home on the lives and hearts of people. "Presenting these people with pride on the Mall," he said, "makes them feel they have something of value, and it encourages them to keep doing it." The Festival also stimulated institutional activities locally and nationally, at home and abroad.

Ralph was a beautiful example of a basically scholarly person doing an extraordinary showbusiness job, bringing hundreds of thousands of people to music, food, and crafts they'd never

heard before. His miracle was how to get the authenticity in a larger space and still keep it authentic.

- Pete Seeger

Ralph's mission was personal and professional. He was active in the folk song movement in the 1950s at Swarthmore College and on the festival circuit with fellow student, folklorist, and lifelong colleague Roger Abrahams. Ralph's early interests spanned fine arts and mythology, but then Library of Congress field recordings of traditional music captured his attention. He was an excellent musician and learned to play banjo and mandolin. He taught others, and became part of a bluegrass group, the Greenbriar Boys, Ralph learned some tunes from Woody Guthrie in Washington Square Park, organized performances with Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, Mary Travers, and Bernice Reagon, and worked with Moses Asch and Mike Seeger in producing Folkways records.

Ralph Rinzler had an adamant and acute critical sense. Early on he knew what he liked and why.

Jonathan Shahn

Ralph Rinzler selflessly sacrificed a professional career as a musician to make sure that the music of others could be heard. But it is as a personal friend and mentor that I knew and loved Ralph.... Ralph was my musical guru.

- David Grisman

Meeting Appalachian musicians Clarence Ashley and Doc Watson in their homes gave Ralph a new perspective. Said Ralph, "I knew the style of the music but had never really connected with the people who played. I knew it as a sound, not as an expression of the thinking, functioning person sitting in front of me. I had no idea what kind of people played this music. I just had the sound ringing in my ears of this beautiful, pentatonic, archaic-sounding music sung in a vocal style that left Frank Sinatra far behind....What astonished me was that the people who are great musi-



cians in traditional music are as profound as artists in any kind of art."

Ralph was a giver of opportunities.

- Robert Yellin

Ralph managed Watson's early career and revived the career of Bill Monroe. Ralph worked for the Newport Folk Festival, traversing the nation researching and documenting American folkways, learning his theory and method en route from Alan Lomax, Charles Seeger, A.L. Lloyd, and others. Through the seminal Newport Festival, Ralph brought Dewey Balfa and a host of people to broader public attention.

Ralph had felt intuitively that the melodies and harmonies of a region were directly related to the rhythmic vitality of its handcrafted objects.... Ralph brought his insistence on the contextual presentation of tradition to the Smithsonian.

- Jeffrey LaRiche

Ralph also loved regional crafts, especially pottery. He drove across the South and brought back quilts, pots, and baskets. Ralph thought that people should know about them, that the object was as significant as the performance in representing particular people.

Fieldwork took Ralph Rinzler into churches, barbershops, bars, radio stations, homes, back yards, and street corners nationwide. His documentation of American expressive forms - traditional music, crafts, and narrative - resulted in collections, Festival programs, documentary films, scholarly recordings, books, and exhibitions.



Photo by Diana Davis

Bill Monroe had a profound influence on Ralph, who learned to play mandolin bluegrass style when he joined the Greenbriar Boys trio in 1958. Ralph became Monroe's manager and introduced him to northern, urban audiences. Left to right: Bill Monroe, Alice Gerrard, Birch Monroe, Charlie Monroe, Mike Seeger, and Ralph Rinzler on a workshop stage at the Festival of American Folklife, late 1960s.

He joined with Nancy Sweezy to help financially support several craft enterprises, and with Bob Sayers coauthored two books and films on pottery.

No one in our day has more deeply and positively influenced folklore than Ralph Rinzler. The foundation of his contribution was broad vision and perfect taste.

Henry Glassie

Ralph worked with scholars Kenny Goldstein, Bess Hawes, Archie Green, Roy Bryce-Laporte, Victor Turner, Abrahams, Glassie, and others to develop ways of understanding and communicating the significance of cultural differences. As the Washington Post well noted, Ralph was "a champion of cultural equity long before the winds of multiculturalism first blew." At the Festival he hired the first Native Americans - Lucille Dawson, Clydia Nahwooksy, Barbara Strickland, Rayna Green - to work for the Institution. He worked with a dedicated group of African-American folklorists and cultural documenters - Gerry Davis, Bernice Reagon, James Early, Worth Long, Roland Freeman in establishing the African Diaspora programs. He encouraged all sorts of people to bring their insights and perspectives to the Festival in order to better represent their communities and others to the nation.

Ralph Rinzler was the key person who opened space in the Institution for peoples who were not part of the Smithsonian agenda.

- Bernice Johnson Reagon

Ralph's work continued as the Smithsonian's Assistant Secretary for Public Service. He founded the Cultural Education Committee and the Committee for a Wider Audience to encourage the broad inclusion of the American people in collections, programs, staff, and audiences.

As the Smithsonian's Assistant Secretary Ralph blazed the Institution's trail toward digital technologies. He led the effort to acquire Folkways Records from founder Moses Asch as a collection, museum of sound, and business. Needing money for the acquisition, he produced Folkways: A Vision Shared, with Bruce Springsteen, U2, Little Richard, Emmylou Harris, Willie Nelson, Bob Dylan, Sweet Honey in the Rock, and others rendering contemporary interpretations of Woody Guthrie and Lead Belly songs. The album, on which Ralph accompanies Taj Mahal on the mandolin, made the money, and won a Grammy in 1988.

We continue to celebrate Ralph's success in making Folkways a part of his vision that the great diversity of American and world cultures must be integral to the mission of the Smithsonian.

- Michael Asch

Ralph continued his work on the Festival and Folkways after retiring as Assistant Secretary. He co-curated *Roots of Rhythm & Blues* at the 1991 Festival and won another Grammy nomination for the resultant recording. He produced new albums of Watson, Monroe, and Ashley, and at the time of his death was completing an expanded edition of Harry Smith's *Anthology of American Folk Music*. Ralph produced a series of oral history/music instruction videos with Pete Seeger, Ralph Stanley, Watson, and Monroe, and encouraged video/book publications, CD-ROM, and CD-I products.



Photo by Carl Fleischhauer

Ralph received many honors, including the Smithsonian Secretary's Gold Medal in 1993 and Washingtonian of the Year in 1976. He served as vice chair of the U.S. National Commission to Unesco, and on a White House task force for music in education. He was also a fellow of the American Folklore Society.

Ralph facilitated the role of all people to come and be part of the conception and diffusion of knowledge.

- James Early

Ralph and his wife Kate were members of the board of the Highlander Center in Tennessee and strong supporters of movements for civil and human rights. Ralph was always aflame with something, often a campaign that had to be organized right then. Ralph made the struggles of traditional artists, cultural exemplars, and intellectuals his own. As Bess Hawes noted, Ralph "strove with the artists he loved and admired; he argued with them and listened to them with all his being; he totally supported their right to dignified, democratic, conflict-laden choices even when he thought they were wrong."

As a lover of humankind, Ralph celebrated both folk traditions and traditions of freedom. He understood the relationships between theory and practice, between freedom and culture.

Roland Freeman

Ralph himself was the subject of an oral tradition. Renowned for his expertise, he could dissertate on innumerable subjects from the origin of the bagpipes to the potential of high-definition television. Ever thoughtful, he would whoosh into meetings and astound everyone with the sheer force of heartfelt, brilliant ideas. Ralph had ideas upon ideas, at least eight or ten an hour. A few had been thunk before, some were wacky. But one or two would be innovative, insightful, and strong. And so on any day you might be left with a dozen or so, any one of which could have occupied a lifetime - as indeed they have. It didn't stop during the day, either. Ralph loved to call well into the night, beginning conversations mid-sentence and bursting with energy. Ralph spent so much time on the phone that deaf participants at the Festival one year made up a unique sign for him — the sign for "R" with each hand positioned next to mouth and ear, as if to indicate two teleAlan Lomax guided Ralph's fieldwork for the Newport Folk Festival and the Festival of American Folklife, Bess Lomax Hawes worked with Ralph as Deputy Director of the **Bicentennial Festival** before joining the National Endowment for the Arts. Left to right: in the center, Bess Hawes, Alan Lomax, and Ralph Rinzler.

Ralph loved to vacation at Naushon Island, off of Cape Cod. He befriended all of his wife Kate's cousins, and became a figure to be reckoned with, vigorously driving horse and carriage along the miles of dirt roads. His last and favorite horse was Timmy, a retired racing trotter from New Zealand.

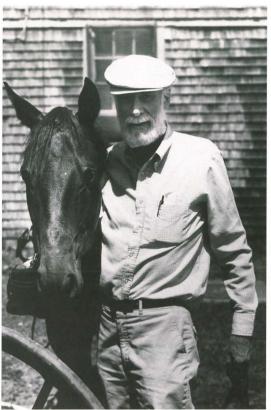


Photo by Sam Sweezy

phones and the initials "RR."

Ralph had great vision, crossing boundaries of race, class, gender, technology. He was also a bundle of opposites, caring and compassionate to people, systematic and dispassionate with institutions. He was generous. When the Smithsonian didn't support his work, Ralph, out of his own pocket, paid employees. Once I saw him write a \$10,000 check to help pay a salary. Soon after, he went out in the middle of the night before a Festival searching for donuts to bring back for those still working, and then tracked down administrator Barbara Strickland to reimburse him the \$16 and whatever cents he'd spent. Ralph donned the dress of the elite, but struggled to make conditions better for hundreds of Smithsonian working men and women who wear a uniform. He loved to drive a horse and buggy on his beloved Naushon Island in Massachusetts, and also to play with the latest digital-electronic calendars and computers.

We all have our Ralph stories. And last year, Ralph's passing at the Festival generated a few more. It was in the big music tent on the Mall that Saturday that the Bahamians were

presenting their evening programme. A great storm came up, and a thousand, maybe more, in the audience gathered into the tent. We had a respite for a few moments. Then the heavens broke loose with a sweeping deluge. It was a frightening display of thunder, lightning, and a torrential downpour of rain. Some of the folks from The Bahamas noted how it was God that was talking through the thunder and lightning and that it was not appropriate to perform until He'd finished. Kayla Edwards, the presenter and the Deputy Director of Culture for The Bahamas, explained how some people thought that such strong storms signified that a great person had died - that the storm was nature's way of making room for a new, ascending spirit. She did not know that Ralph had passed away just at that time. As the electricity went down, those in the tent sang "Amazing Grace."

The next day, learning of Ralph's passing, the Bahamian group did a settin' up — a wake for the benefit of Kate Rinzler, Ralph's nurse Donna Lang, and other friends. Though the Bahamians did not know Ralph, they saw the evidence of his good work in what was now their Festival, too. The folks from Thailand also saw Ralph's footprints on the Mall, and left a shrine made of candles and incense stuck on plastic cups on the desk in our office trailer to allay our grief.

A few days later in that same tent we held a memorial service. Clydia and Reeves Nahwooksy provided a Comanche Baptist invocation. Mike Seeger, Guy Carawan, and Bill Monroe played and sang. Bernice Reagon sang, as did the Bahamian ladies. Bess Hawes talked about Ralph's legacy, as did Jeffrey LaRiche and James Early; messages from Pete and Toshi Seeger, Roger Abrahams, Henry Glassie, Doc Watson, and others were read. Lucille Dawson talked about the truly profound effects the Festival's Native American programs had had on Indian education and civil rights. Mike Thomas, who helped care for Ralph during the last year, spoke for the Smithsonian custodians who always found in him a friend and supporter.

You don't get too many bow-tied

Washington officials meriting Baptist Indian prayers, Buddhist shrines, or Bahamian wakes, or having the "Bourgeois Blues" played as the recessional for their memorial service. It is indeed a tribute to Ralph's life that he was so appreciated, in so many different ways, by so many different people. And it's my guess that Ralph had a satisfied chuckle when the *New York Times* erroneously reported in its obituary that he was Black.

I think most of us will remember his ability to find the brilliance in the talents of his friends and then to search out the best ways to let the world in on this brilliance.... He was made of the best stuff.

- Roger Abrahams

Ralph Rinzler left a legacy in the people he brought into his work: an articulate Black guy with an attitude and politics from Jacksonville, an Indian farm gal from North Carolina with a knack for getting things done, a preacher's daughter from Kentucky, an Ivv Leaguer with a Peace Corps heart and connoisseur's eye, a Jewish truck driver's kid born in the south Bronx. Ralph, in every way, demonstrated that while differences among people often divided them, those same differences could be used, powerfully and creatively, to bring people together. Those following in his footsteps know the importance of this work. We see it in the faces of the people who sing and speak at the Festival to their fellow citizens and humans on this Mall, and maybe appreciate it a little more in our own hearts, because we know we've also been honored, even blessed, in helping to make it happen.

Ralph was a man of multiple talents, of immensely broad experience, and of absolutely startling energies.... I hope...many of us here will determine that we ourselves can try to help fill the terrible gap his death leaves; it will take a lot of us working all together, but we know a lot more now, from watching him, about how to do it.

Bess Lomax Hawes

Suggested Readings

Rinzler, Ralph, and Robert Sayers. 1987. *The Korean* Onggi *Potter*. Smithsonian Folklife Studies, No. 5. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Rinzler, Ralph, and Robert Sayers. 1980. *The Meaders Family: North Georgia Potters.*Smithsonian Folklife Studies, No. 1.
Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Rinzler, Ralph, and Peter Seitel. 1977. The Festival of American Folklife. *Smithsonian Magazine*.

Suggested Listening

DeVito, Don, Joe McEwen, Harold Levanthal, and Ralph Rinzler. 1988. Folkways: A Vision Shared, A Tribute to Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly. Columbia Records OC 44034.

DeVito, Don, Worth Long, Barry Lee Pearson, and Ralph Rinzler. 1992. Roots of Rhythm and Blues: A Tribute to the Robert Johnson Era. Columbia Records/Sony Music Entertainment and Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings CK 48584.

Rinzler, Ralph. 1990. *The Doc Watson Family*. Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings SF 40012.

Rinzler, Ralph. 1993. *Bill Monroe and the Bluegrass Boys: Live Recordings 1956-1969, Volume 1.* Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings SF 40063.

Rinzler, Ralph. 1993. *Bill Monroe and Doc Watson: Live Duet Recordings 1963-1980, Volume 2.* Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings SF 40064.

Rinzler, Ralph. 1994. Doc Watson and Clarence Ashley, The Original Folkways Recordings, 1960-1962. Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings SF 40029/30.

Suggested Viewing

Rinzler, Ralph, and Happy Traum. 1992. *Pete Seeger, Guitar Instruction*. Homespun Tapes and Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings.

Rinzler, Ralph, and Happy Traum. 1992. *Doc Watson, Guitar Instruction*. Homespun Tapes and Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings.

Ralph Rinzler: A Celebration of Life. Video of the July 7, 1994, memorial service on the National Mall at the Festival of American Folklife. Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies. RICHARD KURIN is Director of the Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies and a Professorial Lecturer at the Johns Hopkins University Nitze School for Advanced International Studies. He is a cultural anthropologist with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago who has done most of his research and writing on issues of cultural policy and the folk cultures of Pakistan and India. He first worked on the Festival of American Folklife in 1976.

The Festival Never Ends

DIANA PARKER

t's been a busy year for the Festival. In addition to researching and producing this year's event, which we hope you will find both enlightening and enjoyable, we are mining Festivals past for important and challenging projects as well as planning future programs.

Education kits prepared from materials generated for and by the 1991 Festival program Knowledge and Power: Land in Native American Cultures and the 1993 United States-Mexico Borderlands/La Frontera program are nearing completion. Written materials for these two kits are currently being sent to classroom teachers and other educational evaluators for testing and comments. We expect the kits to be ready for classroom use by the 1995-96 school year.

Collaborations forged for the Festival don't stop when the Festival closes. The Center is working with El Colegio de la Frontera Norte and Texas Folklife Resources, co-collaborators on the Festival *Borderlands* program, not only on the education kit, but to organize *Talleres de la Frontera*. A binational workshop and performance series for border communities that includes cultural practitioners who participated in both the Festival program and the education kit, *Talleres* will explore the relationships between history, identity, and the border.

Workers at the White House, a film based on the 1992 Festival program, premiered at National Geographic and was shown on television in February. The traveling exhibition, of which the video is now a part, is at the Reagan Library in Simi Valley, California, until October, following a stay at the Carter Presidential Library in Atlanta, Georgia. A second version of the exhibition has been circulating through Washington, D.C., schools. Its opening at the Shaed Elementary School in February was attended by several of the featured White House workers and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. The exhibit will eventually reside in the new National Park Service White House Visitors Center. The video can be seen there now.

The 1993 Festival program American Social Dance was the winner in the Theater, Music, and Dance category at the annual Smithsonian Institution Exhibition Awards ceremony. Congratulations are due to the program staff and the dancers and musicians from around the country who were a part of that extraordinary event.

From the 1994 Festival, we are working with our colleagues in The Bahamas to produce an education kit. In addition, the Bahamians are planning to remount last year's Festival program in The Bahamas this summer.

Three new projects were initiated this year. The first is the formation of a Friends of the Festival group. The Festival has always depended on its friends for support of all sorts, and we look forward to having a more formal structure for our interaction. The Friends staff is busy developing membership benefits and

programs for the Washington area and beyond. The Friends have a tent on the Festival grounds this year. Drop by and talk with them, or contact them at (202) 287-3210.

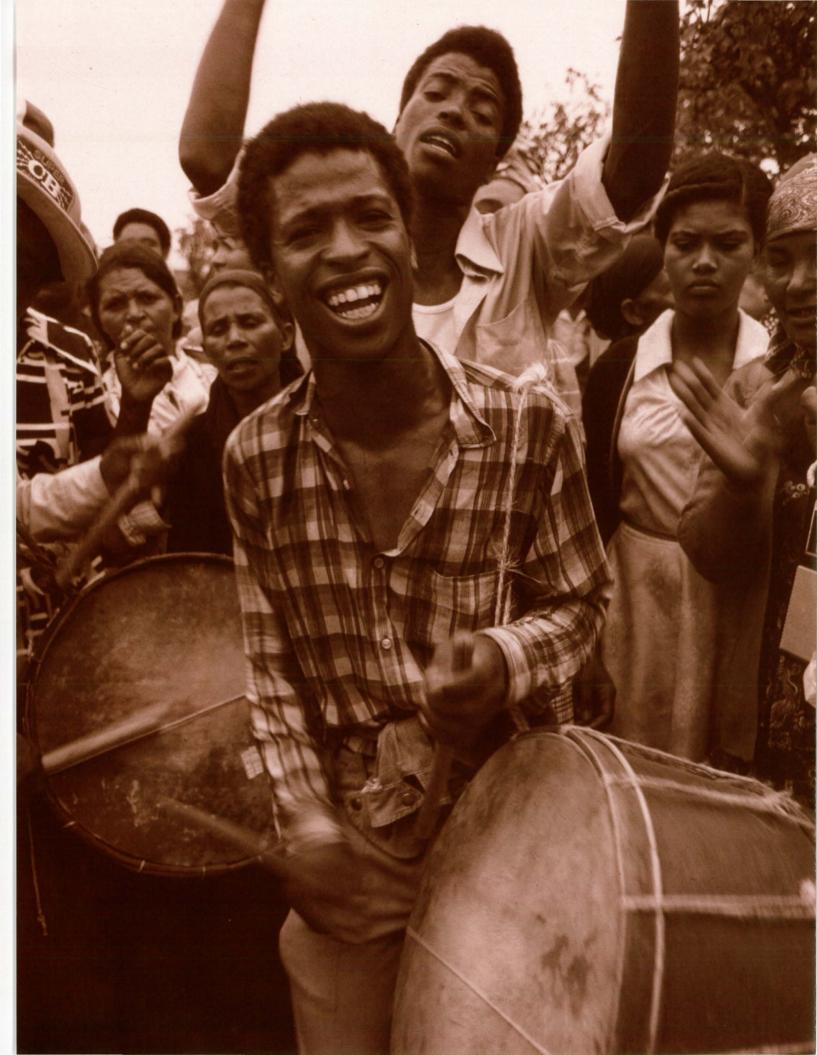
The second initiative is the establishment of the Smithsonian Collection of Traditional Crafts, solicited from master craftspeople around the United States. Crafts will be displayed and sold at the Festival and major craft shows and through catalogues, printed and electronic. We hope this activity will encourage the continuing creativity of fine traditional craftspeople by providing access to markets and thus additional financial support for what they do.

In assessing our work in producing the Festival, we depend on honest appraisal by Festival participants, who see the results of our planning most closely. In order to broaden our understanding of participants' experiences, we recently mailed a four-page questionnaire to all domestic participants from 1989 to 1993. Questions were general (How would you rate your experience? Would you come again if asked?), specific (How would you rate travel arrangements? food? volunteers? academic presenters?), and open ended (How did your experience affect your life back home, if at all?). To our delight, we have had nearly 300 responses so far. We are still in the process of analyzing the material, but can report that 82 percent of the respondents rated their overall experience as excellent and 17.5 percent as good. Eighty-eight percent said they would definitely do it again, with another 12 percent saying under certain conditions they would. Ninety-four percent felt that the audience generally liked their presentation and learned from it, with an additional 6 percent feeling that people were entertained, but didn't really learn anything. We would also like to know how Festival audiences perceive the event. If you would like to tell us how you feel, please write Festival of American Folklife Opinions, Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 2600, MRC 914, Washington, DC 20560.

Finally, the Festival is in the process of going up on World Wide Web. The interactive nature of the medium makes it a natural for presenting a sampling of the rich audio, photographic, video, and text archives of the Festival. It can never match the level of interactivity of the Festival itself, however. "Virtual" is exactly that.

Next summer the Festival will enliven the Mall June 26 – 30 and July 3 – 7. Our programs will include Iowa, the American South, and Workers at the Smithsonian Institution. Please plan to join us for one of our most challenging and exciting Festivals ever.

DIANA PARKER is the Director of the Festival of American Folklife. She has worked on the Festival in a variety of capacities since 1975.



The CAPE VERDEAN Connection

Nos Ku Nos*: A Transnational Cape Verdean Community

RAYMOND A. ALMEIDA

ape Verdean culture on both sides of the Atlantic has developed in a context of transnationalism, almost a commonplace in today's world in which immense cor-

porations and ordinary people alike seek economic survival and benefit by crossing borders. Members of migrant communities preserve and reinvent their culture in places separated perhaps by an airline journey of a day or two, yet they remain linked to one another by ties of kinship, shared resources, and cultural exchange.

The kinds of social life people create in a transnational context have received growing attention in recent years, with studies of diasporas, borders, and other de-territorialized settings in which people practice culture. It might seem that our modern technology and economic system give rise to the conditions for transnationalism. But for Cape Verdeans, transnationalism has been a way of life since the 15th century. Opportunities for migration arose from Cape Verde's strategic position in the geography of trade and empire; the necessity for migration was created by Cape Verde's lack of rich natural resources and sufficient agricultural base.

Unlike the green place its name suggests, Cape Verde is most often brown, windy, and dry. In the past three centuries, famine has been recorded in one out of every eight years. Between 1774 and 1975, over 120,000 Cape Verdeans perished from the effects of drought and famine. The country in a good year is able to produce only about 20 percent of its food. One cannot understand the development of

* The expression nos ku nos is colloquially used to convey the attitude that Cape Verdeans are a people who make sense to each other, whether or not their cultural identity makes sense to others outside of the group.

Cape Verdean culture without taking these environmental factors into account.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND ATLANTIC COMMERCE

Cape Verdean culture also developed within an Atlantic economic system. The foundations for this system were laid in the 15th century in a commerce of slaves who supplied unpaid labor for an interlocking set of businesses. The first recorded American contact with Cape Verde appears in the 1643 journal entry of Jonathan Winthrop, the Massachusetts colonist (Bailyn 1955:84). He noted a shipment of boat staves sent from Boston to England to finance the purchase of "Africoes in the island of Mayo," who were then sold in Barbados to buy molasses, which was taken to Boston for rum production. This is an early record of the infamous triangular trade that linked Europe, Africa, and the Americas and built Atlantic commerce.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the majority of Cape Verdeans were involved in the slave trade in some way. Landowners and slave merchants trafficked in slaves. Other Cape Verdeans outfitted ships sailing eastward for the African coast or westward on the middle passage to Brazil or the Spanish West Indies laden with human cargo. The islands became a transshipment point for enslaved Africans being transported to the New World (Duncan 1971:198-210). There were many Cape Verdean slaves as well. At the beginning of the 17th century only 12 percent of the population of Fogo and Santiago were free persons (Carreira 1966:44).

These slaves produced cotton and woven body cloths or panos. "Europeans found they had to acquire Cabo Verdean panos in order to

The Cape Verdean

Connection has been made possible with the support of the Government of Cape Verde on the occasion of its 20th anniversary of independence; the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation; Cape Verdean-American community fundraising committees in Boston, Brockton, Cape Cod, New Bedford, Wareham, Providence/Pawtucket, Hartford, Norwich, Southern California, and Washington, D.C.: Ocean Sprau Cranberries, Inc.; NYNEX; the Luso-American Development Foundation; Fleet Charitable Trust; Raytheon Co.; the City of New Bedford, Mass.; the Town of Wareham, Mass.; and the Cape Verdean-American

Import/Export Company.

meet African traders' demands that some be included in their assortment of trade goods.... Panos were virtually the only commodity they [Cape Verdeans] could sell advantageously in competition with European traders" (Brooks 1993:166).

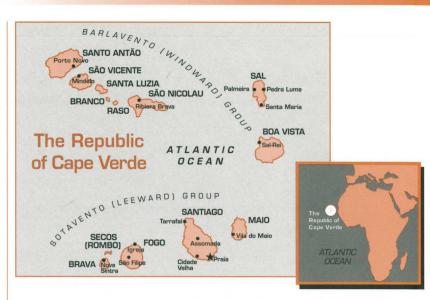
MIGRATION

Even before the slave trade ended, whaling, commercial shipping, and Portuguese colonialism provided the means of survival for many Cape Verdeans. As early as the 1750s, Yankee whaling ships regularly called at Cape Verde (Sanderson 1956:261), and by the 1840s over 40 percent of Nantucket whalemen were Cape Verdeans (Hohman 1928:128).

Foreign ships in Cape Verdean ports offered opportunities for young men from poor families, who saw little hope for their future in the Islands. They often boarded the vessels with only their skills, their determination, and their dream of leaving the islands, making a new life for themselves regardless of sacrifice, and sending money and supplies home to the families they had to leave behind. Ex-slaves or their descendants often became property owners via this route.

The path open to the elite, better educated, town-dwelling Cape Verdeans to improve their fortune was the Portuguese civil service. A successful administrative career in Cape Verde allowed many to assume similar posts throughout the Portuguese empire. Ironically, in the mid-20th century some of these Cape Verdean civil servants played key leadership roles in an anticolonial movement that brought the overthrow of the Portuguese dictatorship in 1974 and independence for Cape Verde in 1975.

Cape Verdean migration to the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries was composed of the islands' poorer classes. In 1922, the U.S. government restricted the immigration of peoples of color, greatly reducing Cape Verdean immigration. The new regulations also prevented Cape Verdean Americans from visiting the islands for fear of being denied reentry to the United States. The two communities thus were relatively isolated



from each other for approximately 40 years. With doors to America closed, Cape Verdeans began to immigrate in larger numbers to Europe, South America, and West Africa along routes charted by commercial shipping and the Portuguese colonial empire. During the same period some Cape Verdean Americans migrated from the long-established East Coast communities to the steel towns of Ohio and Pennsylvania and to California.

In 1966 the U.S. government relaxed its regulations, and a new wave of Cape Verdean immigration began. The new arrivals in Boston, Brockton, and Scituate, Massachusetts; Pawtucket, Rhode Island; Waterbury, Connecticut; Brooklyn and Yonkers, New York; and other communities on the East Coast met a Cape Verdean-American ethnic group whose members looked like them, but differed culturally. Separated for so long, the groups knew little of each other's recent history or treasured memories.

Today Cape Verdean immigrant communities can be found in Senegal and in other African countries, in Argentina and Brazil, and in Portugal, the Netherlands, Sweden, Italy, France, and elsewhere in Europe — in 18 countries on four continents. My own community in southern New England is the oldest and largest in the Cape Verdean diaspora.

In 1990 Cape Verdean Americans estimated their numbers at about 400,000, over 60,000 of whom arrived after 1966. The resident population of the Cape Verde Islands is about

N ka ten di agraba di mar pamodi tudu ki ten e mar ki dau.

I cannot hold a grudge against the sea, because all that I have the sea has given me.

- Cape Verdean proverb



Photo by Ron Barboza

Left: José "Zezinho"
Ramos immigrated
from S. Nicolau and
worked as a whaler
for many years out of
New Bedford before
retiring to Bridgeport,
Connecticut. This
photo was taken on
one of Zezinho's many
sentimental visits to
the New Bedford
Whaling Museum.

Right: By the 1920s the booming New Bedford textile industry offered steady but low-paying jobs for many Cape Verdeans. 360,000, and some 185,000 others live in diaspora communities in Europe, South America, and Africa.

REMITTANCES AND TRANSNATIONAL ETHICS

Migrants sending money and goods to families they leave behind is one form of linkage between Cape Verdeans on both sides of the Atlantic. Although the amount of cash remittances fluctuates with economic conditions, on average it constitutes 25-30 percent of the annual gross national product of Cape Verde, a resource that is important to the islands' economy as a whole. On Brava the ethos and the uncertainty of remittances combine in a proverbial contrast between a *carta de amor*, or "love letter," in which a migrant family member includes a few dollars in addition to welcome news and photos, and a *carta sec*, or "dry letter," which contains no money.

By sacrifice, hard work, and a willingness to take risks, some Cape Verdeans gained ownership of institutions that support their transnational existence. In the late 19th century, for example, Cape Verdeans bought old, technologically outmoded ocean-going sailing ships and began what came to be called the Brava Packet Trade, making up to ten crossings a year between Cape Verde and Providence and New Bedford carrying freight, mail, visitors, immigrants, and famine relief.



Photo courtesy Ron Barboza

These fragile vessels nurtured the Cape Verdean connection.

CAPE VERDEAN CLUBS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Clubs and associations also helped bridge dispersed populations. In the islands, mutual aid societies like the tabanka on Santiago and Maio were built on kin, church, and community ties. During five centuries of colonial rule, individuals could expect little help from the government, so the sharing of scarce resources usually took place at the neighborhood and family level. In America, Cape Verdeans incorporated the Associação Beneficiente Caboverdiana in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1917 as the first of many fraternal associations, religious organizations, mutual aid societies, student groups, workers unions, and other voluntary associations. These small clubs and associations provided a place to be together in celebration or in need, to feel at home outside the confines of work or an immigrant's cramped quarters.

The organizations also became tools for community action. In 1934 a fatal wreck of the Nantucket Lightship killed most of its Cape Verdean crew. In response, the New Bedford Cape Verdean community rallied behind attorney Alfred J. Gomes to establish the Seamen's Memorial Scholarship Fund, which provided scholarship assistance to young Cape Verdean Americans, coordinated many drought relief drives, and mobilized other

A Note on Kriolu Orthography

There are several ways to write spoken Kriolu. Most Cape Verdeans in the United States are familiar with spellings that use the standard Portuguese system of representing sounds.

As part of an effort to increase the usefulness of Kriolu as a medium of communication, the Government of Cape Verde commissioned a group of widely respected scholars to develop a standard orthography. They have issued their recommendations, which many believe will be formally accepted at an upcoming scholarly conference in Praia on the Kriolu language.

Because we hope our written materials on Cape Verde will continue to be referred to in years to come, we have opted to use the proposed standard orthography in this program book, while retaining the Portuguese-influenced orthography so well known by Cape Verdean Americans on Festival signs.

forms of assistance to Cape Verde. Many other Cape Verdean American organizations also supported education and drought relief.

MEDIA IN A TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Communication is crucial for mobilizing support and for sharing information that bears on community interests. Cape Verdean Americans have run community newspapers since 1926, when João Christiano DaRosa founded A Voz da Colonia (Voice of the colony), the first Portuguese-language newspaper in Rhode Island. In 1969, Manuel T. Neves, son of Fogo and Brava immigrants, began publishing an English-language monthly, The Cape Verdean, in Lynn, Massachusetts. For 25 years Neves has published and distributed the paper almost single-handedly, providing a vital communications link within the





Photo by Ray Almeida

community and always urging Cape Verdean Americans to become more active advocates for Cape Verde.

Increased immigration and the escalating anticolonial struggle prompted the appearance of several publications in the 1970s. *Labanta* (Arise!), published by Alcides Vicente, strove to connect the new immigrants in Pawtucket and elsewhere with the larger, long-established communities of Cape Verdean Americans.

From 1975 through 1978 I published the *Tchuba Newsletter* with the American Committee for Cape Verde, Inc., in Boston. *Tchuba* means "rain" in the Kriolu of Santiago and is a powerful metaphor for hope, a time for planting new seed. The announced intention of the paper was to build a better-informed U.S. constituency in solidarity with the newly independent Republic of Cape

Top: Cape Verdeans in New Bedford and Providence still work on the waterfront, and they are still predominant in the International Longshoremen's Association local in Providence — organized by Manuel "Chief" Lido in 1933 — and its brother local in New Bedford.

Bottom: Joaquim
Miguel Almeida,
affectionately known
to his friends as "Pork
Chop," came from S.
Nicolau to America at
the turn of the
century. A lover of the
many forms of Cape
Verdean folk culture,
he himself has
handcrafted many
model ships.



Verde. The *Tchuba Newsletter* regularly included poetry, prose, riddles, jokes, and crossword puzzles in Kriolu as well as reportage and commentary. Before the organization ceased its publication for financial reasons in 1978, the bimonthly tabloid had a circulation of 10,000, a length of 36 pages, and regular contributions from writers in Cape Verdean communities on four continents.

Established in 1978 by Alcides Vicente and Thomas D. Lopes, the CVN (Cape Verdean News) appears every two weeks from its offices in New Bedford. Several new Portuguese- and Kriolu-language journals are published by recent immigrants: Mundo Caboverdiana, from Cambridge, and the New Cape Verdean Times, from Pawtucket; in Boston, Aquipelago and Farol regularly feature religious news, poetry, and opinion.

As early as the 1940s Cape Verdean broadcast media also helped maintain a body of shared information, values, and historical experience to nurture the development of Cape Verdean culture. They also reached out to wider audiences, affirming commonly held aesthetic and ethical values and exploring political alliances. Jim Mendes, a Cape Verdean American who

described himself as the "first Black DJ in Rhode Island," hosted a long-running jazz program which often addressed the special concerns of the Cape Verdean community as well. In the 1970s, Alberto Torres Pereira, who got into radio with help from Jim Mendes, began a weekly talk show co-hosted by Rhode Island State Representative George Lima.

"Let's Talk About Now!" is sponsored by the National Urban League and explores a range of issues that confront minority communities in Rhode Island.

In 1978 Alcides Vicente and Romana Ramos Silva of Pawtucket established the first all-Cape Verdean, all-Kriolu weekly radio program in the United States. The call-in portion of "Musica de Cabo Verde" is a forum for members of the immigrant community to express whatever is on their minds — usually politics and culture in Cape Verde and its diaspora.

