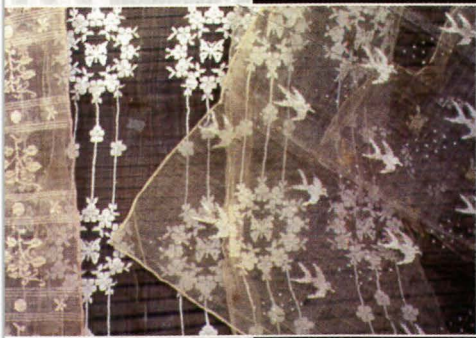


Smithsonian Folklife Festival

1998





1998 Smithsonian Folklife Festival

On the National Mall
Washington, D.C.

June 24–28 & July 1–5

Cosponsored by the National Park Service



On the Cover

LEFT Hardanger fiddle made by Ron Poast of Black Earth, Wisconsin. Photo © Jim Wildeman

BELOW, LEFT
Amber, Baltic Gold.
Photo by Antanas Sutkus

BELOW, CENTER Piña lace
from the Philippines.
Photo by Ernesto Caballero,
courtesy Cultural
Center of the Philippines

BELOW, RIGHT
Dried peppers
from the
Río Grande/
Río Bravo Basin.
Photo by Kenn Shrader

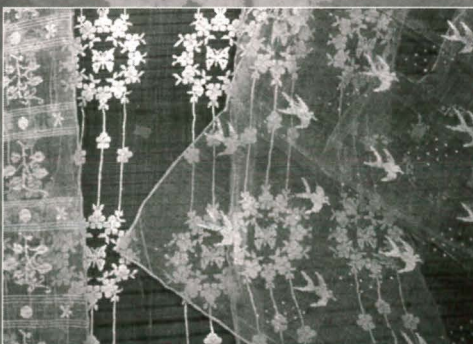
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Cebu Islanders process as part of the Santo Niño (Holy Child) celebrations in Manila, the Philippines, in 1997.
Photo by Richard Kennedy

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The Petroglyph National Monument, on the outskirts of Albuquerque, New Mexico, is a culturally significant space for many and a sacred site for Pueblo peoples.
Photo by Charlie Weber

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1998 Smithsonian Folklife Festival



Earl Nyholm, Charlie Ashmun, and Julia Nyholm split jackpine roots for sewing and lashing on a traditional Ojibwe canoe on Madeline Island, Wisconsin.

Photo by Janet Cardle

The Festival: On the Mall and Back Home

The 1998 Smithsonian Folklife Festival is proud to host programs on Wisconsin, the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin, the Philippines, and the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

- Wisconsin this year celebrates its sesquicentennial, and seeks through the Festival to demonstrate to the nation the vitality of its people and their traditions.
- The Río Grande/Río Bravo region was redefined 150 years ago with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which established a new boundary between Mexico and the United States. The river has a variety of meanings for local communities that will be explored on the Mall.
- The Philippines first tasted independence 100 years ago, and marks its centennial with activities that give voice to Filipino peoples, both in the island nation and here in the United States.
- The Baltic nations each demonstrate the richness of their cultural life, and its importance in sustaining the struggle to regain their freedom and independence only a decade ago.

The Festival will attract about a million visitors. They will dance to polkas from Milwaukee, learn borderlands ballads, participate in a Philippine pageant, and marvel at the amber work, flax weaving, and choral songs of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The unexpected will also meet their eye —

a Tibetan sand mandala maker from Wisconsin, a Filipino artisan who fashions musical gongs from bullet casings, a New Mexican pueblo potter who incorporates modern flood stories into her craft, and a Baltic-style St. John's Day ceremony.

Impressive as it is, though, the Festival is more than the presentations on the Mall. It begins back home — wherever that may be — with good research. Wisconsin fieldworkers have done a wonderful job documenting the state's community-based culture. In the Río Grande region, cooperative field schools led by the Smithsonian with the University of New Mexico, Colorado College, University of Texas—Pan American, and Tierra Wools have encouraged local-area students and community members to study their cultural traditions. In the Philippines, the Cultural Center has devoted its staff to researching the traditions of the varied islands and developing a national archive. And in the Baltics, research has depended upon the documentation efforts of the Lithuanian Folk Culture Center and the Estonian National

I. Michael Heyman
Secretary
Smithsonian Institution

Council of Folklore, among other institutions.

Research allows us to plan and produce the Festival. It also leads to other outputs well beyond the Mall that cause the staff to declare, "The Festival never ends."

Highly visible Festival presentations have gone to the Olympic Games and formed the core of festivals in Hawai'i, Oklahoma, Michigan, Iowa, Mississippi, and other states. There is a copious scholarly literature on the Festival and some three dozen documentary films and television shows, radio broadcasts, a few dozen Smithsonian Folkways recordings, and numerous cultural learning guides for schools and communities.

The pattern holds for this year's Festival. Wisconsin, in association with the Smithsonian, will mount a Festival of Wisconsin Folklife in Madison in August. We have produced a Smithsonian Folkways recording on one of the state's dance music traditions, and Wisconsin public television is shooting a documentary for broadcast. In the Río Grande Basin, Festival collaborations assure a continuing effort to research the region and develop multimedia materials for the schools. And, for the Baltic nations, we trust the Festival on the Mall will reinforce the relationship between the encouragement of grassroots cultural expression and the development of a free, democratic, civil society — as it does for us every year.

Celebrating Our Cultural Heritage

Bruce Babbitt
Secretary of the Interior

Over the past three decades, the Smithsonian Folklife Festival has brought millions of people together on the National Mall in an annual celebration of the art of American life and the cultures of our worldwide heritage.

The National Mall is a public landscape that connects our institutions of democracy, our monuments, museums, and storehouses of history in a unique layout in the Nation's Capital. The Mall and its institutions are open to all — annually welcoming millions of people from every background and cultural heritage.

Each year, the Festival celebrates the cultural traditions of specific regions of the United States and other nations around the world. Among those this year, the Festival features the cultural traditions of Wisconsin, which is celebrating its 150th anniversary of statehood, and the Centennial Celebration of the Philippine declaration of independence. Also featured are the Baltic nations — Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania — whose cultural traditions have been of paramount importance in defining and sustaining them. The Festival also hosts members of communities in the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin, from Mexico and the United States, who draw meaning and sustenance from that great and important river.

The people and traditions on the Mall are here for us to understand, appreciate, and respect. We learn from the artisans, musicians, storytellers, workers, and other cultural torchbearers at the Festival. They teach us that culture is a

dynamic process, vital in the lives of diverse people and communities, and represents their heritage, creativity, knowledge, and skill.

Our cultural heritage is the gift of our

forbears which carries a responsibility for us to share this inheritance with our children for future generations to understand and enjoy. By nurtur-

ing our cultural heritage, respecting what has been created, and passing it on, we give future generations the symbolic tools to construct worlds of meaning that provide answers to many questions. This is what we do at our memorials and monuments, in our national parks, and through our varied programs.

The Festival gives voice and vision to our worldwide cultural experiences. Reflect for a moment on how events like the Festival help one generation communicate with the succeeding one. Reflect for a moment on how it tells where we have been, what type of stewards of the land we have become, and who we are. The Festival is an annual remembrance of our rich past and rededication to a promising future.

The National Mall is a public landscape that connects our institutions of democracy, our monuments, museums, and storehouses of history in a unique layout in the Nation's Capital.

The Festival As Community

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival presents community-based culture. It does this in a global capital under the aegis of a global institution. This makes the Festival an instance of “glocalization”—an activity through which contemporary local traditions and their enactors are projected onto a world stage.

The Festival tries to do this in a respectful, intimate, meaningful way.

In presenting community cultural life, the Festival engages communities. This year's Festival is a good case in point. All

The Festival not only engages one or another community, but it also forms its own.

of the nearly 75 researchers who documented, analyzed, and recommended traditions and people for the Festival came from the represented communities.

Festival curators and senior staff met with researchers, shared experience from previous Festivals, challenged assumptions, listened, learned, argued, and negotiated the character of the programs. This is not an easy way to craft a cultural representation, but it allows for an honest, intellectual engagement. Mutual respect and discovery are the usual result.

The Festival not only engages one or another community, but it also forms its own. As participants live together at the hotel, see and hear each other on the Mall, they become friends and colleagues across linguistic, cultural, racial, gender, age, and religious lines. Staff and volunteers are, as Margaret Mead once noted, also participants in the Festival. Many staff and volunteers have worked on the

Festival for two decades or so. Al McKenney, stage manager, is back for his 25th year; Barbara Strickland, our administrative officer, is here for her 24th. We've watched each other grow

professionally and personally as a result of our Festival experience. And we've seen new genera-

tions of people joining that community, as staff, volunteers, student interns. A *Mississippi Delta* participant from last year — Gregory Dishmon, a drummer in Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band — is returning this year as a sound engineer.

But the Festival is not just a performance, an exhibit, or a mere activity of the Smithsonian. Its effects reach well beyond its producers. For example, this May, the *Mississippi Delta* program that was produced on the National Mall as part of the Festival last year was restaged in Greenville, Mississippi. The Festival mobilized local organizations and volunteers. There were billboards on the highways saying “From the Delta to the Smithsonian and Back.” For many of those who'd been on the Mall, the Greenville festival was a reunion. On opening day, a hundred school buses pulled up to the festival site with students and teachers using the program as a vehicle for learning about local cul-

Diana Parker

ture, history, and traditions. Blues and rockabilly rang out across the festival grounds next to the levee of the Mississippi River. On the third day, a warm, spring Delta Sunday, Dr. Sandra Scott, a professor at Mississippi Valley State University, organized a special program. Because of her connections to religious communities in the region, she was able to entice more than 150 singers from some 20 churches to come together for a sacred sing. People, Black and White, of varied ethnicity, class, background, and religious affiliation, met each other on the stage — most for the first time. Dr. Scott moved between keyboard players, soloists, and selections of repertoire. There was no division between audience and performers. Singers began to relax, jokes were made about towns, styles, and roles. People sung and swayed together. Everyone took delight in Darice Robb's soulful rendition of the Lord's Prayer, and in the beautiful solos performed by Ike Trotter of the First Presbyterian Church of Greenville, and Chief Minor, the African-American chief of police in Greenville. The audience, composed of varied local and area residents, sat entranced, occasionally bursting into enthusiastic applause or jumping to their feet in appreciation. Through teary eyes, we all watched a magical moment. It was the Festival at its very best — community was being presented, engaged, and indeed, created.

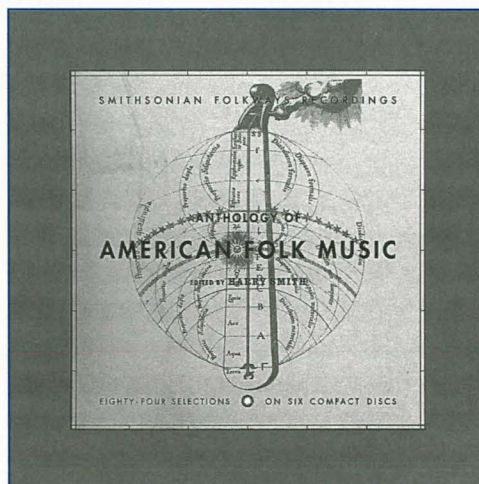
Diana Parker has worked on the Smithsonian Folklife Festival since 1975, and has served as Festival director since 1984.

The Festival and Folkways — Ralph Rinzler's Living Cultural Archives

This year Smithsonian Folkways received two Grammy Awards and a third nomination. The updated re-release of the Harry Smith

Anthology of American Folk Music, dedicated to the work of Ralph Rinzler, won for best historical album and best album notes, with staff members Amy Horowitz, Jeff Place, and Pete Reiniger honored with awards. The New Lost City Ramblers — John Cohen, Mike Seeger, and Tracy Schwarz — were nominated for *There Ain't No Way Out* as best traditional (style) folk album and performed at the Festival's 1997 Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert. The connections between these albums and Ralph Rinzler is central to the work and history of the Festival, Folkways, and the Center.

The connections go back to the 1950s. Rinzler had been learning about folk music from Library of Congress field recordings, attending university folk festivals with Roger Abrahams and Peggy Seeger, and, with Mike Seeger, seeking out migrants from Appalachia who sang and played at various gatherings. He produced Folkways recordings, and valued the Folkways Harry Smith *Anthology of American Folk Music*. The *Anthology*, published in 1952, was a crucial document in the history of the folk revival, containing 84 tracks from commercial records of Southern, Appalachian, Black, and Cajun musicians made in the 1920s and 1930s. These raw recordings were annotated with weird yet insightful notes by avant-garde artist/anthropologist Harry Smith. The recordings were a far cry from those of the chart-topping



The Anthology, re-released in expanded form, won two Grammy Awards in 1998.

Kingston Trio and other folk pop groups of the time. They were used for their rough style and lyrical content by Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Jerry Garcia, and many others.

Rinzler was hardly alone in thinking that the people and music on the Smith *Anthology* were mainly the stuff of archives and museums — long dead.

On a trip to North Carolina in 1960, Rinzler and Seeger met up with none other than Clarence Ashley, whose 1929 recording of “The Coo-coo Bird” was on the *Anthology*. It was as if Rinzler was immediately connected to a past he had thought was mythological. Through Ashley, Rinzler met Doc Watson. On a drive to Watson’s house in the back of a pickup truck, Rinzler, who’d been playing the banjo, was joined by Watson, who

Richard Kurin

offered a rendition of “Tom Dooley.” Rinzler was struck by Watson’s version, diverging as it did from the Kingston Trio’s hit. Upon questioning, Watson said he knew the Dooley story as told by his great-grandmother. Watson went on to talk about the place where Dooley was hanged. He pointed out the Grayson Hotel that belonged to the family of the sheriff that arrested Dooley. Tom Dooley was not some character made up for the purpose of singing an entertaining song, Rinzler realized, but part and parcel of a community’s oral history.

At Watson’s house Rinzler was introduced to Doc’s father-in-law, Gaither Carlton. Rinzler described Gaither as “an extraordinary man. He was a great presence: very quiet and shy but with a real depth and intensity and a quality that I really loved.”

Rinzler told the Watsons about the folk revival, but they didn’t really understand why people would be interested in that kind of music. Doc was playing rockabilly with an electrified guitar and asked Rinzler about touring as a country musician. As Rinzler recalled,

I said, there is this album of records recorded in the twenties and thirties that has been reissued because there’s a whole group of people who are interested in this music now, and they’ll buy this record — people like me who are in college and they’re fascinated. But no one believes that Clarence Ashley and the people on this record — any of them — are still alive.

Gaither looked at the *Anthology*. He recognized some of the names. We played G. B. Grayson’s recording of “Omie Wise.” Gaither sighed when it was over — he literally had tears in his



eyes. And he said, very quietly, under his breath, "Sounds like old times."

He said that in a way that came from so deep inside of him that it just gripped me and really moved me: even now [1986] I just get tears in my eyes thinking of it. And what that said was how deeply meaningful that music was for those people. I got an inkling of understanding of the degree to which many people did not want to give up that music, but felt that it was outmoded or discarded, and whatever they may have thought of it, the world knew better. It was the beginning of a kind of anger, an activist, ideological, romantic stance that I took.

Doc, Gaither, and others played that day — the old tunes they knew and liked. As Rinzler remembered,

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

All of a sudden I understood that style was emblematic — that it was their identity. The style of that music, and the sound, was for some people who they were. It represented their parents and their values, and a way of life that was slowly changing. For those people it was not necessarily a change that they wel-

Rinzler (right) on a fieldwork trip in 1966.

Photo by Bob Yellin

comed or valued, but that was imposed; and while the younger generation was reaching for it, I came later to realize that as the generations matured, they became more wistful and looked back and gave value to things that they were quick to reject earlier.

On that one trip I got an understanding of the meaning and value and function of music — a whole contextual framework that I built on later — and of craft, that I never had before.

It was these sounds, songs, and styles that Mike Seeger, John Cohen, and Tom Paley (and later Tracy Schwarz) sought out, learned, and recorded as the New Lost City Ramblers. They were musical traditions that Mike and Pete Seeger,

1998 Smithsonian Folklife Festival

Alan Lomax, Ralph Rinzler, and others brought to the Newport Folk Festival. Other musicians on the *Anthology* — Dock Boggs, Mississippi John Hurt, Eck Robertson, Sleepy John Estes, the Carter Family — as well as Doc Watson participated in the Newport Festival.

Rinzler was heavily influenced by Alan Lomax's ideas about the connection between the survival of folk traditions

whelm local cultures. But the same means could enhance and promote knowledge and appreciation of those local expressive systems, as well as their continuity within host communities. Rinzler brought this philosophy to the Smithsonian. In the mid-1960s S. Dillon Ripley, then secretary, wanted to enliven the institution. "Take the instruments out of their cases and let them sing," he said.

drew a huge crowd and strong press interest. It was an instant hit. Its success was recognized by many on Capitol Hill. Said one congressman,

For the first time, thousands of people, over 430,000, experienced a live museum which exhibited the art of American folklife and they loved every toe-tapping minute.... Basket weavers, pottery makers, woodworkers, carvers, doll makers, needle workers, tale tellers, boat builders, and folk singers, dancers, and musicians from all over the country were brought to remind Americans of their heritage — still a living part of our nation. In this day of the frug and jerk Americans need to be shown what their own culture has produced and continues to produce.

Another senator noted, "The Smithsonian is becoming much more than a repository for old artifacts. The exhibits are coming out of the display cases and the men and women directing the institution are showing that a museum can be vital and creative."

What started out as the discovery in Doc Watson's home that the *Anthology* represented a living tradition had turned into a revitalization of the museum. Rinzler quickly articulated a cultural conservation strategy for the Festival — suggesting that museums conserve cultures while they live rather than waiting to collect their remnants after they die. The role of a museum can be to help empower people to practice their culture, realize their aesthetic excellences, use their knowledge, transmit their wisdom, and make their culture a vital means for dealing with contemporary circumstances.

This approach characterized Rinzler's tenure as Festival director until 1982, and was extended after he was appointed the Smithsonian's assistant secretary for public service. In that position he blazed the Smithsonian's first steps toward digital technologies, led efforts to establish



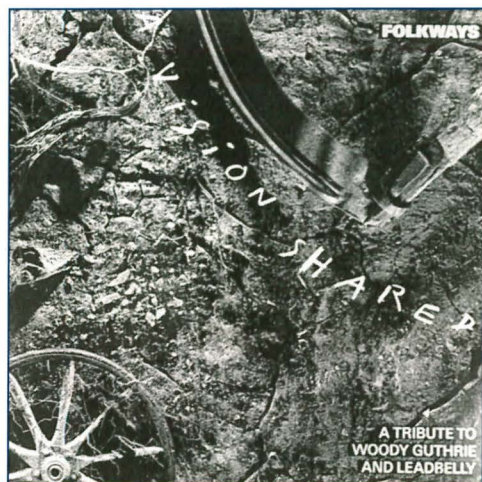
The Watson family in 1960. Photo by Bob Yellin

and their public performance and dissemination. Lomax observed two cultural currents simultaneously occurring in the United States and abroad. Like his predecessors, he found many cultural styles falling into disuse or being destroyed. But he also found a broad array of cultural traditions with an amazing resiliency. Lomax suggested that enlightened government policies could help preserve and encourage those cultural forms by utilizing them in the schools, popular entertainment, and other forums. He recognized that some of the factors that hastened the destruction of cultures, such as new technologies, could now aid them as well. Radio broadcasts, sound recordings, television programs, and films promulgating mass global aesthetics could over-

James Morris was hired and became head of the Division of Performing Arts. He instituted a wide variety of performance programs and suggested a summer folk-life festival. Rinzler was hired on contract to program the event. The Festival would present living — as distinguished from historically re-created — traditions. The living culture Rinzler had found, in Appalachia, in Cajun country, through his Newport work, needed help, encouragement, and validation in a society whose sense of beauty and value is generally driven by the exercise of power and the commodification of the marketplace. "There was a sense in my mind that cultural democracy was as important as any other kind of democracy," said Rinzler. The Festival began in 1967. It included 58 craftspeople and 32 musical groups,

*I am deeply indebted to Ralph Rinzler.
He did not leave me where he found me.*

—Doc Watson



Folkways: *A Vision Shared* won a Grammy in 1989.



Comprised of recordings made at the Festival, *Roots of Rhythm and Blues* was nominated for a Grammy Award in 1992.

museums and programs that addressed the diversity of American culture, and pursued the acquisition of Folkways Records. He envisioned Folkways coming to the Smithsonian from founder Moses Asch as a documentary collection, museum of sound, and self-supporting enterprise. With Don DeVito and Harold Leventhal, he lined up contemporary musicians — Bruce Springsteen, Bob Dylan, Emmylou Harris, U2, John Cougar Mellencamp, Brian Wilson, and others who also had been influenced by the “old music” of Folkways — to do a benefit album. That album paid for the acquisition of the collection, won a Grammy, and assured that Folkways would continue to actively document and disseminate

our musical cultural heritage.

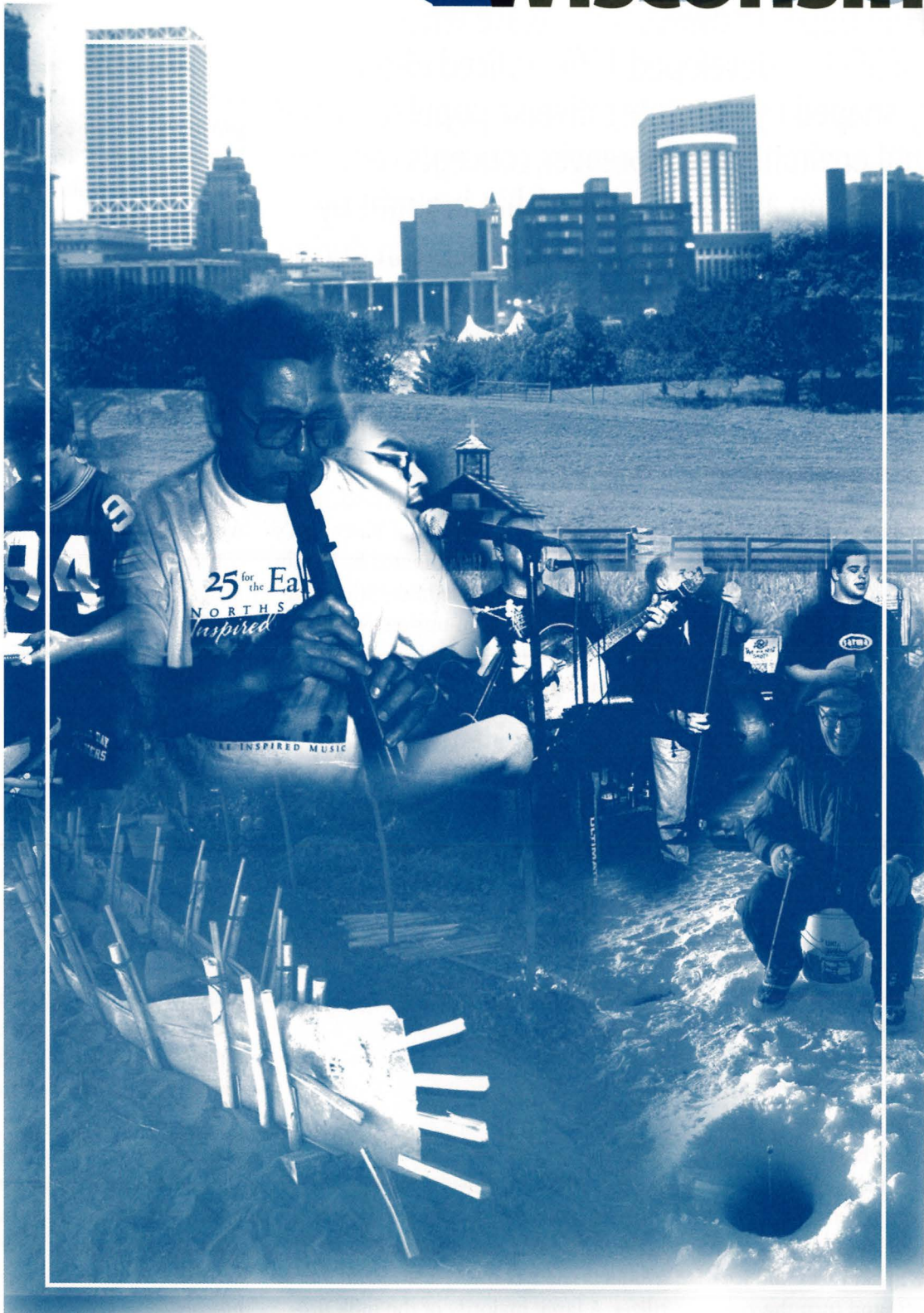
After his stint as assistant secretary, Rinzler continued his work with the Festival and Folkways. He co-curated *Roots of Rhythm and Blues* at the 1991 Festival and won another Grammy nomination for the resultant recording. He produced a series of oral history/music instruction videos with Pete Seeger, Ralph Stanley, Watson, and Bill Monroe. He produced new Folkways albums of Watson, Monroe, and Ashley, and at the time of his death was working on an expanded edition of the *Anthology of American Folk Music*.

Upon his death, Doc Watson said, “I am deeply indebted to Ralph Rinzler. He did not leave me where he found me.” The same could be said in reverse. From Doc and Gaither Rinzler had found the Harry Smith *Anthology* to provide a window into a whole realm of culture, submerged, hidden, and overlooked, but nonetheless real and alive. This view permeated his vision of the Festival, motivated the acquisition of Folkways, and

continues to characterize the activities of the Center. Anyone who comes to our archive today finds old recordings being mined for new releases, Festival research and documentation being used for new recordings and education kits. Multi-media projects range from music provided for *Where in the World is Carmen Sandiego?* and *Encarta* to Web pages and video anthologies of American and world music. No dead archive or dusty museum collection here, but rather an energetic activity to understand, represent, and nourish living traditions and their ongoing transformations. It is thus most fitting that the Smithsonian regents at their meeting this January formally named the Center’s holdings the Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives and Collections.

Dr. Richard Kurin is director of the Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies and the author of Reflections of a Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian and Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture Of, By, and For the People. He first worked on the Festival in 1976 and was awarded the Secretary’s Gold Medal for Exceptional Service to the Smithsonian in 1996.

1998 Wisconsin



Wisconsin Folklife

Wisconsin lies in the heart of a distinctive American region, the Upper Midwest. It is a place where a unique way of life has developed, little noticed elsewhere but markedly shaped by the state's diverse population and striking natural environment. Moreover, concepts concerning civic participation and land stewardship brought by the European immigrants who settled in Wisconsin during the 19th century have deeply influenced social, cultural, economic, and ecological activity in the state, making an impact on the state's folklife.

The climate, geography, and economy of Wisconsin have shaped many shared regional traditions. The abundant timber of Wisconsin's forests is the basis for timber-harvesting folklife as well as vital woodworking traditions. Wisconsin's inland "seashores" on Lakes Superior and Michigan and the thousands of lakes dotting Wisconsin's glacial landscape have stimulated nautical pursuits like boatbuilding and myriad fishing traditions. The central North American climate with its hot summers and cold winters has produced an annual cycle of activities suited to the changing seasons. Wisconsinites tap maple trees, pick mushrooms, and dip smelt in the spring; cut hay, pick cherries, and welcome tourists to lakeside resorts in summer; harvest corn and cranberries and hunt geese and deer in the fall. There is an intense concentration of festive community events crowding Wisconsin's warmer months, but Wisconsinites' famed propensity for partying also defies the cold. Wisconsinites celebrate winter carnivals, compete in ski races and ice fishing tournaments, and turn the parking lot of Lambeau Field into a cold-weather Mardi Gras for every Green

Bay Packers home game.

Nicknamed America's Dairyland, much of the southern two-thirds of Wisconsin's rolling landscape is dominated by family dairy farms. During the mid-19th century, dairy farmers from upstate New York and Central Europe established an enduring agricultural practice suited to

Whether expressed through church, tavern, or home, the role of ethnic identity remains prominent in Wisconsin.

Wisconsin's land and climate. Dairy farmers typically provide much of their own hay and corn to nourish the dairy herds. The cattle also generate other by-products such as meat, leather, and fertilizer. A large majority of the milk produced in Wisconsin is processed into 250

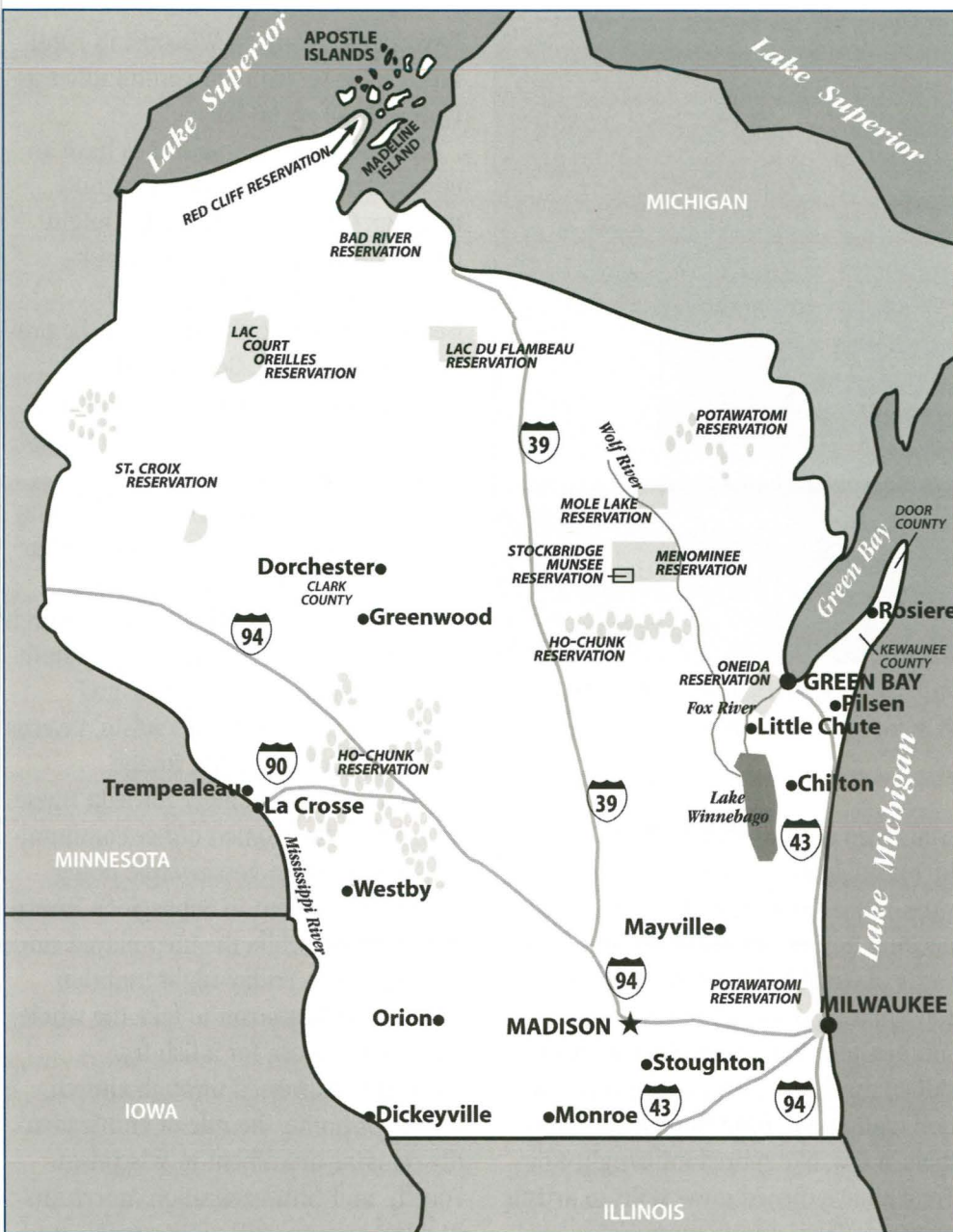
Richard March

varieties of cheese in the many cheese factories in small and large towns throughout the state. Wisconsin produces 30 percent of the cheese in the United States, using cheese-making skills and practices that have evolved from Old World traditions. Today even the whey is processed into valuable lactose and protein products.

The land-use pattern associated with dairy farming contributes to the striking beauty of Wisconsin's landscape. Neat farmsteads dominated by huge barns and towering silos are surrounded by corn and alfalfa fields and pastures. Dairy farmers also tend to preserve some woodlands on their farms to meet timber needs and to provide habitat for the deer which are hunted in the fall for venison.

It is also significant that family dairy farms have contributed to community stability and the persistence of traditions. In hundreds of Wisconsin communities, the family names in the current telephone directory match those on the old headstones in the cemetery. Descendants of 19th-century settlers make up much of the populace in Wisconsin towns, often lending them an ethnic identity. It is well known that Westby is Norwegian, Pilsen is Czech, Rosiere is Belgian, Mayville is German, Monroe is Swiss, and Little Chute is Dutch. People of Northern and Central European origins have been the most numerous, but the Wisconsin cultural mixture is enriched by immigrants from all around the world.

The Wisconsin program is made possible by and is produced in cooperation with the Wisconsin Arts Board and the Wisconsin Sesquicentennial Commission on the occasion of Wisconsin's 150th anniversary of statehood. Wisconsin corporate contributors include AT&T, SC Johnson Wax, and The Credit Unions of Wisconsin.