There are many others as well. For many years, José "Djosinha" Duarte, a popular Cape Verdean singer, has been broadcasting "Camin pa Cabo Verde" (The road to Cape Verde), a music and news program which can be heard in New Bedford and Rhode Island. Jorge Fidalgo, a community businessman in Roxbury, Massachusetts, hosts a weekly interview and call-in program, "Nha Terra" (My land). Franciso "Chico" Fernandes hosts the weekly "Tras Horizonte" (Across the horizon) in Boston. Fernandes, the elected deputy to the National Assembly of Cape Verde, represents the Cape Verdean immigrant community in North America.

From the early 1970s, Cape Verdean Americans have regularly hosted TV programs. Raconteur and singer John "Joli" Gonsalves from New Bedford played a pioneering role in Cape Verdean-American television programming.

Since 1989, CABOVIDEO — a communications company jointly run by Ed Andrade, a Cape Verdean American, and João Rodrigues Pires, who lives in Praia — has produced a weekly, 90-minute prerecorded program for the Cape Verdean community. Combining video from Cape Verde with Cape Verdean-American discussion and reportage, the program appears in 50 cities and towns in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, where the largest segment of the community resides.

TRANSNATIONAL NATIONALITY

There are many more Cape Verdeans residing outside of the islands than living there. Since independence there has been a growing recog-

The newspapers
published under these
mastheads have kept
Cape Verdeans on both
sides of the Atlantic
informed about
significant events.

nition by the Government of Cape Verde of the important role these emigrants play in the cultural life and economy of the nation. Cape Verdean law officially recognizes the status of emigrants residing in communities around the world, referring to them as the "international community" of Cape Verdeans, which complements the "resident population" in the islands. The government includes a Secretary of State for Immigration Affairs and Communities, and Ministries of Culture and of Education regularly hold symposia on Kriolu-language standardization and other issues of concern to emigrants. The Bank of Cape Verde has studied emigrant remittances from all major Cape Verdean communities and, with the National Assembly, has devised policies to stimulate remittances and longterm investments. Both the government and the national bank define a Cape Verdean as one born in the islands or having a parent or grandparent born there. Since 1991, emigrant communities have voted in Cape Verdean national elections and have had representation in the National Assembly. Former President Aristides Pereira's comments quoted in the Cape Verdean press after his first visit to the United States in 1983 reflect his understanding of the transnational nature of his constituency:

...[T]his visit left me immensely impressed, in particular, to see a community that is not only large but also very old...a people who feel sentimentally linked to Cape Verde, and who religiously transmit all our cultural ways to their children from generation to generation, from family to family.... [W]e must pay attention to this phenomenon. During the visit we had the opportunity to see that there already are a number of Cape Verdean-Americans integrated into American political and administrative life who have some influence.... This community is small but well regarded because our fellow countrymen have always shown themselves to be serious workers and citizens (translation) (Journal Vozdipovo 1983:2-3).



Photo courtesy Marilyn Lopes

IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY POLITICS

Respect for cultural heritage and common historical experience is an important public virtue in the Cape Verdean community. People who enjoy the community's deepest respect are those who achieve economic success "in American terms AND who remember where we came from" (Lena Brito, Wareham, Massachusetts). "At weekend dances and whenever we had a special church occasion nobody had to tell us who our community elders or leaders were. The ones who kept in touch with the islands and who were proud of being Cape Verdeans, the ones who never forgot where they came from: those were the people we respected" (Mary Santos Barros, New Bedford).

Until the 1960s Cape Verdeans had not aggressively sought participation in the local political institutions of southern New England. People voted and paid taxes but seldom expressed their needs to City Hall. As in many of America's communities of color, politics began to change in the 1960s. Cape Verdean candidates for City Councilor and the School Board went to traditional Cape

Albert Lopes, son of S. Nicolau immigrants, was the first commercial producer and distributor of Cape Verdean musical recordings in America. One-time captain of the New Bedford High School basketball team and longshoremen's union activist, Lopes played a pivotal role from the 1920s to the 1960s in the struggle to keep the Cape Verdean-American string music tradition alive.



Photo courtesy Ray Almeida

On July 5, 1985, Cape
Verdean Americans
joined with delegations
from Cape Verdean
diaspora communities
to march in solidarity
and celebration of the
10th anniversary of
Cape Verdean
independence.

Verdean organizations for support. Initially these candidates encountered skepticism and some opposition along generational lines. Elderly immigrants distrusted politics and cautioned young politicians not to rock the boat. But by the 1970s Cape Verdeans had begun to enter into political coalitions with African-American and Latino groups. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, Cape Verdeans have been elected to the state legislatures. In Connecticut Francisco Borges, who was born in the poor rural village of Sedeguma in Santiago, was elected to serve as the State Treasurer with management oversight for a twenty-billion-dollar budget.

POLITICS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

In the mid-1970s the approach of the American Bicentennial brought public attention to "cultural pluralism." Cape Verdean Americans began organizing to achieve greater public awareness of their distinct identity within their local communities Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. In New Bedford Manuel A. Lopes and others associated with the Cape Verdean-American Veterans Association formed the Cape Verdean Recognition Committee to publicize the community's accomplishments and culture and to lobby for changes which would permit Cape Verdean Americans to be enumerated, as a people, in the federal decennial census. The Committee organizes an annual Cape Verdean Recognition Parade.

In Rhode Island several Cape Verdean members of the Black Heritage Committee established the Cape Verdean-American Sub-Committee of the Rhode Island Ethnic Heritage Commission in order to draw greater attention to the concerns of Cape Verdeans. Community activists Don Ramos and Oling Monteiro Jackson struggled to place the state's elected officials and civic leaders in direct dialogue with the Cape Verdean community. Each year the Sub-Committee sponsors a major outdoor Cape Verdean independence day festival at India Point Park, close to the very site where the Brava Packet Ships once docked.

Planning for local Bicentennial celebrations in 1976 often evoked intense discussions about Cape Verdean cultural identity. Were the Cape Verdes "Atlantic" islands or "African" islands? Should we call ourselves Cape Verdeans or Portuguese or both? The Smithsonian Institution invited a group of Cape Verdeans to participate in the Africa Diaspora program of the 1976 Festival of American Folklife, where they would perform in an area adjacent to visiting Senegalese dancers. At the pre-Festival orientation meeting, Smithsonian staff introduced the New Bedford group as being Cape Verdean Americans. "Now we didn't know anyone of the other people in the program so we were all very surprised when Buli, the leader of the Senegalese dancers, jumped up and began singing a Kriolu song to us.... They knew who Cape Verdeans were.... Buli said that Kriolu was still spoken in a lot of places in West Africa.... From then on our group was together with their group every night" (Lillian Ramos, Acushnet, Massachusetts). The Festival experience provided additional impetus to discussions of Cape Verdean cultural identity.

On New Bedford radio talk shows and in local newspapers some local Black American leaders voiced opposition to "Cape Verdean recognition" as a community organizing strategy. According to them, it was simply a way for Cape Verdeans to try to escape admitting that they were "just plain Black folks like the

Continued on page 26

Cape Verdeans in the Cranberry Bogs

MARILYN HALTER

Adapted from *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860-1965.* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1993).

The people of Fogo are known as rugged farmers, and they brought this robustness and passion for the land to their work in the Massachusetts cranberry bogs. Yet, while the cranberry industry became dependent Cape Verdean immigrants, very few became owners of bogs. For the most part, the bog workers remained seasonal laborers, residing off season in urban areas, primarily New Bedford and Providence.

There were exceptions to this pattern, however. A few of the Cape Verde Islanders were able to purchase wetlands and convert them into cranberry bogs. Those immigrants who did manage to become property owners in the cranberry

region in many ways come closest to realizing the possibilities of the American Dream, while still maintaining the continuity of rural life that is their heritage.

For the rest, cranberry picking may bring up pleasant memories of bonfires and dewy mornings, or of storytelling and record-breaking scooping. But more likely, it is a reminder of backbreaking toil for low pay, of ruthless overseers, of poor health and inadequate housing that gave a minimum of reward to them and a maximum of profits to the bog owners.

All the hardships characteristic of migrant labor



This Cape Verdean American harvests cranberries from a bog in Carver, Massachusetts.

Photo by Ron Barboza

were experienced by the Cape Verdean bog workers. However, in comparison to factory work, to congested city life, to unemployment discrimination employment, the weeks of the cranberry harvest were a welcome change for many. Not only were these former peasants able to work the land again, but the wages they could accumulate during a good season would be sufficient to take them through the cold winter months, with some extra to send back to the old country or, perhaps, to make the return trip themselves. The money would also be used to bring other family members here to the United States. For those whose entry into this country came via the whaling industry, cranberry picking was an immediate

way to earn some hard cash. The former whaler Joseph Ramos recalled: "Whaling was dirty work, a nasty job. We didn't make any money whaling because they discounted [deducted] everything — food, clothing.... It was a form of passport. So three days after I got off the ship, I was picking cranberries. On the *Wanderer*, I made fourteen dollars for one year. Then, on the *Margarett*, with the same crew, I made sixteen dollars for six months. In the cranberry bogs, I made \$130 for six weeks. I paid \$30 for board and came to New Bedford with \$100."

Fishermen in S. Antão land a small boat filled with bait fish. More than 3,500 fishermen with about 1,300 small wooden boats provide over three-fourths of the protein consumed in Cape Verde. In spite of this strong occupational tradition, Cape Verdeans have not been part of the fisheries in America. "The banks wouldn't give us loans, and the people who controlled the industry just didn't want Cape Verdeans in the fishing business. It was okay for us to get jobs as lumpers unloading the boats or working in the fish processing houses, but they simply didn't want Cape Verdeans in ownership situations" (Buddy Andrade, New Bedford, Massachusetts).

RAYMOND A.

ALMEIDA, a Cape
Verdean American
born in New Bedford,
Massachusetts,
coordinated the
drafting of the
community's proposal
to the Smithsonian
and fundraising
activities for The Cape
Verdean Connection.
He is Senior Program
Advisor to the project.



Photo by Ron Barboza

rest of us." Some prominent Cape Verdean community activists agreed that "Cape Verdean recognition" would threaten alliances among communities and dilute hard-won and fragile local minority political power. Other Cape Verdean Americans felt it was necessary to oppose the way race was constructed in America, which divided the community according to arbitrary social categories. Most Cape Verdean Americans agreed that being Cape Verdean in America would always be a difficult negotiation of culture, identity, and political alliance.

VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY

Their lot cast by their islands' unfortunate ecology and fortunate location in a world crisscrossed by commerce and empire, Cape Verdeans ventured out to better their own lives and those of the kin they left behind. Drawn to America by opportunities for even hazardous and low-paying work, they became whalers, sailors, longshoremen, and cranberry bog and textile workers. By exporting themselves and their labor to the United States while sending some of their wages back home, Cape Verdeans became a transnational people, in continual cultural dialogue, participat-

ing in institutions that maintain the links between them — shipping companies, political parties, mutual aid societies and relief organizations, banking, investment, video, radio, newspapers — as well as through musical performances in clubs or on records distributed by companies often owned by Cape Verdeans themselves, and, of course, through monetary remittances.

Cape Verdeans participate in several national societies, living within their laws and participating in their civic institutions. Today in America, Cape Verdeans are represented in all professions. Many teachers, lawyers, librarians, and doctors whose ancestors came as textile or seasonal cranberry workers, whalers, or stevedores have actively engaged those laws and institutions, and, on behalf of Cape Verdean communities, even petitioned to change some of them, as other Americans have done, when fairness and justice demand. And this year, to celebrate Cape Verde's 20th anniversary of independence and to declare before the world the unity of our culture and historical experience, we have engaged the Smithsonian Institution, the most hallowed of American cultural institutions, in our voyage of discovery. We're happy to be here.

Cape Verdean Kriolu in the United States

MANUEL DA LUZ GONÇALVES

he Kriolu language in Cape Verde is probably the oldest of the many different Creole languages still spoken today, distinct from yet related to them by shared linguistic and historical processes of development. It arose in the 15th century as a consequence of Portuguese slave trading on the west coast of Africa. Initially, business was conducted in a pidgin language based on Portuguese. Africans taken by the Portuguese on the coast as slaves were brought to Cape Verde for transshipment to the plantations of the New World. The work force for this transshipment process included Africans who had been captured earlier and had learned pidgin. Linguists theorize that the children of these enslaved workers learned the early pidgin as their first language. As the children grew, their innate linguistic capacities expanded the limited pidgin of their parents into a fully formed language, a creole, useful in all areas of human communication. The Kriolu of Cape Verde is also enriched by concepts, structures, and cadences from the languages of the many Africans who were brought there.

After the slave trade ended, Portuguese remained the language of empire, the official language of state institutions of justice, education, taxation, and defense. In colonial culture, using Kriolu was a mark of social inferiority. But among many workers and intellectuals, it became an element of cultural resistance to Portuguese colonialism. Poets wrote evocations of their native land and of the struggles of its inhabitants in Kriolu, while for independence leaders like Amilcar Cabral the use of Kriolu became a mode of anticolonial struggle.

After independence, Portuguese remained the *official* language in Cape Verde, used in classrooms and news reportage. Kriolu

is designated as the *national* language. Its use in grassroots organizations, labor unions, and children's programming in the media has grown, though hindered, in part, by its lack of standardization in both spoken and written forms. For example, the Kriolu of S. Antão differs markedly from that of Brava, and factions disagree about whether a back-tongued, unvoiced consonant should be represented as "k" or as "c."

In Massachusetts, the state in the United States to which Cape Verdeans first came, institutions have had a fairly open policy toward cultural and linguistic difference. On December 8, 1975, a little more than five months after Cape Verdean independence, a group of concerned Cape Verdean parents proposed legislation before the Massachusetts State House of Representatives that addressed Cape Verdean language and culture and their relationship to the educational system. Although the measures were not acted on by the House, their presentation before that body resulted in the inclusion of Cape Verdean Kriolu in the list of "living foreign languages." This attainment of institutional status had important and salutary effects. Because Kriolu now was recognized under the Transitional Bilingual Education Act of 1971, any school district with 20 or more children whose native language was Kriolu had to provide the children the opportunity to begin learning in their mother tongue while they studied English as a second language, until they reached such a level of proficiency that they could be mainstreamed. Before Kriolu was declared a living language, the state had considered it a dialect of Portuguese, which it certainly is not, and put small Cape Verdean children in the impossible situation of first being compelled

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Batuku

KAOBERDIANO DAMBARÁ

Nha fla-m, Nha Dunda, kus'é k'é batuku? Nha nxina mininu kusa k'e ka sabe.

Nha fidju, batuku N ka se kusá. Nu nase nu atxa-l. Nu ta more nu ta dexa-l. E lonji sima séu, fundu sima mar, rixu sima rotxa. E usu-l tera, sabi nos genti.

Mósias na terreru tornu finkadu, txabeta rapikadu, Korpu ali N ta bai. N ka bai. Aima ki txoma-m. Nteradu duzia duzia na labada, mortadjadu sen sen na pedra-l sistensia, bendedu mil mil na Sul-a-Baxu, kemadu na laba di burkan, korpu ta matadu, aima ta fika.
Aima e forsa di batuku.
Na batuperiu-l fomi, na sabi-l teremoti, na sodadi-l fidju lonji, batuku e nos aima.
Xinti-l, nha fidju.
Kenha ki kre-nu, kre batuku.
Batuku e nos aima!

Tell me, Nha Dunda, what is *batuku*? Teach the children what they don't know.

My children, I don't know what batuku is. We were born and we found it here. We will die and we will leave it here. It's off in the distance like the sky. It's deep as the ocean, hard as rock. It is the ways of the land, And it feels so fine, let me tell you.

Young girls on the dancing floor with their hips ready to dance under the clapping of *txabeta** the body ready to die, but I won't die.

The soul is calling me to dance *batuku*.

There were dozens and dozens of people buried in a common grave.

Hundreds and hundreds of people buried in a shroud of stone in the disaster of the Assistencia.**

Thousands and thousands of Cape Verdeans forced to labor in São Tomé, some were burned in the lava of the volcano. The body dies but the spirit stays.

The soul is the strength of the batuku, in the time of famine, in the sharing of excitement, in the longing for the son gone away, batuku is our soul.

Feel it, my children,
Those who love us, love batuku.

Batuku is our soul!

(translation by Manuel Da Luz Gonçalves)

to learn Portuguese in order to learn English. No wonder that in the mid-1960s a New Bedford Model Cities program found an inordinate number of Cape Verdean immigrant children assigned to special classes for the emotionally disturbed or learning disabled. The institutional status of Kriolu also affects Cape Verdean immigrants' experience with other governmental agencies, from the courts to the employment office.

For Cape Verdeans in the diaspora, Kriolu is an instrument of culture, a tool of transnationalism and re-encounter. Whether in Cape

Verde or far from it, in places such as the Netherlands, the United States, Angola, Senegal, Brazil, France, and Portugal, Kriolu is the medium for sharing feelings of brotherhood, hospitality, and nostalgia, which are nurtured by this umbilical cord to the mother country. From California to Boston, Kriolu is part of our identity, our way of knowing, but also often our access to the world through radio, television, and the educational system. Cape Verdeans' struggle to legitimize their language affects both Kriolu speakers themselves and the societies in which they live.

^{*} Txabeta (tchabeta) refers to the rapid, synchronized hand clapping with open palms against cushions held tightly between the knees while someone dances the batuku.

^{** &}quot;Assistencia" was the popular name of the colonial government's soup kitchen and welfare building in Praia. The walls of the building were made of round boulders gathered on the beach and held together with very little cement. One day in the 1940s the building collapsed, crushing hundreds of people. The incident is a metaphor for colonial neglect in Cape Verde.

Traditional Festivities in Cape Verde

GABRIEL MOACYR RODRIGUES

ocal traditional culture is often usefully viewed in rural areas and small villages, where one can perceive an integrated whole as well as its particular parts. Traditional celebrations are parts of this small world that speak richly and eloquently of the social whole.

Cape Verde is comprised of nine populated islands, some separated by wide and windswept stretches of sea, so it should not be surprising that each island shows us a cultural face as beautiful and varied as the geography of the archipelago itself.

The Portuguese found Cape Verde uninhabited during the latter half of the 15th century, and they immediately set about populating it and evangelizing the people they brought there by force. Within two years the islands had become laboratories for future Portuguese "discoveries" (that is, colonizations, such as Brazil). In an isolation like that enforced by prisons emerged local ways of thinking and of psychologically resisting the hawk of colonialism, which not only devoured the harvest of local labor but also sought to impose its own spiritual values.

Many cultural strata can be seen in the islands, beginning with elements brought from Portugal and West Africa during the very first years of colonization. Some contemporary cultural expressions seem to be of Portuguese origin, while many are clearly blends of gestures and attitudes with an Afro-Cape Verdean flavor.

A result of the colonization of the islands, which we must take into account in any analysis of Cape Verdean social phenomena, is the fact that most people are Catholics. Nevertheless, we must not exclude from consideration traditional beliefs in witches, regular visits to traditional healers, and common superstitious beliefs. These reveal, as the example of Nuno Miranda makes clear, a vital heritage of animism. [Editor's note: Nuno Miranda was a widely respected traditional healer and spiritualist in the 20th century who was consulted by all social classes in Cape Verde.] Traditional festivities are generally religious, and they follow the Catholic liturgical calendar. Catholic saints' days predominate, and the form their celebration takes is fairly constant; most have church services, processions, drumming, and special foods associated with them. Most take place during the months of May, June, and July, with

some in November. Many were adapted by the Church in whole or in part from pagan festivals, and particular communities have further adapted them so that they have become traditional, localized mixtures of sacred and secular elements. Common to all the islands are the feasts of Christmas, Saint John, and Carnival.

The oldest continuously celebrated festivities take place on the islands of Santiago and Fogo. In June Santiago celebrates tabanka, a feast of African origin. (The word tabanka means an association of mutual help or a brotherhood. Its original meaning, a small village, can still be found in Guinea-Bissau and other countries on the west coast of Africa, but was lost in Cape Verde because Africans



On the occasion of the Feast of São João, a crowd surrounds the mastro, or mast, hoisted on this main street on Brava. The mast is decorated with specially baked breads as well as fruits, tree branches, and flowers.



Photo by Ray Almeida

This ceremonial boat for the Feast of São João is paraded through the streets of Mindelo, S. Vicente.

brought here were not allowed to live with members of their own ethnic groups.)

Tabanka festivities begin in May, perhaps because this was the time, according to Cape Verdean ethnographer Félix Monteiro, when slave owners would concede certain liberties to their slaves. Today celebrants dress in costumes that envision a royal court society and play drums and the conch-shell horns characteristic of this event. During the period in which tabanka is celebrated, husbands and wives abstain from intimacy. Those who fail to obey any of the local rules of tabanka are punished.

People's speech is also full of humor. The imperative of mirth is so strong that if someone dies during *tabanka* there is a special, strict funeral ritual; once they leave the cemetery, everyone must forget sadness, mourning, and death. Monteiro has observed that this religious ritual mixes Catholic and West African practices and beliefs.

Of the many festivities in Cape Verde the batuku (batuque) deserves special mention. Usually composed of solo dancing and call-and-response singing by a women's chorus with a leader, the batuku tradition is today strongest on Santiago Island. But there are hints of its presence on almost every other island. Themes characteristic of the batuku appear in wedding songs, especially those of mockery, and songs of advice to the bride and groom to bid their single days farewell are also

common in the islands, especially on S. Nicolau and S. Antão. On S. Nicolau until recently, a traditional wedding included a *batuku* performance, as we learn from a novelist's account: "Uncle Juca arrived the day before [the wedding] so he could participate in the *batuku...*" (from the famous Cape Verdean novel *Chiquinho* published in 1947 by Baltasar Lopes).

The batuku from Santiago is the most typically African in style. It is composed essentially of two parts, the txabeta (tchabeta) and the finaçon. During the batuku the lead singer, usually a person of some respect in the group, takes command. First she dances slowly, setting the pace for the strong, rhythmic beat the batukaderas (batucaderas) keep by striking their palms on a bundled-up pano (sash cloth) held between their thighs. A dancer awaits in the middle of the circle formed by the batukaderas and at a certain moment after the beat is fully established and internalized by her, it's time for txabeta: the rhythm suddenly accelerates and the dancer keeps time with her hips.

The *finaçon* consists of the singer's improvising verses about events and ideas of importance to the community: for example, the recent famine in Cape Verde that killed more than 50,000 people out of a population of about 200,000; and the recent labor contracts for work in the equatorial plantations of São Tomé that were the equivalent of slavery; or perhaps individual stories of mothers and daughters raped by slavemasters during bygone times of even greater difficulties. In the singing, the *batukaderas* answer the leader as a choir, which on S. Antão is called a *baxon*.

In its content and context the *batuku* evokes initiation and wedding rituals. The elder leader can be understood as a matron, the most experienced woman, who executes the hip movements that suggest the sexual act and provoke the libido. Young girls, the *badjudas*, dance afterward, and their agile, sensual bodies awaken feelings in the old men around that remind them of their own love and marriage. For the young who watch, the dancer represents the desire for love. As she dances,

the young girl closes her eyes and holds her hands in front her face in a gesture of wanting to be seen and appreciated while still intending to preserve her chastity and bashfulness.

In the past only women danced this batuku. For many years it was forbidden to men — or if they danced they were considered sexually weak or perverted. In recent times the batuku has been elaborated by some artists into a form of social entertainment in which men perform as partners to the batukaderas (singer, choir, and dancers), not dancing with the hips but appealing to the female dancers with provocative words and gestures, beating a drum covered with fabric, and playing the 10-string guitar recently introduced to the tradition by Antonino Denti D'Oro.

The largest festivity on Fogo occurs on May 1st, the saint's day of Saint Philip (Nho São Filipe), who is the patron saint of that island. To São Filipe, Fogo's largest city, on that day, the feast — one of the most elaborate in the entire archipelago — draws observers and participants from all over the country and the United States and Europe as well.

As Monteiro observes, the cultural dimensions of these religious and secular celebrations, which are called bandeiras or "flags" on Fogo because banners are one of their important ritual symbols, show aspects of how people think about the contact between Europeans and Africans in Cape Verde. In separate sections of the city, celebrants attain equal enthusiasm. Families of higher status watch these celebrations from a balcony, a physical separation that gives material form to the barriers that formerly separated whites and blacks, and today separate the richer from the poorer classes. The Feast of São Filipe includes the ritual pounding of corn in a single large, ceremonial mortar by three pestlewielding women accompanied by drumming and singing. It also includes the ritual slaughter of a lamb or goat for the supper of the kanizadi (kanizade) troupe of masqueraders as well as the erection of a mastro, a replica of a ship's mast that is dressed with branches of the wild olive tree or the coconut palm. Imbued with a magical aura, the mastro is



hoto by Bever

placed close by the entrance of a church, to the rhythms of drums, chants, and clapping. Many aspects of the ritual have African origins. The *mastro* can also be seen in the feasts of Santo António, Santo Andre, São Pedro, and São João on the islands of S. Antão and Brava.

The ceremonial banners used in this event are also objects of ritual attention. After they are dipped in the sea and then blessed at a special mass in church, they are carried around the town by riding parties. To a certain extent, the roots of the flag ceremonial can be found in medieval displays of horsemanship. Each year someone assumes responsibility for caring for the flag and therefore for organizing and financing next year's feast. In the days before independence, only men of the elite class could receive the flag. Today any man born on Fogo can take the flag as soon as he attains the financial means.

Carnival is another important festivity in Cape Verde, as are the pilgrimages of São João, Saint Antonio, and Santa Cruz that take place in various islands at about the same time. There is also Nha Santa Catarina in the town of Assomada and Nossa Senhora da Graça, in Praia, both on Santiago. Every island has a patron saint and saint's-day celebration.

Some pilgrimage festivities are also related to the rites of sowing and of harvest. These rural festivities are all from the northern islands and are gradually dying out because rain is so irregular in Cape Verde.

The carta de amor
(love letter) float in
Carnival on the island
of Brava represents
letters from relatives
abroad that contain
money. Immigrant
remittances account
for up to 30 percent of
the gross national
product.



Photo by Ray Almeida

"Deca" Brito organizes the mastro for the Feast of Santa Ana in the village of Nossa Senhora do Monte on Brava. U.S. immigrants send money to support this celebration.

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But many people still flock to many of these festivals, which are known as pilgrimages because people often walk long distances to attend them. One of these, the Feast of São João on Brava, combines elements from the Feast of São Filipe with those common to the northern or Barlavento (Windward) islands. During the high moments of these festivities, kola (cola) dancing breaks out - with movements and a pace similar to Portuguese folk dance, plus a gentle bump between two dancers' navel regions. This form of dancing has also been documented in Angola and Brazil and in Portugal as early as the 17th century.

These European-derived festivities had pagan influences in their own origins, dating from the first years of Christianity. The origins of these celebrations seem to lie in a combination of cult practices and agricultural rituals mixed with the ritual fulfillment of promises made to a saint. The chants contain traces of these extinct cults, such as orgiastic liturgies, allusions to sexual desire, and homage to the sun god.

The festivities of São João are still very much alive in Cape Verde and feature drinking, eating, bathing at the beach, love songs, riddling, and fortune telling with eggs in water or with playing cards. A bonfire is lit on the eve of the feast to drive away bad spirits and prevent their influence on the land, the source of all wealth for the peasant. Young men and young women holding hands leap over these fires for good luck. Fortunes told speak of death, voyage, marriage, happiness, and love.

On the eve of the São João feast, exploding rockets announce the start of the event. The drums the Portuguese brought from Europe invite people to dance the kola, and from tents people sell traditional foods like kanja (canja) (thick chicken soup) and strings of popcorn or peanuts, which are very much appreciated by the elderly and children and are taken home as mementos of pilgrimage.

In these pilgrimages people offer the first fruits of harvest, which are sold to benefit the church. Such is the practice on S. Antão. On Brava the votive gifts are tied to the ceremonial mast and are eventually left for people to take as they please when the celebration ends.

During the São João celebrations model ships carried by hand or worn as a costume voyage symbolically through the streets, stopping to demand gifts. The ship, like the giftbearing mast, is a complex symbol, a combination of remembered historical periods in the popular mind. Ships are festooned with brightly colored banners; the Portuguese flag that once flew has been replaced by the national flag. Ships' sails bear the Christian Cross of the Portuguese religious order that financed the expeditions of discovery. The ship's harassment of bystanders for gifts represents the assault on the islands by pirate ships, carjenas, which regularly stole and carried away their wealth. On S. Antão the Feast of São João Batista is celebrated most notably in the towns of Porto Novo, Pombas, and Paúl and in the villages of Coculi, Garça, and Cha de Pedra.

In their color, movement, and rich symbolic meaning Cape Verdean celebrations give material expression to important themes in local life, history, and popular thought. They are an evanescent yet cyclically revolving reflection of the forces that have shaped Cape Verdean life, and they are a time when we pause and celebrate and feel the human spirit that has been molded in these islands over centuries.

Cape Verdean Musical Traditions

MARGARIDA BARNABE BRITO MARTINS

ver its history, Cape Verde has developed a musical tradition of surprising vitality. It has received, combined, transformed, and re-created elements from other latitudes, producing original forms, strongly distinctive and firmly rooted in Cape Verdean experience. The melodies and styles we adopted became ours, as did the instruments we use to play our music: the guitar, the kavakinhu (cavaquinho) (ukelele), violin, and others. Cape Verdean music has come to represent the particularity of our people: our attachment to the land, the problems of our environment, and our ways of living and expressing joy, nostalgia, hope, and love. Music has accompanied and shaped many activities in Cape Verde, from work and children's play to weddings, funerals, and saint'sday processions.

Work songs on S. Antão and Brava include the sorrowful yet serene kola boi (cola boi) that a person sings as he drives the oxen that are yoked to a trapixe (trapiche) (sugar mill) around and around to provide its power. On Brava, Osvaldo Osório writes in his book Cantigas de Trabalho, songs called bombana are sung "during the planting of the sweet potato...and are generally nostalgic, their themes being longing, love, and farewell to those in faraway lands." Agricultural songs on S. Nicolau, S. Antão, Santiago, and Fogo are usually related to sowing or weeding. Some are meant to drive away sparrows, others to protect crops from crows and wild chickens. These songs may have a complex melodic structure, or they may be chanted recitatives, formulaic phrases performed in various styles. Maritime work songs are fewer in number but portray Cape Verdeans' occupational and emotional ties to the sea and their dependency on it for survival.

Lullabies once sung by grandparents to their grandchildren are almost forgotten today. Many Cape Verdean infants have been rocked to this tune:



Other forms of Cape Verdean children's lore that seem to be falling from use are ring-play songs, or play-parties, and counting songs. Many Cape Verdeans remember "Una, duna, trina katarina, barimbau, são dez," or "Doll in dol fatatitina," ring-songs that would delight children during moonlit nights before television became part of everyday life in the islands. [Editor's note: Neither of the sets of words has an obvious meaning in Kriolu.]

Repertoires of religious songs are found especially on S. Antão, Fogo, and S. Nicolau. Such songs, always sung outside the church and on particular days of the liturgical calendar, are performed a cappella by women and men, either in three separate voices, in uni-

Musicians serenade
Cape Verdean
immigrants from the
classic morna
repertoire, in the city
of Mindelo, S. Vicente.
They include
Malachias, violin; the
late Tchufe, middle
guitar; and the
composer Manuel
d'Novas, to his left.



to by Ron Barboza

Morna de Despedida

EUGÉNIO TAVARES (1867-1930)

Hora di bai, Hora di dor! Ja'n q'ré Pa el ca manchê! De cada bêz Que n' ta lembrâ, Ma'n q'ré Fica'n morrê!

Hora di bai,
Hora di dór!
Amor,
Dixa'n chorâ!
Corpo catibo,
Bá bo que é scrabo!
Ó alma bibo,
Quem que al lebabo?

Se bem é doce, Bai é maguado; Mas, se ca bado, Ca ta birado! Se no morrê Na despedida, Nhor Des, na volta, Ta dano bida.

The Hour of Parting

(translated from the Kriolu of Brava)

Hour of parting
Hour of pain!
The dawn would never come!
Every time
That I remember,
I could wish
To stay and die!

Hour of parting,
Hour of grief!
My love,
Let me weep!
Captive body,
You who are a slave, go!
O living soul,
Who can carry you away?

If coming home is sweet,
Departing is bitter;
Yet, if one does not leave,
One can never return.
If we are close to dying
While saying farewell,
God, when we return,
Will give us life!...

son, or as solo voice with a responding choir. Among these songs are the *divines* on S. Nicolau, sung with three voices in a very archaic style, the *ladaínha* and the *Salvé Rainha* on S. Antão, and the *resas* on Santiago.

Songs of the Christmas and New Year season are sung on all the islands, especially on December 31st (St. Silvester's Day). On January 6th, called Twelfth Night or Day of the Kings, children go from house to house at sunset, singing and playing a rattle made of metal bottle caps flattened and nailed to a piece of wood (an instrument called rekordai [recordai] or pandier on S. Antão, chokalho [chocalho] in some parts of Santiago, and pander on Boa Vista). Adults sing the songs later at night, accompanied by the guitar, the kavakinhu, and the same rattle. Today, though, these Twelfth Night songs are disappearing. Many children don't know them, and many adults don't seem to have the patience to listen to them and teach the children. They just open the door, give the children money, and let them go.

Traditional Cape Verdean folktales sometimes include recurring, pentatonic melodies, such as those in *Pastorinho de Kabra (Cabra)* (The little goat shepherd), *Bulimundo* (World shaker), and *Kova Figueira (Cova Figueira)*.

On S. Vicente and elsewhere funeral music is played with a martial rhythm. Wind instruments predominate. There is only one song traditionally associated with funerals (popularly known as "Djosa why did you die?"), but today the saddest of mornas, "Morna de Despedida," known widely as "Hora di Bai" (The hour of parting), is often heard.

Wedding songs (saúde) to the bride and groom are played on rural islands like S. Nicolau and S. Antão. On Boa Vista wedding music includes drumming and chanted phrases to the bride ("Young lady,/ Today is your day./ Show this way,/ Show that way"). A dance of African origin known variously as landu, land, or lundun is performed with strong and spinning movements in wedding celebrations around midnight.

Annual saint's-day pilgrimages are musical occasions common to all the islands. To the accompaniment of drums, celebrants parade through streets and other public places. The very popular Feast of Saint John the Baptist is celebrated on every island on the summer solstice. On S. Vicente the drum rhythm associated with the midsummer event is called kola San Jon, and its dance is a balanced movement that brings each pair of dancers together to touch in the navel region. On S. Nicolau the rhythm is slightly slower, and the dance, especially in the area of Praia Branca, consists of two lines of women facing each other and making sensual movements and erotic insinuations directed to men.

Batuku (batuque) music and dance of African origin apparently exist in Cape Verde only on Santiago. According to Dulce Almada, the batuku is a variation of the rhythm of kola San Jon. Recited in the same batuku beat, the finaçon is a chain of proverbs or allegorical poetic images, sometimes improvised at the moment of performance. These improvisations can go on for hours.

The tabanka of Santiago and Maio Island



Photo by Ron Barboza

is a dance procession accompanied by a suite of instruments composed of drums, horns, and conches, the latter usually of three different pitches. As Cape Verdean ethnographer Eutrópio Lima da Cruz has observed, the dancing of the *tabanka* is an important group expression; it obliges individuals to act in solidarity with each other to create a procession with good organization, size, and rhythm. The community effort is also fine entertainment. [Editor's note: See Gabriel Moacyr Rodrigues's article for more on *batuku*, *kola*, the Feast of Saint John, and *tabanka*.]