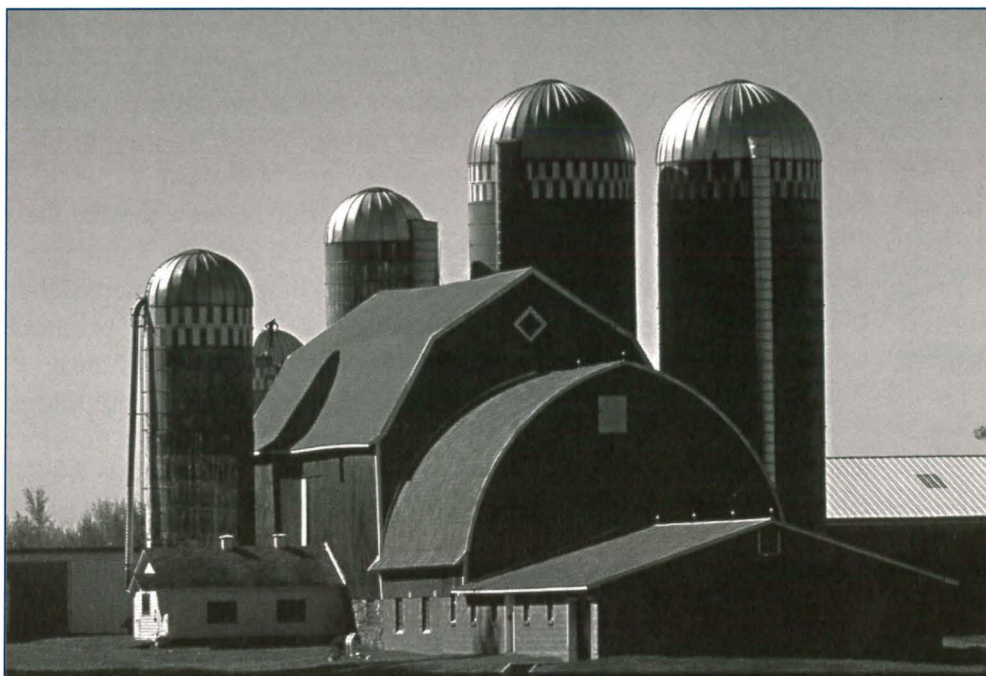
The governance of Wisconsin towns and cities is in the hands of an active citizenry. The mid-19th-century antimonarchist revolutions in Central Europe produced ideas about a just and participatory society that were very much on the minds of many immigrants to Wisconsin, especially those from the ranks of the German "Forty-eighters." Examples of their legacy are still found in local control of infrastructure, in rural township government, and in a history of pioneering efforts toward industrial democracy.

In these stable and participatory communities, the varied traditions of the people who have made the state their home have influenced one another. The Belgians of southern Door County have embraced the brass-band dance music of their Czech neighbors in Kewaunee County, while the Czech Catholic parish picnics in the area serve up the Belgians' booyah soup from 60-gallon cauldrons. Some Old World folkways like the making of Norwegian Hardanger fiddles and the weaving of Latvian sashes have been preserved or revived. Other traditions like

polka music and dancing or quilting are truly American, having developed from a mixture, a creolization of the contributions of various culture groups now living side by side in Wisconsin.

Cultural sharing began with what the Europeans learned from the Native peoples. European immigrants observed the fishing, hunting, and gathering practices of the Woodland Indian tribes. Native practices influenced the way European immigrants began to tap maple trees for sugar, to gather and use wild rice, fish for walleyes and muskellunge, and hunt deer. For example, 19th-century German-American farmers in the Lake Winnebago area observed indigenous Ho-Chunk fishermen spearing sturgeon through the February ice and took up the practice themselves. Today the descendants of those immigrants and other Wisconsinites assemble a temporary village of some 3,000–4,000 ice fishing shanties on Lake Winnebago. Inside the shanties, with spears at the ready, these fishermen peer into the greenish water, some listening to polkas on AM radio from nearby Chilton, others sipping homemade honey wine made from Wisconsin wild grapes and an Old World recipe, all hoping and waiting for the rare moment when a monstrous five- to eight-foot sturgeon might come nosing around their submerged decoy.

At the end of the 19th and through the 20th century, arrivals of Southern and Eastern Europeans, African Americans from the South, Asians, and Latinos have enriched the cultural landscape. The most numerous Eastern Europeans are Polish Americans, who have substantial communities in Wisconsin's industrial towns. Milwaukee's south side with landmarks like the St. Josephat basilica and the shrine to St. Mary Czestohowa at St. Stanislaus Church is the state's largest "Polonia" (the nickname for a compact Polish-American neighborhood). Polish



The gambrel-roofed barn, gothic-roofed barn, and pole barn (from left) on this farm demonstrate both the change in style and continued usefulness of older structures. As farms grow and change, barns are added, not replaced. Photo © Bob Rashid

traditional foods like *pierogi* and *czarnina* are prepared in homes and neighborhood restaurants. Polish religious and social customs are actively pursued in numerous Polish lodges, social clubs, soccer teams, choirs, and folk dance groups. Polish handicrafts are practiced by artisans like Bernice Jendrzeczak, a maker of *wycinanki* (paper-cut art).

Milwaukee's large African-American community boasts a strong tradition of gospel music, and traditional crafts like quilting and doll-making persist. The Queens of Harmony sing a capella gospel in a very traditional style. Velma Seales and Blanche Shankle are active in a Milwaukee women's quilt group. George McCormick carves and dresses wooden dolls, while Mary Leazer's making of traditional rag dolls has drawn her husband, George Leazer, into the creation of dioramas comprised of his handmade clay dolls arranged to depict African-American social customs.

While earlier immigrants came to farm, cut timber, or mine ores, the indus-

trial cities of southeastern Wisconsin increasingly attracted new arrivals to work in factories, mills, foundries, and packing houses, on the docks and shipyards of Great Lakes ports, and in railway shops and roundhouses. Today southeastern Wisconsin abounds with skilled machinists who create construction equipment, farm implements, and tools. A few, like retired millwright Roy Treder, have turned these skills to artistic pursuits. When a retirement gift is needed for a fellow worker at Milwaukee's Harley-Davidson motorcycle factory, Roy welds together an elaborate base for a clock or lamp from tools and machinery parts symbolic of the worker's career. Roy has created more than 200 retirement gift sculptures for his fellow employees.

Wisconsin's industrial towns and cities are a patchwork of urban ethnic villages, neighborhoods comprised of blocks of well-kept, modest frame houses with churches and taverns on the street corners. The church basement and the corner bar, much like the churches and

crossroads taverns in Wisconsin's rural areas, have served their communities as twin hubs of social life.

Many religious communities have an ethnic aspect to their congregation's makeup. One Lutheran church might attract primarily Norwegian parishioners, while another appeals to Germans. Catholic churches may be predominantly Polish, German, Irish, Mexican, Italian, Croatian, or Slovak. Services may be offered in the language of the old homeland as well as in English. Ethnic crafts and foodways may be practiced in women's clubs and altar societies associated with the church.

Not necessarily conflicting with church life, taverns in Wisconsin serve as another venue for expressing ethnic and regional traditions. In Wisconsin, taverns have a generally positive image. Austrian-American singer Elfrieda Haese remembers the women of her community catching up on gossip while doing knitting in a booth in Schaepler's Tavern in Milwaukee while the men played cards or sang. It is a Friday-night tradition throughout Wisconsin to take the whole family to a tavern for a fish fry.

Whether expressed through church, tavern, or home, the role of ethnic identity remains prominent in Wisconsin. Fourth- and fifth-generation Americans in Wisconsin are still quite cognizant of their ethnic origins, as pure or as varied as they may be. It is very common in Wisconsin to be asked when first meeting someone the ethnic provenance of one's last name. Not only are there recent immigrants who speak Spanish, Laotian, or Hmong, but German, Polish, Norwegian, and the Walloon dialect of French are still spoken in some Wisconsin homes by families whose forbears immigrated generations ago. In folk dance groups and ethnic orchestras, ethnic identity is taught to Wisconsin children, an important reason why eth-

nicity remains so pervasive in the state.

Traditional arts are one of the most important markers of ethnic identity. Norwegian Americans have placed great emphasis upon crafts like rosemaling, acanthus-carving, and Hardanger fiddle-making. Among the Slavic nationalities in Wisconsin, Ukrainians make *pysanki* Easter eggs and cross-stitch embroidery, Poles *wycinanki* paper-cut art, and Slovaks wheat weavings; Serbians play the one-stringed *gusle*, Slovenians the diatonic button accordion, and Croatians the lute-like *tamburitza*.

In many ethnic groups, the craft item may be created primarily for display in the home, to indicate to all who see it that the owner is a proud bearer of a venerable heritage. But in other instances crafts may have retained their pragmatic purpose in a traditional pursuit as well. Wisconsinites like Mary Lou Schneider and Willi Kruschinski ponder long and hard how to design the perfect fishing lure to catch a particular type of game fish. The ice-fishing decoys in the shape of minnows made by members of the Lac du Flambeau band of Ojibwe may serve both practical and ethnic display purposes. Today decoy carvers like Brooks Big John make some purely decorative decoys, attached perhaps to pieces

of driftwood or to lamp bases, but Brooks also carves less decorated decoys that are carefully weighted and fitted with tin fins so that they will "swim" realistically in the water when he is ice fishing. To fishermen like Brooks, it is the whole tradition involving the decoy that matters — knowing a good spot to catch walleyes or muskies in winter, making the hole through the ice, constructing the dark house tepee, and actually landing a big fish for his family's dinner table.

Wisconsin folklife continues to evolve and to be enriched by new immigration. Refugees from wars and political oppression continue to find a haven in the state. Wisconsin now has America's second largest population of Hmong, Southeast Asian refugees who actively pursue their unique music, craft, and social customs in the new homeland, as well as one of the major settlements of Tibetans. Latino populations in the state have increased markedly in recent decades, the largest being of Mexican origin.

The *Wisconsin* program at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival in Washington, D.C., and its restaging in Madison as the Wisconsin Folklife Festival are auspicious events to honor the many people who preserve Wisconsin's folklife and to observe

Wisconsin's sesquicentennial of statehood. It is a challenging task to represent the folklife of the five million residents of Wisconsin in a single event involving only ten or twelve dozen people. The program participants are all outstanding bearers of traditions significant in Wisconsin, all evidence of the natural, cultural, and historical forces that have molded Wisconsin's unique and vital folklife.

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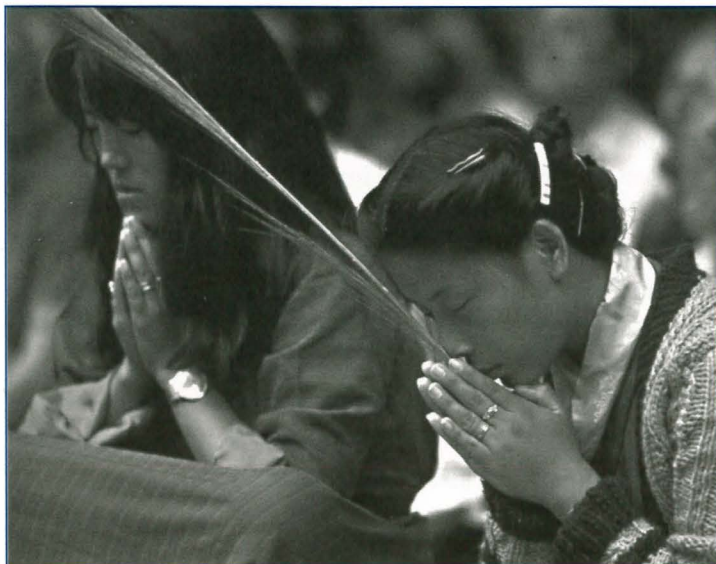
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Richard March has been the folk arts specialist for the Wisconsin Arts Board since 1983. Since 1986 he has been the producer and on-air host of "Down Home Dairyland," a program featuring the traditional and ethnic music of the Midwest on Wisconsin Public Radio. He is active as a polka musician, playing button accordion in the Down Home Dairyland Band.



Tibetans, like these women at a Buddhist ceremony in Dunn, constitute one of the newest immigrant communities in Wisconsin. Photo © Bob Rashid

Cheeseheads, Tailgating, and the Lambeau Leap: The Green Bay Packers and Wisconsin Folklife

I have been a fan of the Green Bay Packers all my life. When I was growing up in Milwaukee during the late '50s and early '60s, my brothers and I could hardly wait for Sunday afternoon telecasts of Packers games to end so that we could rush outside to imitate the heroics of Paul Hornung and Jim Taylor, Bart Starr and Ray Nitschke.

Throughout high school, I joined millions of other Wisconsin residents in cheering the team on to several NFL championships during the "Glory Years" under legendary head coach Vince Lombardi. As a college freshman, I picked the lock of my proctor's door to watch "The Pack" trounce the Kansas City Chiefs in Super Bowl I. The following year, I viewed the Packers' Super Bowl II victory over the Oakland Raiders on an ancient black-and-white television that made 250-pound linemen look as tall and thin as the Celtics' front court.

Little did I know then that almost 30 years would pass before the Packers would return to the Super Bowl, that a generation of Packer fans would have to suffer through humiliating losses to the likes of the Chicago Bears and the hated Dallas Cowboys before reaching the pinnacle again, that my own son would be a senior in college before the Green and Gold would reclaim the Lombardi Trophy. Yet, throughout this long drought, during which I moved to

Philadelphia, Detroit, and Washington, D.C., before returning to Wisconsin in 1985, I remained a committed Packers fan — and so did literally millions of others. Why such loyalty? Why such dedication and commitment? The answers to these questions lie, I think, in the success of the Green Bay Packers in appealing to Wisconsin's appreciation for tradition, community, and celebration.

When it comes to professional athletics in Wisconsin, the Green Bay Packers embody tradition. For more than 75 years, half the history of the state itself, the Packers have been a vital part of Wisconsin life. While other professional sports franchises found their way to Milwaukee, neither the Braves, their successors the Brewers, nor the Bucks — despite world championships in their respective sports — have ever commanded the same fan support. Dedication and commitment among fans take time to grow and develop, identification with a team and pride in association require stability as much as success. Each new game, each new season in the Packers'

Robert T. Teske

long and celebrated history has enhanced the aura of tradition surrounding the team, supported the creation of popular heroes which still capture the imagination of football enthusiasts everywhere, and continued to generate a rich body of "Packerlore."

As important as tradition in winning a place for the Packers in the hearts of Wisconsin fans is the team's understanding of, and appreciation for, its community. As the only franchise in the United States which is publicly owned, the Packers enjoy a unique affiliation with the smallest market in professional sports. During a recent public offering, thousands of Packer fans snapped up stock in the organization — despite the fact that the \$200 shares will never appreciate in value. People simply wanted to be able to say they owned a part of the team. Following the Packers' 1997 conference championship victory over the Carolina Panthers, thousands of fans paid \$10 each for pieces of "frozen tundra" stripped from Lambeau Field. The fact that all the proceeds from the sale of the turf were donated by the Packers to local charities further enhanced the organization's ties to the community.

Other symbols of the Packers' connection to their hometown are somewhat less quantifiable, but no less important. Take, for example, the now-famous "Lambeau leap." By hurling himself headlong into the stands after scoring a touchdown, each jubilant Packer shares his moment of triumph with the community which cheers him on every week. The fact that this form of end-zone celebration has never drawn a penalty flag seems to suggest that even officials recognize it as a sign of solidarity with football's most dedicated fans.



"St. Vince" and "Title Towel Man" are among the characters tailgating at Lambeau Field in Green Bay. Photo by Andy Kraushaar

The community which cheers the Green Bay Packers actually extends throughout Wisconsin and well beyond. The Packers organization reserves tickets for Milwaukee season-ticket holders at designated games each year in Green Bay, thus maintaining intense fan loyalty (and encouraging some of the largest traffic jams imaginable on Sunday mornings along I-43 from Milwaukee to Green Bay). At games in Tampa Bay, many "snowbirds" who have permanently fled Wisconsin's long, hard winters gather with loyal fans who follow the team from Wisconsin to generate a crowd of some 30,000 "Packer backers." Cities like San Francisco and San Diego,

despite having their own professional teams, typically have one or more bars designated as gathering places for area Packer fans. Only the Fighting Irish of Notre Dame also seem to draw the support of fans so widely distributed around the country.

In addition to building a formidable tradition and cultivating the support of a broad-based community, the Green Bay Packers have long been the occasion for, and center of, Wisconsin celebrations. During the last few years, Packer celebrations have expanded to fill virtually every available time slot from the opening of preseason in July till the last second ticks off the clock during the Super Bowl in late January. Schools and businesses reg-

ularly hold "Green and Gold Days" before big games, and merchants offer Packer specials, like a free sack of bagels for every Packer sack. The Archive of Folk Culture at the Library of Congress has received cassette tape recordings documenting over 45 Packer songs and song parodies in a wide variety of styles ranging from polkas to pop (see page 16).

None of these spin-offs, however, can quite compare with the central Packer celebration, the one which engulfs Lambeau Field during every Packer home game. In much the same way that Cheese Days in Monroe give local dairy families a cause to celebrate and Syttende Mai in Stoughton encourages



It is a tradition for Packers players to borrow bikes from local kids to ride from the locker room to the practice field each day of preseason training camp.

Photo courtesy Green Bay Area Visitors and Convention Bureau

members of the Norwegian ethnic community to get together, so, too, do Packer games give those attending — and even those watching the game at home — an opportunity to enjoy themselves.

Packer fans typically arrive hours before game time to take part in a form of revelry widely known as tailgating. At the minimum, the pregame celebration usually involves cooking bratwurst on charcoal grills set up in the Lambeau Field parking lot, and washing down the sauerkraut-covered sausages with large quantities of another venerable Wisconsin product, beer. Of late, outlandish costumes have come to complement the ubiquitous “cheeseheads,” inflatable Packer helmets, Packer jerseys, Packer jackets, and green and gold face paint worn by most fans to tailgate parties and Packer games. Among the costumed characters regularly sighted in and around Lambeau these days are the

antlered “Packalope” and the blessed “St. Vince.” Occasionally, the University of Wisconsin Marching Band will add its postgame concert, known as the Fifth Quarter, to the conclusion of a Packer game, thus combining two long-standing state athletic traditions. After the game, more tailgating or a trip to the local tavern to review the highlights may well be in order.