Years ago in Cape Verde a reel-like dance of Irish origin was played on Boa Vista. Also gone is the *maxixe* from Brazil, a dance with African rhythms and a warm and sensual style. Some researchers say the *maxixe* is a variation of the *lundun*.

The tango, a dance from Argentina, also existed in Cape Verde, as did the *xotis* (schottische) and the *gallop*, a fast dance in two-four time. The latter is still danced at wedding celebrations in some islands and is part of the *kontradansa* (*contradança*) instrumental tradition still preserved on S. Nicolau, Boa Vista,



Photo by Ron Barboza

and especially on S. Antão.

The *kontradansa*, according to Teófilo Delgado of Fontainhas on S. Antão, probably originated from the English country-dance taken to Holland and France in the middle of the 17th century. Adapted by the French, it spread among the middle classes. The *kontradansa instrumental* was introduced to Cape Verde by the French.

The mazurka, a popular dance from Poland, is still present in most of the islands of Cape Verde. Its Fogo variation is called *rabolo*. The waltz is also played at rural dances.

Of all Brazilian forms of music, the samba is the most prevalent and has became part of the Cape Verdean traditional repertoire.

Funana is an indigenous Cape Verdean form. Once played only with the button accordion (gaita) and the iron bar (ferrinho) in the interior of Santiago, funana became electrified after it was brought to the city, around the time of Cape Verdean independence. From Santiago the funana traveled to other islands and became very popular. It is danced in pairs with rhythmic, sensual, and lively movements of the hips.

Left: Cape Verdean-American batuku dancers celebrate the annual Cape Verdean Independence Festival at India Point Park in Providence, Rhode Island.

Right: A *kola* drummer celebrates the Feast of Santa Ana in the village of Nossa Senhora do Monte on Braya.

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instruments.

Kodé di Dona is one of the originators of the funana form of music in Cape Verde. In this composition, he speaks as one of the thousands of Cape Verdeans who were compelled by famine and colonial neglect to become contract laborers performing backbreaking work in the tropical plantations of São Tomé and Principe Islands, off the west-central coast of Africa. The lyric dwells on the time of parting to express important themes about social life, as do many Cape Verdean poems.

The Famine of '59

KODÉ DI DONA

Translated by Richard Zenith

It was in '59 when there was no rain despairing of my life I went to sign up for São Tomé

I went in Praia by Santa Maria to the office of Fernandi Sosa I put my name on the list my number was 37

I headed for the square
I arrived at Bibi di Riqueta's
and explained my problem
she gave me something to eat
4 days and 4 days
it was 4 in the morning

I saw the ship Ana Mafalda
I saw its lights fill the bay
they said the Ana Mafalda
would take people to São Tomé
and Principe
I lowered my head and sat down
to think about my life

I got together my things put them in a burlap sack and took a skiff out to the ship Packed in like sardines eating nothing for many days fasting for many days going hungry for many days in the ship's hold we sailed...

Koladera (coladeira) was born in Cape Verde in the 1950s, and its rhythms continue to be influenced by those of Latin American music. It is played and danced at parties and get-togethers, and, like *funana*, *koladera* has become a creative vehicle for many popular electric bands. *Koladera* especially seems to lend itself to social commentary.

The *morna* is regarded as the national form of song, the most authentic and characteristically Cape Verdean. About a century and a half old, the *morna* emerged in urban settings out of human feelings associated with emigration: nostalgia for home and longing for absent lovers and family. It is distinguished not only by the caliber of the poets who penned its verses and of the composers who created its music, but also by the number and dedication of the scholars and critics who have wrestled with its significance. Among them are Baltazar Lopes, Félix Monteiro, Aurélio

Gonçalves, Jorge Monteiro, Manuel Ferreira, José Lopes, and myself.

The artistic style of the morna has changed over the decades, even though its themes of the sea, love, the moon, and attachment to the native land have not. Mornas acquired greater musical richness, according to Lopes, because of the compositions of B. Leza and Luís Rendall. Cape Verdean musicologist and composer Vasco Martins confirms this, pointing to B. Leza's decisive influence on the development of the morna's harmonic setting. If someone had directed B. Leza not to change the morna lest he spoil it, and if he had listened, then today we would not enjoy beautiful mornas like "Eclipse," "Noite de Mindelo," "Lua nha testemunha," and many others. I hope this observation moderates the strong criticism leveled against composers of today's mornas and encourages all who would caringly engage Cape Verde's rich musical heritage.

Cape Verdean Pottery

LEÃO LOPES

he origins of Cape Verdean pottery lie in western and central Africa, on the evidence of its forms, ornamentation, and methods of manufacture. Pottery is evidently among the oldest forms of Cape Verdean folk art. If, as a rule, communities in their embryonic stages place a high priority on the manufacture of domestic utensils, then Cape Verde follows this rule — its society and its pottery began together.

Modeling techniques used in Cape Verde are thousands of years old and are still practiced by many peoples in Africa and by some peoples in the Americas. Other ancient techniques — still used by some peoples in north and central Africa and in Central America — complement those described below. However, they were either unknown to our pottery makers or disappeared over the years. We emphasize molding techniques here.

After making preparations such as choosing a clay pit and transporting, crushing, and kneading the clay with an adequate amount of water, the potter shapes it into a cylindrical block and places it end up on the floor. The potter (traditionally, it is women who hold the secrets of this thousand-year-old art, not only in Cape Verde, but also in the areas mentioned above) opens a cavity in the center of the block using her clenched right fist while holding the piece with her left hand. The right hand pulls from inside out and the walls grow upwards, taking the form projected for the object.

To make the walls uniform and regular, the potter moves around the vessel. Some objects are made in one piece while others (pots, large jars, etc.) are modeled with clay shaped into rings laid on top of each other to form a wall.

After modeling the object, the potter smoothes its surface with a rudimentary utensil such as a piece of corn cob. Then she decorates it, usually by incising a pattern, either immediately or after the clay has hardened to some extent. The motifs still in use are spare but suggest that they once were the equal of the magnificent decorations produced by some of our neighbors.

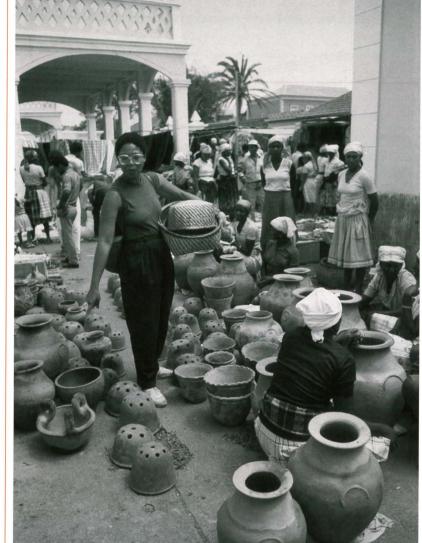
In some cases the pieces are dried in the open air, at times even without protecting them from the sun, which compromises their quality.

In Fonte Lima, on the island of Santiago, some pieces are decorated after drying with dirt rich in iron oxide, which produces an intense, reddish coloration after firing.

Firing, the operation which gives the objects their final consistency, is done in an open fire. In this process the water in the clay's chemical composition begins to evaporate. A piece attains a reddish color according to the quantity of oxygen around it and the amount of iron oxide it contains. The piece will show blue, grayish, or black spots if oxygen is scarce.

No type of pottery oven is known in Cape Verde. The interiors of the pieces are preheated, and then they are piled on a combustible bed of manure and branches. This pile of large and small pottery pieces usually reaches a meter and a half in height and three meters in diameter. It is carefully covered with combustible material as baking progresses. Exactly 8 1/2 hours are needed to complete the burn. It is usually done at night in a party atmosphere of people playing, singing, and telling stories until dawn.

Techniques for making the utensils watertight are apparently being forgotten, except in



surrounding region of
Santa Catarina,
including the
communities of Fonte
Lima and Ribeira de
Cariso, is available at
the market of
Assomada.

Pottery from the

Photo by Ray Almeida

Trás-di-Monti, on the island of Santiago, and on Boa Vista, where polishing with pebbles is still done. It seems, however, that today the polishing is more for aesthetic effect than function. In Boa Vista's greatly diminished production, polishing is applied only to small decorative pieces and to a few objects of domestic use.

Nevertheless, according to our research, waterproofing methods that use vegetable resins, ashes, bran, etc., were practiced until quite recently. These methods must have been widely known since it was customary to "cure" water jars and pots at home. People knew how to control the exact degree of

porosity the pots needed to maintain cool, good-tasting water.

To this day, the shape of utilitarian objects produced in Cape Verde follows African tradition, except for those from Boa Vista. In the 1960s (we believe) Boa Vista's pottery production was influby enced forms brought by Portuguese pottery maker, resulting in a sometimes bizarre and not pleasing hybrid style. The use of a potter's wheel, which was never fully introduced to the island (the pottery maker didn't teach the secrets of his technique to anyone), had negative results. Local pottery makers copied models which appeared to them to be "superior" and mixed them with

traditional forms, producing objects quite different from those done before. For example, Boa Vista's binde (small bowl) has the shape of a Portuguese flower pot. Many other objects sprouted feet, wings, wavy mouths, and unnecessary lids, which had not been part of the tradition. The forms of ornamentation that had been previously applied with a certain degree of refinement disappeared; the new forms of ornamentation were mechanical friezes drawn on vase sides or jar lids.

Besides large pieces, in some places one can find small statuettes called "toys," often made by children and adolescent potters.

Continued on page 40

Arts and Crafts: Cultural Expression of a People

MARIA ESTRELA



Baskets such as this balaio tinté are for sale in Socupira market in the capital city of Praia, Santiago.

Photo by Diana N'Diaye

Craftsmanship is the art of living; it is linked to our cultural identity. We find the social values that characterize Cape Verdeans in the solidarity expressed in djunta mom, "the spirit of joining hands," at the time of house building, and in the aesthetic values of materials collected from the land. Traditional crafts preserve the precarious environmental balance in our developing society, in which irrational construction practices and the use of imported raw materials aggressively strive for dominance. Industrially produced consumer goods injure the aesthetic as well as the natural environment of the islands. In agriculture, important values of cultural and biological craftsmanship are



Marcelino Santos, working at the National Crafts
Center in Mindelo, S. Vicente, is weaving
pano d'obra, the most elaborate of the
traditional Cape Verdean panos.

Photo by Pete Reiniger

preserved and practiced all over the archipelago in the species cultivated, in the methods of cultivation used, and in the ways of preparing foods, sometimes according to ancient rituals.

Our crafts embody modes of cultural expression and exchange. Foods, basketry, ceramics, tin work, and musical instruments are a means of cultural affirmation. They are points where people come in contact with their deepest and most authentic values. In this archipelago of rocks and winds, forever dependent on uncertain rains, peopled by the encounter of African and European cultures, popular art is revitalized by the products of a craftsmanship rooted in tradition.

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graphic artist.

These small houses and human and animal figures were playthings for children in rural areas before they became objects of commercial demand, primarily by foreigners. Market forces caused the objects to decline in quality, especially in Fonte Lima.

Until very recently, it was common to find in Fonte Lima a type of statuette, sometimes 40 cm high, made by more skilled potters. Emigration of some of the potters caused the decline of this art form, which may have some ritual significance, as can be inferred from the following observational account.

When we arrived at the ribeira (dry river bed), people had already started the potteryfiring celebration and were waiting for us. In the opening under a large mango tree, where potters gather to make their jars, the batuku (batuque) (a woman's dance) [Editor's note: See Rodrigues's article.] started as soon as we stepped down from the jeep. We sang and drummed with them, and we helped them decorate the pieces for baking, prepare the fire, burn straw in the center of jars, carry manure, etc. At a certain point we realized that one of the great animators of the community of potters, the one who had arranged for our visit, was absent. We asked, "Where is Mamá?" "She'll be here soon," was the reply. Some time later, I decided to look for her at her house, climbing some dozens of meters uphill. Squatting in her front yard, the pottery maker was intensely concentrating on a small statue, working on the final details. It was the largest "doll" I had ever seen, about 50 cm high. The sun had just set, and the fire down below, next to the mango tree, was a golden glow of celebrating potters around a flaming stack of pots. A magic atmosphere of smoke, fire, and song enveloped the ribeira. "Why don't you go down?" I asked Mamá. "In a minute. The doll is almost ready," she replied. "But, Mamá, making dolls in the dark?" "It has to be this way for the celebration."

I was silent, anxious and expectant. She calmly and quietly made the finishing touches, washed her hands, and, after adjusting her hairdo and placing a folded cloth on it, she carefully sat the doll on top of her head. It was the figure of a woman cut short at the hem of her skirt, a bell shape of a diameter to fit on the potter's head. Although larger, it was like the others she made to sell. However, this one would not be fired — the reason for its weight and massive appearance. Mamá rotated the piece so that I could appreciate the finished work. After that, she dragged me down the hill toward the fire in a great explosion of satisfaction. The other potters in the batuku circle welcomed Mamá, giving her the pano cloth to tie around her hips and forcing her to the center.

The vibrancy and ecstasy of that woman as she merged into the *batuku* rhythm was indescribable in its magical and penetrating harmony.

One moment it seemed that the doll had received the rhythm of life from its creator; then, after growing tired, it was set to rest on a large rock. I was told that the following day the unfired clay doll would be kneaded together with larger quantities of clay for the production of everyday jars and pots which have meant, over the centuries, the survival of a community.

This story suggests the existence of a ritual of mystical nature in this pottery-making community, and it indicates something profound that warrants the continuity of this ancient folk art, in spite of the factors promoting its disappearance.

Plastics, aluminum, urban culture, new concepts of growth and development are all little by little laying siege to the several dozens of pottery-making women who still maintain this important part of our heritage. What can be done? For one thing, anyone with a clay pot — keep it safe!

Learning from Cape Verdean Experience

JOHN W. FRANKLIN AND PETER SEITEL

he Cape Verdean Connection program provides an opportunity to experience a culture that blends West African and Portuguese elements in unique and moving ways. It also provides a clear perspective on two important aspects of how culture is understood and made part of public discourse at the end of the 20th century. One is the idea of transnationalism — in a sense, the way that culture and community can be seen to be independent of territorial boundaries. The other is the opening of national institutions like the Smithsonian to new cultural needs.

Cape Verdean culture is produced on both sides of the Atlantic, in communities in the Cape Verde Islands and in New England, California, the Netherlands, France, Senegal, Argentina, and elsewhere. Transnationalism in Cape Verdean society is determined, to be sure, in part by historical and environmental imperatives of dramatic proportions. But this condition is not completely unique. There are many other culture-bearing groups whose members find it necessary for survival to export their labor and themselves to another country, building new lives there but also sending support and maintaining ties to their old country through a variety of social and cultural organizations. This transnational aspect of cultural production is quite evident among Caribbean peoples residing in the United States, among Indians and Pakistanis worldwide, among Chinese groups, and among Eastern European nationalities.

Related cultures are often understood with a genetic model, in which related groups are compared as offspring of an ancestral culture, their separate development explaining cultural differences. But cultural relationships between such communities may sometimes

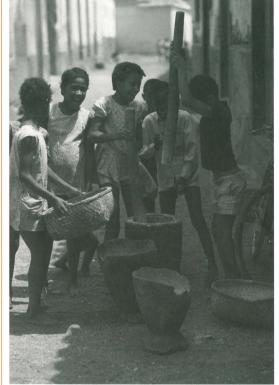


Photo by Ray Almeida

be understood more concretely as having an institutional basis. Cape Verdeans maintain ties through Cape Verdean-owned ships and shipping companies; family remittances and other economic exchange, such as banking and investments in the home country; print and electronic media that disseminate news of the communities; political parties, which were active in the anticolonial struggle and continue in postindependence politics; and international musical touring circuits and Cape Verdean-owned recording companies that are firmly grounded in Cape Verdean traditional musical genres. These are among this community's tools for cultural survival in a transcontinental context.

It is also significant that Cape Verdean-American committees raised a substantial por-

These Cape Verdean children play using traditional cultural objects, the mortar and pestle and the basket for winnowing corn.

tion of the funds necessary for The Cape Verdean Connection program. In sponsoring the program, the Cape Verdean Americans are not only "discovering" the Smithsonian -that is, planting a Cape Verdean cultural flag and gaining international attention for their magnificent cultural achievements. They are also following Cape Verdean independence leader Amilcar Cabral, known as the "Founder of Cape Verdean Nationality," by using institutional means to establish a unified yet richly diverse culture as the bedrock upon which to build a Cape Verdean identity - one that can help its bearers work together to meet the challenges presented by Cape Verdean history and its environment. The Festival, and the Smithsonian of which it is part, have become an open forum for this kind of cultural exploration and discussion.

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Cape Verdean
Connection.



The CZECH REPUBLIC: Tradition and Transformation

The Czech Republic: In The Heart of Europe

JAROSLAV ŠTIKA AND JOSEF JANČAR

For many years, Čech wandered through Europe in search of a new home for his people. One day, from the summit of Mount Říp, he saw beneath him a pleasant land of rolling hills and fertile plains. The area was protected by mountains the Giant Mountains (Krkonoše) and the Ash Mountains (Jeseníky) in the north, and the Beskids (Beskydy) and Maple Mountains (Javorníky) in the east - and by the seemingly impenetrable Bohemian Forest (Šumava) in the south. Three great rivers, the Elbe (Labe), Oder (Odra), and Morava, watered the country. As he scanned the landscape beneath him, Čech smiled knowingly. This was where his people would settle. Years later his descendants named the land and themselves - Czech, in honor of the great ancestor who brought them there.

he legend of Čech is an integral part of the folklore of the Czech Republic. It provides the Czech people with a sense of unity and continuity in this small land in the heart of Europe. And historians believe that the legend contains more than a kernel of truth regarding the origins of the Czech nation. They claim that some 1,500 years ago a group of Slavic tribes migrated northwest into Central Europe. The strongest of these tribes was the Czech tribe, which settled around Velehrad and eventually founded the state of Great Moravia. Two Greek monks, Cyril and Methodius, introduced Christianity in the 9th century; about a hundred years later, Great Moravia was replaced by the Principality of Bohemia, which evolved into the Czech Kingdom, with its royal seat in Prague.

For more than 300 years, the Czech Kingdom achieved prominence under the Premyslid dynasty. One 14th-century monarch, Charles IV, was even chosen Holy

Roman Emperor. For a short while, Charles succeeded in turning the Czech Lands into the political and cultural center of the empire. He relocated the Holy Roman capital to Prague and built the great castle of Karlštejn and the famous stone bridge (now known as Charles Bridge) over the River Vltava. In 1348, he founded the first university in Central Europe, later to be called Charles University. Rudolf II, a Hapsburg monarch, also achieved prominence later as a patron of the arts, sciences, and the occult.

Yet, despite the prominence of their kingdom, the Czech people found themselves in constant confrontation with their more powerful German-speaking neighbors to the north, west, and south — even today, the borders with Germany and Austria account for two-thirds of the circumference of the Czech Republic. The Battle of the White Mountain in 1620 saw the final defeat of the Czech Kingdom. Its territories were absorbed by the Hapsburg monarchy of Austria, and most of the aristocracy, as well as scholars and artists, were executed or exiled.

The Czech Lands remained under Hapsburg domination for almost 300 years. A new, German-speaking aristocracy replaced the local nobility and church hierarchy, and by the late 18th century even native officials and the middle class were almost entirely assimilated into the dominant German society. The Czech language fell into disuse in the major urban centers; few books and virtually no poetry were published in Czech during that time.

Nevertheless, traditional Czech folk culture survived. Each region had its own local dress, architecture, foods, customs, songs, dances, and folk stories. Czech culture and local Czech dialects thrived in the rural areas.

The Czech Republic: Tradition and Transformation has been made possible with the support of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, the Embassy of the Czech Republic in the United States, the Trust for Mutual Understanding, Samson Brewery from the south Bohemian town of České Budějovice, and the Ford Motor Company Fund, and has been produced in collaboration with the Open-Air Museum of Wallachia.



The Czech Republic comprises three historical territories -Bohemia, Moravia, and a portion of Silesia. Despite the Czech Republic's newly gained independence, it has a 1,000-year history as part of the Czech Lands. From 1918 to 1992, it was part of Czechoslovakia and still shares many cultural traditions with its neighbors in the newly formed Slovak Republic.

Republic

However, like most of Europe, the Austrian Empire was undergoing major political and social upheaval. Serfdom was abolished in 1848; industrialization and greater trade and educational opportunities led to the expansion of large towns into cities such as Prague and Brno. In the face of rapid modernization, traditional culture in the urban centers and the newly established industrial areas around Plzeň (Pilsen), Kladno, the mining town of Ostrava, and several other areas gave way to new traditions such as workers' associations, which sometimes included guild costumes and songs.

By the latter half of the 19th century, the effects of modernization reached the rural lowland villages and then even the more remote foothills of the country. People started saving their traditional costumes for special occasions and began wearing "town wear," the less expensive civilian clothing now common in all of Europe. In most villages, traditional songs were no longer sung, local customs were no longer observed, and new houses were no longer built in the traditional style.

It seems ironic that the very trends that almost led to the demise of traditional Czech culture also led to its revival. Along with industrialization and better educational opportunities, modernization also brought with it a spirit of patriotism and pan-Slavism, formulated in a movement known as the National Revival. Older folk traditions, some of which still survived in the remote mountain areas, played an important role in furthering this revival and formed the basis of many outstanding works of art and music. Composers Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák, and Leoš Janáček and writers Božena Němcová, Jan Neruda, and Alois Jirásek, among others, incorporated the sounds and stories of the Czech countryside into their works, winning them national and even international renown. The National Theater was established to ensure that native cultural works would be performed. While the Romantic and patriotic fervor sweeping Europe during this period often inspired xenophobic tendencies, Prague remained a cosmopolitan center of cultural, racial, and national tolerance, the home of internationally acclaimed writers such as Franz Kafka and, later, Karel Čapek and Jaroslav Hašek.

Both traditional folklore as well as its nat-Continued on page 49

Vernacular Architecture in the Czech Republic

JIŘÍ LANGER



Photo courtesy Mr. J. Martinák

In Mr. Martinák's workshop in the town of Stárec u Třebíče, you can see a statue of St. John of Nepomuk. Mr. Martinák must create a copy of this statue.

Any mention of architecture in the Czech Republic may bring to mind the magnificent, centuries-old church towers of Prague. However, many other examples of Czech architecture exist, different from Prague's and lovely in their own right. Czech villages, each with its farms, wine cellars, bell tower, and church, are known for their diverse architectural styles, which vary throughout the country according to topography and date of origin. Neighboring Germany, Poland, Slovakia, and Austria also have had a strong architectural influence on Czech structures. Some villages can boast relics of Renaissance architecture or impressive examples of the Gothic style from centuries past. In northwest Bohemia and other wooded areas, one finds alpine-style log cabin houses reminiscent of German mountain villages. These sturdy structures

cover under one roof the living quarters as well as the stables, barn, and hayloft. In other regions, construction materials range from clay to brick to stone. Houses are sometimes decorated with colorful paint or geometric patterns. Most notable, perhaps, is what is known as South Bohemian Peasant Baroque. Houses built in this graceful style are characterized by their gentle, rounded stucco facades standing in peaceful rows along the village green. They are often painted in subtle pastel colors with white stucco ornamentation on the facades, and are flanked by a wide portal leading to the courtyard within.

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Wooden belfries in
Moravia were
communal gathering
places in small villages
that did not have
churches. Their bells
tolled to announce
births, weddings, and
deaths. When Czechs
came to Texas in the
1800s, they
constructed belfries in
their new communities
to remind them of
their homeland.



Photo courtesy Wallachian Museum



Drawing by Tony Svehla

Houses built in the South Bohemian Peasant Baroque style are typical of farms along the Austrian border. These farms often have separate living quarters, a main house and a barn or smaller building where the parents of the current farmer may live.

ural evolution into contemporary forms helped forge the new Czech national culture. In 1895 Prague took pride in the opening of the Czechoslavic Ethnographical Exhibition. Historically, the Czech Lands consisted of three territorial and administrative regions: Bohemia in the west and Moravia and Silesia in the east. For six months these three regions displayed their local costumes, tools, architecture, folk art, songs, dances, and customs. Some 2.5 million people visited the exhibition, including 450 Czech Americans, who presented the new lives they had made for themselves in America.

To prepare for this exhibition, regional committees collected diverse examples of folk costumes, embroidery, tools, and household items, while song and dance troupes were organized under the aegis of leading Czech musicians and choreographers. Throughout the exhibition, Prague witnessed colorful processions and celebrations ranging from harvest festivals to traditional wedding ceremonies.

The Czechoslavic Ethnographical Exhibition was a great success. After centuries of Austrian political and cultural domination, the Czech people began taking pride in their own culture. Newspapers gave extensive coverage to the exhibition itself and to the debate it sparked. Some people feared that traditional Czech culture was facing inevitable extinction, and devoted enormous energy to recording what remained of the traditions before they vanished. Most people, however, claimed that these cultural traditions could survive, and channeled their efforts into preservation, education, and the transmission of traditional practices.

Although the Prague Exhibition and the concurrent local events sparked a renewed interest in traditional culture — some 160 regional museums were established in the exhibition's wake — this fascination with things Czech gradually waned in favor of more urgent national issues. The philosopher Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk gained widespread support for the idea of complete political independence for the Czech and Slovak peoples.



Photo by Amy Horowitz

With the outbreak of World War I less than 20 years after the exhibition and the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy precipitated by the war, Czech nationalism became a pragmatic reality. On October 28, 1918, the Czechoslovak Republic became an independent state, with Tomáš Masaryk as its first president. The Czech Lands of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia were joined by neighboring Slovakia and a small, westerly region of the Ukraine. The new state leaned toward the West, and within just a few years it became one of the most advanced industrial nations of Europe, as well as a bastion of democracy among the emerging nation-states of Central and Eastern Europe.

Independence sparked a revival of patriotic sentiment, including a commitment to the folk traditions of the past. Regional folk festivals, such as the Moravian Year and the Wallachian Year, enabled the people of each region to investigate their cultural past. Timeworn folk costumes were repaired, and the younger generation approached their elders to teach them the songs and dances of their villages.

World War II saw an end to the short-lived Czechoslovak Republic. Even before the war began, Czechoslovakia was partitioned: the Sudetenland region adjacent to Germany and Austria was annexed to Nazi Germany, and a fascist regime was installed in a now-separate

Prague is often called the city of a thousand spires. Here churches and synagogues, bridges, cafes, and homes span hundreds of years of architectural and artistic styles. The Čech Bridge, built in the 20th-century Art Nouveau style, foregrounds the Hradčany Castle. This castle combines Roman, Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque elements.





Photo by Amy Horowitz

Slovakia. What remained of Czechoslovakia became the nominally autonomous German Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Nazi Germany sought to bring about the gradual Germanization of the Czech population and the total liquidation of the country's Jewish and Romany minorities. Many Czech civilians responded by participating in the resistance and later in the partisan groups that operated throughout the country.

World War II ended on May 8, 1945. But liberation from six years of Nazi German rule did not end the foreign domination of Czechoslovakia. At secret meetings of the Allied powers, Europe was divided up: Britain, France, and the United States were to dominate Western Europe; Eastern Europe, including Czechoslovakia, was relegated to the Soviet sphere of influence. Social agitation, supported by Soviet interests, soon led to the formation of a totalitarian Communist government, which limited private ownership and enterprise and personal and creative freedoms.

Despite the new regime, the years following World War II saw another revival of Czech national pride. Numerous folklore ensembles

were established and, as in the years following independence, the younger generation turned to their elders to teach them the customs and traditions of the past. Traditional songs and dances were documented with the assistance of the older generation who remembered them personally, and elderly people were often asked to demonstrate these disappearing arts at folk festivals. At the same time, Czech folklore underwent something of a metamorphosis. While some folk ensembles attempted to recreate the dances of the past, many others incorporated complex new choreographic arrangements, often in the spirit of Soviet state ensembles. These new folk ensembles received considerable support from the Communist Party and the state-run media, and were often sponsored by large industrial plants. The Czech people responded angrily to Communist (often foreign) interference with their national culture, first by condemning the flamboyant state-sponsored productions, and later by making denigrating references to "the burden of folklore." "Down with the čerpák" (a decorated wooden vessel used by herdsmen) became a rallying cry. In 1968 Alexander Dubček led the democratic-leaning elements

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of the Communist Party leadership in an attempt to break with the Soviet Union. Proudly declaring his intention of creating "socialism with a human face," Dubček started to enact popular democratic reforms known as the Prague Spring. But in August, 500,000 Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops occupied Czechoslovakia and put an end to the "uprising." With the restoration of the totalitarian regime, thousands of prominent Czech cultural figures fled the country, among them film director Miloš Forman and writers Milan Kundera and Josef Škvorecky. Many of those who remained suffered long prison terms for participating in or supporting the democratic experiment. Nine years later, in 1977, leading Czech cultural and scientific personalities issued Charter '77, documenting human rights abuses in the country. Writer Václav Havel, now president of the Czech Republic, was a key figure in the publication of Charter '77.

In 1989, the people of Czechoslovakia rose again in peaceful protest against the Communist regime. Among the leaders of the protest were intellectuals who had remained in the country after the invasion of 1968. In the years immediately following the "Velvet Revolution," Western cultural productions, some of dubious quality, inundated Czech society. The reaction has been a new interest in traditional folklore — the Folklore Association of the Czech Republic now lists some 12,000 active members of folklore ensembles. It seems that the Czech people remain loyal to the culture that, in 1895, some claimed was on the verge of extinction.

In fact, most Czech citizens still know hundreds of folk songs. Time-honored customs have survived, even if only as aesthetic or amusing reminders of a proud past. Traditional weddings are still held in rural areas and to some extent in the urban centers from where they had once disappeared.

In other areas, the transmission and transformation rather than disappearance of older folk traditions served as a mechanism of maintaining contemporary regional identity. The most westerly of these areas is Chodsko in Bohemia. This region borders on Germany,

On the Role of Culture

Since the time of Communism, when culture was viewed as a part of the so-called superstructure, culture has been always and everywhere the least respected sphere of human activity; some people tend to regard culture as a luxury and as an ornament of life, to which one contributes only leftover resources. Therefore, I would like to call attention to the fact that culture is a fundamental instrument of a self-confident society. The measure of our accomplishment in any endeavor depends on the state of our spirit, on our self-awareness, on the manner in which we are free and responsible. We cannot only proclaim individual freedom and at the same time overlook the framework in which a human being clearly understands and articulates individual freedom. We cannot rely on the background, ethics, fantasy, and self-confidence of a citizen, and at the same time overlook the circumstances from which this individual originates. Culture belongs neither to the basic foundation of society nor to its superstructure. Culture is everywhere and influences everything.

– Excerpt from an address by Václav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, delivered to the Czech Parliament, March 14, 1995

and the local folk culture exhibits some parallels with that of Bavaria. Characteristic of Chodsko's music is the bagpipe (in contrast, the music of Blata in southern Bohemia is dominated by brass bands); the most common dance is the *kolečka*, in which dancers turn in a circle. Chodsko celebrates its own folklore festival in the town of Domažlice, while neighboring Strakonice can be called the bagpipe capital of Europe — bagpipers from across the continent gather there regularly to exhibit their skills.

Moravia boasts an even richer folklore.

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Culture and Art on the Road to Democracy

KRISTINA ŽANTOVSKÁ

KRISTINA ŽANTOVSKÁ graduated as a dramaturge from the Theater Academy of Prague. She worked as a free-lance contributor to and editor of several magazines, was editorin-chief of the quarterly lifestyle magazine UM, and served as acting administrator of the Czech Information and Cultural Center in New York.

In the Czech Lands, freedom above all has meant spiritual freedom. It was therefore no coincidence that intellectuals and artists were always in the forefront of the fight for freedom. Words gave courage to implement changes; words were the political instrument used to uplift the morale of the nation.

By the power of sermons preached by Master Jan Hus, a great Reformation movement was launched in Bohemia. For his words Hus was pronounced a heretic and burnt at the stake in 1415. Two hundred years later, the great "Teacher of Nations," Jan Amos Komensky (1592-1670, better known as Comenius), a scholar and promoter of the idea of the democratization of education and modern methods of teaching, was driven from his homeland for his words. The systematic Germanization of the Czech nation and the suppression of Czech language and culture (after the repression of the Reformation in Bohemia in 1620) led to the 19th-century movement of Czech intellectuals and artists called the National Revival. Through their works writers, poets, historians, musicians, playwrights, and painters helped to awaken the Czech nation's consciousness of the legitimacy of its history, its language, and its culture. Since Czechs had no effective political power within the multinational Austro-Hungarian Empire, art and education served as politicizing factors in the rebirth of Czech society. The National Revival movement culminated in 1918 in the constitution of the sovereign state of Czechoslovakia and in the election of its

first president, the philosopher and scholar Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. With the founding of a new democratic state all spheres of culture flourished.

Fear of the word and independent thought also characterized Nazi Germany. Losses suffered by the Czech nation in the intellectual sphere during World War II were tragic for its culture and its future.

The Communist regime, installed in 1948, feared the word, too, using censorship and imprisonment to silence a number of Czech intellectuals, including the current president of the Czech Republic, Václav Havel. And it was the Czech intellectual and artistic community which played a decisive role in the 1968 attempt to reform the political and economic system and which after the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact tanks and the consequent escalation of Communist terror - was harshly persecuted. As the regime decayed, censorship weakened, and the cultural community raised its anti-regime voice more and more distinctly. In the days of November 1989, these were the first people prepared for changes and willing to implement them. Theaters became tribunes of public discussions, and actors, writers, playwrights, artists, and musicians the apostles of history in transformation. Václav Havel, a playwright, writer, and philosopher, became the head of state. He is a symbol and personification of the continuity of the history of a nation whose respect for words and for the power of ideas has withstood all that was antagonistic to the principles of freedom and a democratic society.

The fertile region of Haná has experienced a revival of local traditions that had practically disappeared in the 19th century. Perhaps the most popular folklore in Moravia comes from Wallachia and Moravian Slovakia. The folk cultures of both regions share much in common with neighboring Slovakia, although in mountainous Wallachia the local traditions are more influenced by the culture of the Carpathian herdsmen who inhabit the region. The focal point of this folklore revival is the town of Rožnov, where the Open-Air Museum of Wallachia demonstrates local folk arts to half a million visitors every spring and summer.

Moravian Slovakia lies in the hinterlands close to the Danube River. Each June, its town of Strážnice hosts one of Europe's oldest and largest folklore festivals. Along the Slovak border is the Horňácko region, consisting of ten villages in which traditional folklore, especially music and dance, has been less influenced by contemporary forms. It is the home of many outstanding performers, including Romany musicians.

Silesia lies to the north of Moravia. Western Silesia, including the town of Opava, was once a cosmopolitan region inhabited by Czechs, Poles, and Germans. Local folklore reflects this multicultural, urban environment. In contrast, the folklore of eastern Silesia is strongly influenced by Slovak mountain culture, which has been transmitted in its older forms particularly in those villages along the Polish border where Polish folk culture had a strong impact on the local traditions. As in Chodsko, bagpipes are the musical instrument of choice in eastern Silesia.