With their victory over the New England Patriots in Super Bowl XXXI, the Green Bay Packers demonstrated that — as bumper stickers had proclaimed hopefully, but prematurely, for years — “The Pack Is Back.” With their second consecutive appearance in football’s grand finale in Super Bowl XXXII, the team has shown that it ranks among the NFL’s best. Whether such good fortune continues for Green Bay or not, the Packers will remain near and dear to the hearts of all Wisconsin residents because of the team’s abiding appreciation for tradition, community, and celebration.

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Robert T. Teske is a folklorist and has served for the last ten years as the executive director of the Cedarburg Cultural Center. He is the curator of the traveling exhibition Wisconsin Folk Art: A Sesquicentennial Celebration, which is touring the state during 1998 in conjunction with the Wisconsin Folklife Festival.

“Scatter My Ashes”

By John Harmon Shardik

Just let me hear that Lambeau cheer
To set my spirit free
Scatter my ashes in Lambeau Field
That’s where I want to be.

In the fall I count the days ‘til Sunday rolls around,
Cuz that’s the day the Packers play — the only game in town.
I haven’t missed a game in years; some say I’ve paid my dues,
But in my soul I’m green and gold. I’ll be there win or lose.

And when I die, don’t nobody cry
And no pine box for me.
Just scatter my ashes in Lambeau Field,
And I can rest peacefully.

Through the years I’ve shed some tears, I ain’t ashamed to say.
Through thick and thin, I’ve always been behind them all the way.
And Lambeau Field is home-sweet-home to die-hard fans like me.
There’s no place like home, they say, no place I’d rather be. . . .

Courtesy Hillfield Publishing

The Neighborhood Tavern: Community Tradition at the Harmony

When I was a child, a perfect meal was a greasy hamburger topped with a slice of raw onion, accompanied by krinkle-cut french fries slathered with Heinz ketchup and served in a wax-paper-lined plastic basket, and washed down with an ice-cold, syrupy Coke. My brothers and I also enjoyed other gastronomic delicacies such as beer nuts, sour cream and onion potato chips, maraschino cherries, Slim Jims, Blind Robins, and Weasel Peters. Food this wonderful was only served in a neighborhood tavern: a dark, heavenly place that smelled like fried food and cigarette smoke.

Gina Grumke

Taverns contained fantastic, mysterious things that flickered, beeped, and squawked. We pestered our parents endlessly for quarters to fill pinball machines, juke boxes, and pool tables. The adults who frequented these places, including our parents, were more tolerant there of kids' behavior and exuberance. They themselves talked and laughed more than they did at home.

Taverns or bars (these words seem to be used interchangeably) in Wisconsin are a ubiquitous feature of the landscape in both rural and urban areas. Local taverns have been community gathering places in Wisconsin since European settlement. Although the social fabric of Wisconsin has undergone tremendous changes since the days of "a bar on every corner" — in particular, as affects taverns, there are more health-conscious consumers, stiffer drunk driving laws, and an increasingly mobile population which no longer has to live within walking distance of entertainment — taverns continue to exist and even thrive in various incarnations in all regions of Wisconsin, and they provide a cornerstone of social life.

When I left Wisconsin in my twenties, I was surprised to realize that most of the country did not share this idea of the tavern as a comfortable gathering place for all family members. Instead, taverns were viewed as places to imbibe liquor, consort with unsavory characters, and generally get yourself in trouble. I was puzzled by what I encountered — bars closed on Sundays, the creation of private "clubs" to circumvent restrictive liquor laws, the concept of a "dry" anything — and I found state-run liquor



Patrons at the Harmony Bar play sheephead, a German card game popular throughout Wisconsin.

Photo © Bob Rashid



A softball team sponsored by the Harmony enjoys beer and food at tournament time. Photo by Gina Grumke

stores with lab-coat-attired sales staff absurdly funny. In the 1980s I spent a summer working in Germany and discovered the neighborhood *Stuben*. They had soup and sandwiches, beer on tap, a juke box, some electronic games, and a crowd that could walk there. The Wisconsin taverns that I grew up around were close cousins of these neighborhood *Stuben*.

Wisconsin taverns are generally housed in long, narrow buildings and are furnished with a counter, bar stools, a few tables, and maybe a pool table and some pinball machines. Most bars have at least a small grill and fryer, and some have full-size kitchens in back. Many bars have an attached "dining room," which is used for eating, as a performance space for bands, and for parties and other special celebrations. Tavern owners more often than not work several shifts

behind the bar themselves, serving drinks, making burgers, and generally keeping order.

Sitting in Madison on the corner of a busy cross-town artery and a residential street in a couple of connected two-story storefronts is the Harmony Bar. Housing a bar since at least the 1930s, the building has tiny signs out front proclaiming "Bar" and "Grill" and neon beer signs in the small windows. Regular customers enter the bar by the side door, from the side street. (Only new customers use the "front" door.) Bartenders and customers greet each other by name and inquire about each other's lives. "Did you catch the softball game last night? Did you see Dave slide into third base?" "Where is your wife working now?" During the day people come and go, drinking coffee, reading the paper, watching the news or sports on the televisions, and chatting with the bartenders, many of whom have worked there for years. There is a con-

stant stream of delivery people bringing beer, liquor, and food. Around 11:30 the lunch rush starts — workers from the neighborhood, government office staff who obviously have driven there from the State Capitol building, and folks from the neighborhood. After lunch people start drifting in for a beer or two, maybe a bowl of soup, a plate of stuffed jalapeño peppers ("poppers"), or a basket of homemade chips and dip. There are decks of cards and cribbage boards behind the bar for the asking. The telephone rings frequently; many calls are for customers whom the bartenders know by name.

The adjoining dining room, with its black-and-white checked tile floor and beautiful tin ceiling, is full of chairs and tables that are easily and frequently rearranged by customers to accommodate their needs and activities, including eating, drinking, playing cards, holding infant carriers, displaying birthday cakes, and stacking presents. Customers are welcome to bring in their own decorations for parties, ranging from embarrassing photo montages of the birthday person to signs of farewell, good luck, and congratulations and balloons and crêpe paper. Also in the dining room are electronic dart machines, framed posters, announcements of past concerts and dances at the bar, and an elaborate menu board. When there is no band playing, the stage is used as more dining space.

Keith Daniels and his wife, Jo Raggolino, opened the bar in 1990. Keith was born and raised in Burlington, outside of Milwaukee, and spent his youth helping out in the family bar, which was also called the Harmony Bar. He left Wisconsin for a while but returned, with Jo and a strong sense of what kind of bar he wanted to open. When he and Jo, along with a partner, bought the bar, it

was, in their words, “a dump.” The only positive angle was that there was no clientele to offend or change. Designing the Harmony to be a place where he would enjoy hanging out with his friends, he packed the juke box with his favorite blues, rock, and some jazz (B.B. King, the Rolling Stones, Stevie Ray Vaughan), stocked local and regional beer, and slowly started building a menu of tasty bar food. He purposefully built a base of customers who were at least in their thirties, relaxed, and would return frequently to a place they liked — in particular, women can come to the Harmony and not be hassled. Although the clientele is primarily from the neighborhood, people drive there from all over the city. The owners have installed bike racks for those who prefer to cycle in. In a '90s update, although cigarette smoking is allowed in the bar, there is no cigarette machine. A small number of brands are sold from behind the bar at very high prices, reflecting the management's ambivalence towards smoking.

Jo's area of expertise at the Harmony is the food. The Harmony offers wonderful examples of traditional Wisconsin “bar food” — hamburgers, cheeseburgers, french fries, deep-fried onion rings, and even deep-fat-fried mushrooms and cheese curds. Jo has added a chalkboard menu of weekly and daily specials such as quesadillas, vegetarian sandwiches, pasta salads, and stir-fries. She recently installed a pizza oven and now serves an old-fashioned, thin-crust pizza, complete with gobs of cheese and toppings. Using her extensive skills and vision and fresh vegetables from her father-in-law's garden, Jo is redefining what bar food is (at least at the Harmony). Although her hus-

band Keith will never allow brats, burgers, and cheese curds to be removed from the Harmony's repertoire, she is continually changing and tinkering with the menu, with mouth-watering results. Jo was raised on the East Coast and was not familiar with the Wisconsin neighborhood tavern, but she has embraced the concept wholeheartedly.

Throughout the year customers from the neighborhood gather at the Harmony for a variety of food and entertainment. There is a daily sheepshead table in the front of the bar, instigated by Keith, an avid player. Keith's enthusiasm for many professional sports, including basketball, is reflected in the Boston Celtics posters throughout the bar. Several large televisions are mounted high on walls — often as not tuned to different sporting events, with the volume turned down except, of course, during big events such as playoffs and anything involving the Packers. On the weekends there is live music in the dining room. Keith only books genres of music he likes.

Throughout the year the bar sponsors darts, basketball, pool, volleyball, and softball teams. The undisputed favorite is softball. The Harmony Bar sponsors the most softball teams in the city of Madison. In fact, the Harmony fields so many that Keith is able to put on a day-long tournament at the end of the season with only Harmony teams. Teams are expected but not required to come to the bar, relax, and, they hope, celebrate after the game. The bartenders keep track of each team's orders on a big chart behind the bar, and at the end of the season the team that has spent the most gets a free pizza and beer party. The Harmony is developing such a reputation for softball and postgame celebrations that some regular customers stay away on summer

evenings because the atmosphere is so frenetic.

The Harmony has close connections with the Atwood community center, a volunteer community service agency a block away. The busiest night of the year at the bar is a tropical theme party which benefits the center. The Harmony sponsors a music stage at the Atwood neighborhood summer festival, and inside the bar a bulletin board displays announcements for upcoming community events.

Taverns like the Harmony Bar are significant social and cultural institutions in Wisconsin. At once rooted in past traditions and dynamic, they provide a space where people of all ages can come together and enjoy food and drinks, music, sports, games, entertainment, and each other. Wisconsinites appreciate the idiosyncratic, community-based character of taverns, which stand in sharp contrast to the homogeneity of larger American fast-food culture. They are proud that taverns, emblematic of social identity in Wisconsin, are places in which they can assert and maintain their own distinctive cultural traditions.

Gina Grumke, a Wisconsin native, has done fieldwork relating to Wisconsin taverns and is now completing her dissertation at the University of Wisconsin—Madison. She is currently employed by the Dublin Group, a Chicago-based innovation planning firm.

The Wisconsin Dairy Farm: A Working Tradition

Wisconsin boasts a population of 1 cow for every 3 people. We produce almost 15 percent of the nation's milk, 25 percent of its butter, and 30 percent of its cheese. With more than 27,000 dairy farms and 1.45 million dairy cows, the state clearly still deserves the title "America's Dairyland."

The honor of having the largest number of dairy cows in the state is shared by Marathon and Clark counties, neighbors near the center of the state. Each has 62,000 cows. Clark County is the picture of a healthy farming community, its landscape dotted with working farms and a plethora of agriculture-related businesses, from feed cooperatives and implement dealers to pole-barn construction companies and milk pickup stations. You're likely to meet a milk truck on any

of the county's small rural roads and just as likely to come across tractors pulling whatever piece of equipment is appropriate to the season.

The culture of dairy farming in the state is pervasive. Many residents either grew up on a farm or have spent time on their old "home farm" run by relatives. Many still value such connections and credit farm life with fostering strong family ties and a spirit of cooperation, moral instruction and a sense of stew-

Ruth Olson

ardship for both land and animals. But most people rely on an image of farming rather than an actual knowledge of farming as it exists in the 1990s.

Contemporary dairy farming demonstrates a principle folklorists love to pronounce: culture, like the traditions that assist in its maintenance, is dynamic. It changes to suit the needs of the members of a particular community at the same time that it retains the core values of that community. While farms are becoming much larger and technologically more complex, they are still community based and resource conscious, and are usually family concerns.

Here's what more and more contemporary dairy farms look like. There's a "milking parlor," where the cows enter into stalls to be milked; then they are released into "return lanes" to head back into the adjacent barn. The milker stands in a "pit" about three feet lower than the milking stalls, where she can easily put the milking machine on the cow without having to bend over. Many farms have free-stall barns — long, open, one-story barns where the cows wander in large pens, entering stalls to eat or lie down. These barns often have curtained sides that can be raised in the summer to allow a breeze to pass through. Most farms still keep their old two-story barns but find new uses for them, frequently as treatment barns for sick cows or mothers ready to give birth.

Near the milking parlor or in the house you'll find the farmer's office, filled with certificates and awards, pictures of both cows and kids, an aerial view of the farm, and, of course, a computer. All the information on each indi-



Light spills through the curtain of the free-stall barn at the Boon Farm in Greenwood, Wisconsin. Photo by Andy Kraushaar

vidual cow — her breeding records, her health records, her milk production — is kept on the computer, and the computer may be hooked up to the Internet, to allow the farmer to communicate with any of a number of agriculture-based discussion groups, both nationally and within the state. On the bigger farms, you'll find a work force which divides up to perform specialized tasks but in which any individual can handle a number of tasks.

Where Dick and Peggy Rau run their 700-cow farm, near Dorchester in Clark County, there's a lot of community support for dairy farming. Peggy says:

We don't meet a lot of people who are against us. You'll meet a few people that say, "Oh, you're putting the little farmer out of business." Well, not really. What would the difference have been if we would have stayed at 72 cows? We'd just be struggling the same as the rest of them, and I'd probably have an off-farm job instead of staying here. I've been lucky enough to be here 18 years; I've never had to work off. And I've always been here when the kids get home, and when they leave, which I consider a big plus.

The heart of the family farm is its children. The hope is that the farm will be there for the children who want to continue the tradition. To assure this, the farm has to be more than just financially secure; farming has to be something that the children can imagine themselves doing. Peggy Rau says that expanding helped increase the kids' interest in farming. Their son Zack helps to maintain the cows' feeding schedule, getting up at four in the morning before school to help feed. A year ago their daughter Stephanie began working as a milker, and Peggy and Dick have been surprised by her enthusiasm. "Who would have



Head milker Carrie Dassow monitors the milking machines in the double-ten parallel milking parlor at the Rau Farm in Dorchester, Wisconsin. Photo by Andy Kraushaar

ever thought she'd be talking to her friends about cows?"

Part of what makes their current mode of farming attractive to Peggy and Dick's children is that, with an expanded work force, it's possible to leave the farm now and then. "When we milked 72 cows, you had to be here at five in the morning, five at night, and now, like Steph's basketball game tonight, we just go, that's it. We get done what we have to get done, and then we leave." Dick and Peggy can take every other weekend off. For their anniversary last year, they flew to a Packers game in Florida. "We never did that in the first 15 years we farmed. We never left."

Agriculture in Wisconsin remains a family concern. Not everyone who grows up on a farm continues to farm, but many go into related businesses. Dick's brother, for example, is with Northstar Breeding Service, and Dick and Peggy buy most of their semen from them. Peggy's brother works for Marawood Structures, which put up the Raus' newest free-stall barn.

Although there may be hundreds of cows with numbers instead of names, there's still a focus on relationships with animals. The older cows, especially, become pets. Peggy describes how her milkers develop attachments to certain cows. Their milking parlor has a basement which also serves as a storm cellar. One day last summer Peggy was warning her milkers to get down to the basement in any severe storm. She told them, "Forget the cows, just get yourselves down there." Her head milker asked, "Can I bring 1459 with me?" All the milkers feed cookies, Hostess cupcakes, and Doritos to another cow, 1541. One milker suggested to Peggy that since they mix bakery waste as part of the cows' integrated feed program, it was the same thing as feeding the cows cookies.

Most farms still follow the old principle, "Find a use for it." The original recyclers, farmers innovate, putting old things to work in new ways. For example, Duane Boon of Greenwood in Clark County recently expanded his herd to



Cows graze in the feeding alley in the free-stall barn at Dick and Peggy Rau's farm.

Photo by Andy Kraushaar

120 cows and bought a milking parlor system. Rather than build a whole new operation with all new buildings, Duane decided to modify his existing round-roof barn. He gutted out one end of it, air-hammering out the floor to install the pit for the milking parlor, and changing the gutter system and stanchion setup in the other end to create a holding area for the cows waiting to be milked. He connected his new free-stall barn to his old barn, so that the cows could be moved from one location to the other easily.

And sometimes old ideas are used to fit new purposes. In Dick and Peggy Rau's milking parlor pit, all the supplies needed to prepare the cows for milking — towels, teat dip, sanitized water — used to be kept in a barrel, and the milkers would have to run back and forth to get supplies. Then Dick's brother came up with a better idea. He welded together a trolley, much like an old silage cart, that is suspended from a track on the ceiling. Now, the milkers simply pull the trolley along as they milk. In another case, a neighbor found that old tractor tires cut in half make the perfect manure scraper for a free-stall barn. Using a metal bucket to scrape the concrete floor causes two problems: first, it eventually smooths out the floor too much, making it slippery for the cows; second, metal buckets scraped against concrete wear out rather quickly and are expensive to replace.