While each region of the Czech Republic has its own distinct folk culture, certain regional folk songs have gained national status and are heard throughout the country. The most popular of these songs originate in Moravian Slovakia, Wallachia, and Chodsko, although songs from other regions are also commonly heard. Bands and vocal ensembles are important in the dissemination of folk culture and appear frequently on national television. One band, the Moravanka Brass Band, has been imitated by hundreds of other bands

throughout the country. Similarly, certain regional costumes have gained national acceptance, such as the folk costumes of Plzeň, in Bohemia, and of Kyjov, in southern Moravia, which can be seen in festivals in Prague.

Another important element of local folklore is holiday celebrations. Research conducted in 1982 indicated that certain Christmas and Easter customs are observed throughout the country. Southern Moravians in particular still practice a broad repertoire of these folk traditions. Almost all the customs associated with the annual holiday cycle that were described by ethnographers in the late 19th century have been transformed and survive up to the present day in varying degrees. Although the persistence of most customs can be attributed to the strong bonds of tradition, credit must also be given to local cultural associations, whose members consciously preserve some elements of traditional folk culture as part of their national cultural heritage.

For instance, many magical rites were once associated with Christmas. These are still observed, although their original intention has long been abandoned. As with many folk traditions, their survival is based more on the aesthetic and entertainment value of the particular custom than on the custom itself. Many customs have undergone certain modifications: for instance, Christmas Eve was once celebrated by strolling about the town singing carols, but this practice is now more common on the feast days of saints, particularly Saints Barbara, Nicholas, and Lucy, all honored in December. Caroling and other folklore festivities are still common in early January to honor the Three Kings of the Epiphany.

Many rituals related to the holidays were and still are based on an agricultural society. On Christmas Eve, for instance, before sitting down to a feast, farmers fed cows and horses bread dipped in honey and garlic to ensure plentiful harvests. Although this custom is no longer observed in most towns, another related custom endures. In the past, the Christmas table was decorated with a bowl containing all the different types of grains and legumes cul-

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tivated by farmers throughout the year. After the meal, the grain was distributed to the hens to ensure that they laid eggs in the coming year. In the modern Czech Republic it is still common to decorate the Christmas table with a bowl of regional produce. Another Moravian rural custom associated with the Christmas meal is to fasten a chain around the table before supper; the chain represents the family's hope to remain together in the coming year.

Until the beginning of the 20th century Saint Stephen's Day, which usually falls after Christmas, was the one day in the year on which farm hands could leave one master for another. Under the Communist regime, private farming was abolished, and people no longer went "into service." Nevertheless, in many families the women still give the men gifts of shoes or trousers, with which they can "go into service" with a new master. In fact, this custom has even spread to the cities; in some places schoolboys now go "into service" with their godparents for the day.

As with Christmas, Shrovetide is a time for masquerade processions and caroling. Many of the dances associated with this pre-Easter festivity — some included soaring leaps to ensure high stalks of flax and hemp — have disappeared, particularly those with magical elements. However, carnivals are still held in many villages and small towns where they are sometimes organized by modern folklore ensembles. Groups from around the Czech Republic and abroad gather to demonstrate their Shrovetide processions at a folklore festival in the Moravian village of Strání.

While most of the traditions associated

with Easter are of a religious nature, Easter Monday remains a popular folk holiday. On that day, boys walk through the streets carrying plaited willow switches and playfully beat the girls. The girls then reward them with painted Easter eggs, an ancient fertility symbol. Less common are the agricultural festivities associated with Whitsun, the seventh Sunday after Easter, at which bonfires are lit to frighten away the witches. Other village celebrations include the feasts celebrated in honor of the saint to whom the village church is consecrated.

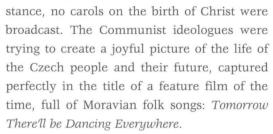
One of the driving factors of a small state's search for identity in the modern world is the fear that its identity might be lost. In the Czech Republic, the search for identity tends to take the form of a return to folk traditions of the family, village, region, and country at large. Czechs' search for a contemporary identity combines admiration of their "older" cultural traditions with receptivity to innovation and the transformative elements of world culquestion posed after Czechoslavic Ethnographical Exhibition of 1895 - whether Czech folk traditions were doomed to extinction or would grow and flourish - has taken on new meaning a hundred years later in 1995. The Czech Republic recently emerged from 50 years of totalitarian rule. Many traditions have disappeared against the backdrop of the modern world; many others have been transformed almost beyond recognition. Still, in a land where citizens often elect artists, poets, and dramatists as their national and local leaders, the vital role of culture seems to be at the heart of Czech identity and society itself.

From Folklore to Hard Rock

JIŘÍ ČERNÝ

olk music is the primary and most original source for contemporary popular music in the Czech Republic. Czech folk music is rich in melodies-rhythmic dance elements play a lesser role, except in the hilly eastern regions adjoining the border with Slovakia-and we hear them as the inspiration for or as direct quotations in classical compositions by Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák (Slavonic Dances) and Leoš Janáček (Lachian Dances). They form an even larger part of the traditional Czech brass band repertoire. When rock-and-roll finally came to the former Czechoslovakia in the 1960s, "guitar groups" (they were not permitted to call themselves rock-and-roll groups, and their public performances were restricted) created arrangements with a few bars of melody from folk songs as a theme over a rock rhythm foundation. Vocal groups, such as the late 1960s group Buccaneers from Ostrava, did likewise. It must be said, though, that the public response toward these experiments was lukewarm.

From the beginning of the Communist regime in 1948, folk music became a sort of state music, propagated everywhere. It was supposed to serve as a barrier against what was called Western quasi-culture, in which category the Communist cultural ideologues included practically all American modern music (except, perhaps, for the older jazz of Louis Armstrong), clothing, hairstyles, and foods. However ridiculous it may seem today. for at least 20 years even Coca-Cola was condemned in former Czechoslovakia as a symbol of American imperialism. In its authentic version, but more frequently interpreted by stylized and complexly choreographed state ensembles, folk songs over the radio, on state television (no other existed), and from the stages of large halls flooded audiences, especially in the 1950s. Of course, these were only "ideologically correct" songs. Texts with religious themes did not pass the censor; at Christmas, for in-



In this way the majority of young people soon were put off by Czech folk music. They were simply saturated with it. When the American folk singer Pete Seeger came to Prague in 1963 to give a concert, he was surprised by two things: how many young musical groups knew American folk songs, and how completely uninterested these groups were in their own Czech folklore. (Whereas the Communist ideology condemned American rock-and-roll, it favored American folk songs, especially when they could — as in the case of Negro spirituals - offer "proof" of the social injustices in American society.) This attitude toward folk music very slowly began to change, in part because of Seeger's influence. The performance of Czech folk songs by acoustic rock groups who called themselves folk or guitar groups was livelier than the state ensemble fare, less tradition bound and static.

In the early 1970s rock-and-roll and folk



Photo courtesy Hradišťan

The Hradišťan **Dulcimer Band** combines tradition and innovation performing southern Moravian folk music and improvising with jazz, classical, and urban folk musicians. Founded 44 years ago in the ancient town of Uherské Hradiště (in the lowland wine region), the band combines historical values and customs with contemporary influences.



Photo by Zdeněk Uherek

Contemporary
folklore in the Czech
Republic includes
stylized revivals of
older traditions often
learned in a formal
setting, as well as
grassroots

expressions passed on through family and village life. Although villagers in the Moravian region wear their traditional folk dress only on special occasions, members of the Radhošť ensemble always perform in costume.

songs truly began to mix, due mainly to the inspiration of two British folk-rock groups, Fairport Convention and Steeleye Span. The great popularity of the British group Jethro Tull then brought the "harder," more electric form of folk-rock to the Czech Lands. Under the folkloric conception of their

melodies and Ian Anderson's flute came the rumble of the bass-guitar, the percussion instruments, and the electric guitar. The Czech groups Marsyas, AG Flek, Etc, and others, most of which not only still exist but continue to evolve and improve, founded a relatively broad stream of Czech folk-rock in which the Czech elements gradually outweighed the once-prevalent Anglo-Saxon ones.

Economics also played a part in the growing popularity of diverse forms of folk music: the most modern electric guitars, amplifiers, and keyboard instruments were so expensive for the musicians, most of them semi-amateurs, that they preferred music suited to simpler instruments. One of the reasons that Supraphon and Panton, the two state record companies at that time, only rarely issued records of this music was its relatively poor technical quality compared to the official pop music. On the other hand, the remove from the centers of the record industry, radio, and television helped the whole range of folk and folk-rock music to preserve a certain pristine quality. People who liked this type of music could usually only hear it live, in clubs and at larger outdoor concerts. It was further disseminated through amateur tape-recordings. Any television performances that might have occurred would have presented this music only in its most highly groomed, least provocative textual and musical form.

For visitors from the West who sought out this underground music scene because of its relative freedom, the combination of various national and supranational elements was interesting. Prague itself, the chief city of Bohemia, had been marked for eight centuries by the intermingling of three influences: Czech, German, and Jewish. Even though this mix was not as apparent in the folk sphere as, for instance, in literature (Franz Kafka wrote here), it was also reflected in the music of some Czech folk singers (Vladimír Merta, Vlastimil Třešňák) or groups (Mišpacha).

A kind of typically Bohemian lack of primitive nationalism and an opposite inclination toward the supranational values of truth, intelligence, and professionalism, along with a sense of humor, took many folk and rock musicians onto the balconies during the "Velvet Revolution" in November 1989. Along with Czech songs, the hymns of the revolution included American songs with Czech texts, Seeger's "We Shall Overcome," and the gospel song "Little More Faith in Jesus," in which the group Spiritual Quintet led three-quarters of a million demonstrators. It is certainly no coincidence that the organizers of the festival of folk and rock music in Lipnice in 1988 provided the dissident and later president, Václav Havel — also an enthusiastic supporter of rock music and folk singers — his first opportunity to appear before the public (to the gnashing of the state security forces' teeth).

The most successful Czech musician abroad, the Prague composer, arranger, and virtuoso synthesizer player Jan Hammer, now a U.S. citizen, intervened in a marginal but very interesting way in the fusion of popular and national folk music. After leaving the jazzrock group Mahavishnu Orchestra, Hammer and the American violinist Jerry Goodman recorded the album Like Children (1974); it included the composition "Country and Eastern Music," where Hammer uses melodic themes from Moravian Slovakia, the easternmost region of the Czech Republic, in the spirit of Leoš Janáček. Hammer moved from this folkloric phase toward the large-format television serials of the "Miami Vice" type. However, 20 years later the composer and pianist Emil Viklický linked jazz to folk songs in a different and more penetrating manner in the album *Rain is Falling Down (Prší dešt,* 1994), where his combo plays together with traditional Moravian folk musicians — band leader and singer Jiří Pavlica, and harpsichord player and singer Zuzana Lapčíková.

This same Jiří Pavlica, who mostly performs traditional folk music from the Moravian region of Dolňácko with his own band Hradišťan, also participated in the album Vlasta Redl AG Flek + Jiří Pavlica Hradišťan (1994). About half the album consists of folk songs from Moravia. Rather than using the most popular melodies, the album features many songs that are not generally known, unusual in their melody and harmony, and thus especially exciting to the average listener. Some of the arrangements simultaneously approach hard rock, through Redl's way of singing and even more so through the sharp, metallic sound of the solo guitar. The nomination of this album for several prestigious prizes for 1994 bears out its wide popularity. The Fleret and Dobrohošť groups, both employing Moravian folk music, are also examples of bands using this hard rock and folk style, although in a significantly simpler form.

In addition to the main current of folk-rock groups, the folk repertoire is alive in various other branches of pop and rock music, for example in solo performance and duets. Two women singers and instrumentalists are a true phenomenon, and they have captured the interest of connoisseurs in smaller clubs in France, Japan, and elsewhere: the violinist Iva Bittová, whose father is Romany, and the guitar player Dagmar Andrtová. Their performances are unique and not for every taste; artistically, however, they have taken the influence of folklore farther than anyone else.

It seems that the rock link with folklore — not always with Czech folklore — has found most acceptability with the broadest public in the groups, active for several years now, playing so-called Celtic rock. Their inspiration is the harp and bagpipe player, all-round instrumentalist, and singer from Brittany, Alan Stivell, who presented several concerts in the

Czech Lands. Members of groups like the Czech Heart (*České srdce*) have played on his records. The appeal of Celtic rock stems not only from the strongly melodious Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and Breton songs, but also perhaps from a certain historical and romanticized kinship Czechs feel with the Celtic tribes which had settled in Bohemia in ancient times. Outstanding among these "Czech Celts" is the violinist and composer Jan Hrubý (his third album is *The Burning Rose*, 1994) of the group Kukulín. With his eccentric virtuosity and melodic imagination — again with strong Moravian elements — he goes beyond all Stivell or other Celtic sources.

"Czech Celts" appear from time to time in various parts of the Czech Republic, but they probably originated in Prague, where the paths of talented musicians often lead and where they more often become prophets with their innovations than "at home" in regions with an ingrained and often strictly observed interpretation of folk music.

The Romanies are a smaller, narrow, and quite independent chapter in this development of folk music and rock. They mostly play either one or the other, rarely both together. The group called Točkolotoč from the Bohemian-Moravian border did perform typical hard rock in public for the first time under the name Version 5. However, over time, under the influence of Czech folk groups in their town of Svitavy, they returned to their family music traditions and incorporated them into new songs of their own, in a sort of folk-rock format, with the gradual replacement of the acoustic contrabass by the electric bass-guitar and with emphasis on the solo guitar played in a style taken from the dulcimer.

Generally speaking, the more emphasis there is on folk elements in the music described in this article, the greater is its popularity and the wider its performers' acclaim with listeners.

No one knows what precise blend of folk and rock music would be most successful, but should anyone resolve this challenge, he/she will be producing the music, not writing about it. JIŘÍ ČERNY
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Poppies, Pillows, and Polkas: Czech-American Folk Culture

o one knows how many Americans

JAMES. P. LEARY

Immigrants in Chicago
from the Bohemian
town of Domažlice
formed a social club to
preserve memories of
their homeland.
Costumes are still worn
on certain festive
occasions, as they were
by this mother and her
American-born daughter
pictured in 1935.

can trace their ancestry to the Czech Lands. According to a recent study, about 2 million people in the United States claim to have at least one parent or grandparent who was a native Czech speaker, but this is hardly indicative of the true number. We do know that some 400,000 Czechs immigrated to the United States, the vast majority of them between the liberal revolutions of 1848 and the onset of World War I. Most of these immigrants came from Bohemia, but there were also considerable numbers from Moravia.

Some Czech immigrants settled in large urban centers such as New York, Cleveland, and especially Chicago. There they found

> employment as factory hands, laborers, and domestics. However, many of them sought land and agricultural opportunities in the midwestern and southwestern states. By the turn of the century, well over half of Czech Americans worked in agriculture, and they still may well constitute the highest percentage of Americans of Slavic origin employed in farming. The first groups of immigrant settled farmers Wisconsin in the 1860s. Ten years later, large numbers of Czechs began settling in Texas, sailing from Bremen or

Hamburg, Germany, directly to the port of Galveston.

The state of Texas now has the greatest proportion of Czech Americans, followed by Illinois, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Iowa, and Minnesota. The Czech farming villages in these states are the heartland of Czech-American folk culture, the places were poppies bloomed, where goose down filled pillows, and polkas flourished.

One such village is Heugen, Wisconsin. Vaclav and Ludmila Tomesh settled there in 1915 on logged-off, "cut-over" acreage. The story of the Tomesh family — Vaclav, Ludmila, and their ten children — is typical of the Czech-American agricultural community.

Like many of their Czech neighbors, the Tomesh family planted a garden alongside their house, and in this garden they grew poppies. Poppy seeds are an integral part of the Czech diet. They are essential ingredients for traditional pastries such as kolaches (sweet, round pastries stuffed with poppy seeds or cottage cheese) and rohliky (crescent-shaped pastries). Kolaches and rohliky are special treats, and the Tomesh family took great pride in their pastries. Even today, the Tomesh women and their neighbors make kolaches with poppy-seed and other fillings for the fundraising dinners held regularly in Heugen's Holy Trinity Church. These dinners, served "family style," are an opportunity for the community to show off their traditional recipes. Plates are piled high with chicken, pork, sauerkraut, potatoes, rye bread, and knedlíčky – enormous dumplings sometimes dubbed "Bohemian sinkers."

It takes considerable skill and practice to make perfectly shaped kolaches. By making



Photo courtesy G.M. Prince

such kolaches for a suitor, a young woman was showing off her ability as a homemaker. Years ago, when Albert Tomesh was courting Regina Uchytil, the girl worked for hours preparing a plate of pastries to serve him. As a prank her mischievous brothers tried to embarrass her by swapping her plate of perfect pastries for poorly shaped ones.

During Prohibition, federal agents harrassed Czech gardeners by claiming that the poppies were being used to produce opium. Many people gave up their gardens and grudgingly began to purchase imported seeds. Others were more daring; they continued to cultivate the flowers in carefully hidden patches behind their barns. Although poppies are no longer cultivated, kolaches are still an important part of the local culture. In the 1970s, Heugen began celebrating an annual Czech-American festival. The festivities begin with a parade led by a truck with a giant model of a poppy-seed kolach.

Geese are another important element of Czech-American culture in Heugen. The egg-white sheen that coats kolaches is often applied with the homemade goose-feather brushes that hang in the Tomesh family's kitchens. Like many Czechs, the Tomesh family kept geese until recently. In late autumn, the geese were a major source of meat and, of course, feathers. To pass the time while plucking the soft down from feathers, neighbors sometimes gathered for winter "stripping bees" — community events that included storytelling, singing, and a "big lunch" at the evening's end.

Sometimes, however, family members were required to pluck a pile of down as part of their household chores. Joe Tomesh recalls how, in the 1930s, he hated this particular task. "I was one of the outlaws at home. Mother had a hundred geese, and we had to strip a big pile of feathers every day." Rather than put them in piles, Joe stuffed most of his quota in his pockets and later hid them in a snow bank. When the feathers appeared in the spring, "Mother wondered where they came from. They were there for the birds to make nests." His sisters were more diligent:

the down pillows and comforters they brought to their marriages are now family heirlooms.

Joe and his brother John did, however, love music. The Hrdlicka, Soukup, and Subrt families each had dance bands that played regularly in local taverns and the spacious hall built by Heugen's chapter of the Západní Českobratrská Jednota (Western Bohemian Fraternal Association). Other neighbors, like Joe Sperl, played the accordion at house parties, and everyone loved to get together to sing favorite songs like "Louka zelená, Baruška" and "Švestková alej."

Everyone also loved to dance, especially the polka. The polka is a quick-paced dance for two partners, based on a hop and three short paces. Originally from northern Bohemia along the Polish border, the polka became fashionable among Prague's upper class in the 1830s, caught on in Paris a decade later, and soon spread throughout the world. Polka bands emerged wherever Czech Americans settled, and they frequently entertained crowds well beyond their ethnic community. In America in the 1920s, regional bands led by Romy Gosz and "Whoopee John" Wilfahrt forged a new Czech-American polka style that became popular among the Tomesh family and their neighbors through records, radio broadcasts, and barnstorming performances. Like kolaches stuffed with poppy seeds and pillows stuffed with goose down, the polka became intrinsic to the Czech-American experience.

This experience is slowly evolving. Feather-stripping bees disappeared along with subsistence agriculture, kolaches are heated up in microwaves, and polka music is now found on compact discs. But to the Tomesh family and millions of Americans like them — in Heugen, Wisconsin; New Prague, Minnesota; Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Abie, Nebraska; Dayton, Ohio; and Ennis, Texas — poppies and polkas, along with family, church, and club affairs, are expressive symbols of Czech-American folk cultural identity that contribute to the cultural pluralism of their respective communities.

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1991 for the Festival
of American Folklife.

Cross-cultural Negotiation: Building Stages of a Festival Program

AMY HOROWITZ

efore the stages are set at the Festival of American Folklife, there are prestage engagements which carry an element of performance in their own right. Sharing stories as well as analytical approaches, Smithsonian staff present the customs and traditions of the Festival to local scholars, who portray their own customs and traditions in return. As with any cross-cultural collaboration whose aim is joint representation, dialogue and negotiation map out the thematic landscape, social issues, and aesthetic priorities to form the basis of research for Festival programs. Such dialogue and negotiation were at the heart of the cooperation between Smithsonian and Czech folklorists as we jointly envisioned a Festival program on contemporary Czech traditions. This process, which spanned the last nine months, was enlightening for both sides.

The Czech Republic: Tradition and Transformation grew to include grassroots, popular, and "official" performance genres. Negotiation that produced this result was underscored by the diverse approaches to folklore and cultural studies that have developed in the Czech Republic and the United States in the past 50 years. In Communist Czechoslovakia, talented village tradition bearers, along with gifted urban compatriots, were sent to study folk repertoires in professional conservatories and then became part of state folkloric ensembles. These official troupes performed a pan-traditional repertoire, often reviving or reenacting rural music and dance no longer practiced in daily community life. Czech folklorists ensured that still-extant rural traditions were transmitted to the growing number of professionalized, official ensembles.

In the United States, it was the commercial music industry which often overshadowed or repackaged community-based artists. American folklorists maintained a strong focus on the living, grassroots (in Czech terms, "unregistered") performance context. They often gave priority to practitioners who had learned their craft at home rather than in professional establishments. At the same time, there was a growing awareness that hybrid genres marked by interpenetrations between rural and urban, diverse ethnic, and popular and folk elements were the norm rather than the exception in contemporary folklore.

Building a Festival program that reflected these diverse and sometimes contentious approaches required consideration of the social and historical contexts in which we were operating. Smithsonian staff soon grasped the lightning-speed series of social transformations that have faced Czech scholars and their compatriots in the course of five short years. In 1989, Czechoslavakia overcame decades of Communist rule in a "Velvet Revolution." Led by intellectuals, writers, theater workers, and rock, urban folk, and popular musicians, the "Resistance" had to immediately transform theories and artistic vision into practice. The transition involved more than exchanging political systems; it required reassessment of tradition, reformulation of identity, and assumption of responsibility. After years of struggling as the underground opposition, the architects of the Velvet Revolution were thrust into a new role as the nationally elected leadership of their democratic state.

Then, in 1993, the three regions that had formed Czechoslavakia (the western-oriented

Czech Lands of Bohemia, the eastern-leaning lands of Moravia and Silesia, and the easternmost provinces of Slovakia) peacefully separated into two distinct nations, the Czech and Slovak Republics. For the Czech Republic, one reverberation of this separation involved the reformulation of a cultural identity distinct from its eastern lands. Many western and cosmopolitan Czech communities had relied on their eastern compatriots as the carriers and preservers of Czech language, costume, folk music and dance, and crafts, through hundreds of years of domination by Germanic culture, language, and law.

After only two years, the Czech Republic is still grappling with the repercussions of independence and changed borders. This Festival program provided Czech scholars with an opportunity to revisit and revalue folklore traditions such as Easter-egg decorating, puppetry, dulcimer bands, and bagpipe ensembles in light of the sociopolitical changes reshaping their society. At the same time they studied contemporary, urban grassroots traditions such as "Tramp" (Czech country and western) singers, Romany popular music, and pub songs, which may not have been previously considered folklore.

For Smithsonian staff, this program deepened our understanding of Central European folklore approaches. By reassessing stateappropriated community practices - often called "folklorism" and dismissed as "fakelore" in the United States (Harker 1986) - we discovered that, while these traditions hold a complex position in post-Communist Czech Lands and among Czech Americans, they nevertheless continue to carry currency as identity markers. In fact, it is possible that traditions such as national dance and regional costume functioned, at least initially, as state pageantry under Communism precisely because of their value for Czech citizens.

As Hermann Bausinger points out in his "critique of folklorism critique":

Labeling items with the concept of folklorism - especially when this concept is used in a derogatory sense...generally thwart[s] inquiry concerning the nature







Photo courtesy Wallachian Museum

and the functions of folkloristic manifestation (Bausinger 1979:116).

Under circumstances of foreign occupation which have prevailed for most of Czech history, regional folklore traditions — whether the preservation of language through folk song and oral narrative, or the continuance of village identity through distinctly embroidered patterns on Easter eggs and clothes became bulwarks against the penetration of foreign culture. While these communal folk customs may have been reappropriated by the Austro-Hungarians, the Nazis, or the

Above: The 1895 Czechoslavic Ethnographical Exhibition in Prague inspired a widespread folklore revival. Many traditional buildings such as this restaurant and inn located on Radhošť Mountain in the Beskydy range were reconstructed during this period. Left: The small fields in the Beskydy Mountains need extra fertilizer to produce even a meager harvest of potatoes and other essential crops. Women from the villages would carry manure on their back up the slopes. To relax they turned their wooden buckets over, creating drums, and sang together. Members of the Moravian singing group Polajka demonstrate this tradition as part of the ongoing folklore revival in the Wallachian region.

David Pavlíček from the Kunovjan song and dance ensemble in the southeastern Moravian town of Uherské Hradiště demonstrates the "Verbuňk" tradition. In Verbuňk men try to show who is the best singer and dancer. This tradition was often performed when teams of military recruiters visited the village trying to enlist young men. Today, the Kunovjan ensemble incorporates this local practice into their choreographed performance.

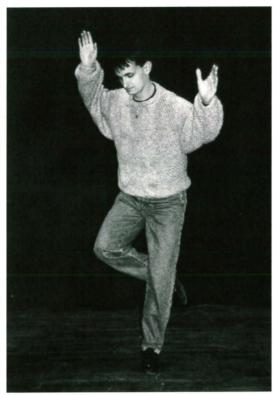


Photo by Amy Horowitz

Communists to forward their own particular goals, the fact was that they had simultaneously served as mechanisms of cultural resistance. Now these traditions themselves are undergoing a profound shift in meaning and function. For example, some Czech musicians, dancers, and craftspeople maintain costumes that are no longer worn in daily life as a symbol of their heritage; others have rejected them as a symbol used by the previous Communist government.

Today Czechs are experiencing transitions in every sphere of communal life. In the process of framing a joint Festival program, Czech and U.S. scholars shared an opportunity to witness cultural tradition and transformation at a unique historical moment. The issues we grappled with enhanced the scope of our immediate Festival goal, resulting in a presentation that covers the full range of grassroots, popular, and official folkloric expression. Our discussion formed a rich theater of operation which will bear fruit for future projects here and in the Czech Republic as well.

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HEARTBEAT: The Voices of First Nations Women

Heartbeat: The Voices of First Nations Women

RAYNA GREEN AND HOWARD BASS

old ladies sing as they pick chokecherries or cactus buds, husk corn, or dig camas root. A woman's high-pitched lu-lu-lu-lu rises over the men's voices at the end of an honoring song for returned veterans. "Chorus girls" back up the men's lead song at the drum during a war dance. The pulsating, driving hand-drum beats and magic-making songs women sing at a stick game. The woman whose songs make the Sun Dance circle right. These are the voices of Native women. Like the drum whose heartbeat is that of a woman, these women and their songs are at the heart of Indian Country. But unlike the drum, their songs and voices are rarely heard beyond their communities.

woman hums songs to a child. Three

Along with the first of two recordings made available on Smithsonian/Folkways (Heartheat: Voices of First Nations Women, SF 40415) and a two-week presentation at the 1995 Festival of American Folklife, this essay is part of an effort to present an overview of music by Native women — traditional, new, innovative, and little known. Included are traditional women's songs from tribes in the United States and Canada as well as material usually sung by men and recently taken up by women. We also discuss fresh material, Native women's music that merges traditional music with many styles of popular American music.

Very little women's music is known and appreciated, even by those who value and know Native American music. People may see Native women dancing when public performances take place, whether they are on stage or in a community setting. Still, men's dancing dominates the public arena. Because much of Native women's traditional singing occurs in a private setting associated with

family, clan, ceremonial, or work activities, those who are unfamiliar with these traditions rarely see or hear women sing. Thus the common perception is that women have little presence or significance in the performance and preservation of Native musical traditions. A few tribal or regional collections have included women's singing and instrumental music. Recordings by contemporary Indian women musicians like Buffy Sainte-Marie first received favorable attention in the late 1960s. Since then, the ranks of such women have grown to include Sharon Burch, Joanne Shenandoah, Geraldine Barney, and several groups of women singers.

Native men and women, like men and women everywhere, historically had different roles and ways of being in daily life and in music and dance. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the roles and activities of all Native people changed radically as disease, war, land loss, removal, and relocation shifted populations and devastated traditional ways. The U.S. government forced men to farm where once they had hunted and women to sew where once they had farmed. The government and missionaries forbade the performance of Native ceremonies and the wearing of ceremonial clothing. New settlers and hunters wiped out the once-abundant supply of buffalo, salmon, wild rice, and deer. Indians were sent to schools and churches to "civilize" them; in those places they were forbidden to speak their own languages. As for music, dance, and song - so integral to traditional life - much went underground or was altered to be made acceptable to government agents and missionaries. Some was lost forever, but much remained, has resurfaced, and been renewed in the 20th century.

Heartheat: The Voices of First Nations Women has been produced in collaboration with the Division of Cultural History at the National Museum of American History, with support from The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds the Smithsonian Educational Outreach Fund. the John Hammond Fund for the Performance of American Music, the American Encounters Project, the Smithsonian Special Exhibition Fund, the National Museum of the American Indian, and the National Museum of American History.



The Crying Woman
Singers is a new
women's drum group
with Cree, Gros
Ventre, and
Assiniboine singers
from Ft. Belknap,
Montana.

Photo by Ted Whitecalf

CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL MUSIC

Ruth Underhill, working with T'ohono O'odham people in the 1940s, tells of asking the women why only the men sang and danced. "Oh," one of the older women responded, "you sing and dance to get power" - the inference being that the women already had power. Although women are thought to have a substantially lesser role than men in the area of spiritual or religious music, there are in fact serious and profound roles for women in the performance of music associated with ceremonial life. In areas that have traditions of female spiritual leadership in healing, for example, women have significant, acknowledged roles in public ceremony. Gender differences in vocal range and resonance and culturally based notions of male and female performance dictated the varying roles of men and women, roles that differ from tribe to tribe.

On first glance at Pueblo ceremonial dance, one would never think that Pueblo women sing at all. Certainly, women rarely sing in public ceremonials on feast days. In dance performance, men and women are equally represented: the world is divided into male and female domains and spirits; even dance steps have male and female parts and lines. Songs make constant reference to Corn Maidens (and Corn Youths), the Green Earth Woman, Mother Earth (and Father Sky), Dawn Maidens (and Dawn Youths), to the role of women in agriculture and new life. Yet women's voices are not heard in these serious ceremonial events, only in less public, more intimate ceremonies mostly associated with women, such as the Basket Dances.

Often the singing connected with the most powerful of women's rites of passage — coming-of-age or puberty ceremonies — is performed by men. In the Apache and Navajo puberty ceremonies, men sing the songs for the ceremonial parts of the events. Among the Mescalero Apache, however, women sing the morning songs after the Crown Dances and join the men in singing for the back-and-forth dances that are part of the all-night ritual asso-



Women members of the Cherokee Baptist Association sing a hymn in Cherokee at an annual gospel sing.

Photo by Sammy Still, courtesy Cherokee Advocate

ciated with the girls' annual coming-of-age ceremony. In Northern California, men would customarily sing the songs for the Flower Dance, the girls' ceremony celebrating the first menstruation. Recently, as this ceremony is being restored, women have begun to sing these songs.

In tribes where women have formidable ceremonial and public roles, they do sing and "make" songs, and their songs may be like those of male spiritual leaders. In the Plains Sun Dance, for example, women always had a special role in the ceremony, and thus in making and singing songs.

Some peoples, like the Northern California Pomo and those on the Halfway River Reserve in Canada, had healers whose healing songs came to them in dreams. Many of these were women. The Kashia Pomo Dream Dances were recovered and restored by a female dreamer. Navajo women can and do become medicine women and have several different specialties within Navajo healing traditions. Those who become medicine women must learn the stories, prayers, and songs that are an essential part of ceremonial healing.

Describing a Sun Dance song,
Angelina Wagon, a Wind River
Shoshone woman, said, "My mother,
she found that song. She was sleeping
the first time she heard that song. So
she got up and she went to the room
where my dad was sleeping, and she
sang that song for him, and my dad
just caught that song all at once. And
nowadays you hear this prayer song
all over; even in Idaho [and] Utah,
they sing that song" (Vander 1986).

The medicine woman, healer, or dreamer is not always a singer, though she may be the center of the ritual aspects of a healing ceremony. In the Yurok Brush Dance, the medicine woman is joined by men and young girls who sing and dance, the men beginning on the so-called heavy songs, followed by light songs by men and the young girls. These light songs may include verbal interplay, signifying the eligibility of the young girls present for marriage. The use and presentation of the voice by young

Nancy Richardson sings in a "storysong" associated with the Karuk world renewal tale:

> "They once told lizard, they said, don't make human beings. They won't get along, but lizard said 'I'm going to do that."

Betty Mae Jumper, in a "storysong," has the turtle sing to the wolf he has outsmarted:

"Ya ha, ya ha!

I told you I was little,
and can't run fast,
but I can outsmart you.
Wolf, wolf, your bones
will be quivering.
The flies will be buzzing
around you."



Annie Long Tom, a
Clayoquot woman who
kept the old religion in
spite of the pressure
to become Christian,
said, "You must not be
ashamed to sing your
own song."

women are different from that of men singers; the young women also do not sing with the group, except as soloists. In recent times, however, some Karuk women like Nancy Richardson have begun to sing the heavy songs, using the sobbing, emotion-laden vocal characteristics that once belonged only to men (Keeling 1989).

In the Northwest Coast, women and men alike play major roles in the family and in clan potlatch traditions. They sing songs honoring ancestors, chanting the genealogies, events, and deeds common to the potlatch. Most songs are associated with clan, family, and the animal spirits (Raven, Killer Whale, Wolf, and others) that gave the clan birth. In the modern musical repertoire, family groups from Makah, Spokane, Yakima, and elsewhere sing their own music, mostly in a community setting. Recently, for families in which no sons, nephews, or grandsons are available or interested in the songs usually passed down by

male relatives, the men have begun to teach daughters, nieces, and granddaughters to sing them instead.

Yupik musical performance is based in ceremonial dance-drama. Generally, the men sing, using a large, thin, hand drum with a handle, beaten with a thin stick, and the women dance in front of them. When the women sing, they might sing challenge songs or composed songs that commemorate some event or a person's deeds. Women from St. Lawrence Island sing a song, complete with dance and hand motions, to honor the bush pilots who fly into their village, even becoming the plane, swooping down. In other songs, the women become geese, honking, courting, and singing their song, and they sing songs honoring their relatives, a great hunt, or the animals pursued by the hunters.

In the Victory or Scalp Dance common on the Southern Plains, the women relatives of warriors returned from victory would dance



Photo by Rick Vargas, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Geraldine Barney performs her songs – in Navajo and English – at the National Museum of American History in 1992.