Using an old tire is cheaper and better for the floor.

The Raus, like other farmers in the area, buy their tractor-tire scrapers from a local farmer who makes them. This specialized market emphasizes how much dairy farmers rely on a healthy, supportive

environment. Few dairy farmers find themselves operating successfully in isolation.

In Clark County, many of the farms no longer operating are those owned by older farmers. Duane Boon says that those farms end up getting absorbed by other farms, since not many new farmers can afford to start up. "Like my dad said, I'm farming right now what basically was 10 independent farmers 30 years ago. It's kind of sad in a way." Peggy Rau shares Duane's attitude. "I like the old farms.... I happened to go sit out in the woodlot one day, and you could see around this area, how many people are 60, 60, 60, 60." She points around her to her neighbors:

Dick's brother farms right up the road half a mile, so that one's running. The farm over there with the green silo top, another big farmer that lives out on [County Road] A owns that, and there's hired people going through it constantly, so it's really not a family-run farm any more. That farm over there is currently running but not for long.

Farmers are well aware of the risks they take in this rapidly changing business, and at least for the Raus and the Boons, it increases their determination to pass on workable traditions.

Before they expanded, the Boons milked 60 cows and did all right, "but I came to the point where I'm 40 years old. If I keep milking 60 cows, my net worth will probably go down by the time I'm 60, so I either have to modernize and expand, or get out, or just milk it out till there's nothing left," Duane explains. "I've got kids coming up, I think they might be interested. Maybe not; if not, I've got to have something saleable, too."

Dick Rau's uncle, a retired farmer himself, says, "I remember when I was milking 12 cows. I thought I'd be a big success if I could get it up to 30 cows. By the time I retired, I was milking 70, and now...." He gestures behind him at the complex that milks and cares for 700 animals.

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Ruth Olson was raised on a dairy farm in northwestern Wisconsin and has done extensive fieldwork on the occupational, recreational, and ethnic life of rural communities in the northern part of the state, with an emphasis on issues of land use and agriculture. She teaches at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and is on the staff of the Wisconsin Folklife Festival.

"A Good Way to Pass the Winter": Sturgeon-Spearing in Wisconsin

Ruth Olson

My talk with sturgeon fisherman Bill Casper begins with an early history lesson. The healthiest population of sturgeon in the world is in Lake Winnebago, in eastern Wisconsin.

Lake Winnebago, one of the largest inland lakes in the area, is 11 miles wide and 28 miles long — but at its deepest point only 22 feet deep. "It was shoved in here by the glacier. You can tell by all the north-and-south running lakes in the Great Lakes area. Even Lake Michigan got sort of plowed in here. You can see where the drumlins in the land were formed by the great glacier pushing the earth and bringing stone and debris along down. Must have been quite a time." As the glacier melted, lakes formed and fish migrated into the area. Bill believes the sturgeon came into the Great Lakes and Lake Winnebago area from glacial runoff and by traveling north along rivers like the Mississippi.

Sturgeon have been around for 3 or 4 million years. They are a primitive fish, growing to be decades old and yards long. Bill describes them as "a very nice fish to eat — their meat is very good." They have marrow — a soft, cartilage-type bone — and gizzards, like dinosaurs and chickens. Covered with a tough hide, sturgeons' backs and sides are ornamented with "scoots" or hackles. Their heads are a heavy mass of bone.



On opening day of sturgeon-spearing season on Lake Winnebago, thousands of fishing shacks are brought onto the ice with the help of four-wheel-drive vehicles and snowmobiles. Photo © Bob Rashid

Until the 1800s, lake sturgeon were abundant in the Great Lakes. Although commercial fishing there almost wiped them out in the mid-1800s, it was a different story for the fish in Lake Winnebago. The lumber boom in the area resulted in a number of dams on the Fox River between the lake and Green Bay, practically trapping the crop of sturgeon in Lake Winnebago. The sturgeon still have ample place to spawn in the Wolf River, which runs 125 unrestricted miles from Lake Winnebago to the Shawano dam.

Spearing sturgeon on the lake has long been a tradition. Bill remembers going out with his Uncle Ambrose and compares those earlier seasons with the more restrictive season now, when individuals are only allowed one sturgeon each year:

He would come up from Milwaukee on weekends and stay at our home, and then he'd go fishing, and I'd always want to go with him. And so my mom said, "Well, you've gotta be eight years old at least." So when I was eight and he showed up, I started going with him... We'd leave when it was almost dark, and we'd go out to the lake. He had just a car...and we'd drive out on the lake, and shovel our way out there because there were no snow plows at that time. And we'd start fishing. Fish till he couldn't see anymore down in the hole...then we'd come back home and have our supper at our house.... It was at a time where you could get five fish. Well, some days we'd get two, but in those years there weren't so many sturgeon fishermen out there.

It's different today. Bill estimates that during sturgeon-spearfishing season, which runs from the second Saturday in February through the third weekend of that month, there can be 3,000–4,000 shanties on the lake, and of course the same number of pickups.

Twenty-four hours before the season starts, people can cut their hole in the ice —

producing a block about 4 feet by 6 feet, and 2 feet thick. To cut through that ice a chain saw with a special 42-inch-long ice bar is used. The ice is cut at an angle — narrower on top, wider on the bottom — to make it easier to push the ice block down into the water. They then use long pike poles to sink the block under the ice.

Once the hole is cut, the ice shanty gets dragged over it. A shanty typically is equipped with two doors in the floor that raise up to expose only the hole. Thus, the sturgeon spearer can sit on a nice, dry, carpeted floor, in a heated shanty, while waiting to spot a fish.

When Bill fished with his uncle, the hole would be sawed entirely by hand with ice saws, and, once they had a hole cut, they didn't move. Now, with a chain saw, a shanty can be set up in 20 minutes. Like most spearers today, Bill hires someone with a chain saw to cut his hole.

A big chain saw is so very expensive...so a guy will buy [one], and he'll go out there and cut holes for ten bucks apiece. People will leave their name at a



Sturgeon fishermen push cut ice underneath the surface and away from the fishing hole on Lake Winnebago.

Photo © Bob Rashid

tavern, or he's got a radio in his truck with a flasher on the roof, and you can usually spot him out there, and you just go over and say, "Hey, I'm over here. When you're ready, come cut a hole for me." And it works out very nicely. He has all the gear for sinking the block, he'll help you move your shanty on the hole, and then they leave and cut the next hole.

People may move three times a day, but Bill stays put. Sturgeon-fishing requires a lot of waiting. Some people wait for two or three years to see a fish. Some, in half an hour, see a fish or maybe two. Bill's had pretty good luck over the years getting his sturgeon.

Is there a good strategy for picking a place to set up? Bill says you try to get closest to the spot where you caught a fish last year.

Or you turn on your radio.... Jerry Schneider, the radio station up at Chilton,...has a sturgeon report every hour or so, where if you get a sturgeon in the morning and you take it in and

register, it'll automatically get called in to Jerry Schneider's radio station. So everybody on the lake will know who got it — there's no secrets any more. ... Then they may start moving.... If they know where I'm at, and they know someone else near me and if we happen to both get a fish, they'll say, "Wow, they're in there." Shanties will come in, and

they'll be cutting holes around you, chain saws are going.... Some mornings you go in your shanty, and there's four shanties out where you are.... You come out in the evening, and you could be right in the middle of a big town.

But life on the ice is more sociable than competitive. People stop to visit each other's shanties, maybe sharing a beer while they sit and talk. Many people have CB radios in their shanties and chat back and forth. Like most shanties, Bill's is equipped not only with a heater but with a two-burner gas plate. "If you spend a whole day out there, you have to do a little cooking. If somebody visits, you gotta have a bowl of chili."

Most of the gathering is in the taverns in the evening. "It used to be years ago, the guy would walk in with a sturgeon on his shoulder and flop it on the tavern floor, even on the bar — everybody had a treat. Now, of course, they don't want you to do those things. It's always kind of a fun time, you know. And it's a good way to pass the winter in Wisconsin."

Bill's sister Mary Lou Schneider not only spears sturgeon, she carves the



Dennis Haensgen waits for sturgeon to swim by the hole in the floor of his sturgeon shack on Lake Winnebago. Photo © Bob Rashid

decoys she uses to attract them. She's gained local popularity as a decoy maker. Decoys are one of the most important elements in sturgeon-spearing. As Bill says, everyone has a favorite. They can range from brightly painted carved wooden fish weighted down with lead, to corn cobs, to kettles. "I've seen washing machine agitators down in the sturgeon holes.... Whatever got lucky a year or two ago, that's what [people] like to use."

While many people use spears with detachable spearheads (once the fish is speared, the handle comes free, exposing the rope attached to the spearhead), Bill does not.

Because when you first hit the fish, it will just stop. And if you bring it up right away, and you've got a gaff hook, depending on how you got him, you can take him right outside before he gets too

wild on you. If you just leave him alone for a little while and he starts coming to, they will take off like a wild calf on a rope. And they're all over the place, down in the mud and up against the ice, and down and up. You will not believe. And then when they come up into the shanty with you, there's water flying, water on the stove — you know, the tail is going! If you get a big fish, 80 pounds, every swat of the tail seems like 5 gallons of water comes up at you.

Yet one person usually can bring the fish out of the lake. In fact, one woman can do it. Mary Lou, who weighed only 115 pounds, speared one that weighed 117 pounds. She got it out by herself.

It's not just the good meat or the pleasure of the company that keeps people sturgeon-spearing. For many, to be out on the ice is a clear statement of who they are — as displayed through their ice shanties, for example. People put a lot of effort into personalizing their shanties. Bill's is a Green Bay Packer helmet. A lot of people come to see it, and on the lake they always know where he's at. "If you have your radio they'll say, 'He got one in the Packer helmet!'" But it's all right, Bill doesn't mind that people like to come and visit. "You just sit and talk and fish."

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Sturgeon For Tomorrow

Bill Casper founded Sturgeon For Tomorrow (SFT) 21 years ago, after he decided there was a need to learn how to raise sturgeon artificially in case something happened to the healthy local fish population. He printed up bulletins, posted them in local taverns, and had 150 fishermen show up at his meeting. Eventually, with the help of William Ballard of Dartmouth College, who had studied sturgeon in Russia and Romania, SFT spearheaded the effort to hatch sturgeon artificially.

Today, the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources (DNR) manages to hatch more than 90 percent of fertilized sturgeon eggs. They have helped to restock sturgeon in the surrounding states of the Midwest and even Canada. SFT continues to work closely with the DNR, as members serve on a sturgeon advisory board and help staff a volunteer patrol every spring to stop poaching on rivers while vulnerable fish are spawning. When SFT started in 1977, there were 11,500 sturgeon in Lake Winnebago; now, helped by both a reduction in poaching and adding to the natural population, the population is estimated at 45,000–50,000 fish.

The Enduring Craftsmanship of Wisconsin's Native Peoples: The Ojibwe Birch-bark Canoe

The bark canoe of the Chippeways [Ojibwe] is, perhaps, the most beautiful and light model of all the water crafts that were ever invented. They are generally made complete with the rind of one birch tree, and so ingeniously shaped and sewed together, with roots of the tamarack . . . that they are water-tight, and ride upon the water, as light as a cork. They gracefully lean and dodge about, under the skilful [sic] balance of an Indian . . . but like everything wild, are timid and treacherous under the guidance of [a] white man; and, if he be not an equilibrist, he is sure to get two or three times soused, in his first endeavors at familiar acquaintance with them.

—George Catlin, *Letters and Notes of the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indian* (1841)

The traditional crafts of Wisconsin Indian tribes are perpetuated by many of their talented craftspeople, several of whom are represented in this year's Festival. Centuries-old traditions continue to flourish and develop, not only in the realm of decorative arts but also in the manufacture of utilitarian objects. Wisconsin Menominee, Potawatomi, and Ojibwe still produce bark containers traditionally used to store wild rice and maple sugar, historically the principal subsistence foods of Woodlands Indians in the western Great Lakes area. And even materials not naturally found, such

as metal and plastic, as they became available were adapted by Indian people to age-old technologies. For example, the traditional birch-bark tray used to "fan" wild rice — that is, to separate the seed from the chaff — is generally made using birch bark, cut and folded into shape, then sewn with split roots. But some Indian people create the same object using heavy cardboard or even pieces of sheet metal riveted together.

Perhaps no single item in the traditional economy combines finesse and craftsmanship better than the birch-bark canoe — historically the principal mode of transportation and cargo-freighting

Thomas Vennum, Jr.



Fig. 1. Earl Nyholm and Charlie Ashmun tie inner stakes to exterior canoe form-stakes. Note the boulders weighting down the canoe form; also, that the white outer bark of the tree becomes the inside of the canoe.

Photo by Janet Cardle

for Indian peoples in the western Woodlands. Early European travelers in the American wilderness were amazed by this unfamiliar type of boat and rarely failed to comment on its construction. Most scholars generally agree with the 19th-century artist George Catlin that the Ojibwe more than any other people raised canoe-building to a fine art. Although the birch-bark canoe today has been supplanted by wooden, metal, and plastic boats, a handful of Ojibwe craftsmen still retain the important knowledge of all the steps in its traditional manufacture and the skills needed to apply them.

In the summer of 1997, a film crew from the Smithsonian Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies documented the construction of a traditional Ojibwe canoe. (Currently in production, the film, like this year's *Wisconsin* program, was supported by a grant from the Wisconsin Sesquicentennial Commission.) The master builder, Earl Nyholm, is a professor of the Ojibwe language at Bemidji State University in Minnesota and had demonstrated his canoe-building skills at two of our earlier Festivals. Earl was assisted by his 84-year-old mother, Julia; an apprentice, Mark Wabanikee from Bear Island in Lake Michigan; several of Earl's relatives living on the Bad River Reservation in Wisconsin; and a craftswoman from the Red Cliff Reservation, Diane Defoe, whose birch-bark work is featured in this year's Festival. The five-week-long construction took place on a Lake Superior beach on Madeline Island — the ancestral homeland of the Ojibwe people. The site selected was in fact the location of the first trading post of the Northwest Fur Company in the 18th century; undoubtedly this very beach had witnessed canoe construction in earlier times.

The process began with an exhaustive five-day search for the proper birch tree. The German cartographer Johann Kohl visiting Madeline Island in 1854 to observe the distribution of treaty annuities remarked on the importance of good bark for a canoe:

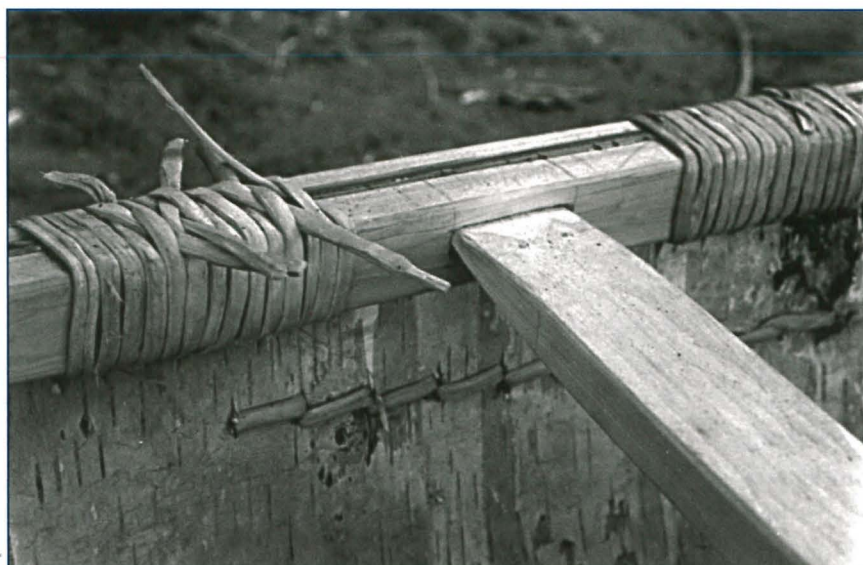


Fig. 2. This detail of the gunwale assembly shows the tapered end of the thwart inserted into the mortise of the inwale, split jackpine roots for lashing, and double-stitch sewing.

Photo by Janet Cardle



Fig. 3. Canoe-prow assembly with "man-board" — so called because it resembles a human form. A single piece of cedar is used which is split into more than 30 laminations to effect the bends in its form. These are held in place using wiigoob (the inner bark of the basswood tree) and threaded through and inserted over the man-board. Photo by Janet Cardle

[N]ew canoes are being constantly built around me or old ones repaired and I saw them in every stage of perfection. The Indians expend as many bark canoes as we do huntingboots.... The largest and smoothest trees are selected so that the pieces of bark may be as large as possible and prevent too much sewing (Kohl 1860:2829).

Canoe builders have a trained eye for picking out a "canoe birch-bark tree," which ideally

should be some 50–60 inches in diameter. Due to the decimation of forests for lumber and pulpwood, birch trees this size are a rarity today. Furthermore, the tree must be straight, free of "eyes" and lichen growth that might cause the bark to tear under pressure, and must not bifurcate at its top. (Earl suggested that only one in a hundred trees meets these criteria.) After they had rejected for imperfections a number of large trees identified in advance of the builders' arrival on the mainland opposite the island, their search ended in a wilderness preserve on Madeline Island with the discovery of a 54-inch tree.