> ly held scalps. They also would sing and make at the end the characteristic high-pitched ululating noise called a "lu lu" in the Southern Plains. The lu lu signals the somber end of an honoring song or, when made during a song or dance, the excitement of the moment and appreciation of the song or dance. It is a sound associated, oddly enough, both with mourning - it is often heard at funerals or in honoring songs for the dead — and with celebration. In addition, modern songs that honor men and women veterans and earlier songs honoring warriors always featured women in a central role. The War Mothers Societies, revitalized during World War II from older women's societies, had songs of respect that were paid cer-

> emonially to veterans, some sung by both

men and women, others sung specifically by

women.

with lances in their hands, lances that former-

In most tribal groupings, women traditionally sing the sorts of music associated with familiar women's roles, with life-giving and renewal. Such songs are numerous but, with some exceptions, quite private. Song types include lullabies, food preparing and gathering songs, songs associated with the making of clothing and other objects created by women, songs sung when delivering babies, for childless women to have children, as medicine for female illnesses or conditions such as problematic menstruation, and mourning and bur-

Ojibwa women's love charm lyric, from Georgia Wettlin-Larsen:

"Truly,

I am arrayed like the roses,

and as beautiful as they."

Mary Ann Meanus and Verbena Green from the Warm Springs Reservation sing, in an Owl Dance Song,

"How can you leave me, dear, when I love you so, in a hunky-dory way?"

ial songs, songs sung at wakes for the dead, animal songs related to medicine, or "storysongs." Native men and women everywhere also have songs that accompany magic. Women at San Ildefonso sing Bow and Arrow or Comanche Dance songs as honor songs on Mother's Day. Zuni Olla Maidens sing Rain and Comanche Dance songs for the women dancers, who perform with pottery water jars on their heads. These songs, while part of the social or minor ceremonial repertoire, are about the significance of water and a woman's role in the giving of life.

Christian music, in the context of ceremonial performance, is widespread among Indian women. As is true to a large extent among many peoples in the United States, the major participants in Christian ritual among Indians are women. Christianity may have given Native women - robbed of their traditional economic and political roles in Native culture by missionization, acculturation, and the "civilization" policies of the U.S. government – one of the few places in which they could maintain a visible role. In almost all Indian churches, Catholic and Protestant, the women sing Christian music, some of it composed by Indian people and distinctly their own, some of it drawn from the standard repertoire of the religious denominations. They sing and compose these hymns and gospel songs, even masses, in their Native lanA spirit came to a young Sioux woman. Wananikwe, and said:

"Do you see the sky, how it is round?... Go, then, and tell your friends to make a circle on the ground just like the round sky. Call that holy ground. Go there, and with a big drum in the center, sing and dance and pray to me.... You will have one heart" (Hoffman 1891).





Photo by Andy Wile, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

guages. Christian Mohawk women on the Canadian border sing wake and burial songs that bear a strong resemblance to 17th-century French Catholic laments, and Salish women in Montana sing both traditional Salish and Catholic songs during the mourning period. Others, like the Tewa Indian Women's Choir at San Juan Pueblo, sing for weddings. Many are involved in language preservation in the tribe, and the church music and work allow them to merge their interests in cultural preservation with their daily caretaking of the church.

Apart from their role in ceremonial and religious performance as well as in music that accompanies the rituals of daily life, women from many different traditions often sing songs for social dance and play. Iroquois women, for example, are now singing eskanye ganiseh or New Women's Shuffle Dance songs - Iroquois social dance music that has been sung primarily by men accompanying the women's dance. This dance represents the respect and honor paid in public ceremonials to women, the significance Iroquois give to the role of women. They also sing war songs and stomp dance songs (Pigeon and Duck) usually associated with Southeastern tribes. The women sing, like the men, in a full-throated chorus which emphasizes unity of voice rather than harmonies and different parts.

Women also sing some love songs. Such

songs, however, some with much bawdy wordplay, are quite frequently both the province of women and men. On the Southern Plains and in the Northwest, women have always sung the social dance songs known as the "49 songs" or Owl Dance songs. These are sung at the end of a dance, late at night, when courting and flirting ("snagging") go on. In these songs, both men and women sing about love, though more about thwarted or lost love, and their roles in the performance of that music - with the exception of who sits at the drum — are relatively equal. Another example would be in Navajo skip and two-step singing, where both women and men perform in the same styles and genres, accompanying their singing on the drum, and where wordplay and jesting are common features of the singing.

Competition singing, as in Inuit throat singing, was done by both men and women in the Northwest Coast and among Inuit and other Arctic peoples. Women in the Midwestern tribes historically played peach or plum stone games, and there were magic game songs associated with them. As a living tradition, however, gambling songs for the hand, stick, or bone game are everywhere sung by women. Among Northwest Coast and Great Basin peoples, Ute, Salish, Kootenai, and other women sing in hand games as parts of a team, as lead singers, and, occasionally, as part of an all-female team. In Southern Sadie Buck, from Six Nations, Canada, leads Iroquois women in a song for a New Women's Shuffle Dance at the 1975 Festival of American Folklife. Only men used to sing for the women's dance.



Photo courtesy Heard Museum

Developed by Zuni
women in the 1930s,
the Olla Maidens gave
women a role in the
new business of
performing for
tourists. Some women
sing while the other
women dance with
pottery on their
heads.

California, women singers sing songs called *peon* songs for their gambling games.

SINGERS, SONG MAKERS, AND INSTRUMENTALISTS

As vocalists, women have had varying roles in Native music. According to most scholars, the traditional vocal role of women in the Northern and Southern Plains is that of assisting the male singers (Hatton 1986). On the Southern Plains, women in the role well known as "chorus girls" have always sung behind the drum, seconding the leader one octave higher than the men. Chorus girls are usually associated with a particular drum and, in the powwow context, are paid part of the money given to the drum by the powwow



Margaret Paul says, "I have always looked after the drum; that is probably why they chose me to be drumkeeper. I felt the drum should not be alone; I felt that someone should look after it. I had to learn more about it.... The drum and I are not apart. We are one. When that drum beats, I beat, my heart goes the same way the drum goes" (Sound of the Drum 1990).

committee and by those putting money on the drum for the singing of honoring or "give-away" songs. Referring to the electrifying sound of the nearly 100 women singing behind the drum at Red Earth, an annual powwow in Oklahoma, LaVonna Weller, a long-time dancer and singer, said, "Boy, that really made my fringes snap."

In the Northern Plains and Woodlands, women's singing roles were presumed to be modest and supportive and were carried out in the context of group singing (Hatton 1986). Women sat behind the male singers at the drum, responsible for performing the correct songs in sequence and for give-aways, the presentation of gifts to others by those honored in song. In the Ojibwa Drum Dance, the women's role was confined to maintaining activities surrounding the dance and to the important, though subsidiary, activity of "helping" the drum by singing the songs with the men. Ojibwas did, however, have a Women's Dance and developed a smaller women's drum and repertory of songs for women (Vennum 1982).

According to Plains belief, the Great Spirit is said to have given the first drum to a woman, instructing her to share the drum with women of all Native nations.

Despite this oral tradition linking women to the drum, in the Plains and Great Lakes women generally have not sat at the "big" drum or the medicine drum. There are prohibitions against touching the drum for many. A woman's coming to the drum is not always accepted equally by men and other women.



(Left to right) Matilda
Mitchell, Nettie
Showaway, and Sylvia
Wallulatum from
Warm Springs
Reservation in Oregon
sing a celebratory
song at the
1976 Festival of
American Folklife.

Photo by Paul Framer, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

"We got a lot of flack at first about sitting at the drum, but gradually we got a lot of people supporting us.

Now they ask us to come....
We get asked to sing, it's an honor.

So, we have to be humble,
down to earth,"

says Celina Jones of the
Crying Woman Singers.

"Northern Lights," theme song of the Crying Woman Singers:

"Listen to the heavens.

The spirits are singing.

Listen to the songs!

The spirits are singing."

"We make all our own songs.

The songs just come to you.

You have to wait for them," says

Celina Jones of the

Crying Woman Singers.

One Plains singer was reluctant even to demonstrate a song using a hand drum. "My [male relative]," she said, "would kill me if he saw me with this drum."

In recent years, however, particularly in the Northern Plains, changes are underway with respect to the place of women at the drum. Increasingly, women describe being called to the drum, to sit at the drum, to be the drumkeeper in the way that men have talked about it. At the Maliseet Reserve near Fredericton, New Brunswick, Margaret Paul and other women and men have formed a Drum Society.

Increasingly, powwow singing in the Northern Plains has brought the advent of mixed drum groups. Usually these are family groups, with women and girls actually sitting at the drum. Most women and girls sing with the men, generally an octave below. Others sing in the higher-voiced male register. Many of the women singers in these recently formed mixed drum groups are inspired by the need to train young people in cultural preservation. This is one reason we have seen the women increasingly sitting at the drum and singing in major roles in the Plains. More



Photo by Rayna Green

From a contemporary Iroquois song sung by the Six Nations Women Singers:

"The earth, our Mother,
is crying tears.
Earth is shedding tears
for the bad things
our 'younger brothers' [white people]
have been doing to her."

In the words of Joanne Shenandoah, the music is "creative, lively, and rooted in ancient traditions [but] it isn't all drums around a fire. Give us a listen and watch as we peel away your misconceptions."

Sweethearts of Navajoland sing a skip dance song at Lillian Ashley's home in Chinle, Arizona. of the mixed drum groups are from Canada and the far Northern Plains than from anywhere else, though some are beginning to appear in the Dakotas.

No women's drums that we know of exist in Southern Plains music. Yet among Crow, Shoshone, Cree, and Assiniboine-Nakota, all-female drum groups have formed. They sing the same songs and types of songs as all-male groups. The all-female groups sing in the lower female register for the Northern Plains, and they also sing as though they were both males and females, an octave apart.

Women's roles as songmakers generally have been smaller than that of men. In the new all-female drum groups, women use, with permission, some men's songs as well as songs in the collective repertoire. They also make new songs.

In contemporary music, Native women have brought an extraordinary presence to songwriting, not only composing new lyrics for traditional songs but composing music and lyrics for a new day and for increasingly diverse audiences. Buffy Sainte-Marie's songs from the 1960s, often too narrowly described as protest music, brought commentary and a First Nations perspective to war, treaty violations, and treatment of Indians through songs

like "Now That the Buffalo's Gone." Her strong lyrics about love and the evocative power of homeland find expression in "Until It's Time for You to Go" and "Piney Wood Hills."

Other women have addressed alcohol abuse, spouse abuse, alienation in the city, and Native political issues such as environmental destruction, the preservation of sacred lands, and threats to Indian sovereignty. Musically the songs may still have a strong tribal base, but they are rearranged for Western instruments, along with traditional instrumentation and lyrics that integrate tribal languages with English or, in Canada, French lyrics.

Women historically have played a small role as instrumentalists in traditional Native music. In recent years, however, young women like Geraldine Barney and Lillian Rainer have taken up the Plains courting flute. Some — Navajo, Apache, Pueblo, and others — compose songs on the Indian flute. Singer Georgia Wettlin-Larsen has even adapted flute songs for the voice, and others have transposed flute music for the piano and synthesizer.

Iroquois, Navajo, and Apache women use the small water drums common in the music of their peoples. Where tribes use hand drums



Women from San Juan Pueblo strike baskets with a stick rasp in the Basket Dance, 1978.

Ojibwa gospel singer and actress
Elin Sands recalls, "I heard all
kinds of music at home.... [M]y
parents were into Eddie Arnold and
Jim Reeves, and my sisters were
into the Beatles. Then there were
the powwows.... So I grew up
appreciating all kinds of music"
(Sound of the Drum 1990).



for gambling, stick, bone, or hand games and for social dances, women play them. This practice is common among Inuit and Northwest Coast peoples as well as among peoples in the Great Basin and Plateau areas of the United States. In the rare "Navajo" dance, a clowning piece performed at the Pueblos of San Ildefonso and Santa Clara, a woman dressed in imitation Navajo garb may beat the drum.

Zuni Olla Maidens use the small Pueblo log drum and the frog box, a wooden painted box with bottom side open, scraping its rasp handles with sticks. During the Basket Dance

at the New Mexico Pueblos of San Juan and Santa Clara, the women scrape rasp sticks over baskets, creating a percussive role not found anywhere else in Pueblo ceremonials. Women in many places use rattles — the small women's cow horn of the Iroquois social dance songs or the gourd rattles of the Southwest.

As with men, the movement of objects on women's dance and ceremonial outfits creates percussive sounds accompanying song. The jingle dress, an increasingly strong presence on the Northern Plains over the past 30 years, is a major percussive instrument, with the sound of hundreds of cones fashioned from Copenhagen snuff-can lids jingling together. The turtle shells (and modern tin-can substitutes for turtle shells) of women shell shakers in Southeastern stomp dances have always set the unifying rhythm for the dance.

In the mid-19th century, Indian women and men took to Western instruments, both to accompany traditional music and to participate in Western, often Christian, music. The piano, the fiddle, the accordion, the tambourine, and especially the guitar have been



Photo by Rayna Green

Mescalero Apache
women listen to their
recording of a backand-forth dance song,
customarily sung
before dawn after a
young woman's
coming-of-age
ceremony.

adopted and played by Indian women. In Canada, both women and men participate in marching and concert bands at some reservations, and everywhere young Indians play Western instruments in school bands and orchestras. Using keyboards and synthesizers, women add to the old instrumental mix with blues, folk-rock, jazz, and reggae riffs and beats. Others, like the group Ulali, use traditional hand drums and rattles, though with vocal sounds and harmony never before heard in Indian music.

All these ways of singing and music-making once existed among Native women. Much of the old music exists today, joined by newer ways. Native women's music is vital and dynamic, very much a part of the process through which Native peoples are preserving and revitalizing Native life and culture.

Note: Thanks to Ann Hoog and Carol Keesling, National Museum of American History, for research assistance.

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Traditional

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Bennett, Kay. *Kaibah: Navajo Love Songs.* Canyon Records CR 7167.

Cassadore, Patsy. *I Build the Wickiup and Other Apache Songs*. Canyon Records CR 6102.

Chinle Valley Singers. *Navajo Two-Step Dance, Skip Dance, & Double Time Songs.* Canyon Records CR 7134.

Crying Woman Singers (Cree and Nakota).

Dancing Spirits. Sweet Grass Records SGCW 022194.

George, Delores (Yakima). *Treaty of 1855*. Canyon Records.

Klagetoh Maiden Singers (Navajo). *Klagetoh Maiden Singers*. Indian House IH 1508.

Midge, Nanaba. *Traditional Navajo Songs*. Canyon Records CR 7146-C.

- Middigak, Quanaq, and Timangiak Petaulassie (Inuit). On Deadly Ground. Varese Sarabands.
- Songs of Love, Luck, Animals, and Magic. New World Records.
- Songs of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation. Phoenix: Canyon Records.
- Southern Maiden Singers. *Navajo Skip Dance* and *Two-Step Songs*. Indian House.
- Sweethearts of Navajoland. *Navajo Traditional Two-Step & Skip Songs* (Vols. I and II). Canyon
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- _____. Sweethearts of Navajoland (Vol. V). Canyon Records CR 7164.
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Contemporary

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- Barney, Geraldine (Navajo). Shi Hooghan: The Eight Walls of Comfort. Institute of American Indian Arts.
- Begay, P. M. (Navajo). Stars in the Desert. Sound of America Records SOAR 152.
- Bird, Jackie (Sioux). Lady. Featherstone FR2014.
- Burch, Sharon (Navajo). *Yazzie Girl*. Canyon Records CR 534.
- Burch, Sharon, with A. Paul Ortega. *Blessing Way*. Canyon Records.

- Goodhouse, Sissy. *The Third Circle: Songs of Lakota Women.* Meyer Creative Productions MC 0113C.
- Horne, Paula (Sioux). *Heart Songs of Black Hills Women*. Meyer Creative Productions DU P001D.
- La Rue, Lisa (Cherokee). Beloved Tribal Women. SOAR 104.
- Shenandoah, Joanne *Joanne Shenandoah*. Canyon Records CR 545.
- _____. Once in a Red Moon. Canyon Records CR 548.
- Shenandoah, Joanne, with Peter Kater. *Life Blood.* Silver Wave Records SC 809.
- Shenandoah, Joanne, with A. Paul Ortega. *Loving Ways*. Canyon Records CR546.
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- _____. It's My Way. Vanguard 73142.
- _____. Little Wheel & Spin. Vanguard 79211.
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- _____. She Used to Wanna Be a Ballerina. Vanguard 79311.
- Ulali (Formerly Pura Fe & Soni). *Ladies Choice*. Available from the American Indian Community House, 404 LaFayette St., 2nd floor, New York, NY 10003.
- Ulali, with Robbie Robertson and the Red Road Ensemble. *Music for The Native Americans*. Capitol 0472438.

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RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN BRANCHES: Music in Two Worlds

Tradition in Two Worlds: A Russian-American Cultural Exchange

RICHARD KENNEDY

n a warm April evening in 1990 on a bank of the Dnepr River in Kiev, I was sharing a traditional Central Asian meal with the Uzbek delegation to the Second International Folklore Festival. A Russian representative of the Soviet Ministry of Culture raised his glass to the success of the festival and invited everyone present to the next international Soviet-sponsored festival planned for Tashkent in 1992. I replied with an Arabic qualifying phrase used in most Muslim countries, insh'allah — "if God wills." It seemed a precarious time to be proposing international festivals. Indeed, by 1992 Tashkent was the capital of independent Uzbekistan.

The Kiev festival itself, in fact, was not a success, and everything wrong with it was symptomatic of the political problems facing the Soviet state. Folklore troupes costumed and choreographed by Moscow represented each republic. The resentment over this kind of co-optation of local culture reflected a larger unease with Moscow's political and economic control. During the festival, Ukrainians continued demonstrations and discussions into the night in the center of town. Within 16 months Ukraine was also an independent nation.

The participation of a group of 25 traditional American musicians in the Kiev festival was part of a larger scholarly and artistic exchange begun in 1987, three years earlier, between the Soviet Ministry of Culture and the Smithsonian Institution. The eight-year old exchange continues today, in spite of radical changes in the cultural climate of both countries.

Among these changes is the critical role that culture has come to play in national discourse. In Russia the question of cultural identity — specifically, the perception that Soviet governments stifled the development of local identity — was central to much of the discussion leading to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Events like the 1990 Kiev festival were expressions of a centralized and, by implication, repressive arts bureaucracy.

In the United States controversies have also raged over the role of government in all spheres of life, including culture. Unlike most of their Western counterparts, including the Soviets, American leaders have been hesitant to give any support to the arts; no administration has ever seriously considered the formation of a U.S. Department of Culture, and now even a small grant-giving agency such as the National Endowment for the Arts is beleaguered.

Our lack of a centralized arts bureaucracy or policy-making office surprises many official visitors, as it certainly did two members of the Soviet Ministry of Culture who attended the 1987 Festival of American Folklife. The delegation had come to Washington as part of a program suggested by then-Secretary of the Smithsonian Robert McC. Adams to develop a series of collaborative projects between the Institution and the Soviet Union. During these early years of *perestroika*, both Soviets and Americans were moving warily, unfamiliar with the new terrain and the different ways that the two governments viewed culture.

In spite of some misgivings, the Smithsonian and the Soviet Ministry signed a cooperative agreement in 1987. A series of exchange programs were developed from proposals made by Dr. Margarita Mazo, then a scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center. These included a Festival program of Soviet artists in Washington in 1988, the participation by tradi-

Russian Roots, American
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tional American artists in festivals in Moscow in 1988, in Kiev in 1990, as mentioned above, and finally an exchange of American and Soviet scholars to carry out research in cognate communities of Russians and Russian Americans, Ukrainians and Ukrainian Americans, and Uzbek and Uzbek Americans.

Negotiations for the participation of the Soviet artists at the 1988 Festival were challenging. It was particularly difficult to persuade Soviet bureaucrats to undertake research in local communities with the specific purpose of identifying traditional artists to represent contemporary Soviet life at an international festival. Academy-trained folklore troupes who were based in Moscow or other capital cities, and whose connections to the traditions they performed were romantic, nationalistic, but rarely lived day to day, had always represented the Soviet Union in international events.

Working closely with several scholars of Soviet traditions in the United States, the Center requested that local artists rather than theatrical troupes and amateur performers be invited to the Festival, and, to that end, asked that Smithsonian staff be part of the selection process. In the spirit of *perestroika*, officials agreed. Research was carried out, and 35 participants from nine republics and regions throughout the U.S.S.R. were selected for the 1988 program, many from republics that are now independent.

The Festival research developed into a scholarly exchange that has continued through the upheavals in the former Soviet Union. The Center and outside scholars have been working separately with the Russian, Uzbek, and Ukrainian Ministries of Culture. American scholars have done work in each country, while ex-Soviet scholars have been working in the United States. The Russian project has teamed Dr. Margarita Mazo, an ethnomusicologist from the Ohio State University, with Dr. Irina Pozdeeva, a specialist on religious culture at Moscow University, and Dr. Serafima Nikitina, a linguist with the Russian Academy of Sciences. The study of Bukharan Jewish culture in Uzbekistan and in Queens, New York,



Photo courtesy Margarita Mazo



Photo by Pete Reiniger

has paired Dr. Ted Levin, a folklorist and ethnomusicologist from Dartmouth College, with Dr. Otanazar Matyakubov, an ethnomusicologist at the Tashkent State Conservatory. The Ukrainian project is led by Dr. William Noll, formerly of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard, and Dr. Valentyna Borysenko of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The first fruits of this research have included four Smithsonian/Folkways recordings of music of people from the former Soviet Union related to the 1988 Festival program. A fifth recording of Old Believer music from Stavropol in southern Russia will be released in conjunction with this summer's Festival program.

The focus of all these projects is to compare the transformation of similar cultural traditions in different environments. In the Russian study, both the Old Believers and

Top: Professor
Margarita Mazo interviews members of the
Molokan community in
southern California.
Professor Mazo was
part of a scholarly
exchange organized by
the Russian Ministry
of Culture and the
Smithsonian
Institution.

Bottom: Punahele Lerma, a Hawaiian hula performer, dances with a Soviet participant from the 1990 International Folklore Festival held in Kiev in the Soviet Union. Mr. Lerma participated in the Festival as part of a delegation of 25 American artists and scholars sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution.

Three women from an ensemble of Southern Russian singers are interviewed at the 1988 Festival of American Folklife. The women were part of a delegation of 35 artists from nine republics in the Soviet Union.



Photo by Jeff Tinsley, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

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(1989), Indonesia
(1991), and Thailand

Molokan communities, which share a history of opposition to the Russian Orthodox Church, have each developed differently, depending on their root traditions and their situations. Some people in the communities left Russia and migrated to Turkey, South America, and the United States. Some communities later returned to Russia. Each of the migrations has left its mark.

Their histories will provide an important backdrop to the contemporary statuses of the communities. However, the developments of the past decade, when the research teams have been observing these communities, offer perhaps the most interesting basis for comparison. The religious revival in Russia has given a respect to the Old Believers and Molokan communities which was unknown ten years ago. In the United States many people are looking away from government and to their own roots for identity and structure in an increasingly disjointed world. In the program Russian Roots, American Branches, audiences

will have an opportunity to observe not only the survival and adaptation of traditions, but also the influence of the changing perspectives of tradition in Russia and the United States.

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Bukhara: The Musical Crossroads of Asia. Smithsonian/Folkways 40050.

Musics of the Soviet Union.
Smithsonian/Folkways 40002.

Old Believers: Songs of the Nekrasov Cossacks. Smithsonian/Folkways 40462.

Shashmagam. Smithsonian/Folkways 40054.

Tuva: Music from the Center of Asia. Smithsonian/Folkways 40017.

Molokans and Old Believers in Two Worlds: Migration, Change, and Continuity

MARGARITA MAZO

s I sit at the festive table with Russian-American Molokans who have gathered for a house-blessing ritual of a

young family in its new, very American ranch-style house in the very American city of Los Angeles, I am overwhelmed by the feeling that I have seen this all before in a small, southern Russian village near Stavropol, at the foot of the Caucasus Mountains. It is still astonishing to observe in the heart of the most urban American setting a world that is essentially Russian and essentially Molokan.* The entire ritual and the feast that follows seem the same in both places: the hostess brings in a ten-inch-tall round loaf of bread with a salt shaker on top of it; men and women are clothed in the same light pastel colors. The men all have long beards and wear kosovorotky (Russian village-style shirts without collars and with buttons on the left side); the women all cover their heads with shawls. The courses of the meal and the order in which they are served are the same (tea, homemade noodles, beef stew, fruit compote, with pieces of bread spread over the table, directly on the tablecloth); the long, parallel rows of tables and backless benches are familiar. Finally, I can hear the same power in their dignified and inspiring singing. Yet the language in Los Angeles is mostly English, albeit interspersed with Russian; the majority of young people only know a few Russian words. The women's dresses and the men's shirts are made from much finer fabrics than those in Russia, and

*I am grateful to Mr. Andrew Conovaloff for helping me to organize this trip and for introducing me to several Molokan communities in California and Oregon. I also thank my research collaborator, Dr. Serafima Nikitina of the Russian Academy of Sciences, whom I invited to join the Molokan project in 1990. the furniture and all the accessories mirror those found in other American homes. After a while the singing, too, sounds somewhat different.

This visit with the Molokans in California took place just a few months after I returned from the Stavropol area in Russia, where in August 1989 I worked with a group of Russian Molokans and Old Believers. My journey also took me to Woodburn, a town in Oregon, where the Molokans' neighbors are Russian-American Old Believers. As I drove on a small street, I noticed children playing lapta (a favorite Russian children's game, a sort of baseball), girls dressed in sleeveless dresses over colorful blouses, and boys in equally colorful kosovorotky. They were speaking Russian among themselves. One block further, I saw a small church painted in beautiful colors with an Old Believers' cross on top. Many of the back yards were plowed and waiting to be seeded. I did not have to enter a single house to determine that Russians lived here.

RUSSIAN ROOTS: THE OLD BELIEVERS

During the 17th century, the Russian Empire was undergoing enormous religious and social changes, which culminated in the 1650s reform of the Russian Orthodox Church by Patriarch Nikon and later, by the turn of the 18th century, reforms of secular life by Peter the Great. These reforms were designed to unify and modernize the Russian Church and to westernize the entire Russian way of life. Patriarch Nikon's revisions of liturgical texts and manuscripts, his modification of the symbolic gesture made while crossing oneself (he insisted on using three fingers instead of two), and other changes precipitated numerous fac-



Photo by Alison P. Loskutoff

Molokans gather for the first international Molokan congress in Ukraine in 1992. They are preparing a feast for the entire community. The feast includes borscht and lapsha (noodles); the men are tending the samovars.

tions and dissent movements. The largest group of those who did not accept the Nikonian reforms and who committed themselves to preserving all of the pre-Nikonian Orthodox practices called themselves *Starovery* (*staryi* = old, *vera* = faith), the Old Believers.

Excommunicated after 1666, the Old Believers were persecuted by religious and state authorities throughout most of Russian history and lived in direct opposition to these authorities until several years ago. Many fled to isolated places where they hoped to preserve their faith and cultural heritage, at times preferring to burn themselves and their churches rather than accept new religious practices. Some Old Believers settled in remote villages of northern Russia, along the coast of the White Sea; others established colonies along the Volga River in central Russia; some fled to the south and settled among the Cossacks; still others scattered in Siberia. Several soglasiia (concords, alliances) exist among the Old Believers: the Pomortsy soglasie (priestless Old Believers originally from the north of Russia), the Belokrinitsa soglasie (those who had accepted priests from an Orthodox bishop in the Austro-Hungarian Empire), the Beglopopovtsy (from beglyi, "runaway," and pop, "priest," i.e., those who had

taken fugitive priests from the Russian Orthodox Church as their spiritual leaders), Chasovenniki (those who had lost priesthood under Czar Nicholas I), and others. In general, the Old Believers who accept priesthood are called popovtsy, and priestless Old Believers are the bespopoutsy. Some of the soglasiia consist of married people, while others practice celibacy.

During the 19th

century, and particularly after 1905, when official persecution of Russian religious minorities ended, many extremely successful entrepreneurs, politicians, businessmen, and merchants emerged from the ranks of Old Believers.

The first Old Believers came to North America around 1885 from Suwalki in Poland (then a western province of the Russian Empire) and from villages around Minsk (Byelorussia). All belonged to the Pomortsy soglasie, the largest single group of priestless Old Believers in Russia who practiced marriage. Although they lived among others, they always tried to preserve their own identity by practicing some self-imposed seclusion. Many of the new immigrants to the United States worked in heavy industry in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Michigan. A large number worked on the ore docks of Erie and in the coal mines of southwest Pennsylvania, where they settled into close-knit communities.

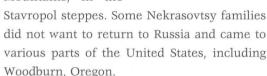
The second largest settlement of Russian Old Believers in the United States was formed during the 1960s around Woodburn, Oregon. They had escaped Communist persecutions twice: first, by moving from Soviet Siberia to China, and then in 1949, when the Communist regime came to power in China,

by moving again to Brazil and Argentina. In the 1960s, with the help of the Tolstoy Foundation in New York, they settled in Oregon. The youngest community of Old Believers in the United States branched out from the Oregon group about ten years ago and settled on Alaska's Kenai Peninsula.

After the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad revoked its excommunication of the Old Believers in the 1970s, a large part of the Old Believer community in Erie accepted priesthood and communion with this church. (The independent Russian Orthodox Church Abroad was established in the United States after the October Revolution of 1917.) Some other groups living in the United States (mostly in Oregon) have recently accepted priesthood and intercommunion with a group of priestly Old Believers now based in Moscow, the Belokrinitsa soglasie. Still other Old Believers continue to reject priesthood. Participants in the Festival program are the popovtsy, i.e., priestly Old Believers. One group is from Erie; the second group represents the Nekrasovtsy from the Stavropol area in south Russia.

The Nekrasovtsy are descendants of those Old Believers who settled among the Don Cossacks in the steppes along the Don River in south Russia. The Cossacks were independent, peasant military units who guarded the southern borders of Russia. They welcomed many who had fled from central Russia, whether runaway soldiers, bankrupt peasants, feudal serfs, or religious dissenters. At the beginning of the 18th century, Peter the Great attempted to subjugate the Cossacks and abolish their administrative autonomy, but the Cossacks resisted. After Kondrat Bulavin, the leader of an unsuccessful uprising against the Czar, was killed in 1708, Ignat Nekrasov led the Cossacks of his military unit and their families across the Don to escape political and religious repression. In 1812, after a century of moving from one area to another (including the mouth of the Danube River, where descendants of the Nekrasovtsy still live today), one group finally settled on Lake Manyas in Turkey, not far from the Marmara Sea.

In 1912-13 some Nekrasovtsy returned to Russia and were settled in the Krasnodar steppes; in 1962, the remainder of the community, consisting of 215 families, also went back to be settled by the Soviet government at the foot of the Caucasus Mountains, in the



RUSSIAN ROOTS: THE MOLOKANS

One of many peasant alliances that expressed religious and social dissent in rural 18th-century Russia, Spiritual Christian Molokans date from the 1760s. Like the Dukhobors (Spirit Fighters), a sect from which the Molokans branched out, they sought religious freedom from the Russian Orthodox Church and economic independence from state-imposed poverty through the establishment of a self-governing brotherhood of equal men.

The name Molokans comes from the Russian moloko, "milk." Three interpretations of the origin of the name Molokane or Molokany, loosely translated as milk drinkers, circulate widely among them. According to the first, the Scripture is spiritual milk, and since their teachings are based on a literal reading of scripture, they consume spiritual milk. The second reflects their defiance of Orthodox Church fasts in general and, specifically, the church prohibition against drinking milk (among other non-vegetarian products) on Wednesdays, Fridays, and during other longer fasts. The third refers to the river Molochnye Vody (Milky Waters), near which the Molokans lived in their early days.

Molokanism is a peculiar amalgamation of the Old and New Testaments and, at the same time, of popular beliefs and faith



Fr. Jurewicz of the Old Believer community in Erie, Pennsylvania, paints an icon at his home. The icons are used in the local church and in Russian communities across the country.



Photo courtesy Andrei A. and Mary Jane P. Shabalin

Molokans in San Francisco process to the church for a wedding celebration in 1987. The bride and groom are followed by singers, the bride's family, and friends. They will be greeted at the church by the groom's family and the congregation.

characteristic of Russian villagers. Although links with Western sectarian Protestants, Judaic practices, and earlier Russian mystics are also evident, essentially Molokanism is a Christian protest movement that grew out of traditional Russian values and cultural models. As the Molokans' favorite expression goes, they "live and sing by the spirit and by the mind." This expression provides insight into the Molokan spiritual and cultural universe, which is simultaneously deeply mystical and thoroughly rationalistic.

Like other earlier sectarians in Russia, the Molokans abandoned the Orthodox Church altogether. They rejected the church's rituals, holidays, and all material aspects of Russian Orthodoxy, including the cross and icons. They also rejected the church's hierarchy and paid clergy, as they sought direct contact with God. Salvation is in faith alone, they say; the ultimate enlightenment, Molokans believe, comes through experiences incomprehensible to the senses and to logic, and one should seek it through communal worship "in spirit and truth."

For their resentment of the mainstream Orthodox Church, the Molokans, like the Old Believers a hundred years before them, were outlawed and severely repressed in Russia. In the 1830s the government moved many from central Russia to the Transcaucasus. After their exemption from military service expired and petitions to renew it were denied, they migrated further south, some to territory

which later came under Turkish jurisdiction. Some Molokan schismatics, in search of good land and led by prophecies, ended up in Persia, North America, Australia, and other parts of the world. The largest Molokan community still remains in Russia. In the United States, the first Molokans arrived in Los Angeles and San Francisco between 1902 and 1904.

At present, there are three main denominations of the Molokan sect: the Steadfast, who claim to have nearly preserved the original Molokan doctrine and order of service; the Jumpers, who later began to accept the manifestation of the Holy Spirit in prophecy and physical manifestation, i.e., jumping; and the Maximists, a still-later 19th-century formation, who accepted the teachings of new prophets/leaders, mostly those of Maxim Rudometkin. Recently, a radically new and much disputed development has taken place in an American settlement: a small reform group of young Molokans has adopted English as their liturgical language and introduced westernized approaches to the church. The two Molokan groups presented at the Festival, one from the Stavropol area and the other from San Francisco, belong to the Steadfast denomination.

The San Francisco Molokan community began around 1906, when Molokans from the Caucasus and Kars (Turkey) settled on Potrero Hill, which still functions as the heart of San Francisco Molokan activities. A second wave of migration occurred after World War II and brought Molokans from the Caucasus, Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union, the Russian Far East, and from Iran, Iraq, and China.

RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN BRANCHES

The Old Believers and the Molokans represent two very different phenomena of Russian religious and cultural life. The Old Believers belong to the old Orthodox Church, while the Molokans reject it altogether. If visual aspects are very important for the Old Believers (the best representation of this can be found in their handwritten books, carefully and artfully illuminated and decorated with colorful miniatures, as well as in their icon paintings), Molokans pay less attention to visual expressions of their faith and concentrate almost entirely on aural aspects. Still, their histories have much in common. Both were persecuted by the Russian church and government, imprisoned, executed, and forced to migrate. For both, living in diaspora and in opposition to mainstream culture became the norm. These circumstances forced them to be independent and strong, spiritually and physically, in order to withstand pressures from the dominant culture.

In some ways, the early history of Molokans and Old Believers in the United States parallels the experiences of other ethnic and religious communities that migrated here. They were hard workers with little English; they settled in neighborhoods and formed close-knit communities. Once they were settled, men sent money home to bring over their families. Some families who lived near one another in the old country also became neighbors here, in the "Russian ghettos" in Los Angeles, San Francisco, or Erie. Gradually, they raised enough money to build their first churches, which, as in many ethnic communities, provided the focus for the religious, cultural, and social life of their parishioners. It took two generations before real integration into the local society occurred. The third generation now includes teachers, college professors, businessmen and women, insurance agents, and other professionals.