(Canoe builders need a single large piece to run the bottom length of the vessel; if the bark is not wide enough to reach the gunwales on either side, it requires "piecing"; that is, bark must be added along the gunwales at the widest part of the canoe. Such "pieced" bark requires double-stitch sewing to the bottom strip, which is very time consuming. Thus the harvest of large birch by the dominant society

hastened the decline of the craft — one reason there are so few today building bark canoes.)

The builders made their incisions to remove the bark. (Some builders will fell the tree, but Earl likes to take his bark from a standing tree. The removal of bark does not kill the tree immediately since the exposed cadmium layer will heal, although the tree will eventually die.) Timing is critical, for there is only about a five-day window of opportunity in late June, dependent on both day- and nighttime temperatures, when the bark is ripe for taking. After two circumference incisions, the final cut was a straight vertical joining them. The bark of this birch

virtually sprang off the tree with a loud zipping noise; several days later it would have been irremovable.

To begin canoe construction a flat rectangular bed of sand was spread out evenly and picked over for rocks and twigs. At the site a wigwam framework was improvised over this building area to accommodate tarps (see Fig. 6). These kept the canoe out of direct sunlight and thus prevented materials from drying too quickly; bark, for example, will curl. On the level bed of sand, Earl spread out the piece of bottom bark with its exterior (the white side) facing upward. (Miniature canoes made for sale to tourists mistakenly give the impression

that the outside of the tree becomes the exterior of the canoe.) An elliptical wooden canoe form with pointed ends was placed on top of the bottom bark and weighted down with rocks to stabilize it. Ojibwe believe that their culture hero, the legendary Wenabozho, invented the canoe for them, and Indians can point to a pile of rocks on one of the Apostle Islands, saying these were the ones he used in weighting down the form of the first canoe.

The bark was brought up outside the length of the canoe and large birch canoe stakes driven into the ground along each side the length of the canoe to begin to form its shape (see Fig. 1).



Fig. 4. Earl Nyholm bends canoe ribs, using two at a time to guard against breakage. Photo by Janet Cardle

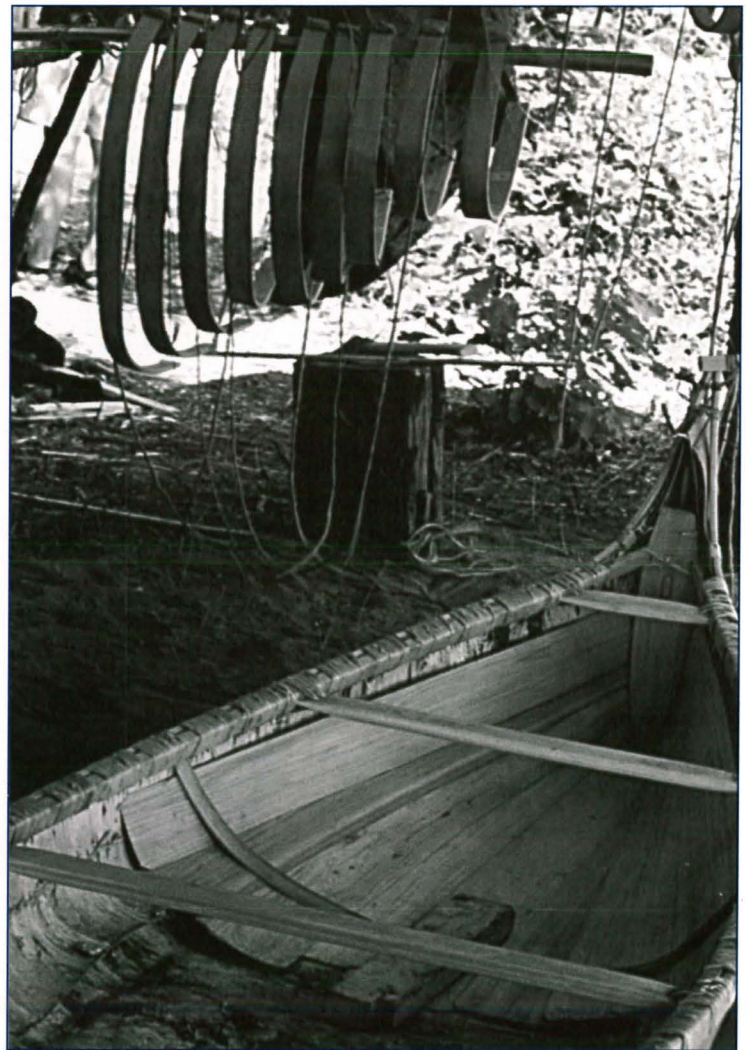


Fig. 5. View of the interior of the canoe with some of the thin cedar planking in place. Note the hanging bent and dried ribs which will be reinserted once the flooring is completely set in place. Photo by Janet Cardle

The ends of the bottom piece were clamped together using “Indian clothespins” made of cedar. The outer stakes were then tied to the inner stakes with “Indian string” (pieces of the inner bark of the basswood tree; see Fig. 1).

Because the bottom bark was not sufficiently wide to reach completely from gunwale to gunwale at the canoe’s midpoint, a strip of added bark had to be sewn (“pieced”) on either side for a length of perhaps three feet. All sewing is entrusted to the women, using roots of the jackpine tree which are split and kept in water until needed. Julia and Diane attended to this task, laborious and time consuming as each stitch must be doubled for strength, that is, brought over and under each side of the overlapped bark (see Fig. 2). To accommodate the stitches, an awl was used to poke holes through the bark. (In his famous poem “Hiawatha,” Longfellow, basing his information on Henry Schoolcraft’s Ojibwe

research, extolled the creation of the canoe from natural resources: “All the forest’s life was in it,/All its mystery and magic,/All the lightness of a birch-tree,/All the toughness of the cedar,/All the larch’s sinew supple.”)

After the added pieces were sewn, the long, thin, cedar gunwales were created, both an outwale and inwale, the latter being mortised to receive the tapered butt ends of three cedar thwarts which serve to hold the top of the canoe apart (see Fig. 3). Once in place, the gunwales had to be lashed to each other and to the bark for the full perimeter of the vessel. At this point Earl, as the master craftsman, completed the all-important finishing work at both ends by inserting an elaborately constructed cedar prow-piece (Fig. 3).

(Thomas McKenney, touring the area around Madeline Island in the mid-19th century, praised the Indian talent in using only natural materials in canoe

construction: “The Indians make no use of nails and screws, but everything is sewn and tied together. But the seams, stitches, and knots, are so regular, firm, and artistic, that nothing better could be asked for” [1827].)

The next and crucial step in construction involved bending and inserting the cedar ribs, which give the canoe its final rounded shape. About 40 thin cedar ribs had been soaking for several days to make them more pliable. Still, boiling water must be poured over them to increase their pliancy. Rib-bending is a most frustrating time for every canoe builder. Despite all the soaking and heating, the ribs are still quite brittle and easily broken. (Canoe-builders always prepare additional ribs, knowing they can expect to break several in the bending process.) Wearing a special pair of moccasins, Earl stood each time on a pair of ribs and through exertion gradually pulled up on either end (Fig. 4) until



Fig. 6. The 14-foot canoe, inverted for “gumming” (“pitching”) all cut and sewn areas on the bark, is ready for launching.

Photo by Janet Cardle

he achieved the proper bend, at which point he carried it to the canoe to insert it in place. Once all the ribs were intact, the canoe was allowed to dry for a day; then the ribs were removed and thin cedar planking, constituting "flooring," installed along the length of the craft and held in place by reinserting the ribs (see Fig. 5).

Finally, a gunwale cap was installed over the gunwale assembly with birchwood pegs; the cap offers protection to the lashing holding it together. The canoe was then inverted for "pitching" (see Fig. 6). Places where the bark had been cut and sewn had to be made watertight. Pitch for this purpose, made from spruce gum and deer tallow, was heated and melted down, with black charcoal from a maple log added for coloring. (Black is a popular choice in the Ojibwe repertoire of colors.) Like a bicyclist's patch kit, Ojibwe canoers always kept a small supply of pitch with them in the boat in case repairs were needed.

Once the pitch dried, the canoe was ready to launch. Wearing beautiful Ojibwe black velvet vests adorned in typical curvilinear beadwork representing flowers and leaves, Earl and Julia climbed aboard and paddled off into the sunset to provide the Smithsonian cameraman his final shot for the film.

The 14-foot canoe Earl built for the filming was fairly typical of a "family-size" two-man vessel; during the fur trade much larger ones were built for long-distance freighting on the Great Lakes. (McKenney [1827:146] described a 30-foot canoe which by his estimation could carry 2,000 pounds.) Kohl in 1854 was amazed at how much Indians could pack into a canoe and describes a family from 150 miles in the interior of Wisconsin arriving on Madeline Island. As the father and one son glided the canoe into an inlet, he observed that

the wife, with her other children, two boys and two girls, was buried beneath a pile of parcels and boxes. Among them lay a dog, with three pups, and on top of all the plunder, was a large cage, with two tamed falcons in it. The gunwale of the boat was only a few inches above the water, and in this way all these beings, and animals, and lumber, had made a seven day's voyage (Kohl 1860:35).

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Polka: Wisconsin's State Dance

The 19th-century European immigrants to Wisconsin arrived with polkas ringing in their ears. The polka, a lively couples dance in 2/4 time, had developed from folk roots and became a European popular dance craze in the 1840s.

In elite Paris salons and in humble village squares and taverns, polka dancers flaunted their defiance of the staid dance forms, the minuets and quadrilles, which had preceded this raucous and, for the times, scandalous new dance.

The political and social upheavals that coincided with the polka craze also launched thousands of European villagers on their hazardous migration to the American Midwest. They became farmers, miners, lumberjacks, factory workers, and entrepreneurs and continued to enjoy the music and dance traditions of their homelands, passing them on to the American-born generations.

Concurrent with the emergence of the polka was the booming popularity of brass bands and the invention of a variety of squeeze boxes — accordions and concertinas. Innovative tinkerers in France, England, and Germany developed a new family of instruments based on the principles of the *sheng* (a Chinese free reed instrument) but using the levers and springs of the Machine Age.

Richard March



Couples at the Ellsworth Polka Fest in Ellsworth, Wisconsin, dance a ring schottische, in which ladies advance to the next partner as part of the dance's pattern. Photo © Richard Hamilton Smith

Like the electronic keyboard in the late 20th century, the squeeze box was the 19th-century's most popular mechanical instrumental innovation. A single musician could replace a small ensemble, playing melodies and harmonies with the right hand while producing rhythmic chords and bass notes with the left. The prized possession in many an immigrant's pack was a button accordion or concertina, and that musician undoubtedly played a lot of polkas.

Upon its arrival, the polka became an American folk tradition. At rural house parties with the rug rolled up or at corner taverns in industrial towns, a squeezebox or a horn was likely to keep neighbors' feet stomping out polkas. A variety of American polka styles evolved in different sections of the Midwest, shaped by the creativity of particular talented and influential musicians. The styles have ethnic names — for example, Polish, Slovenian, Bohemian, Dutchman — based on the origin of the core reper-

toire and the ethnic heritage of many of the musicians. But in the Midwest, music and dancing are shared among ethnic groups, and most bands are ethnically mixed.

In the 20th century, radio broadcasts and recordings delivered the polka to more new enthusiasts. Clear channel WCCO in Minneapolis broadcast Whoopee John's Dutchman music to six or more states, much as WSM's Grand Ole Opry spread Southern traditional music far and wide. The recordings of groups like the Romy Gosz Orchestra and Lawrence Duchow's Red Ravens aided their efforts to become popular as regional touring dance bands.

Right after World War II, almost exactly a century after the original polka craze in Europe, polka music and dancing briefly entered popular culture in a big way once more, this time in America. Slovenian-American accordionist Frankie Yankovic, of Cleveland, became the

biggest star and attracted devotees nationwide to his style. Lil' Wally Jagiello's recordings on his own Jay Jay label established Chicago as the center of influence for Polish polka and converted many musicians to his "honky" sound. By the 1960s, rock 'n' roll had captured the popular music industry, but polka has endured in enclaves of a variety of communities.

In these communities, during the last quarter-century, polka musicians and dancers have organized institutions to perpetuate their passion. These include a network of polka dance halls, clubs, festivals, newsletters, mail-order recordings outlets, accordion makers and dealers, and radio and television shows.

Karl Hartwich was born in Moline, Illinois, in 1961. His father had relocated about 200 miles down the Mississippi River from his hometown near La Crosse, Wisconsin, seeking the good-paying factory jobs making agricultural implements in the Quad Cities area. But farming was in his blood, so the Hartwiches lived outside of Moline in rural Orion, where they raised hogs and field crops.

Karl's family kept in touch with their Wisconsin relatives. Karl remembers that at least twice a month they would make the trek upriver to attend dances where his distant cousin Syl Liebl and the Jolly Swiss Boys were playing. Syl Liebl, a Dutchman-style concertina player, is a natural musician, inventive, spontaneous, and passionate. Little Karl must

have absorbed the style like a sponge.

In response to his pleas, Karl received a concertina as a Christmas present when he was 12. A few months later he was sitting in with the Swiss Boys, and six months after that, at age 13, he had his own band, the Country Dutchmen, now in its 24th year. Karl has turned out to be just as original and passionate a

Virtually every weekend he packs up the van and instrument trailer, and he and his sidemen converge on a dance hall or outdoor polka festival. Casual in his dress and personal style, Karl is nonetheless very serious about his music. He is recognized as the outstanding Dutchman concertinist of his generation. Paradoxically, his music is at once

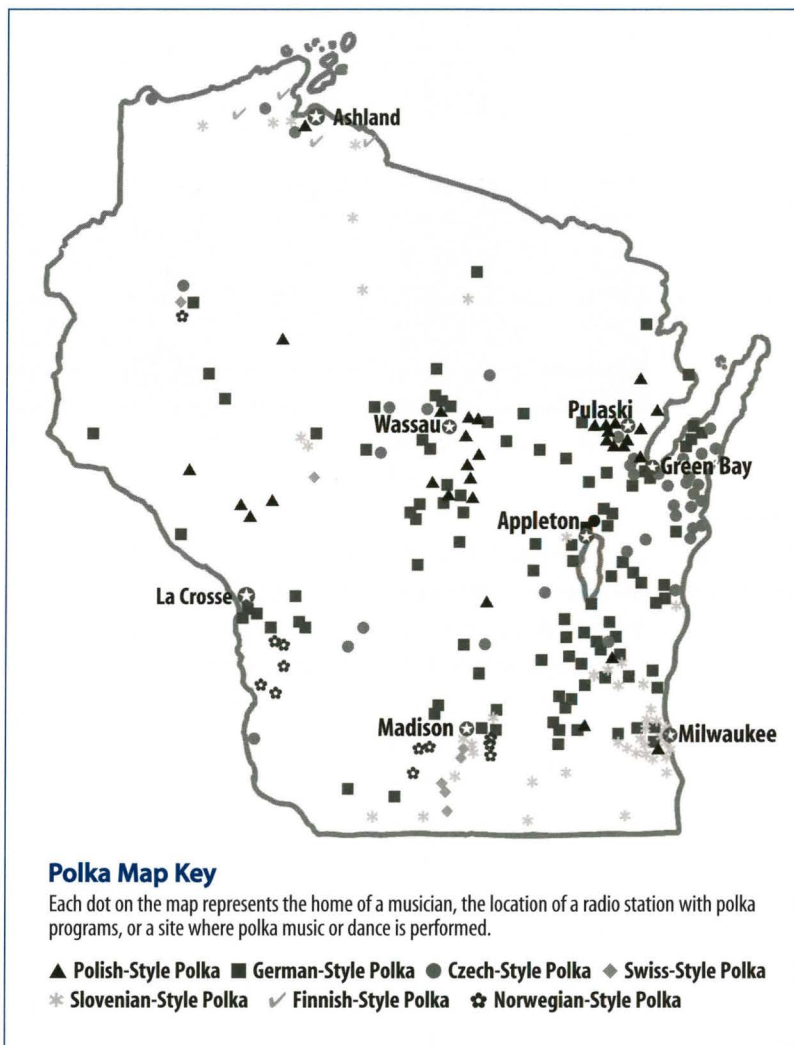
controlled and free. Karl has emphasized the syncopation, chromatic runs, and improvisational flourishes of the basic Dutchman style more than any of his predecessors.

It is indicative of the unique cultural milieu of eastern Wisconsin that Cletus Bellin, a proud member of the Walloon Belgian ethnic community of northeastern Wisconsin, is also the leader of one of the finest Czech-style polka bands in the Midwest, the Clete Bellin Orchestra. A proficient pianist and a very strong singer, Clete took the trouble to learn the correct pronunciation of the Czech folk song lyrics from a friend in the nearby town of Pilsen.

As a boy in the 1940s on a farm in southern Door County, Wisconsin, Clete was as likely to use the Walloon Belgian dialect of

French spoken in his highly culturally retentive community as the English he learned in school. Clete has had a life-long interest in his Belgian culture, and, now in his fifties, he is one of the area's youngest remaining truly fluent speakers of Walloon.