To many, Russian Old Believers and Molokans look, speak, and sing like typical Russian villagers. In fact, their connection to the old order of life in Russian villages runs even deeper. They do not compartmentalize life and faith into separate spheres of activity but rather understand religion as a syncretic entity. Both the Old Believers and the Molokans regard themselves as keepers of this rural tradition, perpetuating not only religious concepts and rites but also the old holistic way of living, including the relationships between the individual and the community, family



Fr. Pimen Simon instructs children of the Old Believer community in Erie, Pennsylvania, in traditional Russian songs.

structure, rituals, customs, and dietary practices. For those who lived outside of Russia, this commitment included the preservation of ethnic identity, language, and songs.

Observers have often emphasized conscientious traditionalism as the primary factor that defines the world view of these two groups. In reality, Old Believers and Molokans have survived as cultural and religious entities by maintaining a flexible balance between an "ideal" orientation toward the past and the necessities of the present. The strategies adopted by each Molokan and Old Believer community vary greatly. Old Believers living in Oregon and Alaska, for example, have chosen to keep their lifestyle, language, rituals, singing (both sacred and secular), clothing, etc., as close as possible to traditional ways, while a group of Old Believers in Erie has adopted an American approach to secular life. They have changed the language of the liturgy to English and permitted converts to join as well. These decisions have generated heated debates and profound rifts within the community, even within single families. Similar processes can be observed in the Molokan communities, in which the gamut of adaptations employed varies even more widely.

MUSIC IN TWO WORLDS

A cappella choral singing has comprised one of the most central features of the both Old Believers' and Molokans' self-identity. Even those communities that have lived in the United States for many decades and use



Photo by Yuri Lunkov, courtesy Moscow Conservatory

A group of Nekrasovtsy Old Believers gathers for a seasonal *krylo* dance near their village in the Stavropol area. English as their liturgical language have consciously and consistently kept Russian melodies and singing practices intact.

Singing serves many functions, one of which is the creation of a historical continuum: traditional psalms, chants, and hymns assure continuity with the past, while the acquisition of a new secular repertoire links the past with the present. The Old Believers see their special mission as preserving the pre-Nikonian liturgical chant, the znamennyi. Some communities in Russia and the United States still preserve the knowledge of the znamennyi from manuscript books and a medieval form of its notation by neums (ancient symbols), called kriuki. The Molokans preserved the old melodies of their psalms strictly through oral tradition. In addition, the Molokans generally welcomed the opportunity to borrow new melodies and turn any tune they liked into their own song of praise. Melodic hits, including songs from Soviet films and favorite American songs, have left their traces in the Molokans' repertoire ("Amazing Grace," "It's the Last Rose of Summer," "Clementine," and "Red River Valley" are just a few examples.)

In many Old Believer and in some Molokan communities, singing of secular "folk" songs was forbidden, particularly after marriage. (Often, young people sang them secretly anyway, usually at various youth gatherings.) This practice, needless to say, has

not facilitated the steady transmission of the secular repertory, and it is not surprising that most American Old Believers and Molokans do not know Russian secular songs. On the other hand, in every American community I have visited so far, there are still a few people who remember and can sing some traditional Russian songs. Mostly, these are late 19th-century and early 20th-century songs, the socalled romances, factory, and soldiers' songs, as well as more recent songs, mostly from popular post-World War II Soviet films. In each community I was also able to record older ritual songs and laments from weddings and funerals.

The Nekrasovtsy Old Believer community adopted an altogether different attitude toward the secular repertory. For them, keeping old songs in active memory was one of the most important strategies for preserving their Russian roots and history. When they returned to Russia after 254 years, they knew songs and dances that had long been forgotten by people in the homeland.

For any culture, a migration is akin to taking a plant out of its soil. However, for several Russian religious groups it has also been a factor that has stimulated the preservation of culture, no matter where the group has settled.

Since perestroika, religious communities can practice their beliefs freely. As people's need to identify their roots surfaces and grows in the former Soviet society, these communities are gaining the respect and even admiration of their fellow Russians for having maintained their faith and preserved their history throughout the Soviet era. No one ridicules Old Believer or Molokan men any more for their long beards and rope-like belts or women for their kerchiefs and dresses. No one forbids the children of Old Believers to wear crosses. The attention scholars have given their culture has also played a positive role. What had separated and differentiated them from their neighbors is now accorded value. In the new Russia, their carefully guarded self-identity once again asserts its powerful role in their survival as a community.

The other major change engendered by the new political climate in Russia is the opportunity to reestablish contacts with their historical brothers and sisters living in the United States. At the beginning, it was not easy, and I felt honored that Molokan communities in Russia and the United States trusted representatives of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. Serafima Nikitina and myself, to be the couriers and deliverers of news, information, documents, and new literature.

Shipment of religious books was followed by a steady two-way traffic of people. Now continuous humanitarian aid is in place and, with the help of American Molokans, two churches are being built in Russia. Two all-Molokan congresses of representatives of the major Molokan churches in Russia and the United States have taken place since 1991. Singing together is always a high point of the now-frequent meetings of "American" and "Russian" Molokans, and a cassette with recorded psalms and songs has become a cherished gift.

The invitation from the Smithsonian to participate in the 1995 Festival of American Folklife was greeted by the four groups presented in our program with remarkable enthusiasm. Although some communities remain completely closed to scholars even today because they do not think that their singing, not to mention their religious life, should be studied or observed, I have been fortunate to meet many members of Molokan and Old Believer communities who have supported my inquiries and generously shared with me their talents, knowledge, and convictions. I am grateful for their confidence and trust, and am convinced that those who hear their magnificent singing on the Mall will feel privileged, gratified, and greatly enriched.

Edward Samarin, a prominent figure of the San Francisco Molokans, permitted me to quote from a letter he wrote in contemplation of the decision to take part in the Festival:

To a Molokan, singing *posalmy* [psalms] is more than just singing praises to God. It allows one to participate, somehow mystically, in the event we are singing

about and is the door that lets one go in and know and experience the Eternal One. Singing posalmy is that theater where we act out the drama of another time that we are all linked to and this unites us together. It [singing posalmy] restores the soul and allows for a good and right and healthy relationship to one another, and to God. So singing posalmy, singing them the way we Molokans from San Francisco do, is a pretty big deal to me, and now I get to share this very, very important part of my life with many, many others at the Festival. And who knows, just maybe someone hearing might get to feel as good as I do when I'm singing Molokan posalmy.

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RESEARCH REPORT

The African Immigrant Folklife Study Project

DIANA BAIRD N'DIAYE AND BETTY BELANUS



FRICAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN THE WASHINGTON, D.C.,

METROPOLITAN AREA: A BRIEF PROFILE

New African communities have emerged in the United States since the mid-1960s, joining older African-American populations in several urban centers including the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. Each of these communities comes together for social and symbolic events that help their members to define and maintain their sense of identity and tradition. Senegalese organize celebrations and traditional wrestling matches at local parks, and invite friends to share barbecued lamb on the Muslim holiday of Tabaski. Over A.M. radio, communities whose members originate in the Horn of Africa (Ethiopians, Eritreans, Somalians, and Sudanese) broadcast narrative poetry in traditional form expressing their perspectives about exile in America. Ghanaians of the Ashanti ethnic group appoint local leaders - an Asantehene and Queen Mother of Washington, D.C. - with the ceremony and regalia of the Akan tradition in Ghana. Nigerians establish houses of worship in the city which are branches of religious institutions back home.

While these communities have grown in size and visibility in the urban landscape of metropolitan Washington, the diversity and richness of their cultures remain largely invisible to most local residents. Figures available from the 1990 census place the overall number of African-born residents of the Washington area at 36,327, out of a total U.S. African-born population of 363,819. Informal estimates indicate that the Washington and national figures are much too low. While many recent African immigrant communities share some social characteristics with each other, with others of the African diaspora, and with immigrant groups in general, they also vary considerably in size, in the length of time they have been in the United States, and in the circumstances that brought them to this country. Some individuals came with scholarships to American universities; others fled oppressive political situations with "only the shirt on their backs," as one Ethiopian educator/cab driver explains.

African newcomers to the United States include those who consider their residence temporary and plan to return to live in their countries of origin at a later date. Many actively move between residences on the African and North American continents. Some have chosen to reside permanently in the United States but still find it important to teach their children everything they need to know to maintain ties with relatives in Africa, if only for brief visits "home." As Remi Aluko, founder of a summer camp that teaches children about African culture, says of her own children, "I started teaching them and talking to them right from when they were babies, and I saw it worked." When she brought her children to visit Nigeria in 1990, "it was tremendous. When they would go to the people they would understand the language. They could eat the food. Everybody felt as if these kids had been part of them."

In the process of building community life in the United States, African-born immigrants in America are creating new and unique forms of expressive culture patterned after but not identical to African forms; they actively and explicitly use the language of tradition — ways of cooking food, of dressing, of dancing - to define themselves as Africans, in the context of the United States, to each other and to the world. At the same time, however, because of more reliable telephone communications, frequent and less expensive flights, and accessible home audio and video recording, it has become easier to maintain a closer connection with family and friends at home. Just as the expressive culture of African-born residents of Washington, D.C., receives constant new infusions through visitors from home and from their own trips to the continent, popular and grassroots culture in Africa are influenced by new music, language, and goods from

Fieldwork during the past year has hinted at the richness of the material available: from Ghanaian drumming to Zairian *soukous* music; from Nigerian Jollof rice to Ethiopian coffee Preceding page: At a
Nigerian naming
ceremony in
Washington, D.C., the
newborn is introduced
by his family to the
world. On the table for
him to taste are a
variety of foods –
bitter, sweet, salty,
bland, and peppery –
symbolizing the varying
experiences of life.

The African Immigrant Folklife Study Project began in the spring of 1994 with a 12-week training program of community scholars from the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. This year, the project presents two evening concerts, a film series in conjunction with the National Museum of African Art, and an exhibition of photographs from the fieldwork completed thus far. It is hoped that a full Festival program will be presented in 1997. The following research report discusses some of the issues raised during the project and presents some of the preliminary fieldwork findings.



Senegalese members of the Mouride brotherhood prepare theiboudienne, a savory dish of fish, stewed vegetables, and flavored rice in preparation for the annual visit to the Washington, D.C., area of Serigne Cheikh M'Backe, the spiritual leader of this Senegalbased Sufi Muslim community.

ceremonies; from Senegalese hairbraiding to Somalian women's songs; from South African poetry of invocation to personal experience stories of immigrants' first encounters with American culture.

THE AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE STUDY GROUP: A PARTNERSHIP WITH COMMUNITY SCHOLARS

The idea to incorporate research on African immigrant communities into a Festival program began with the enthusiastic response of Senegalese and Gambian immigrants in the Washington and New York City areas to their involvement in planning special events at the 1990 Festival Senegal program. Anna Ceesay, a fabric resist artist from the Gambia, wrote of her reasons for participating in the project: "As Africans we are faced with prejudice and unfair treatment in our everyday immigrant life. This is due to ignorance and lack of understanding. This project will...give us opportunities to reveal and teach something of our traditional ways of life, our culture and therefore make more people know and understand us better."

In the past, much of the formal study and documentation of culture and of traditional

folklife has been considered the professional domain of anthropologists, folklorists, and other formally trained specialists usually from outside of the communities that have been studied. Recent work in reflexive anthropology and folklore has stressed the importance of the perspectives of culture bearers and of acknowledging the orientations researchers carry with them into the field. The development of this ethical knowledge coincides with cultural communities' increasingly asserted right to be agents of their own cultural representation and explication rather than merely objects of study. The African Immigrant Folklife Study Project was conceived as community-centered research. Such research places the tools and methods of research and public presentation in the hands of those whose communities are represented. The researchers within the communities displayed a strong commitment to and passion for the collection and preservation of culture.

A 12-session training program began in the spring of 1994 with 16 community scholars located through recommendations from established scholars at the Smithsonian's National Museum of African Art, the Anacostia Museum, and other sources. Our



Photo by Roland Freeman © 1995

research/curatorial team included Africans born in Egypt, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Senegal, Ethiopia, Somalia, and South Africa. The team members were skilled in traditional dressmaking, resist dyeing, and hairbraiding. They were college professors, clergy, artists, graduate students, and cooks, as well as researchers and community organizers. In the group were Christians, Muslims, people affiliated to other African religious traditions, and people from the same nation-state but with different regional and ethnic affiliations.

A unitary "African immigrant community" does not exist as such; therefore, from the very beginning, the group was challenged to find ways to use the boundaries insiders used. However, we found that describing people by geographical nation-state of origin could be problematic. For example, the boundaries of Ethiopia have been a hotly contested issue for those who identify themselves as Oromo, and who consider themselves to be part of a separate country.

When we tried looking at ethnic groups within African countries as the primary unit of study, we found that religious affiliation united some people living here across ethnic, geographical, and political boundaries while

dividing others of similar language and geographical origin. The group decided to assign responsibility by region for contacting African immigrant community organizations but to focus on exploring their own self-identified communities in depth — those whose members shared common knowledge, values, and interacted with each other on a regular basis.

Members of the group noted that the term "African immigrant" could refer to people born on the continent who have recently taken up residence abroad, but it could also refer to historical communities of Africans. Many African Americans whose ancestors were forced to emigrate from Africa centuries ago experienced their own migration from the fields of the lower South to the factories of the urban North during the 1930s and 1940s. (The odyssey is described in the exhibition and accompanying publication, Field to Factory, at the National Museum of American History.) Others of African descent have come to the United States via the Caribbean and South America. Both groups and their descendants living in the Washington area are often the neighbors, clients, patrons, and co-congregants of African newcomers to the area.

Some in the group argued that the word

Although outsiders may envision
Ethiopians as a single community in the D.C. area, the many varieties of *injira* bread that Rahel Mekuria carries in her store, Addisu Gebeya, serve as a metaphor for the many regional, language, and ethnic communities from Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa residing here.



The 18th Street corridor is home to many businesses founded by immigrant Africans. Restaurants. hairbraiding salons, clothing stores, and groceries utilize occupational knowledge and skills developed in Africa, and provide a showcase for African immigrant artistry and business acumen. Many of them function as information exchange centers, and each is a community institution and landmark. The Meskerem Restaurant, for example, serves as a popular eating place for the general public

and a center for

activities for

Ethiopians.

from one's country of origin; or that it does not account for Africans in this country as refugees; or that it implies a permanency of residence that precludes the eventual return many people hope for; or that it does not describe the conditions of dual residence and transnationality which more precisely define the contemporary experience of many Africans here.

Reflecting upon his personal process of rethinking cultural identity as a result of his experience in the United States, filmmaker and community scholar Olaniyi Areke comments:

Being an African was not a big thing when I was in Nigeria. I never knew the importance of my culture until I came here. I used to think the cultures of other ethnic groups in Nigeria and other African countries were different. I know now that there are more similarities than differences. My community is not limited to Yoruba, Nigeria, and Africa: the whole world is now my community since African people are all over the world.

Like other recent African-born immigrants, Areke faced, and continues to coning a new identity - naming himself in relation to others in the new social world of the United States.

WORK IN PROGRESS: SAMPLES OF PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

The following reports represent a small portion of the materials gathered during fieldwork for the project. Since, in this project, the background of the fieldworker is as interesting and important to the research as the interviews he or she carries out, a thumbnail sketch of this information is included as well.

Aristides Pereira credits his lifelong interest in cultural diversity to experiences in his old neighborhood of Santhiaba in the southern region of Senegal, West Africa. "Playing with my pals of my age group, I learned not only their languages (Diola, Mandinka, a little Manjack) but also their culture.... By seeking information about them, by studying them every day, I found myself as a strong part of my community." Aristides has been teaching about African cultures at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center for the past 15 years.

Aristides, a musician himself, interviewed Senegalese kora musician, oral historian, and 15-year Washington resident Djimo Kouyate.

Kouyate is a Mandinka jali (also called a griot) - the 149th jali in his family and a descendant of the first griot and diplomat to the 13th-century king of the Mali Empire, Kankon Moussa. In his interview Djimo Kouvate noted, "A griot is first an educator, an oral historian; the entertainment part [of kora playing] comes way after the educational aspect of a real griot." Aristides locates Kouyate "at the center of many activities in [Washington's] African community, such as baptisms, religious holidays, and weddings." Kouyate lectures at schools and universities about different aspects of Mandinka history and culture; he also has a traditional dance studio where people learn Senegalese dances.

Nomvula Mashoai Cook is from Lesotho, though she happened to be born across the border in South Africa. She recalls that growing up in Lesotho she enjoyed traditional dancing and singing in her neighborhood.

She arrived in the United States in 1981 and soon found herself "swimming in the belly of a new culture," overcome with the fear of losing her native culture. She began actively collecting and preserving the music and art of her Basotho ethnic group. She also gathers Africans and African Americans at her house every year for an "African marketplace" featuring food, music, and dancing, creating a dialogue between cultures.

Interviewing a number of South Africans for her research, Nomvula noted that many are making plans to return now that the yoke of apartheid and repression has lifted in South Africa. Many have had a long, harsh exile. Nomvula interviewed South African poet Mphela Makhoba, whose work was an intrinsic part of the culture of struggle against apartheid. His performance of poetry grows out of the Mosotho tradition of ritual invocation. Self-exiled from South Africa in the 1960s, Makhoba came to the United States to continue his art and protest.

Veronica Abu, who by profession is a private nurse, is considered an excellent cook in the Ghanaian community. She used herself as a resource, as well as interviewing four other cooks with roots in various parts of Ghana.

She described the preparation of *fufu*, a staple dish in Ghana, both here and there:

In Ghana, one has to boil the raw plaintain and cassava or yam till it's well cooked. Then...pound it with pestle and mortar till it becomes smooth and soft. This takes about two or three hours.... Preparing *fufu* here is very easy and fast. The *fufu* is made in a powder form and is made into a dough by mixing it with water.

Dr. Tonye Victor Erekosima is from the Kalabari region of Nigeria and grew up among Igbo neighbors in the southeastern region of the country. From an early age, he was torn between the complex worlds created by colonial Nigeria: that of his Western-educated, middle-class parents, members of a Protestant sect: that of the Catholic and Anglican schools he attended; frustratingly isolated from his ancestral culture. He accepted a scholarship in the early 1960s to study in the United States, eventually obtaining his doctorate. A personal interest in textiles and men's dress in the Kalabari region has resulted in several publications and an extensive collection of photographs. He is also a minister at the Church of the Living God in Hyattsville, a pan-African and African-American congregation.

As part of his fieldwork, Dr. Erekosima interviewed members of the River States Forum, an organization of Nigerian immigrants from the Niger Delta area, Dr. Erekosima's ancestral home. During their third annual dinner banquet in November, men from the group danced a traditional masquerade, which included a hand-carved shark mask crafted by one of the members living in Maryland. The tradition has changed in the new setting, of course: "more economical" prerecorded music is used instead of live musicians, and the masquerade performer is much younger and better educated than the elders who dance back in Nigeria.

Dagnewchew "Dany" Abebe grew up in the multiethnic town of Nazareth, Ethiopia. His interest in music began when he was an elementary-school child singing sacred songs in religious classes. He studied in Germany, DIANA BAIRD N'DIAYE
conceived and directs
the African Immigrant
Folklife Study Project.
She curated Festival
of American Folklife
programs on
traditions of Senegal
in 1990, Maroon
culture in 1992 (with
Kenneth Bilby), and on
children's play and
performance traditions
of metropolitan
Washington in 1993.

BETTY BELANUS

is the Education
Specialist for the
African Immigrant
Folklife Study Project.
She has developed
educational seminars
and materials for
teachers. She curated
Festival programs on
Massachusetts
(1989) and the Family
Farm (1991).

where he supported himself by playing international music, and then studied music industry management in New York City, finally settling in Washington, where he assists Ethiopian and other African music and cultural groups plan events.

During his research, Dany visited several Ethiopian markets, which carry not only foods, condiments, and cooking implements used by community members, but also an Ethiopian cookbook, a monthly publication called the Ethiopian Review, audio and video recordings of Ethiopian artists, and even Ethiopian-alphabet computer software. He interviewed Rahel Mekuria, owner and manager of the Addisu Gebeya (New Market). In addition to supplying the community with Ethiopian goods, Rahel performs traditional coffee ceremonies. The ceremony is described as "more of a social gathering among guests and neighbors to discuss what is going on in and around the community than just the normal coffee break." The ritual includes roasting, grinding, and boiling the coffee "to perfection," while incense is burning and a toasted barley snack is offered to guests.

RESEARCH AND CULTURAL WORK

The African Immigrant Folklife community scholars have told us that participation in the study has enhanced their awareness and cohesiveness as cultural educators and community workers. They would like to continue to develop projects above and beyond the Festival program such as educational programs in many venues around the Washington area. We will lend technical assistance as the group continues its work toward the 1997 Festival and related activities.

The African Immigrant Study Group hopes that the activities at this year's Festival as well as the full program in 1997 will make their cultures more accessible and more valued as an important part of the Washington area's cultural heritage.

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Suggested Listening

Kouyate, Djimo. 1990. Djimo Kouyate and Mamaya African Jazz.

Suggested Viewing

These films will be shown at a special film event, "Journey: Films about African Emigrants," on July 1st at the S. Dillon Ripley Auditorium, Smithsonian Institution. The event is cosponsored by the National Museum of African Art.

La Noire de (Black girl). Ousmane Sembene, 1965. 60 mins. B/W.

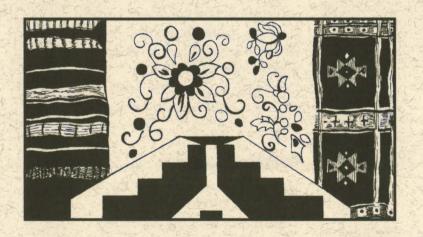
Descendants. Olaniyi Areke, 1987. 15 mins. B/W

Disillusion. Olaniyi Areke, 1991. 110 mins. Color.

In and Out of Africa. Elisa Barbash, Lucien Taylor, Christopher Steiner, Gabai Baré, 1992. 59 mins. Color.

1995

FESTIVAL of AMERICAN FOLKLIFE



June 23 – June 27 & June 30 – July 4

GENERAL INFORMATION

Festival Hours

The Opening Ceremony for the Festival will be held on the Czech Music Stage at 11:00 a.m., Friday, June 23rd. Thereafter, Festival hours are 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties every evening from 5:30 to 7:00 p.m., and concerts from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m every evening except July 4th.

Sales

Traditional Cape Verdean, Czech, Nigerian, and American Indian food is sold. See the site map for locations.

A variety of crafts, books, and Smithsonian/Folkways recordings relating to the 1995 Festival are sold in the Festival Sales tent on the lawn of the Museum of American History.

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 is located 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.

Restrooms and Telephones

There are outdoor facilities for the public and visitors with disabilities located near all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional restroom 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 near the Administration compound. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer tent also. We advise putting a name tag on youngsters.

Metro Stations

Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible from the Smithsonian and Federal Triangle stations on the Blue and Orange Lines.

Evening Dance Parties and Concerts

Traditional dance music is played every evening from 5:30 to 7:00 p.m. at the Voices of First Nations Women Music

Stage. Come dance.

Evening concerts featuring groups from the Festival programs follow the dance parties from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m.

Services for Visitors with Disabilities

To make the Festival more accessible to visitors who are deaf or hard of hearing, audio loops are installed in the main music tent in each of the four program areas. Three 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) 287-3417 (TTY) or (202) 287-3424 (voice).

Large-print copies of the daily schedule and audiocassette versions of the Program Book and schedule are available at Festival information kiosks and the Festival Volunteer tent.

Wheelchairs are available at the Festival Volunteer tent. Volunteers are on call to assist wheelchair users and to guide visitors with visual impairments. There are a few designated parking spaces for visitors with disabilities along both Mall drives. These spaces have three-hour time restrictions.

FESTIVAL PARTICIPANTS

The Cape Verdean Connection

BATUKU, SÃO DOMINGOS, SANTIAGO

- Inácia Maria Gomes ("Nacia Gomi") – Batuku leader, Ribeira Seca, Santiago
- António Vaz Cabral ("António Dente d'Or") – Batuku leader, São Domingos, Santiago
- Bernardino Sena Fernandes – 10-string guitar, São Domingos, Santiago
- Carlos Hermano C. Ferreira
 10-string guitar, São
 Domingos, Santiago
- Maria dos Reis Afonso Tchabeta, São Domingos, Santiago
- Maria A. dos Santos de Barros – Tchabeta, São Domingos, Santiago
- Leandra Pereira Leal Tchabeta, São Domingos, Santiago
- Etelvina Lopes Tchabeta, São Domingos, Santiago
- Florença Vieira Drums, São Domingos, Santiago
- Andradinha Cunha Borges ("Dina") – Dance, São Domingos, Santiago
- Nuesa Araujo Dance, Boston, Massachusetts
- Ana Paulo Monteiro Dance, Providence, Rhode Island
- Vitalina Semedo Tavares Tchabeta, São Domingos, Santiago

FEASTS AND ORAL TRADITIONS

Feast of São João, Santo Antão

- Luciano Chantre Drums, Ribeira Grande, Santo Antão
- Pedro Lima de Margarida dos Santos – Drums, Ribeira Grande, Santo Antão
- Teodoro Marcelino Delgado – Drums, Corda, Santo Antão

João Evangelista Pinheiro da Luz - Drums, João Afonso, Santo Antão

Feast of São João, Rhode Island

- Cleofas Perry ("Bia") Mastro, Providence, Rhode Island
- Dulce De Andrade ("Dui") Mastro, Pawtucket, Rhode Island
- António Moniz Rodrigues ("Totoi") – Mastro, Pawtucket, Rhode Island

Oral Traditions

Teresa Alves ("Nha Tintina")
– São Filipe, Fogo

Tabanka

- Josefa Rosa Ferreira Tabanka leader, Vila de Maio, Maio
- Jorge Tavares Varzea, Praia, Santiago
- João Tavares Varzea, Praia, Santiago
- Clarence da Graça Varzea, Praia, Santiago
- Epifario Corvalho Varzea, Praia, Santiago
- Juvenal Fonseca Varzea, Praia, Santiago
- Frutuoso Nunes de Pina Varzea, Praia, Santiago
- Dulcelino Nogueira Varzea, Praia, Santiago
- Carlos Tavares Silva Moreira ("Pedra") – Varzea, Praia, Santiago

COLA SONG AND DANCE

- Lydia Cardoza Coladeira (Cola singer), Dorchester, Massachusetts
- Armindo Fernandes Caixeiro (drums), Roxbury, Massachusetts
- Simão Gomes Canizado (mask), Roxbury, Massachusetts
- Domingo Pires Caixeiro (drums), Dorchester, Massachusetts

- Alberto Rodrigues ("Quizinho") – Violin, cola drums, Dorchester, Massachusetts
- Rosa Teixeira Coladeira (Cola singer), Dorchester, Massachusetts

TRAPICHE (SUGAR CANE MILL)

- António Manuel da Cruz Barrel maker, Eite de Paúl, Santo Antão
- Frederico José da Luz Cola boi (oxen) singer, Janela, Santo Antão
- Guilherme Medina Cola boi (oxen) singer, Lagedos, Santo Antão
- António da Rosa dos Santos Oliveira – Trapiche owner, Campo de Cão, Paúl, Santo Antão
- António José dos Santos ("Antoninho") – Alembic (still) maker, Campo de Cão, Paúl, Santo Antão

CRAFTS AND OCCUPATIONS

- Manuel Fatima Almeida Basketweaver, Porto Novo, Santo Antão
- Orlando J. Ribeiro Barreto Stonecutter, Praia, Santiago
- Maria Lopes de Brito ("Maria Paulo") – Basketweaver, Manhanga, Picos, Santiago
- Basilio Lima Diago Toy Maker, Mindelo, São Vicente
- João Baptista Fonseca Instrument maker, Mindelo, São Vicente
- Marcelino B. Fortes Kalabedotch weaver, Curral das Vacas, Ribeira das Patas, Santo Antão
- Miguel João Fortes ("Djei") -Basketmaker, Ribeira Brava, São Nicolau
- Julio Gomes Lima ("DjuDjui") – Street paver, Nova Sintra, Brava
- Adelina Pina Lopes Crocheter, Nova Sintra, Brava

- Benjamin J. Lopes Longshoreman, Providence, Rhode Island
- António Carlos Mosso Monteiro ("Tony") – Potter, Rabil, Boa Vista
- João Henrique Monteiro ("Tchukay") – Coconut carver, Praia, Santiago
- Raul Monteiro ("Cula") Pano weaver, New Bedford, Massachusetts
- Domingas da Moura Potter, Fonte Lima, Santiago
- Albertino Jesus Pires ("Betino") – Feast of São João boatbuilder, Ribeira Grańde, Santo Antão
- Gabriel Da Rosa Merchant marine, N. Dartmouth, Massachusetts
- Laura Russel ("Lolo") Cranberry worker, Wareham, Massachusetts
- Marcelino Santos Pano weaver, Mindelo, São Vicente
- Ken Semedo Cranberry worker, W. Wareham, Massachusetts
- Alcides Rocha Silva Woodcarver, Pero Dias, Santo Antão
- Lourenço da Cruz Soares ("Lela") – Boatbuilder, Mindelo, São



FESTIVAL PARTICIPANTS

Candido Gomes Tavares – Basket and hat weaver, Boca Larga, Fondura, Santiago

José Silva Tavares ("Graçalinho") – Potter, Pedra Barro, Santa Catarina, Santiago

Benjamin de Almeida Teixeira – Pano weaver, Ilheu, Santiago

Jose Luis M. da Veiga – Street paver, Praia, Santiago

FOODWAYS

Hilda Brito – Brava cooking, New Bedford, Massachusetts

Constancia Ferreira Gomes Lima ("Tantcha") – Santo Antão sweets and liqueurs, Lombo de Tanque, São Vicente

Maria Augusta Faria Lima – São Vicente cooking, Rockville, Maryland

Ambrosina Santos – Santo Antão cooking, Praia, Santiago

Adalberta Celina Teixeira Silva – Santiago cooking, Picos, Santiago

Music

CAPE VERDEAN-AMERICAN
DANCE BAND

David Antunes – Bass, S.

Dartmouth, Massachusetts

Mike Antunes – Saxophone, S. Dartmouth, Massachusetts

John Duarte – Violin, New Bedford, Massachusetts

John Gonsalves ("Joli") -Vocals, New Bedford, Massachusetts

Feliciano Vierra Tavares ("Flash") – Guitar, Hyannis, Massachusetts

Victoria Vieira ("Vickie") – Vocals, Providence, Rhode Island

Music from Brava and the United States

Protazio Brito ("Tazinho") – Guitar, New Bedford, Massachusetts

Alcides da Graça – Cavaquinho (ukulele), New Bedford, Massachusetts

Laurindo da Graça – Guitar, New Bedford, Massachusetts Ivo Pires – Violin, Brockton, Massachusetts

URBAN COLADEIRA AND FUNANA

Emanuel Dias Fernandes ("Zeca de Nha Reinalda") – Vocals, Assomada, Santiago

George Jobe – Bass, Pawtucket, Rhode Island

Ildo Lobo – Vocals, Espargos, Sal

João Mendes – Vocals, Brockton, Massachusetts

Ramiro Mendes – Guitar, vocals, Brockton, Massachusetts

Manuel Miranda ("Ne Miranda") – Keyboards, Brockton, Massachusetts

Carlos Monteiro – Drums, Providence, Rhode Island

MUSIC FROM BOA VISTA

Joaquim Alves ("Quim") – Guitar, cavaquinho (ukulele), Praia, Santiago

José Carlos Silva Brito ("Vozinha") – Guitar, Sal Rei, Sal

António Roque Evangelista Evora ("Taninho") – Guitar, Espargos, Sal

Noel Silva Fortes – Violin, Sal Rei, Boa Vista

Celina Pereira – Vocals, Boa Vista (residing in Portugal)

MUSIC FROM SÃO VICENTE

Malaquias António Costa ("Malaca") – Violin, Fonte de Inês, São Vicente

Adriano Gonçalves ("Bana") – Vocals, Mindelo, São Vicente (residing in Portugal)

Manuel Nacimento Gonçalves ("Natal") – Cavaquinho (ukulele), guitar, Monte Sossego, São Vicente

Manuel de Jesus Lopes ("Manuel d'Novos") – Guitar, Chã Cemitério, São Vicente

Luis Morais – Saxophone, clarinet, flute, Mindelo, São Vicente

Titina Rodriguez – Vocals, Mindelo, São Vicente (residing in Portugal)

Teresa Lopes Silva – Vocals, Mindelo, São Vicente Luisa Teresa da Graça Vaz -Vocals, Mindelo, São Vicente

MUSIC FROM FOGO

Augusto de Pina ("Augusto Cego") – Violin, São Filipe, Fogo

Teodolindo Sedo Pontes ("Mino de Mama") – Gaita (accordion), São Filipe, Fogo

Américo Rodrigues ("Denda") – Cavaquinho (ukulele), Cova Figueira, Fogo Casimiro Santos da Rosa ("Nho Casimiro") – 10string guitar, São Filipe, Fogo

Antero Simas – Guitar, Pretoria, Sal

FUNANA

Teresa Gonçalves Fortado ("Kinta Bela") – Dance, Pedra Badejo, Santiago

Simão Lopes ("Sema Lopi") – Gaita (accordion), Ribeira Seca, Santiago

Simão Ramos ("Mimoso") – Ferrinho (iron bar), Pedra Badejo, Santiago

The Czech Republic: Tradition and Transformation

Czech Republic Participants

MUSIC

Hradištan: Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band

David Burda – Clarinet, vocals, Uherské Hradiště

Alice Holubová – Vocals, Uherské Hradiště

Miroslav Juračka – Violin, vocals, Uherský Brod

Oldřich Kučera – Double bass, vocals, Kunovice

Milan Malina – Dulcimer, vocals, Uherské Hradiště

Jiří Pavlica – Vocals, violin, Brno Lubomír Svatoš – Violin, vocals, Uherské Hradiště

Polajka: Wallachian Women Singers – Rožnov p. R.

Irena Děcká

Jarmila Maleňáková

Eva Porubová

Pavla Porubová

Eva Šťiková

Jaroslava Štruncová

Postřekov Folklore Ensemble: Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance

Petr Buršík – Dance, vocals, Postřekov Mlýnec

Jan Holoubek – Bagpipe, double bass, Postřekov Mlýnec

Jiřina Holoubková – Violin, Postřekov Mlýnec

Jiří Kapic – Vocals, dance, Postřekov Mlýnec

Jiří Konop – Vocals, dance, percussion, Postřekov

Ivana Konopová – Dance, Postřekov

Jana Královcová – Dance, vocals, Postřekov

Miroslav Královec – Vocals, dance, Postřekov

Karel Pivoňka – Vocals, dance, Postřekov

Anna Pivoňková – Vocals, dance, bobbin lacemaker, Postřekov

Veronika Poláková – Dance, Postřekov

Jan Řezníčěk – Clarinet, Postřekov



Jaroslav Řezníčěk – Clarinet, Postřekov

Richard Vísner – Bagpipe, Domažlice

Milan Vrba – Dance, Postřekov Mlýnec

Anna Vrbová – Dance, Postřekov Mlýnec

RADHOŠT: TRADITIONAL MORAVIAN VIOLIN – ROŽNOV P. R.