Clete's career in music has included playing in the Wisconsin Bohemian- or



musician as his mentor. He recalls driving the tractor on his family's farm, with dance tunes ringing in his head — the engine roaring, his left hand on the wheel, his right hand on the tool box beside the seat pressing out concertina fingerings on the vibrating metal.

Karl has moved back upriver to Trempealeau, Wisconsin, a location more central to his band's regular gigs.

Czech-style bands of Marvin Brouhard and Jerry Voelker and working for many years as the radio station manager and on-air personality for a Kewaunee, Wisconsin, polka station. Moved by the style of singing and playing of the Czech musical performing groups Budvarka, Veselka, and Moravanka, which toured Wisconsin in the early 1980s, Clete resolved to start a band to perform in a style closer to the European manner from which the other Wisconsin Bohemian bands had diverged. His group is widely acclaimed at polka festivals and Czech ethnic events throughout the country.

Steve Meisner was born in 1960 in Whitewater, a small town southeast of Milwaukee. At the time, Steve's father Verne was already an established musician, an accordion prodigy whose original band, Verne Meisner and the Polka Boys, was aptly named — the members were in their early teens when they started taking professional gigs. That was the early 1950s, just in the wake of Frankie Yankovic's having made the Slovenian style of polka one of the most popular forms of music in Wisconsin. By the 1960s, the Verne Meisner Band was one of the best-known polka groups in the region.

Steve received an ambivalent message from Verne when he showed an interest in music. Seven-year-old Steve's entreaties to his father to teach him to play were rebuffed at first. Then Verne thrust a momentous decision upon his young son: "If you begin to play, you have to promise that you'll never quit." Steve leapt at the challenge without a safety net and made it. Only a year later his father began to bring Steve along to play with the Meisner band, often placing the diminutive kid on a box so that he could reach the microphone.

Steve started his own band, the Steve Meisner Orchestra, while still in his teens

and has continued the family tradition in the polka-music business, playing regionally and nationally, producing his own CDs and videos, and organizing polka tours and cruises. Steve acknowledges his musical debt to the Slovenian-style musicians of the previous generation but has pushed the envelope of the form in hot arrangements and in original material which expresses a range of emotions.

When Norm Dombrowski was a teenager in the 1950s, he wasn't particularly inspired by the polka bands active in his hometown of Stevens Point, in a rural area of central Wisconsin populated by Polish-American dairy and potato farmers. The Dutchman style was the popular sound then at old-time dances. According to Norm, the bands he heard didn't sound too spontaneous; perched behind bandstands, the musicians' noses seemed to be stuck in their sheet music.

Then, in 1956, Chicago's Lil' Wally Jagiello gave two legendary performances at the Peplin Ballroom in Mosinee, just north of Stevens Point. Huge crowds turned out. Norm heard a modern Polish polka sound firmly grounded in the Polish folk music familiar to him from house parties and weddings. What impressed Norm were the band's lack of sheet music and their liveliness, reminiscent of rock 'n' roll bands. Norm decided he wanted to play in this style, and, like his new hero Lil' Wally, he was determined to become a singing drummer. By 1960 he was able to start the Happy Notes Orchestra with three friends, playing for dances locally and as far afield as Minneapolis and Chicago.

The Happy Notes evolved into a family band as Norm's children grew old enough to be competent musicians. Unlike most other Polish-style bands at the time, Norm's did not adopt the streamlined "Dyno" or "Push" style, but remained closer to Lil' Wally's "honky" sound, which emphasized call and

response. Norm stresses the singing of the old Polish songs but also includes in the band's repertoire German, Czech, and even Norwegian numbers to satisfy patrons of other ethnic backgrounds.

These four polka musicians represent the ways in which ethnic polka styles have remained distinct in Wisconsin. Their repertoires also demonstrate the transformation of polka traditions in the Midwest, the development of regional sounds played by bands of mixed ethnicity. The dedication and artistry of these and many other musicians, who continue to reinvent tradition, attest to the vitality of the polka in Wisconsin.

The polka was a rebellious dance in the 19th century and has become a Midwestern regional tradition since. Today Midwesterners have the opportunity to dance to rock music, join square dance clubs, or do Country line dancing, but instead choose to polka. It is a validation of their regional and ethnic roots, an expression of their determination not to be homogenized out of existence. Through the polka they reaffirm membership in a supportive and embracing community based upon friendship, eating, drinking, and socializing, as well as plenty of dancing.

Suggested Reading

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Deep Polka: Dance Music from the Midwest. Smithsonian Folkways 40088. A new release featuring the groups discussed in this article and others.

Faith, Politics, and Community at the Dickeyville Grotto

The southwestern corner of Wisconsin is a beautiful series of rolling hills, hidden valleys, rocky bluffs, rivers, and caves, all part of Wisconsin's "driftless region" not flattened by glaciation. Bordered by the Mississippi River, this former lead-mining region is today farmland and cheese-making country.

In Dickeyville, one of the area's small towns, is Holy Ghost parish, the home of a remarkable piece of folk architecture. Situated between the rectory, church, and cemetery is the Dickeyville Grotto, a structure so amazing that I have seen unsuspecting drivers come to a full halt in the middle of the road to gape. What stops them short is a 15-foot-tall false cave, decoratively covered with colored stone and glass, dedicated to Mary the mother of Jesus, to God and country.

Although the name implies a singular structure, the Dickeyville Grotto is actually a series of grottos and shrines. It includes the grotto dedicated to the Blessed Mother, the structure seen from Highway 61; a shrine dedicated to Christ the King; a shrine to the Sacred Heart of Jesus; and a Eucharistic Altar in the parish cemetery, formerly used for annual outdoor Corpus Christi processions. The large Patriotic Shrine depicts the

history and love of country represented by Columbus, Washington, and Lincoln. All of these creations display decorative embellished cement ornamentation, achieved by placing patterns of colorful materials in the concrete when it is still damp: shells, stones, tiles, glass, petrified moss or wood, geodes and gems. Iron railings with the same distinctive decorations border the walkways between the different shrines and grottos, unifying these separate structures.

All roadside shrines in Wisconsin reflect their time. In the 19th century, illness was a major concern. In the northeastern part of the state, French-speaking Belgian settlers built small chapels in thanksgiving for the recovery of an ill family member. Today in Kewaunee County, one can visit these chapels, no longer used for community prayer but proudly maintained as part of local

Anne Pryor



Like the Dickeyville Grotto, the Holy Family Grotto in St. Joseph, with its embedded cement flags, was built in the 1920s to represent Catholic allegiance to both God and country. Photo by Anne Pryor

Walloon heritage.

On Highway B in the rich farmland of central Wisconsin, a sign reading "Welcome to Visit Our Chapel" invites the traveler to enter a three-sided structure. A motion detector triggers a taped message explaining that the Memorial Expellee Chapel, built in 1995, is dedicated to beloved relatives who were slain or expelled from the Sudetenland due to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

At least two embedded cement grottos in Wisconsin, the Holy Family Grotto in St. Joseph and the Dickeyville Grotto, reflect American religious politics in the 1920s. Until the election of John Kennedy as the United States' first Catholic president, the patriotism of Roman Catholics was often questioned due to misunder-

standings about their allegiance to the pope (Stone and Zanzi 1993). To show that Catholics could love both church and country, Fr. Mathius Wernerus, the Dickeyville Grotto's builder, created two stone pillars on either side of the main grotto. In colorful tile and stone, one pillar depicts the U.S. flag and spells "Patriotism"; the other shows the papal flag and spells "Religion."

While the Dickeyville Grotto began as the story of 1920s Catholic patriotism, today it speaks more of community pride in local history. When Fr. Wernerus was the pastor of Holy Ghost parish, he relied on the devoted volunteer labors and donations of his parishioners, young and old, to help him build his masterpiece. In the care and management of the grotto today, current pastors do much the same. The results are strong personal connections to the grotto held by all ages of parishioners. Fr. Jim Gunn, pastor of Holy Ghost parish from 1995 to 1997, explained, "People have the pride, so it's not something that somebody else did but it's something that 'I had a hand in' as well."

Holy Ghost parishioners participate in the grotto's upkeep in various ways. A parish Grotto Committee has been successful for many years in keeping the grotto financially sound. One source of income is the donations made by the 40,000–60,000 visitors who tour the grotto each year. Another is the income from sales at the grotto's gift shop. Because the grotto is run as a nonprofit organization, any excess funds generated go to charity work or for special needs in the parish or town. As Fr. Gunn explained, "The grotto tries to pour back into the community as much as possible."

By 1995, the grotto needed extensive restoration. Cement and embedded stones were coming loose and falling out, iron railings were falling apart, and decades of weathering had compromised



The Dickeyville Grotto is actually a series of shrines consisting of gardens, fountains, and sculptures made of stone and embellished cement. Photo by Anne Pryor

the beauty of the shrines. Despite the general financial health of the grotto, such a large project was beyond its means. As grotto manager Marge Timmerman recalled, "We thought, 'Where is the money going to come from for all this repair?' And then out of the blue comes this man and he says, 'I feel

God led me to this place. I'd like to help restore this grotto.'"

This local hero had been visiting his daughter, a student at nearby UW–Platteville, when he happened upon the grotto. A devout Christian, he explained to Timmerman, "God has been so good

to me and my construction business that I feel he led me here to do this to thank him." The Grotto Committee accepted his offer of a crew to lead the restoration and paid for only the materials. Parish members eagerly participated in the project, donating funds, learning techniques, replacing missing stones, and cleaning years of discoloration off the shrines. Excitement was so high and so many people volunteered that Timmerman recalled, "Sometimes there was almost too much help."

When Fr. Wernerus constructed the grotto, he collected many natural materials from local caves and fields, solicited manufactured materials from Midwestern industries, and encouraged his parishioners to donate common household objects, all of which he used to decorate the cement. Parishioners were happy to participate in this way, even though material wealth was scarce in those post-Depression years.

During the restoration, Fr. Gunn put a box outside his rectory door for parishioners to donate items just as their 1920s counterparts had done. Even though the grotto's storage shed was filled with materials left over from Wernerus's own collection, Gunn solicited these new donations so that the current generation of parishioners could later point with pride to what they or their family had contributed.

Additionally, Fr. Gunn made sure to include the children of the parish in the restoration process, just as Wernerus had done. Current parish elders recall work-

ing with Fr. Wernerus when they were youths. Henrietta Hauber washed rocks and helped to "put things together." Esther Berning placed glass shards in the wet cement. Henry Mellsen helped carry completed sections out from the rectory basement in the spring. Today's parish children participated in the restoration by placing stones and shells in the iron railings' damp cement.

With the restoration completed by 1997, the grotto's structures are in fine physical shape and will not need such massive attention for a long time to come. An integral part of the grotto that does annually require a great deal of attention, however, is the gardens. Filling the space around and between the different shrines in the grotto, the gardens give the grotto its park-like essence and were an important part of Fr. Wernerus's overall design. Parishioner Delia Schroeder organizes each year's group of gardeners, with an individual or family taking one of the gardens to design, plant, weed, and maintain. Using a mix of annuals, perennials, and statuary, they proudly add to the grotto's beauty and tranquility. These volunteers tell of working in the gardens from before sunrise to after sundown. A local joke about their diligence says that they're out there waiting for a weed to come up just so they can pull it.

The last area of the Grotto Committee's responsibilities is planning for the future. Many parishioners talk of expanding the grotto by building another shrine, possibly in honor of Our Lady of Fatima or the Right to Life movement. Such discussions are the source of debate about how to approach the grotto's management: is

the grotto one man's masterpiece that should be maintained as is and not changed, or is the grotto a community creation that should absorb new artistic endeavors and reflect current religious and political issues? This question is not easily answered in Dickeyville, requiring a balance between the many opinions of parish leaders and grotto volunteers with generations of connection to the grotto.

The Dickeyville Grotto is an extraordinary display of religious faith, secular allegiance, personal genius, and community pride. A visit to this southwestern Wisconsin roadside gem is well worth the trip.

Work Cited and Suggested Resources

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Anne Pryor is a cultural anthropologist who specializes in religious traditions and children's folklore. She is also a specialist in folklife education and conducts teacher workshops and school residencies. Currently, she works for the Wisconsin Arts Board on the staff of the Wisconsin Folklife Festival.



1998

Pahiyas: A Philippine Harvest



Rethinking Categories: The Making of the Pahiyas

A hundred years after the leaders of the Philippine Revolution declared their archipelago a nation, Filipinos maintain an intense fascination for the developing shape of that body politic. We talk exuberantly — indeed incessantly — of the relative strength of kin and other allegiance groups in the fabric of the nation and the dynamic balance between our many similarities and differences.

We wonder aloud about the way we think in our tenacious vernaculars, even as we maintain fluency in universal languages. Particularly during elections, we carry on about the relationships between the ambitions in cities and the longings in rural areas and between charismatic leaders and their eager, if fickle, followers. As the 1998 century-mark of the declaration of Philippine independence

approached, we had impassioned debates about the historical narratives which instill pride — or demand pause. We conjured hundreds of ways of explaining who we are and why we do things as we do, all the while maintaining with certainty that our nation is built on a fundamental, and perhaps even stubborn, Filipino-ness.

At the start of work on this Philippine

Marion Pastor Roces

Festival program, the first order of business was to define an approach that engages not only how intricately we articulate identity and reweave tradition with 20th-century passions, but also how we do this while simultaneously expressing delight and dignity, vivacity and solemnity. The demand for accuracy of representation has been extraordinarily high. The project was negotiated by the Philippine Centennial Commission with the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies of the Smithsonian Institution in the context of the Philippine Centennial celebrations in the Philippines and of the associated events planned in many cities in the United States.

It has been clear from the outset that during these celebrations, Filipinos wish to signal our arrival at a juncture in history where we can enjoy a complex understanding of the deepest sources of our cultural pride. It has been clear that the project's goal is to express a sophisticated sense of the dynamics of folklife in a national formation. Thus, the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP), the implementing agency for the project on the Philippine side, assembled a project team of independent cultural workers and began working with the Smithsonian to create a Festival concept and presentation to communicate that sense of arrival and register that refined understanding.



A child watches the parade of the Pahiyas festival in Lucban, Quezon Province. Kiping, elaborate, colored, rice-flour designs, decorate the windows and balconies of houses throughout the town during this annual May harvest celebration. Photo by D. Martinez, courtesy Cultural Center of the Philippines

The Philippines program is produced in collaboration with the Cultural Center of the Philippines and the Philippines Centennial Commission and is supported by the American International Group, Inc., The Starr Foundation, Bell Atlantic, the Philippine Centennial Foundation/USA, and the Asian Cultural Council.

The Philippines



A map of the Philippines highlighting the home-towns and provinces of Festival participants.

invested whole lifetimes in mastering their art forms. These artists have achieved such levels of virtuosity that there can be no doubt of the continued power of their forms to move people today, even across extremely wide cultural and social divides.

Early in the planning, the team decided to rethink the categories promoted by many previous presentations of Philippine culture which subsequent scholarship has shown to be “thin” and lacking in descriptive power. For instance, separate historical experiences have heretofore justified the now-standard division of Philippine peoples into low-land Christians, Muslims, and highland “pagan” or “tribal” groups. These categories, however, are not useful in understanding the cultural forms shared across contiguous areas of the Philippines.

Those similarities are pronounced despite differences in religious beliefs or experiences during the colonial period. Happily, co-curator Dr. Richard Kennedy endorsed the possibility, for instance, of exploring relationships among diverse musical traditions that use percussion instruments, or among celebrations and rituals associated with harvest, or among gift-giving traditions from all over the Philippines. Work on the Festival proceeded with great energy in anticipation of possibilities such as masters of carving traditions from Muslim, Christian, and animist groups sharing a single space, or cooks from a wide variety of Philippine culture areas demonstrating their common relationships with the food sources in the archipelago. More importantly, the project team felt the need to consider the links among art forms normally separated by the disciplines of those who study them. Hence our plans embody the hope that some viewers may intimate connec-

Conscious of the pitfalls of viewing tradition as a static legacy from the past, the research team under the direction of Dr. Lennette Mirano guided planning with a sure grasp of the persistence of traditional culture in contemporary experience. Dr. Mirano, program director Ramon Obusan, project manager Eva Marie Salvador of the CCP, and their respective associates each brought to the project the

benefits of long years of experience with cultural analysis and representation. The project has been built on their well-established connections with long-term efforts of cultural institutions and academic centers. In the course of working with, supporting, and helping articulate the special devotions of traditional artists, these institutions and centers have identified those rare individuals and groups in many parts of the Philippines who have



Staff of the Cultural Center of the Philippines carry out research near Lake Sebu, in southern Mindanao, in preparation for the 1998 Smithsonian Folklife Festival. Photo by Richard Kennedy

tions between weaving traditions and musical forms, and between the processes of metallurgy and those of food preparation. The project team also wanted to bring together a wide variety of beating and pounding processes — finishing cloth made from the *Musa textiles* (wild banana) plant, the drone melodies of gong music, repoussé goldworking, hulling rice with mortar and pestle — to convey a sense of rhythm that seems to be universal in the Philippines.