Ivan Bělunek – Dulcimer, vocals

Helena Dobrovolná – Dance Věra Dobrovolná – Dance Petr Dobrovolný – Dance Ondřěj Dobrovolný – Dance Ctimír Štrunc – Double bass, vocals

Jaromír Štrunc – Violin, vocals

Jaromír Štrunc, Jr. – Violin Vladimír Štrunc – Violin, vocals

Točkolotoč: Contemporary Romany Band – Svitavy

Pavel Bolček – Bass guitar, vocals

Antonín Janko – Guitar, vocals

Gejza Pešta – Vocals, composer, arranger

Jiří Pešta – Guitar, composer, arranger

Milan Pešta – Percussion, vocals

Mirek Pešta – Mandolin, vocals

Bartoloměj Vaško – Guitar, vocals

VLADEK ZOGATA'S GAJDOŠ
BAND: SILESIAN BAGPIPE MUSIC
Aleš Adamík – Vocals, violin,
Třinec

Vladislav Zogata – Bagpipe player, vocals, bagpipe maker, Třinec

URBAN SINGER:

Vladimír Merta – Guitar, vocals, Praha

CRAFTS AND OCCUPATIONS

František Gajda – Woodcarver, accordionist, Strážnice

Milena Habustová – Cook, Rožnov p. R.

Zina Juřicová – Egg decorator, dollmaker, Valtice Josef Kopčan – Carpenter, woodworker, Valašská Bystřice

Vitězslav Martinák – Stonecarver, restorer, Uherské Hradiště

Bohumil Mlýnek – Handloom weaver, Strážnice

Anna Mlýnková – Assistant handloom weaver, Strážnice

Svatava Pavlicová – Egg decorator, Bečva

Jiří Sedlmaier – Egg decorator, Přerov

Petr Stoklasa – Split-wood dove maker, Velké Karlovice

Antonín Závorka – Carpenter, woodworker, Rožnov p. R

PUPPETEERS

Vladimíra Kopecká –
Puppeteer, actress, Praha
Matěj Kopecký, Jr. –
Puppeteer, actor, Praha
Antonín Maloň – Puppet
maker, woodcarver, decorator, Brno

Czech-American Participants

FOODWAYS

Helen Cyr – Sausage maker, Freeport, Texas

Roseanne Hauger – Sausage maker, Floresville, Texas

Zdena Sadlik – Cook, Washington, D.C.

Music

TUBA DAN BAND

Gene Burmeister – Trumpet, Green Bay, Wisconsin

John Hall – Trumpet, saxophone, clarinet, Omro, Wisconsin

Dan "Tuba Dan" Jerabek, Sr. – Tuba, Ripon, Wisconsin

Dan Jerabek, Jr. –
Accordion, tuba, Ripon,
Wisconsin

David Jerabek – Trombone, tuba, accordion, Ripon, Wisconsin

Lila Jerabek – Drums, Ripon, Wisconsin

Jay Yungwirth - Piano, Manitowoc, Wisconsin

Heartbeat: The Voices of First Nations Women

Assiniboine-Nakota Singer-Songwriter

Georgia Wettlin-Larsen – Vocals, hand drum, rattles, River Falls, Wisconsin



IROQUOIS WOMEN'S SOCIAL DANCE

SIX NATIONS WOMEN SINGERS – SIX NATIONS RESERVE, ONTARIO, CANADA

Sadie Buck – Vocals, water drum

Charlene Bomberry – Vocals, rattles

Betsy Buck – Vocals, rattles Pat Hess – Vocals, rattles Janice Martin – Vocals, rattles Mary Monture - Vocals, rattles

KIOWA SINGERS

Mary Ann Anquoe – Vocals, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Dorothy Whitehorse
DeLaune – Vocals, hand
drum, Anadarko,
Oklahoma

Anita Anquoe George – Vocals, hand drum, Sapulpa, Oklahoma

Gigi Horse - Vocals, Washington, D.C.

MAKAH SONGS & DANCE

Melissa Peterson - Vocals, hand drum, rattles, Makah Reservation, Neah Bay, Washington

Samantha Della - Vocals, dance, Makah Reservation, Neah Bay, Washington

MALISEET-PASSAMAQUODDY DRUM

THE WABUNOAG SINGERS – FREDERICTON, NEW BRUNSWICK, CANADA

Margaret Paul Alma Brooks Connie LaPorte Joan Milliea-Caravantes Alice Claire Tomah

MOHAWK SINGER-SONGWRITER

ElizaBeth Hill – Vocals, guitar, Ohsweken, Canada

NAVAJO SINGER-SONGWRITERS

Geraldine Barney – Vocals, flute, guitar, Tohatchi, New Mexico

Sharon Burch – Vocals, guitar, Fairfield, California

NAVAJO SOCIAL DANCE SONGS

SWEETHEARTS OF NAVAJOLAND
- NAVAJO RESERVATION,
CHINLE, ARIZONA
Lillian Ashley - Vocals,

Lillian Ashley – Vocals, water drum

Darlene Hardie – Vocals Eileen Reed – Vocals Alberta Wilson – Vocals

NORTHERN PLAINS DRUM

CRYING WOMAN SINGERS –
FORT BELKNAP RESERVATION,
MONTANA
Celina Jones
Jackie Blackbird
Toni Blue Shield
Cora Chandler
Christina Jones
Ramona Smith
Garrett Snell

Rochelle Strike Sandra Wuttunee

FESTIVAL PARTICIPANTS

RED EAGLE SINGERS – WIND RIVER RESERVATION, WYOMING Colleen Shoyo Claudenise Hurtado Chardell Shoyo Evalita Shoyo LaMelia Shoyo Bernadine Stacey

PLAINS BIG DRUM

LITTLE RIVER SINGERS – WASHINGTON, D.C.
John Fitzpatrick
Bernard Covers Up
Gene Elm
Jerry Gipp
Roger Iron Cloud

POMO SONG TRADITIONS

Bernice Torres – Vocals, hand drum, rattles, Sebastopol, California

SEMINOLE SINGER AND STORYTELLER

Betty Mae Jumper – Vocals, Hollywood, Florida

SOUTHERN PLAINS SONGS

Gwen Shunatona (Pawnee/Otoe) – Vocals, Washington, D.C.

TRADITION-BASED CONTEMPORARY SONGS

ULALI

Pura Fe (Cherokee-Tuscarora)

– Vocals, rattles, hand
drum, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania

Jennifer Kreisberg (Cherokee-Tuscarora) – Vocals, rattles, hand drum, Hartford, Connecticut

Soni Moreno-Primeau (Aztec-Maya) – Vocals, rattles, hand drum, Staten Island, New York

WARM SPRINGS AND WASCO SONG TRADITIONS

Mary Ann Meanus – Vocals, hand drum, Warm Springs, Oregon

YUPIK SONG TRADITIONS

Elena Charles – Vocals, hand drum, Bethel, Alaska Mary Stachelrodt – Vocals, hand drum, Bethel, Alaska

ZUNI CEREMONIAL DANCE AND SONG

Olla Maidens – Zuni Reserve, Zuni, New Mexico Cornelia Bowannie – Vocals, hand drum, frog box Loretta Beyuka – Dance Joy Edaakie – Dance Arliss Luna – Vocals, hand drum, frog box

Russian Roots, American Branches: Music in Two Worlds

NEKRASOVTSY OLD BELIEVERS – STAVROPOL, RUSSIA

SINGERS:

Evlampy Kirsanovich Banderovsky

Gavril Dmitrievich Belikov Tatvana Timofeievna

Elesiutikova

Ludmila Vasilievna Evdokimova

Stepanida Trofimovna Galuplina

Matrena Nikolushkina

Ivan Yakovlevich Nikolushkin

Anastasia Zakharovna Nikolushkin

Praskovya Pashina Lefevr Grigorievich Pashin Vasilii Zakharovich Popov



Anastasia Timofeievna Pushichkina Anna Trofimovna Tchernyshova Maria Matveievna Tchizhikova

AMERICAN OLD BELIEVERS - ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA

SINGERS:

Charles (Seraphim) Dobson
James Hawkins
Anastasia Jurewicz
Hilary (Xenaida) Miester
Violet (Varvara) Semenoff
Daria Simon – Leader of right
choir

John Simon

Reverend Pimen Simon –

Parish rector

Stacey L. (Solomonia) Win

Stacey L. (Solomonia) Wing

- Leader of left choir

Douglas (Seraphim) Wing

STEADFAST MOLOKANS -STAVROPOL, RUSSIA

SINGERS:

Anna Nikolaievna Anaprikova

Vasilii Ivanovich Bogdanov

Anastasia Fedorovna Bogdanova

Vladimir Ivanovich Polstianov

Alexandr Timofeievich Shchetinkin

Timofei Vasilievich Shchetinkin – Presbyter

Vasilii Timofeievich Shchetinkin

Anna Pavlovna Shchetinkina Matrena Timofeievna

Shchetinkina Vasilii Andreievich Volkov –

Vasilii Andreievich Volkov – Lead singer, choral director

AMERICAN STEADFAST MOLOKANS

SINGERS:

Katrina Hazen – San Mateo, California

George J. Kostrikin – Assistant choral director, Redwood City, California

Lucy Kostrikin – Redwood City, California

William J. Loskutoff – Choral director, Sunnyvale, California

Mary M. Loskutoff – Sunnyvale, California

Antonina M. Pushkarow – San Francisco, California

Bill T. Razvaliaeff – San Francisco, California

Nadia Shabalin – Daly City, California

Andrei A. Shabalin – San Bruno, California

MaryJane P. Shabalin – San Bruno, California

Edward J. Samarin – Assistant presbyter, skazatel (prompter), Oakland, California

African Immigrant Community Music, Dance, and Verbal Arts in Metropolitan Washington

SOCIAL MUSIC AND DANCE

THE VOLTA ENSEMBLE, GHANAIAN (EWE) COMMUNITY

Adult performers

Godwin Agodo
Rad Akorii
Josephine Aku
David Aku, Sr.
William Ayenson
Eric Azuma
Evelyn Azuma
Felly Blege
Nana Blege
Kenzie Damanke
William Dzathor

Kwame Koffle-Lart

Steve Nash

Georgina Nuwame Emmanual Sawyer Gladys Vodi

Child performers

Dela Agodo Emefa Agodo Gamell Agodo Sesime Agodo Cynthia Aku David Aku, Jr. Amanda Azuma Sefe Azuma Selom Azuma Envonam Blege Eyram Blege Sitsofe Blege Alexandra Nuwame Pascal Nuwame Sharon Nuwame Afi Vodi Mawuii Vodi

THE NILE ETHIOPIAN ENSEMBLE, ETHIOPIAN COMMUNITY

Setagne Atena – Masinko (one-stringed fiddle)

Abebe Belew – Kebero drums

Almaz Getahun – Dance Ashenafi Miteku – Dance Selamawit Nega – Vocals Asaye Zegeye – Kraar (sixstringed lyre)

Soukous

PAPA LOUIS AND LIZIBA,
CENTRAL AFRICAN COMMUNITY
Papa Louis – Lead guitar
Joselito De Kashama –
Vocals
"Stick" Malowdo – Drums
Martino – Guitar
Gelo De Mingongo – Vocals
Willy Naweza – Vocals
"Petit" Sammy – Atalaku
Zino "Synthe" – Keyboards

THE SENEGALESE SUPPORT SOCIETY AND GAMBIAN ASSOCIATION

Association

Awa Ba – Dance

Mariama Diop – Dance

Magatte Fall – Talking drum

Mare Gueye – Ndere drum

Idrissa Gueye – MbeungMbeung drum

Bara Mboup – Lamb drum

Cheikh Tahirou MBaye –

Ndere drum

Mame Khoudia Niang – Dance
Sophie Sar – Dance

Sophie Sar – Dance Haddy Mu Ndow Sekka – Dance

BASOTHO PRAISE POETRY

LESOTHO/SOUTH AFRICAN
COMMUNITY

Mike Mvelase - Poet

THE NORTH AFRICAN
REGION ENSEMBLE
Mohamed Habibi – Lute
Sayed Ismeal – Oud, group
leader
Adel Al Khadi – Violin
Khalid – Drum

Mahmoud Tutu – Niy flute

NGONJERA (POETIC CONVERSATION)

THE ASSOCIATION OF
TANZANIAN COMMUNITY
IN AMERICA
Emanuel Bandawe –
Performer
Jessica Kamala Mushala –
Performer
Primrose Mushala –
Performer
Martin Ngireu – Writer
George Sebo – Performer

PRAISE POETRY, INVOCATION, CELEBRATORY DANCE, NIGERIAN COMMUNITY

IGBO POETRY OF INVOCATION,
THE ANIOMA ASSOCIATION
Augustine Nwabueze –
President, response
Tony Dunkwu – Response
Fidelis Iwugo – Response
George Nwabuku – Response
Florence Nwaonye –
Response
Sonny Obidi – Response
Chief Raphael Ogbolu –
Invocation

Chief Raphael Ogbolu – Invocation

Kunirum Osia – Response

Mr. & Mrs. Elias Uwandi –

EWI (YORUBA PRAISE POETRY)

Response

Abiodun Adepoju – Poetry Kemi Oriowo – Dance Tayo Oriowo – Talking drum

CELEBRATORY DANCE THE AKWA IBOM STATE

Association of Nigeria
Frank Akanem – President
Justina Ikpim – Vice
President
Elizabeth Akanem – Dance
Florence Inwang – Dance
Helen Inwang – Dance
Edemekong Isema – Drum
Ibok Isema – Drum
Samuel Isema – Drum
Wilson Oduk – Drum
Eno Okon – Dance
Godwin Udo – Drum
Rose Williams – Dance

PAN-AFRICAN IMMIGRANT GOSPEL MUSIC

MIXED CHOIR OF THE CHURCH OF THE LIVING GOD Leslie Hawkins - Senior choir director Samuel Gyermah - Junior choir director Samuel Agyepong-Mensah -Band leader, lead guitarist Juliana Agyepong-Mensah -Lead vocals Samuel Jr. Agyepong-Mensah - Bass guitar Nana Busia - Alto vocals Yau Cann - Congas Ernest Frimpong - Congas Kwabena Larbi - Drums Innocent Onyeanusi -

A Tribute to Ralph Rinzler: July 2nd Evening Concert

Drums, bass guitar

Ed Cabbell – Vocals,
Morgantown, West
Virginia

Melissa Cabbell – Vocals,
Tahens, West Virginia

John Cephas – Vocals, guitar,
Woodford, Virginia

Phil Wiggins – Harmonica,
Washington, D.C.

Mike Seeger – Vocals, guitar,
banjo, autoharp,
Lexington, Virginia

Pete Seeger – Vocals, banjo,

guitar, Beacon, New York

Teachers' Seminar

Six groups of teachers will use this year's Festival as a living laboratory for developing cultural education resources. Center staff members Dr. Olivia Cadaval and Dr. Marjorie Hunt are directing a seminar entitled "Bringing Folklore into the Classroom: A Multicultural Learning Experience" for fifteen Washington, D.C., area teachers in cooperation with the Smithsonian Office of Elementary and Secondary Education (OESE) summer seminars program. Another seminar, "Teaching and Learning with Museums," part of OESE's "Teaching and Learning in a Diverse Society: Using the Community as a Classroom" program, teams teachers and museum educators from ten cities in California who will attend the Festival to learn how folklife and community are linked. Two other teacher seminars, one sponsored by the University of Maryland's Music Department and directed by Dr. Marie McCarthy, and the other sponsored by the Northern Virginia campus of the University of Virginia and directed by Paddy Bowman, will also bring groups of teachers to the Festival. In addition, a group of Cape Verdean-American educators from Massachusetts and Rhode Island will attend and document the Cape Verdean Connection program to plan educational materials for their classrooms. This effort is being coordinated by Ana Miranda. Another group of educators from the Boston area, sponsored by Arts in Progress, coordinated by Laura Orleans, will also attend the Festival. The overall coordination of these groups is in the hands of Dr. Betty Belanus, with the help of intern Ann Ochsendorf.

FRIDAY, JUNE 23

CAPE VERDEAN CONNECTION

HEARTBEAT: **VOICES OF FIRST** NATIONS WOMEN

	- 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	with the self miles	X 2 7 10 2			A 12(4) 2011	
11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Home Area	11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
12:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Social Dance Styles			12:00	Social Dance Songs:	
1:00	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Funana and Coladeira Music — Social	Feast Breads	Batuku Singing and Dancing	1:00	Northern Plains, Navajo, Maliseet	Making Our Own Songs
2:00	Music from the Island of Fogo	Commentary Weaving Traditions	São Vicente Cooking		2:00	Ceremonial and Social Songs: Yupik, Pomo, Kiowa	Called to the Drum
	Music from the Island of Brava and the United States	History and Styles of Morna	Santo Antão Cooking			Mohawk Singer- Songwriter: ElizaBeth Hill	Good Time Music
3:00	Batuku Singing and Dancing	Guitar and Cavaquinho Styles			3:00	Social Dance Songs:	Ways of Our
4:00	Music from the Island of Boa Vista	Planning for a Feast	Santiago Cooking	Tabanka	4:00	Northern Plains, Navajo, Maliseet	Grandmothers
5:00	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Making and Using the São João Boat	Santo Antão Sweets		5:00	Navajo Singer- Songwriter: Sharon Burch Mohawk	Festival Encounters: Mothers and Daughters: Transmission
	Rural Funana: Music from Santiago	Cape Verdean Communities				Singer- Songwriter: ElizaBeth Hill	of Music

Ongoing Demonstrations

• Crafts Area: Boatbuilding, weaving, pottery making, toy making, crocheting, coconut carving, basket and hat making, woodcarving, and instrument making • Home Area: Stone house building • Cachupa Connection: Biska card playing, Ourim game playing, Cape Verdean genealogy, Cape Verdean community displays, Cape Verdean Community Message Board • Central Plot Area: Alembic (still) making, barrel making, stone road paving • "Cape Verdean Images," an exhibition of photographs by the Cape Verdean-American photographer Ron Barboza, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition is open to the public June 15 - July 10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

5:30-	Cape Verdean	DANCE
7:00	Dance Music	PARTY
7:00-	Contemporary	EVENING
9:00	Czech Sounds	CONCERT

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

RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN BRANCHES

THE CZECH REPUBLIC

THE CZECH REPOBLIC						
11:00	Music Stage	Pub Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demon- strations	11:00	Music Stage
12:00				•Contemporary Czech Puppetmaker: Antonín Maloň •Urban Stone	12:00	
1:00	Wallachian Women (Singers: Polajka	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	Wallachian Koláče Pastry	Restoration: Vifezslav Martinák •Slovakian Moravian Handloom Weaving: Bohumil Mlýnek and Anna	1:00	Nekrasovtsy Old Believers
***	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata Urban Folk	Czech-	•Slovakian Moravian Woodcarving: František Gajda	* - V O V -	American Molokans
2:00	Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution: V. Merta	American Sausage	Wallachian Cornhusk Dolls: Zina Juřicová Wallachian Egg Carving:	2:00	Narrative: Old Believer Migration Stories
3:00	Czech- American Polka Music: Tuba Dan	Display of Czech Regional Dress Czech	Wallachian Raw Potato Dumplings	•Wallachian Straw Egg Decorating: Jiří Sedlmaier Roving Artists	3:00	Russian Molokans American Old
4:00	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band: Hradišťan	Puppeteers Yesterday and Today Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the	Czech- American	Bohemian Street Puppeteers: Matéj and Vladimíra Kopecká The Belfry	4:00	Learn an Old Believer Song
5:00	Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov Contemporary	Velvet Revolution: V. Merta Czech Wedding	Apple Strudel Christmas Gingerbread	•Two Wallachian carpenters con- struct a traditional wooden Moravian belfry on the National Mall. Special music and carnival events	5:00	Transmission of Molokan Musical Traditions Nekrasovtsy Old Believers
	Romany Band: Točkolotoč	Celebration	Cookies	will be listed daily.	, y	Old Believers

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

SATURDAY, JUNE 24

CAPE VERDEAN CONNECTION

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

X-10-12-13	Allering St.	28.255	7			1	The state of the
11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Home Area	11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
	Urban Coladeira and Funana	Violin Styles		Feast Preparations and Celebration	12.00	Ceremonial and Social Songs: Northern Plains, Pomo, Kiowa	Making Our Own Songs
12:00	Music from the Island of Fogo	Cola Boi and Other Work Songs	São Vicente Cooking		12:00		Called to the
1:00	Batuku Singing and Dancing	Cranberries and the Cape Verdean- American			1:00	Navajo Singers	Drum
2:00	Music from the Island of Boa Vista	Pottery Traditions	Santo Antão Cooking		2:00	Ceremonial and Social Songs: Yupik, Pomo, Maliseet, Plains Big Drum	Recording Indian Women's Music
	Rural Funana: Music from Santiago	Cape Verdean Leadership: The Next Generation	Santiago Cooking			Mohawk Singer- Songwriter: ElizaBeth Hill	Good Time Music
3:00	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Rural and Urban Funana	Santo Antão		3:00		Ways of Our
4:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Growing Up in Cape Verde	Sweets		4:00	Navajo Singers	Grandmothers
5:00	Music from the Island of Brava and the United States	Festival Encounters: Connections between Traditional and Popular Music	Brava Cooking		5:00	Powwow Songs	Navajo Singers
	Music from the Island of Fogo	Drum, Dance, Celebration: Batuku and Cola Music and Dance					

Ongoing Demonstrations

• Crafts Area: Boatbuilding, weaving, pottery making, toy making, crocheting, coconut carving, basket and hat making, woodcarving, and instrument making • Home Area: Stone house building • Cachupa Connection: Biska card playing, Ourim game playing, Cape Verdean genealogy, Cape Verdean community displays, Cape Verdean Community Message Board • Central Plot Area: Alembic (still) making, barrel making, stone road paving • "Cape Verdean Images," an exhibition of photographs by the Cape Verdean-American photographer Ron Barboza, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition is open to the public June 15 – July 10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

5:30- 7:00	African Immigrant Social Music and Dance	DANCE PARTY
7:00-	African Immigrant Social	EVENING CONCERT

RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN BRANCHES

THE CZECH REPUBLIC

11:00	Music Stage	Pub Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demon- strations	11:00	Music Stage
	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata Urban Folk	Wallachian Koláče Pastry	•Contemporary Czech Puppetmaker: Antonín Maloň		Russian Molokans Narrative:
12:00	Czech- American Polka Music: Tuba Dan	Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution: V. Merta	Czech- American	Urban Stone Restoration: Vifezslav Martinák Slovakian Moravian Handloom	12:00	Narrative: Preservation and Adaptation of Traditions Nekrasovtsy Old Believers
1:00	Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Puppeteers Yesterday and Today Women's	Sausage	Weaving: Bohumil Mlynek and Anna Mlynkova •Slovakian Moravian Woodcarving:	1:00	Narrative: Molokan Rituals and Celebrations
2:00	Contemporary Romany Band: Točkolotoč	Songs of Herbs and Mysteries Czech and Czech-	Czech- American Christmas Mushroom Noodle Soup	Wallachian Cornhusk Dolls: Zina Juřicová Wallachian For Corning	2:00	American Old Believers Learn an Old Believer Song
3:00	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka Contemporary	American Music Swap Czech Folk Instrument	Christmas Gingerbread Cookies	Egg Carving: Svatava Pavlicová •Wallachian Straw Egg Decorating: Jiří Sedlmaier	3:00	American Molokans
4:00	Moravian Dulcimer Band: Hradišťan Wallachian	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and	Czech- American	Roving Artists Bohemian Street Puppeteers: Matěj and Vladimíra Kopecká	4:00	Russian Molokans
5.00	Women Singers: Polajka Czech- American	Today Carnival Celebration	Apple Strudel	•The Belfry •Two Wallachian carpenters con- struct a traditional wooden Moravian belfry on the National Mall.	5.00	Russian and American Old Believers
5:00	Polka Music: Tuba Dan	7 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 -	Wallachian Fruit Dumplings	Special music and carnival events will be listed daily.	5:00	

SUNDAY, JUNE 25

CAPE VERDEAN CONNECTION

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Home Area	11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
	Music from the Island of Fogo	Feast Days in Cape Verde	Santo Antão	Feast Preparations and Celebration		Ceremonial and Social Songs: Yupik, Pomo, Navajo	Powwow Songs
12:00	Urban Coladeira and Funana	History and Styles of <i>Morna</i>	Cooking		12:00	Mohawk	
1:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Social Dance Styles			1:00	Singer- Songwriter: ElizaBeth Hill	Ways of Our Grandmothers
2:00	Music from the Island of Brava and the United States	Woodcarving	Santiago Cooking		2:00	Powwow Songs	Navajo Singers
3:00	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Funana and Coladeira: Social Commentary	Santo Antão Sweets		3:00	_Ceremonial and Social Songs: Kiowa, Yupik, Navajo	Making Our Own Songs
3.00	Music from the Island of Boa Vista	Guitar and Cavaquinho Styles	Brava Cooking		9.00 ×	Navajo Singer- Songwriter:	Ways of Our Grandmothers
4:00	Batuku Singing and Dancing	Women in Crafts		\(\frac{1}{2}\)	4:00	Sharon Burch	
5:00	Rural Funana: Music from- Santiago	Cape Verdean Immigration	São Vicente Cooking		5:00	Ceremonial and Social Songs: Kiowa, Pomo, Maliseet, Plains Big	Transforming Traditions
	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Cape Verdean Communities				Drum	*

Ongoing Demonstrations

• Crafts Area: Boatbuilding, weaving, pottery making, toy making, crocheting, coconut carving, basket and hat making, woodcarving, and instrument making • Home Area: Stone house building • Cachupa Connection: Biska card playing, Ourim game playing, Cape Verdean genealogy, Cape Verdean community displays, Cape Verdean Community Message Board • Central Plot Area: Alembic (still) making, barrel making, stone road paving • "Cape Verdean Images," an exhibition of photographs by the Cape Verdean-American photographer Ron Barboza, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition is open to the public June 15 – July 10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

5:30- 7:00	African Immigrant Sacred Music, Celebration, and Verbal Arts
7:00- 9:00	African Immigrant Sacred Music, Celebration, and Verbal Arts

DANCE PARTY EVENING CONCERT

THE CZECH REPUBLIC

RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN BRANCHES

				Ongoing		
11:00	Music Stage	Pub Stage	Foodways	Demon- strations	11:00	Music Stage
12:00	Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution: V. Merta	Czech- American Sausage	•Contemporary Czech Puppetmaker: Antonín Maloň	12.00	Narrative: Rituals and Celebrations
12.00	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka	Dueling Czech Fiddlers		Urban Stone Restoration: Vifezslav Martinák Slovakian Moravian	12:00	Old Believer Feast
1:00	Czech- American Polka Music: Tuba Dan	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata	Wallachian Kyselica Sour Soup	Handloom Weaving: Bohumil Mlýnek and Anna Mlýnkova •Slovakian Moravian	1:00	¥ +
2:00	Contemporary Romany Band: Točkolotoč	Women's Songs of Herbs and Mysteries	Czech- American	Woodcarving: František Gajda •Wallachian Cornhusk Dolls: Zina Juřicová	2:00	
	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band: Hradišťan	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and	Apple Strudel	•Wallachian Egg Carving: Svatava Pavlicová •Wallachian Straw		
3:00	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Today Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet	Wallachian Koláče Pastry	Egg Decorating: Jiří Sedlmaier Roving Artists Bohemian Street Puppeteers:	3:00	Narrative:
4:00	Czech- American Polka Music: Tuba Dan	Revolution: V. Merta Display of Czech Regional	Czech- American Christmas Mushroom	Matěj and Vladimíra Kopecká The Belfry	4:00	American Old Believers
5:00	Contemporary Romany Band: Točkolotoč	Memory and Revival: Stories of Jewish Life	Noodle Soup Christmas Gingerbread Cookies	•Two Wallachian carpenters construct a traditional wooden Moravian belfry on the National Mall. Special music and carnival events will be listed daily.	5:00	American Molokans Learn a Molokan Song (for children) Russian Molokans

MONDAY, JUNE 26

CAPE VERDEAN CONNECTION

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Home Area	-11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
	Urban Funana: Music from Santiago	Growing Up Cape Verdean in America	Santiago	Cola Chanting and Drumming		Ceremonial and Social Songs: Pomo, Kiowa, Yupik	
12:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Cola Boi and Other Work Songs	Cooking	Batuku Singing	12:00	Navajo Singers	Indian Christian
1:00	Music from the Island of Boa Vista	Cape Verdean- American Media		and Dancing	1:00		Songs
2:00	Rural Funana: Music from Santiago	Basketwork	Santo Antão Sweets		2:00	Storysongs: Seminole and Makah	Making Our Own Songs
	Music from the Island of Brava and the United States	Drum, Dance, Celebrate: Batuku and Cola Music and Dance	Brava Cooking			Social Dance Songs: Navajo, Northern Plains,	Ways of Our Grandmothers
3:00	Batuku Singing and Dancing	Violin Styles	São Vicente		3:00	Maliseet California to Alaska:	Navajo Singers
4:00	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Rural and Urban <i>Funana</i>	Cooking	Tabanka	4:00	Pomo, Makah, Yupik	Navaju Singers
5:00	Music from the Island of Fogo	Festival Encounters: Connections with the Mother Country	Santo Antão Cooking		5:00	Mohawk Singer- Songwriter: ElizaBeth Hill	Ceremonial Crafts
	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Cranberries and the Cape Verdean- American Community				Powwow Songs: The Wabunoag Singers	

Ongoing Demonstrations

• Crafts Area: Boatbuilding, weaving, pottery making, toy making, crocheting, coconut carving, basket and hat making, woodcarving, and instrument making • Home Area: Stone house building • Cachupa Connection: Biska card playing, Ourim game playing, Cape Verdean genealogy, Cape Verdean community displays, Cape Verdean Community Message Board • Central Plot Area: Alembic (still) making, barrel making, stone road paving • "Cape Verdean Images," an exhibition of photographs by the Cape Verdean-American photographer Ron Barboza, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition is open to the public June 15 – July 10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

5:30- 7:00	Czech Bagpipe and Whirling Dance: Postřekov
7:00- 9:00	Women and the Drum

DANCE

EVENING CONCERT

RUSSIAN ROOTS,

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

THE CZECH REPUBLIC AMERICAN BRANCHES

	THE CZECH KELODEIC					DIVANCIIL	
_11:00	Music Stage	Pub Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demon- strations	11:00	Music Stage	
	Contemporary Romany Band: Točkolotoč	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata	Czech- American	•Contemporary Czech Puppetmaker: Antonín Maloň		American Molokans	
12:00	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band:	Czech and Czech- American Music Swap	Sausage	•Urban Stone Restoration: Vífezslav Martinák •Slovakian	12:00	Narrative: Molokan Migration Stories	
1:00	Hradišťan Wallachian Dulcimer	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution:	Wallachian Wedding Plum Jam Sauce	Moravian Handloom Weaving: Bohumil Mlýnek and Anna Mlýnkova	1:00	Nekrasovtsy Old Believers Narrative:	
	Band: Radhošť Chodsko Bagpipe and	V. Merta Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and	Jani Sauce	•Slovakian Moravian Woodcarving: František Gajda		Textile Traditions	
2:00	Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Today Czech Family	Czech- American Apple Strudel	Wallachian Cornhusk Dolls: Zina Juřicová Wallachian Egg Carving:	2:00	Russian Molokans	
3:00	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Traditions	Wallachian <i>Koláče</i> Pastry	•Wallachian Straw Egg Decorating: Jiří Sedlmaier	3:00	Learn a Molokan Song American	
	Contemporary Romany Band: Točkolotoč	Zogata: A Bagpipe Maker Shares His Craft		Roving Artists Bohemian Street Puppeteers: Matěj and Vladimíra		Molokans American Old	
4:00	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution:	Czech- American Apple Strudel	Kopecká The Belfry Two Wallachian carpenters con-	4:00	Believers Festival Encounters:	
5:00	Czech- American Polka Music: Tuba Dan	V. Merta Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	Christmas Gingerbread Cookies	struct a traditional wooden Moravian belfry on the National Mall. Special music and carnival events will be listed daily.	5:00	Connections to the Mother Country	
	hy Marin		GOORIES	will be listed daily.		Molokans	

Tuesday, June 27

CAPE VERDEAN CONNECTION

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

						2 7	
11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Home Area	11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
	Music from the Island of Boa Vista	Cape Verdean- American Clubs and Associations		Cola Chanting and Drumming		California to Alaska: Pomo, Makah, Yupik	
12:00	Batuku Singing and Dancing	Guitar and Cavaquinho Styles	Santo Antão Sweets	Tabanka	12:00	Social Dance Songs:	Navajo Singers
1:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Social Dance Styles			1:00	Kiowa and Pomo	50
2:00	Music from the Island of Fogo	Boatbuilding	Brava Cooking		2:00	Storysongs: Seminole, Makah, Yupik	Called to the Drum
2.00	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Funana and Coladeira: Social Commentary	São Vicente Cooking		3:00	Powwow Songs: Northern Plains Drum and Maliseet	Making Our Own Songs
3:00	Urban Funana: Music from Santiago	History and Styles of Morna	Santo Antão	Batuku Singing	3.00	Navajo Singers	Ways of Our
4:00	Music from the Island of Brava and the United States	Men in Crafts	Cooking	and Dancing	4:00		Grandmothers
5:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Cape Verdean Immigration	Santiago Cooking		5:00	Mohawk Singer- Songwriter: ElizaBeth Hill	Ceremonial Crafts
	Rural <i>Funana</i> : Music from Santiago	Cape Verdean Communities	8	, , , , ,		Seminole Stories: Betty Mae Jumper	

Ongoing Demonstrations

• Crafts Area: Boatbuilding, weaving, pottery making, toy making, crocheting, coconut carving, basket and hat making, woodcarving, and instrument making • Home Area: Stone house building • Cachupa Connection: Biska card playing, Ourim game playing, Cape Verdean genealogy, Cape Verdean community displays, Cape Verdean Community Message Board • Central Plot Area: Alembic (still) making, barrel making, stone road paving • "Cape Verdean Images," an exhibition of photographs by the Cape Verdean-American photographer Ron Barboza, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition is open to the public June 15 – July 10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

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5:30-	1
0.00	First Nations
7:00	Women Dance
1.00	Music
12-12-17 Ex-	
7:00-	a
7.00-	
9:00	Cape Verdean
9:00	Music
The state of the s	The second secon

DANCE

EVENING

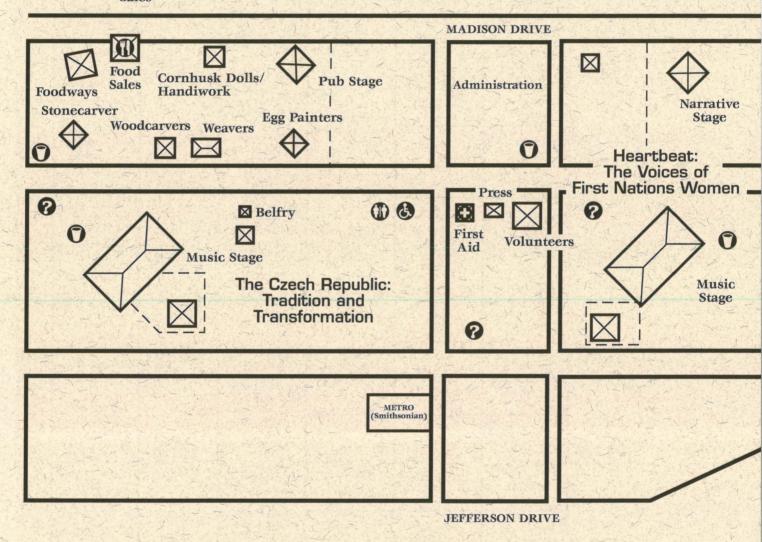
RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN BRANCHES

THE CZECH REPUBLIC

11:00	Music Stage	Pub Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demon- strations	11:00	Music Stage
	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution: V. Merta	Czech- American Christmas Mushroom Noodle Soup	•Contemporary Czech Puppetmaker: Antonín Maloň		Russian Molokans
12:00	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band: Hradišťan	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	Wallachian	•Urban Stone Restoration: Víťezslav Martinák •Slovakian	12:00	American Old Believers Narrative:
1:00	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka	Dueling Czech Fiddlers	Koláče Pastry	Moravian Handloom Weaving: Bohumil Mlynek and Anna Mlynkova	1:00	Preservation and Adaptation of Traditions
2:00	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution: V. Merta	Czech- American Sausage	•Slovakian Moravian Woodcarving: František Gajda •Wallachian Cornhusk Dolls:	2:00	American Molokans Learn a
	Czech- American Polka Music: Tuba Dan	Seasonal Songs in the Czech Republic		Zina Juřicová •Wallachián Egg Carving: Svatava Pavlicová •Wallachian Straw	A STATE OF THE STA	Molokan Song Russian Molokans
3:00	Contemporary Romany Band: Točkoľotoč	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata	Christmas Gingerbread Cookies	Egg Decorating: Jiří Sedlmaier Roving Artists Bohemian Street Puppeteers:	3:00	Nekrasovtsy
4:00	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band:	Czech and Czech- American Music Swap	Czech- American Apple Strudel	Matěj and Vladimíra Kopecká The Belfry •Two Wallachian	4:00	Old Believers Narrative:
F 00	Hradišťan Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling	Czech Puppeteers		carpenters con- struct a traditional wooden Moravian belfry on the National Mall.	F-00	Fasting, Feasts, and Saints' Days
5:00	Dance Group: Postřekov	Yesterday and Today	en sui morre, 52 sui	Special music and carnival events will be listed daily.	5:00	American Molokans



National Museum of American History



FESTIVAL

INFORMATION

FIRST AID

RESTROOMS

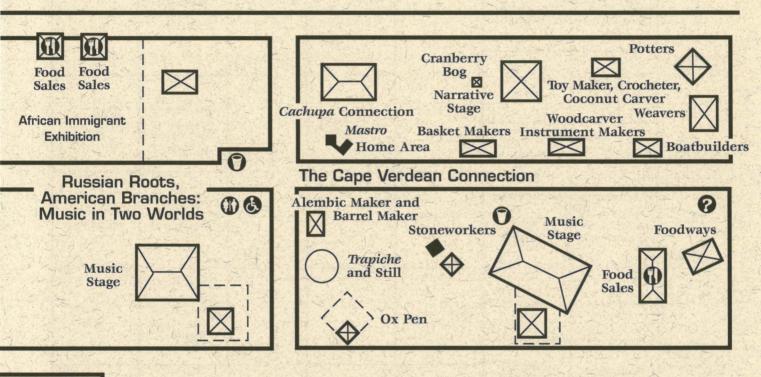
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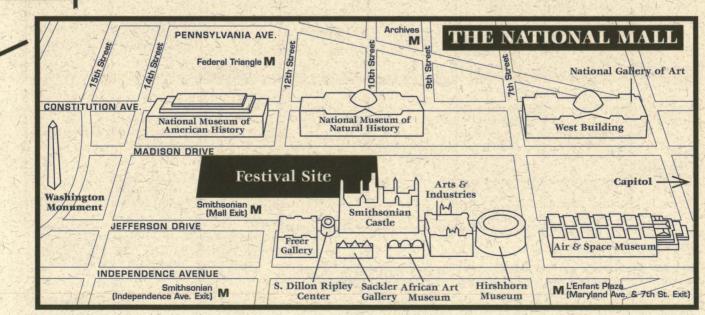
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FESTIVAL SITE MAP

National Museum of Natural History





FRIDAY, JUNE 30

CAPE VERDEAN CONNECTION

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

	CALL VERBLAN CONNECTION		5.00		WOIVIE		
11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Home Area	11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
	Music from the Island of Brava and the United States	Cape Verdean Immigration		Cola Chanting and Drumming		Ceremonial and Social Songs: Zuni, Wasco, Kiowa	
12:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Social Dance Styles	Brava Cooking	₹	12:00	Traditions and Transformations:	
1:00	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Funana and Coladeira: Social	2	Batuku Singing and Dancing	1:00	Assiniboine and Northern Plains Drum	Making Our Own Songs
2:00	Music from the Island of Fogo	Commentary Musical Instrument Makers	São Vicente Cooking		2:00	Traditions and Transformations: Iroquois and Ulali	Ways of Our Grandmothers
	Urban Coladeira and Funana	History and Styles of Morna	Santo Antão Cooking		3:00	Assiniboine and Navajo Singers: Georgia Wettlin- Larsen and Geraldine Barney	Ceremonial Songs
3:00	Batuku Singing and Dancing	Guitar and Cavaquinho Styles	Santiago	Tabanka	3:00	Powwow Songs: Northern Plains	Transforming
4:00	Music from the Island of Boa Vista	Cape Verdean- American Clubs and Associations	Cooking		4:00	Drum and Kiowa	Traditions
5:00	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Cranberries and the Cape Verdean- American Community	Santo Antão Sweets		5:00	Songs from the Southwest: Zuni and Navajo	Powwow Songs
	Rural Funana: Music from Santiago	Cape Verdean- American Feast Days			= 7 7 7	Ceremonial and Social Songs: Iroquois and Wasco	

Ongoing Demonstrations

• Crafts Area: Boatbuilding, weaving, pottery making, toy making, crocheting, coconut carving, basket and hat making, woodcarving, and instrument making • Home Area: Stone house building • Cachupa Connection: Biska card playing, Ourim game playing, Cape Verdean genealogy, Cape Verdean community displays, Cape Verdean Community Message Board • Central Plot Area: Alembic (still) making, barrel making, stone road paving • "Cape Verdean Images," an exhibition of photographs by the Cape Verdean-American photographer Ron Barboza, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition is open to the public June 15 – July 10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

5:30- 7:00	Cape Verdean Dance Music	DANCE
7:00- 9:00	Women's Voices	EVENING CONCERT

THE CZECH REPUBLIC

RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN BRANCHES

	EAST-TOTAL	表为有一种	RANCHES			
11:00	Music Stage	Pub Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demon- strations	11:00	Music Stage
	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata	Christmas Gingerbread Cookies	•Contemporary Czech Puppetmaker: Antonín Maloň		American Molokans
12:00	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band:	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet		•Urban Stone/ Restoration: Víťezslav Martinák	12:00	American Old Believers
1:00	Hradišťan Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Revolution: V. Merta Traditional Romany Songs: Točkolotoč	Czech- American Apple Strudel	•Slovakian Moravian Handloom Weaving: Bohumil Mlýnek and Anna Mlýnkova	1:00	Narrative: Old Believer Rituals and Celébrations Russian
2:00	Contemporary Romany Band: Točkolotoč	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	Wallachian Fruit Dumplings	•Slovakian Moravian Woodcarving: František Gajda •Wallachian Cornhusk Dolls:	2:00	Molokans Learn a Molokan Song
	Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution: V. Merta	Czech- American Christmas Mushroom Noodle Soup	Zina Juřicová •Wallachian Egg Carving: Svatava Pavlicová •Wallachian Straw	7	Nekrasovtsy Old Believers
3:00	Czech- American Polka Music:	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata	Wallachian	Egg Decorating: Jiří Sedlmaier Roving Artists Bohemian Street Puppeteers:	3:00	American Molokans
4:00	Tuba Dan Contemporary	Transforming Tradition:	Wedding Plum Jam Sauce	Matěj and Vladimíra Kopecká	4:00	American Old Believers
	Romany Band: Točkolotoč Chodsko Bagpipe and	Hradišťan Czech	Festival Encounters: Stories from the Kitchen: Czech and	The Belfry Two Wallachian carpenters con- struct a traditional wooden Moravian belfry on the National Mall.		Russian Molokans
5:00	Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	Russian Traditions in America	Special music and carnival events will be listed daily.	5:00	Nekrasovtsy Old Believers

SATURDAY, JULY 1

CAPE VERDEAN CONNECTION

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

1 = 1 =	CALL VERBEAR					MATIONS WOMEN				
11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Home Area	11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage			
	Urban Coladeira and Funana	Violin Styles		Feast Preparations and Celebration		Traditions and Transformations: Zuni and <i>Ulali</i>	Ways of Our Grandmothers			
12:00	Music from the Island of Fogo	Cola Boi and Other Work Songs	São Vicente Gooking					12:00	Social Dance Songs:	Called to the
1:00	Batuku Singing and Dancing	Building with Stone			1:00	Iroquois and Wasco	Drum			
2:00	Music from the Island of Boa Vista	Cape Verdean Weaving	Santo Antão Cooking		2:00	Powwow Songs	Making Our Own Songs			
	Rural Funana: Music from Santiago	Cape Verdean Communities	Santiago Cooking		2000	Traditions Transformed: <i>Ulali</i>	Ways of Our Grandmothers			
3:00	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Rural and Urban Funana	Santo Antão		3:00	Ceremonial and Social Dance Songs:	Assiniboine and Ojibwa			
4:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Drum, Dance, Celebrate: Batuku and Cola Music and Dance	Santo Antão Sweets		Sweets	Sweets	Sweets	4:00	Zuni, Wasco, Kiowa	Songs
5:00	Music from the Island of Brava and the United States	Farming in Cape Verde	Brava Cooking		5:00	Traditions and Transformations: Geraldine Barney, Georgia Wettlin-Larsen	Festival Encounters: Music Through Generations			
	Music from the Island of Fogo	Education of Cape Verdeans in America		1 L		Powwow Songs: Red Eagle Singers	(98)			

Ongoing Demonstrations

• Crafts Area: Boatbuilding, weaving, pottery making, toy making, crocheting, coconut carving, basket and hat making, woodcarving, and instrument making • Home Area: Stone house building • Cachupa Connection: Biska card playing, Ourim game playing, Cape Verdean genealogy, Cape Verdean community displays, Cape Verdean Community Message Board • Central Plot Area: Alembic (still) making, barrel making, stone road paving • "Cape Verdean Images," an exhibition of photographs by the Cape Verdean-American photographer Ron Barboza, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition is open to the public June 15 – July 10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

THE PERSON NAMED IN	
5:30-	Czech 🗐
5.50-	Bagpipe and
7:00	Whirling Dance:
7.00	Postřekov
replace to part of	Todirekov
7:00-	Contemporary &
7.00-	
0.00	Moravian
9:00	Dulcimer Band:
	Hradišťan

DANCE

EVENING CONCERT

THE CZECH REPUBLIC

RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN BRANCHES

	1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1					
11:00	Music Stage	Pub Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demon- strations	11:00	Music Stage
	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band: Hradišťan	Chodsko and Wallachian Dance Styles	Wallachian Koláče Pastry	•Contemporary Czech Puppetmaker: Antonín Maloň		American Molokans
12:00	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Czech and Czech- American Accordion Styles		•Urban Stone Restoration: Vitezslav Martinák •Slovakian	12:00	Learn a Molokan Song
1:00	Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution: V. Merta	Czech- American Sausage	Moravian Handloom Weaving: Bohumil Mlynek and Anna Mlynkova •Slovakian	1:00	American and Nekrasovtsy Old Believers
2:00	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata	Christmas Gingerbread	Moravian Woodcarving: František Gajda •Wallachian Cornhusk Dolls: Zina Juřicová	2:00	Narrative: Molokan Migration
2.00	Czech- American Polka Music: Tuba Dan	Carnival Celebration	Czech-	Wallachian Egg Carving: Svatava Pavlicová Wallachian Straw Egg Decorating:	2.00	Stories Russian Molokans
3:00	Contemporary Romany Band: Točkolotoč	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	American Apple Strudel	Jiří Sedlmaier Roving Artists Bohemian Street Puppeteers: Matěj and	3:00	Narrative: Textile Traditions
4:00	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution:	Wallachian Fruit Dumplings	Vladimíra Kopecká The Belfry •Two Wallachian carpenters con-	4:00	Russian Molokans
5:00	Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	Czech- American Christmas Mushroom Noodle Soup	struct a traditional wooden Moravian belfry on the National Mall. Special music and carnival events will be listed daily.	5:00	Nekrasovtsy Old Believers

SUNDAY, JULY 2

CAPE VERDEAN CONNECTION

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

				The state of the state of the			
11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Home Area	11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
12:00	Music from the Island of Fogo	Cape Verdean Music Industry	Santo Antão Cooking	Feast Preparations and Celebration	12:00	Social Dance Songs: Iroquois and Wasco	Zuni Pottery Songs
1:00	Urban Funana: Music from Santiago Music from the Island of São	History and Styles of Morna Social Dance		+	1:00	Traditions and Transformations: Northern Plains Drum and <i>Ulali</i>	Ways of Our Grandmothers
2:00	Vicente Music from the Island of Brava and the United States	Styles Rural Crafts	Santiago Cooking		2:00	Ceremonial and Social Dance Songs: Kiowa, Wasco, Zuni	Making Our Own Songs
	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Funana and Coladeira: Social Commentary	Santo Antão Sweets			Navajo and Assiniboine Singers: Geraldine Barney and Georgia Wettlin-	Transforming Traditions
3:00	Music from the Island of Boa Vista	Guitar and Cavaquinho Styles	Brava Gooking		3:00	Larsen Powwow Songs	Ways of Our Grandmothers
4:00	Batuku Singing and Dancing	Cape Verdean Leadership: The Next Generation			4:00	- A-C	
5:00	Rural Funana: Music from Santiago	Growing Up in Cape Verde	São Vicente Cooking		5:00	Traditions Transformed: Ulali	Assiniboine and Ojibwa Songs
	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Cape Verdean Storytelling					

Ongoing Demonstrations

• Crafts Area: Boatbuilding, weaving, pottery making, toy making, crocheting, coconut carving, basket and hat making, woodcarving, and instrument making • Home Area: Stone house building • Cachupa Connection: Biska card playing, Ourim game playing, Cape Verdean genealogy, Cape Verdean community displays, Cape Verdean Community Message Board • Central Plot Area: Alembic (still) making, barrel making, stone road paving • "Cape Verdean Images," an exhibition of photographs by the Cape Verdean-American photographer Ron Barboza, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition is open to the public June 15 – July 10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

5:30- 7:00	First Nations Women Dance Music
7:00-	A Tribute to
9:00	Ralph Rinzler

PARTY
EVENING
CONCERT

DANCE

RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN THE CZECH REPUBLIC BRANCHES

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11:00	Music Stage	Pub Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demon- strations	11:00	Music Stage
	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution: V. Merta	Czech- American	Today at 4:00 (in Czech craft area): Festival Encounters: Czech and Cape Verdean Weavers		Narrative: Rituals and Celebrations
12:00	Czech- American Polka Music: Tuba Dan	Family Traditions	Sausage	Contemporary Czech Puppetmaker: Antonín Maloň Urban Stone	12:00	Molokan Feast
1:00	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	Christmas Gingerbread Cookies	Restoration: Vifezslav Martinák •Slovakian Moravian Handloom Weaving: Bohumil	1:00	
2:00	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band: Hradišťan	Czech and Czech- American Music Swap	Czech- American	Mlýnek and Anna Mlýnkova •Slovakian Moravian Woodcarving: František Gajda	2:00	
	Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata	Apple Strudel	Wallachian Cornhusk Dolls: Zina Juřicová Wallachian		Nekrasovtsy Old Believers
3:00	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band:	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet	Wallachian Koláče Pastry	Egg Carving: Svatava Pavlicová •Wallachian Straw Egg Decorating:	3:00	Learn an Old Believer Song (for children)
4:00	Hradišťan Contemporary Romany Band: Točkolotoč	Revolution: V. Merta Czech Wedding Celebration	Czech- American Christmas Mushroom	Jiří Sedlmaier Roving Artists Bohemian Street Puppeteers; Matěj and Vladimíra Kopecká	4:00	Narrative: Textile Traditions
5:00	Czech- American Polka Music: Tuba Dan	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and	Noodle Soup	The Belfry Two Wallachian carpenters construct a traditional wooden Moravian belfry on the National Mall.	5:00	Narrative: Preservation and Adaptation of Traditions
				Special music and carnival events will be listed daily.		American Old Believers

Monday, July 3

CAPE VERDEAN CONNECTION

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

The fact of the same	CATE VERBEAU COUNTERTON					THE STATE OF THE S	
11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Home Area	11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
	Urban <i>Funana</i> : Music from Santiago	Fishing in Cape Verde		Cola Chanting and Drumming		Ceremonial and Social Songs: Kiowa, Northern Plains Drum,	
12:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Cola Boi and Other Work Songs	Santiago Cooking		12:00	Wasco	Ceremonial
1:00	Music from the Island of Boa Vista	Kriolu Language	CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY OF	Batuku Singing and Dancing	1:00	Transformed: <i>Ulali</i>	Clothing
2:00	Rural Funana: Music from Santiago	Textiles	Santo Antão Sweets		2:00	Powwow Songs	Transforming Traditions
	Music from the Island of Brava and the United States	Drum, Dance, Celebrate: Batuku and Cola Music and Dance	Brava Cooking			Iroquois Social Dance Songs: Six Nations Women Singers	Called to the Drum
3:00	Batuku Singing and Dancing	Violin Styles	São Vicente	Tabanka	3:00	Assiniboine and Ojibwa Songs:	Making Our Own Songs
4:00	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Rural and Urban <i>Funana</i> Music	Cooking		4:00	Georgia Wettlin-Larsen	1/3 / 1/3 /
5:00	Music from the Island of Fogo	Seafarers and Longshoremen	Santo Antão Cooking		5:00	Navajo Singer- Songwriter: Geraldine Barney	Zuni Pottery Songs
	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Cape Verdean Clubs and Associations				Zuni Ceremonial Songs: Olla Maidens	

Ongoing Demonstrations

• Crafts Area: Boatbuilding, weaving, pottery making, toy making, crocheting, coconut carving, basket and hat making, woodcarving, and instrument making • Home Area: Stone house building • Cachupa Connection: Biska card playing, Ourim game playing, Cape Verdean genealogy, Cape Verdean community displays, Cape Verdean Community Message Board • Central Plot Area: Alembic (still) making, barrel making, stone road paving • "Cape Verdean Images," an exhibition of photographs by the Cape Verdean-American photographer Ron Barboza, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition is open to the public June 15 – July 10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

A TOTAL CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY	
5:30- 7:00	Music from the Island of Brava and the United States
7:00-	Cape Verdean-
9:00	American Dance

DANCE

EVENING CONCERT

RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN BRANCHES

THE CZECH REPUBLIC

	The Cartination of the Cartinati					
11:00	Music Stage	Pub Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demon- strations	11:00	Music Stage
	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata	Wallachian Raw Potato Dumplings	•Contemporary Czech Puppetmaker: Antonín Maloň		American Molokans
12:00	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band:	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution:		•Urban Stone Restoration: Vítezslav Martinák	12:00	American Old Believers
1:00	Czech- American Polka Music: Tuba Dan	V. Merta Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	Czech- American Sausage	•Slovakian Moravian Handloom Weaving: Bohumil Mlýnek and Anna Mlýnkova	1:00	Learn an Old Believer Song Narrative: Molokan Rituals and Celebrations
2:00	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka	Czech and Czech- American Accordion Styles	Wallachian	Moravian Woodcarving: František Gajda •Wallachian Cornhusk Dolls:	2:00	Nekrasovtsy Old Believers
	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution: V. Merta	Koláće Pastry	Zina Juřicová •Wallachian- Egg Carving: Svatava Pavlicová •Wallachian Straw		Narrative: Preservation and Adaptation of Traditions
3:00	Contemporary Romany Band: Točkolotoč	Czech and Czech- American Music Swap	Czech- American Apple Strudel	Egg Decorating: Jiří Sedlmaier Roving Artists Bohemian Street Puppeteers:	3:00	Russian Molokans
4:00	Czech- American Polka Music:	Silesian Bagpipe:	Beef Sirloin, Dumplings, and Vegetable	Matěj and Vladimíra Kopecká The Belfry	4:00	American Old Believers
5:00	Tuba Dan Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	Cream Sauce Christmas Gingerbread Cookies	•Two Wallachian carpenters construct a traditional wooden Moravian belfry on the National Mall. Special music and carnival events will be listed daily.	5:00	Encounters: Traditional Culture in a Post-Communist World American Molokans
			TO HE			

Tuesday, July 4

CAPE VERDEAN CONNECTION

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

A COLUMN TOWN						4) 1 1 1	
11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Home Area	11:00	Music Stage	Narrative Stage
	Music from the Island of Boa Vista	Cape Verdean Immigration		Cola Chanting and Drumming	12.00	Songs from the Woodlands and Plains: Iroquois, Ojibwa, Assiniboine, Northern	Zuni Pottery Songs
12:00	Batuku Singing and Dancing	Guitar and Cavaquinho Styles	Santo Antão Sweets	Tabanka	12:00	Plains Drum Traditions Transformed:	Ways of Our
1:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	Social Dance Styles			1:00	Ulali	Grandmothers
2:00	Music from the Island of Fogo	Cape Verdean Crafts	Brava Cooking		2:00	Songs from the Southwest: Zuni and Navajo	Iroquois Women's Social Dance
	Cape Verdean- American Dance Band	Funana and Coladeira: Social Commetary	São Vicente Cooking			Powwow Songs	Making Our Own Songs
3:00	Urban Funana; Music from Santiago	History and Styles of Morna	Santo Antão	Batuku Singing	3:00	Ceremonial and Social	Assiniboine and Ojibwa
4:00	Music from the Island of Brava and the United States	Cranberries and the Cape Verdean- American Community	Cooking	and Dancing	4:00	Songs: Zuni and Wasco	Songs
5:00	Music from the Island of São Vicente	The Cape Verdean Independence Movement	Santiago Cooking		5:00	Heartbeat Celebration	
	Rural Funana: Music from Santiago	Cape Verdean Communities					

Ongoing Demonstrations

• Crafts Area: Boatbuilding, weaving, pottery making, toy making, crocheting, coconut carving, basket and hat making, woodcarving, and instrument making • Home Area: Stone house building • Cachupa Connection: Biska card playing, Ourim game playing, Cape Verdean genealogy, Cape Verdean community displays, Cape Verdean Community Message Board • Central Plot Area: Alembic (still) making, barrel making, stone road paving • "Cape Verdean Images," an exhibition of photographs by the Cape Verdean-American photographer Ron Barboza, is located in the S. Dillon Ripley Center Concourse Gallery next to the Smithsonian Castle. The exhibition is open to the public June 15 – July 10 from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

5:30- Czech-American
Polka Music:
Tuba Dan

DANCE

THE CZECH REPUBLIC

RUSSIAN ROOTS, AMERICAN BRANCHES

		MANCHES				
11:00	Music Stage	Pub Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demon- strations	11:00	Music Stage
	Wallachian Dulcimer Band: Radhošť	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata	Wallachian Fruit Dumplings	•Contemporary Czech Puppetmaker: Antonín Maloň		Nekrasovtsy Old Believers
12:00	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today	Czech-	●Urban Stone Restoration: Vífezslav Martinák ●Slovakian	12:00	Narrative: Old Believer Migration Stories
1:00	Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Occupational Songs: Fishing, Weaving, Winemaking	American Apple Strudel	Moravian Handloom Weaving: Bohumil Mlýnek and Anna Mlýnkova	1:00	Russian Molokans
2:00	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band: Hradišťan	Chodsko and Wallachian Dance Styles	Christmas Gingerbread Cookies	•Slovakian Moravian Woodcarving: František Gajda •Wallachian Cornhusk Dolls:	2:00	Learn a Molokan Song Narrative: Transmission of Old Believer Musical Traditions
	Wallachian Women Singers: Polajka	Urban Folk Songs and Stories of the Velvet Revolution: V. Merta	Czech-	Zina Juřicová •Wallachian Egg Carving: Svatava Pavlicová		American Old Believers
3:00	Contemporary Moravian Dulcimer Band: Hradišťan	Silesian Bagpipe: Zogata	American Sausage	Wallachian Straw Egg Decorating: Jiří Sedlmaier Roving Artists Bohemian Street Puppeteers:	3:00	American Molokans Russian
4:00	Contemporary Romany Band: Točkolotoč	. Czech Wedding Celebration	Wallachian Raw Potato Dumplings	Matěj and Vladimíra Kopecká The Belfry •Two Wallachian carpenters con-	4:00	Molokans Nekrasovtsy Old Believers
5:00	Chodsko Bagpipe and Whirling Dance Group: Postřekov	Czech Puppeteers Yesterday and Today		struct a traditional wooden Moravian belfry on the National Mall. Special music and carnival events will be listed daily.	5:00	Closing Session
				12/27/20		

Major Sponsors

The Festival of American Folklife is supported in part by Federal appropriations and Smithsonian trust funds. Additionally,

The Cape Verdean Connection has been made possible with the support of the Government of Cape Verde on the occasion of its 20th anniversary of independence: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation; Cape Verdean-American community fundraising committees in Boston, Brockton, Cape Cod, New Bedford, Wareham, Providence/ Pawtucket, Hartford, Norwich, Southern California, and Washington, D.C.; Ocean Spray Cranberries, Inc.; NYNEX; Luso-American Development Foundation; Fleet Charitable Trust; Raytheon Co.; the City of New Bedford, Mass.; the Town of Wareham, Mass.; Bell Atlantic; and the Cape Verdean-American Import/Export Company.

The Czech Republic: Tradition and Transformation has been made possible with the support of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, the Embassy of the Czech Republic in the United States, the Trust for Mutual Understanding, Samson Brewery from the south Bohemian town of České Budějovice, the Ford Motor Company Fund, and Area Medica Holding s.r.o., and has been produced in collaboration with the Open-Air Museum of Wallachia.

Heartbeat: The Voices of First Nations Women has been produced in collaboration with the Division of Cultural History at the National Museum of American History, with support from The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, the Smithsonian Educational Outreach Fund, the American Encounters Project, the National Museum of the American Indian, the National Museum of American History, the John Hammond Fund for the Performance of American Music, and the Smithsonian Institution Special Exhibition Fund.

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FRIENDS of the FESTIVAL

This year, we have started Friends of the Festival — a wonderful opportunity for our supporters to become more involved with the Festival.

- * Bringing you into closer contact with the Festival:

 The Friends not only support the Festival financially, but also learn how to become involved in cultural education and preservation.
- * Benefits include:

Talk Story, a newsletter written by our staff which takes you behind the scenes of cultural research, a discount on Smithsonian/Folkways recordings, the Festival program book, the Festival Tshirt, and other items.

* Meet the Friends' staff:

Stop by the Friends tent on the lawn of the National Museum of American History (facing the Mall) during the Festival to learn more. You can also reach us at the Center after the Festival at (202) 287-3210, or by mailing in the postcard below.

YES! I would like to become more involved with the Festival by joining
the Friends of the Festival. I understand that my assistance will play an
integral part in supporting research and education about traditional cultures.
Please send me more information about the Friends.

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TRADITIONAL

We have also started the Smithsonian Collection of Traditional Crafts Catalog.

* Crafts today:

Master craftspeople, who embody the wealth of American grassroots traditions, often cannot support themselves with their crafts. Nor are they able to pass on their knowledge because apprentices are unwilling to enter a profession that has an uncertain future. Year after year, those skills come closer to being lost forever as the tradition bearers pass away.

* Smithsonian Collection of Traditional Crafts:

To preserve these crafts, artisans need a public to purchase handmade craft objects. With an outlet for their work, artisans will be able to make and sell their goods and preserve an American legacy. Their children and apprentices may see a future in these traditions. By bringing together skilled artisans and supportive buyers we will help preserve these crafts and build a national appreciation for America's grassroots cultures.

* Your role in the preservation of American craft:

The premiere offering of objects from the catalog will be in the Festival Sales tent. These creations represent many different cultural traditions and are some of the finest pieces being crafted in the United States today. We invite you to take an active role in the preservation of these crafts by coming to our tent, learning about these objects, and purchasing them to enjoy in your own home.



Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings

you can hear the world

he Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies supports the continuity and integrity of traditional arts and cultures by overseeing Folkways activities as a museum of sound, a non-profit business, and an archive. Established in 1988, Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings builds on the legacy of the original Folkways Records (founded 1948) and the vision of its founder, Moses Asch. Reissues from the historic catalogue feature extensive and updated notes, superbly remastered sound, and often include previously unreleased material. New releases maintain the breadth of the original catalogue in the areas of ethnic, folk, blues, bluegrass, jazz, spoken word, gospel, classical, and children's music and videos. More than 2,500 titles from Folkways, Cook, Paredon, and Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings are also available.

For a free catalogue, write:

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1995 FEATURED RECORDINGS



HEARTBEAT: Voices of First Nations Women SF 40415 (CD, CS) 1995 Thirty-four powerful selections present a seamless range of solo, choral, and instrumental music from Native women artists in the U.S. and Canada. This collection includes ceremonial and social songs - creative, lively, and living music rooted in ancient traditions.



OLD BELIEVERS: Songs of the Nekrasov Cossacks SF 40462 (CD only) 1995 The first recordings of the a cappella singing of the Nekrasovtsy Cossacks to appear outside Russia. Like the famous Bulgarian Women's Choir, Old Believers' music has a multivoiced texture, intense, and rich. Includes lyric songs, ballads, wedding songs, sacred music, and laments.

RECORDINGS OF MUSICAL TRADITIONS FROM PREVIOUS FESTIVALS

From the 1994 Festival:



ROYAL COURT MUSIC OF THAILAND

SF 40413 (CD, CS) 1994 Reticent yet dynamic, sophisticated, and delicate, this recording contains four exquisite compositions performed with an enchanting mix of xylophones, gongs, cymbals, fiddles, guitars, and breathtaking vocals. Studio recordings from Bangkok present traditional and highly refined music of the Thai royal court.

1992:



DRUMS OF DEFIANCE: Maroon Music from Jamaica SF 40412 (CD, CS) 1992

Featuring complex, West African-influenced drumming and dancing, this littleknown but vital rural tradition is at the heart of modern, politically charged reggae music.

1993:



BORDERLANDS:

From Conjunto to Chicken Scratch SF 40418 (CD, CS) 1993

Unique music from the Rio Grande Valley of Texas and southern Arizona: traditional conjunto polkas and corridos, Latino-influenced big bands, northern Mexico- and German-rooted norteño, modern conjunto and orquesta Tejana, Yaqui Pascola dance, Tohono O'odham fiddle band music, and the more contemporary American Indian Chicken Scratch sound.

MUSIC OF NEW MEXICO: **Hispanic Traditions**

SF 40409 (CD, CS) 1992

Sacred hymns, serenades, narrative ballads, and lyric folk songs give a glimpse of this diverse and captivating cultural landscape. Centuries-old traditions help sustain the Hispanic community's ethnic identity. Spanish lyrics have English translations.



MUSIC OF NEW MEXICO: Native American Traditions SF 40408 (CD, CS) 1992

This portrait of Pueblo, Navajo, and Mescalero Apache music from New Mexico reveals a remarkable breadth of Native American song. Ranging from a traditional San Juan Pueblo Cloud Dance song to modern Navajo songs, it demonstrates that music remains a dynamic and vital part of Native American life.

1991:



MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. I: East Java I—Songs Before Dawn SF 40055 (CD, CS) 1991

The vibrant and earthy performance of gandrung begins around 9 p.m. and ends just before dawn. One of the music's finest living singers, Gadrung Temu, performs a beautiful suite backed by a small ensemble playing violins, drums, and metal percussion.



MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 2: Indonesian Popular Music

SF 40056 (CD, CS) 1991

Dangdut blends elements of rock with Indian and Middle Eastern pop music.

Kroncong grew to become popular music with the Indonesian elite, and Langgam Jawa is a regional form of Kroncong, sung in Javanese. These studio recordings of some of the stars of each tradition are an excellent introduction to modern Indonesian music.



MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 3: Music from the Outskirts of Jakarta SF 40057 (CD, CS) 1991

Gambang Kromong comes from a virtually invisible part of the capital of Indonesia. The music combines Indonesian, Chinese, and sometimes European-derived instruments in musical styles at times reminiscent of gamelan music and at other times of small-group jazz of the 1920s and 1930s.



MUSIC OF INDONESIA, VOL. 4: Music of Nias and North Sumatra SF 40420 (CD, CS) 1992

The Toba and Karo people of northern Sumatra developed complex instrumental traditions. The Toba use tuned drums to carry a melody and combine them with gongs and oboe-like instruments to create dynamic melodies and rhythms. The Karo ensemble features expert drumming full of snaps and pops — intense music, rich with local color. The Ono Niha people of Nias perform ornate choral songs called *hoho* which embody their oral tradition, using only four tones.

1990:



HAWAIIAN DRUM DANCE CHANTS: Sounds of Power in Time

SF 40015 (CD, CS) 1989
Recorded between 1923 and 1989. Solo chants or chanting accompanied by dancers, drum, and percussion include chants for prayer, chiefs, and oral history maintained by only a handful of *Pahu* masters.



PUERTO RICAN MUSIC IN HAWAI'I: Kachi-Kachi Sound

SF 40014 (CD, CS) 1989
A fascinating 16-track collection of dance music that resembles Tex-Mex conjunto.
Artists include Charles Figueroa, Virginia Rodrigues, Glenn Ferreira, and others.





BUKHARA:

Musical Crossroads of Asia SF 40050 (CD, CS) 1991

In Bukhara, Uzbekistan, Jewish and Muslim musicians have created a unique sound in an ancient city of narrow streets and crowded bazaars. These 1990 digital recordings capture the nuances of the city's finest musicians in performance.



MUSICS OF THE SOVIET UNION SF 40002 (CD. CS) 1989

A compelling and rich sampling from many of the ethnic groups within this vast region.

RECENT RELEASES - a select list:

- · Music of Indonesia, Volumes 5 and 6
- · Field to Factory: Voices of the Great Migration
- The Voice of Langston Hughes, Selected Poetry and Prose
- . The Poetry of Sterling A. Brown, Read by the Author
- · Doug and Jack Wallin
- · Musical Traditions of Portugal
- Dream Songs and Healing Sounds in the Rainforests of Malaysia
- · Xikrin Indians of the Brazilian Rainforest
- · Lead Belly's Last Sessions
- · Cisco Houston
- · Doc Watson/Clarence Ashley
- The Educated Eye

FORTHCOMING RELEASES - a select list:

- Mary Lou Williams
- · Sacred Musics of Haitian Voudou
- · Yoruba Drums of Benin
- · Dancer for the People (video)

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