As long-time cultural workers, members of the project team were aware of the difficulties inherent in a festival — particularly one in a foreign land — which often make it impossible to communicate the nuanced relationships that exist in traditional contexts among artists, materials, processes, performances, and their audiences. Moreover, logistical limitations make it impossible to represent all Philippine languages, regional groups, or forms of traditional art. The Festival emphasis on local traditions, which may be long-standing,

inaudible at a distance, and highly dependent on context for their meaning, may require that they be abridged, amplified, or reconfigured. Framing the artists in physical structures that inevitably are simulacra of fragments of home and perhaps in conceptual categories that do not resonate with the way the artists understand their own experience also leads to compromise. These can make artists and audiences uncomfortable and lose an opportunity for cross-cultural communication.

However, the project team has taken these problems as creative challenges in their work of cultural translation. The meanings may not wholly carry over, but the effort is valuable in a world constantly recrafting ways to celebrate and honor those among us who courageously, inventively, and often joyfully carry a valuable past into the future. Our emphasis on relationships across domains embodies the Festival project team's determination to achieve fresh perspectives in translation.

The 80 Philippine master artists hon-

ored by the Smithsonian Institution and their nation have in common — aside from their exquisite levels of achievement — a strength of character that has enabled them to meet the challenge of modernity by accepting and reworking certain aspects of it. Many of the artists are savvy about recordings and other forms of documentation, marketing techniques, alliances with other communities and countries, public presentations, discussions, and political action.

Individually and as a group they lay to rest the weary stereotypes of the primitive or the abject rural peasant. Although many of them are poor by the standards of urban society, they all project a grace, a pride, and a sense of assurance which seem to issue from the aesthetic pleasure and wisdom inherent in their chosen art forms.

Finally, these remarkable artists share a common involvement in elaborate systems of exchange, reciprocity, and gift-giving — a theme we have chosen to highlight at the Festival. Their lives are essays on gift-giving: mentors of younger generations, diplomatic representatives to worlds outside their communities, custodians of artistic creation, performers and makers of the implements of celebrations. They represent the spirit of *pahiyas*, a word which collects notions of gem-like treasures and blessings. *Pahiyas* is a shower of gifts and blessings in the celebratory abundance of a harvest. Through these artists, the Philippines celebrates the centennial of its declaration of independence by asserting its freedom to construct the future with the culture of gift-giving.

Marion Pastor Roces is a freelance essayist, editor, consultant, television producer, and curator based in Manila. She has published numerous essays and books on Philippine art and culture and is the author of the book Sinaunang Habi: Philippine Ancestral Weave (1992).

Rethinking the Philippine Exhibit at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair

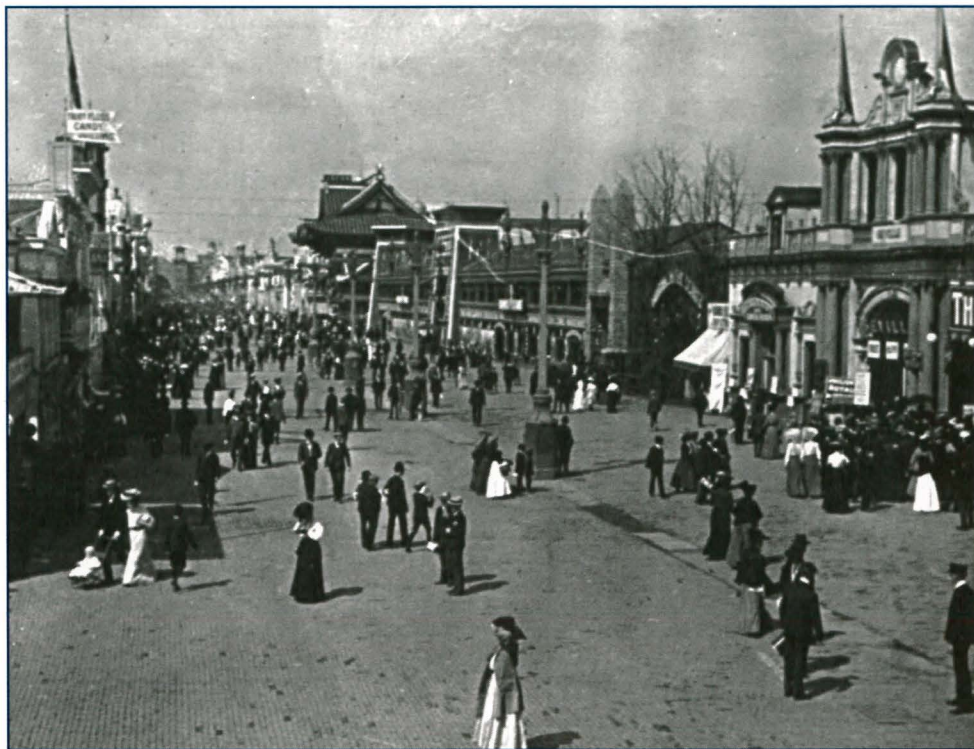
Richard Kennedy

Why do we organize a Festival program? And why does the public attend? These are critical questions asked by organizers of the Philippine program at the 1998 Smithsonian Festival.

The same questions were asked in 1904 of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, one of the last great fairs from the golden age of world expositions. The answers given to the questions nearly 100 years ago, however, were quite different from those we give today.

The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition celebrated the centennial of the 1803 purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France, which represented the first major expansion of American territory. The public sentiments supporting expansion in 1904 were not dissimilar to those in 1803. In the late 19th century, the nation responded to the tragedies of the Civil War by isolating itself from major foreign engagements, just as it had done for similar reasons in the late 18th century. But by the 1890s, a spirit of adventure spurred economic and military interests to expand U.S. territory for the first time beyond its borders.

Americans were ambivalent about this expansion, at times supporting the doctrines of Manifest Destiny and Social Darwinism, which seemed to ordain the country's expansion, and at other times expressing dislike of any American involvement in colonial rule. In the mid-1890s, President Cleveland resisted



The midway at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis was the center of the world's fair that Henry Adams called "the first creation of the twentieth century." As part of the celebration of the centennial of the 1803 U.S. purchase of the Louisiana territory from France, the fair presented the cultures of the Philippines, territory bought from Spain in 1898. Photo by Frances Benjamin Johnson, courtesy Library of Congress

demands for the annexation of Hawai'i and the invasion of Cuba, but by 1898, President McKinley had made Hawai'i a territory and ignited the short-lived Spanish-American War by sending troops to Cuba to assist the overthrow of Spanish rule. The Philippines was inadvertently drawn into that war when Assistant Secretary of the Navy Teddy Roosevelt asked Commodore George Dewey to launch a surprise attack on the Spanish fleet protecting Manila, Spain's colonial capital for over 300 years.

The United States won the Spanish-American War, and for the public many earlier doubts about engagement were resolved. By 1904 it seems that America was prepared to celebrate the Louisiana

Purchase centennial as well as its newly gained territory with a major world's fair. Among the newly acquired lands were the 7,000 islands of the Philippines.

Americans had initially indicated some support for the Philippine independence movement but did not recognize its 1898 declaration of independence from Spain (now being celebrated at this Smithsonian Festival in 1998). The McKinley administration, in a highly contentious decision that accompanied the end of the war, then bought the country from Spain for \$20 million. By 1899, American guns turned on the insurgents, and in the end as many as 200,000 Filipinos may have died as a result of the

Pahiyas: A Philippine Harvest

fighting. More than 70,000 American soldiers were involved. These developments drew much criticism in the United States.

The St. Louis Exposition was planned to be the biggest fair in U.S. history; Henry Adams called it “the first creation of the twentieth century.” Following and in the same spirit as the great 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the Louisiana Purchase Fair celebrated exploration and conquest. It was meant to outshine Chicago, but in the annals of world expositions St. Louis is not as well known — most people are familiar with it primarily through the 1944 film and title song “Meet Me in St. Louis.” Spread over 1,270 acres (twice the size of Chicago’s celebration), the fair followed the pattern of past expositions but on a much grander scale: it featured individual state exhibits, “palaces” of industry, education, agriculture, etc., and international pavilions. In addition, over 400 international congresses and meetings were held in the city during the six months of the fair, and the 1904 Olympics were staged nearby. However, what particularly distinguished St. Louis were the size of its anthropology section and the degree to which attempts were made to construct authentic environments for its participants. The grandest of these constructs was the Philippine Exposition.

This special exhibition was also called the Philippine Encampment or the Philippine Reservation, and together these terms reflect some of the conflicting attitudes expressed in the program. In discussing the participation of the Philippines in the fair, some advocates of American expansion were concerned that “displaying” Filipinos would hurt the chances of

convincing the American public that the newly conquered country should eventually become a part of the United States. The inclusion of model schools, bands, and police drill teams was thought to balance a program that to some appeared to present a “primitive” culture. So the term “encampment” highlighted the presence of disciplined military troops, civic order, and, in effect, terrain familiar to the public. On the other hand, the term “reservation” made a clear reference to American Indians and, by implication, created a parallel between the takeover of the Philippines and that of the American West. Both these messages were encoded in the Philippine Exposition program.

Many players were involved in the exposition, which cost \$15 million. Individuals, the U.S. government, and the city of St. Louis each committed \$5 million in the hopes that an event of profit (from entrance fees and fair sales) as well as of world importance would take place. The \$1.1 million Philippine program similarly had a variety of supporters. In 1902, the U.S. Colonial Administration in Manila allocated \$250,000 (later supplemented with another \$250,000) for the program. Behind the decision was President

Roosevelt himself, a leader in the Spanish-American War, and Philippines governor William Taft (soon to be secretary of war and then president). W.P. Wilson, director of the Philadelphia Commercial Museums, was soon appointed to be head of the installation, and Dr. Gustave Niederlein, also from Philadelphia, was placed in charge of collections. John Barrett, commissioner-general for Asia at the fair, called on the business community to organize a committee to advise the government on the project, and many of the exhibits in the forestry, agriculture, and commerce pavilions would portray the natural resources and potential riches of the Philippines. The fair was part trade show, and thousands of examples of crops, tropical woods, and other goods were exhibited in addition to Philippine ethnic communities.

For the presentation of Philippine culture four major ethnic villages were built. A copy of the walled city of Intramuros in Manila housed, among other things, captured weapons. A plaza surrounded by reconstructions of official buildings contained the above-mentioned topical pavilions, including an ethnology exhibit in a building modeled on a Manila cathedral.



The Metcalfe sisters photographed the 1904 fair extensively. Here one of the sisters (at right) is photographed with a Bagobo participant. About 30 people from the Bagobo community in central Mindanao were part of the 1,200-member Philippine delegation to the fair.

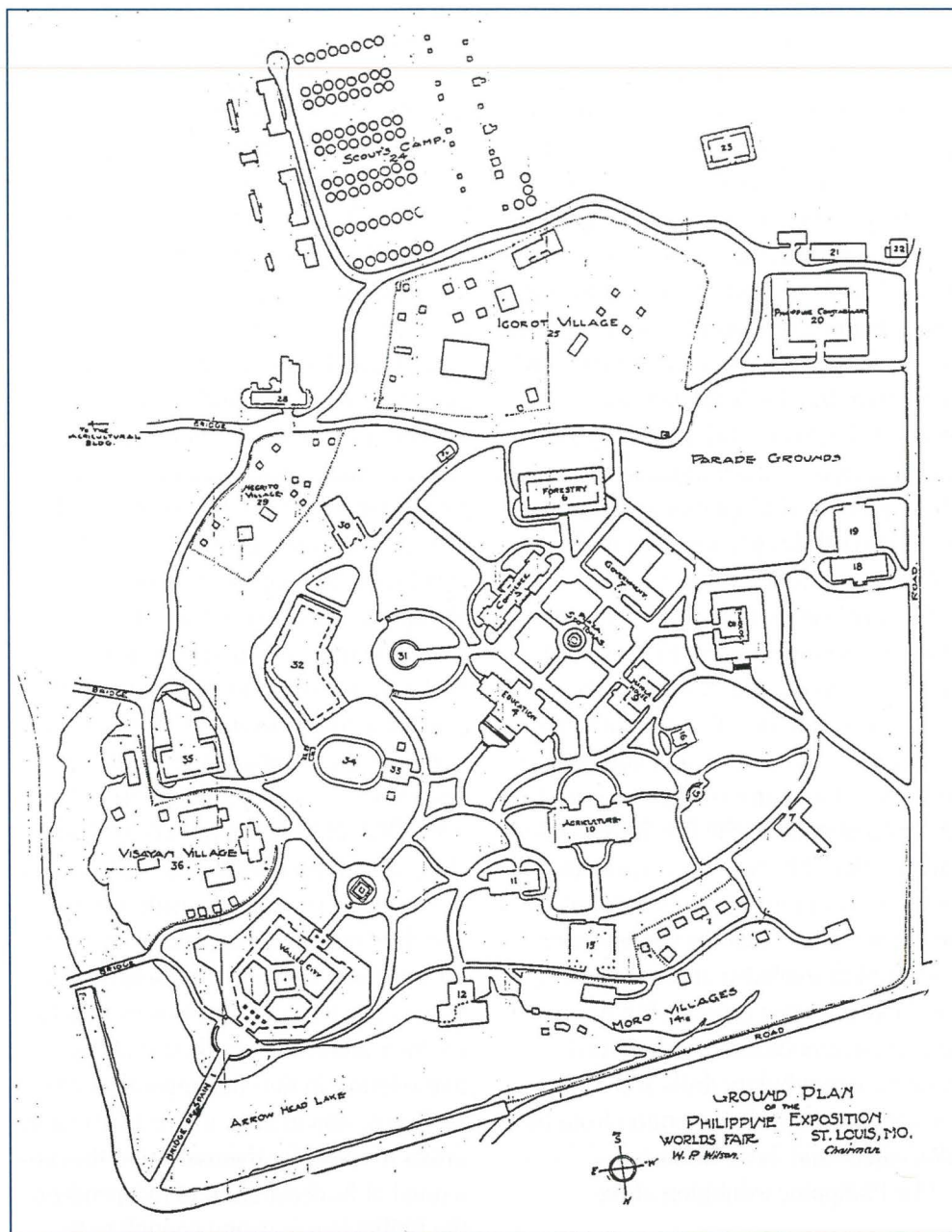
Photo by the Metcalfe sisters, courtesy Smithsonian Institution
National Anthropological Archives

Pahiyas: A Philippine Harvest

The symbolism of the site design was clear. After crossing a bridge and walking through the walled city, the visitor would come upon the center of the exhibition, the Plaza St. Thomas, which represented in the minds of the organizers the most “civilized” aspects of Philippine society. Also in the plaza, the education pavilion presented the educational activities of American teachers. Nearby were the parade grounds and bandstand in which the more than 400 members of the Philippine constabulary paraded, drilled, and were housed. These troops were also brought to police the site.

The four villages — Igorot, Negrito, Visayan, and Moro — representing a diversity of Philippine communities, were placed in a circle outside the central plaza. This diversity was important to the organizers. The 19th-century process of establishing administrative control of new lands created among many imperial powers an obsession with categorization as a way of understanding (and taxing) colonial possessions. Scholars often assisted their efforts. The turn of the century was in some ways a golden age of applied anthropology. President McKinley’s Philippine specialist, Dean Worcester, for example, proposed a division of Philippine people into 84 “tribes” — 21 Negrito, 16 Indonesian, and 47 Malay. The official catalogue of the exhibition takes the categorization further, stating that 103 “groups” out of 144 and 308 “classes” out of 807 were represented. The specific meanings of these crude categories seem less important than the fact that attempts were being made to represent a hierarchical cultural diversity. The Report to the Exposition Board claimed,

While all of the 70 or more groups of people in the archipelago could not be represented, there were the least civilized in the Negritos and the Igorots, the



*The Philippine exhibit at the 1904 World's Fair was an elaborate re-creation of elements of Philippine culture. Surrounding the central plaza were buildings displaying Philippine commerce, forestry, culture, and education, and the U.S. role in their development. Skirting the center of the exhibit were the “villages” of the Igorot, Negrito, Moro, and Visayan participants. Plan reproduced from William P. Wilson, *Official Catalogue. Philippine Exhibits. Universal Exposition (St Louis: The Official Catalogue Co., Inc. 1904)*, courtesy Library of Congress*

semi civilized in the Bagobos and the Moros and the civilized and cultured in the Visayans as well as in the Constabulary and Scout organizations. In all other respects — commercially, industrially, and socially — the exhibit was a faithful portrayal.

Defining degrees of “civilization” was an important message of the fair.

The 335 ethnic Philippine participants included members of the Bontoc, Suyoc, and Tinguian (collectively known as Igorot) communities in upland mountain Luzon; Bagobo from Mindanao; two

Muslim Moro groups from Zamboanga; and a variety of Negrito and Visayan communities. Singers, dancers, and musicians performed regularly on stages from 11 A.M. to 6 P.M., and craftspeople such as *piña* (pineapple fiber) weavers and basket makers demonstrated their skills. They were housed on the site and were paid for their presentations. The specifics of the selection process of participants were not recorded other than that Dr. Niederlein was appointed in September 1902 to begin working with local administrators throughout the Philippines to identify people and goods for participation in the exhibition. Except for one or two Philippine names on the various commissions, the selections seem to have been made entirely by American officials.

The choice of the tribal communities led to extensive media coverage, and perhaps as a result the Igorot village was one of the most popular at the fair. In response to charges that this coverage was exploitative, a report to the Exposition Board stated, "It is not true that the savages have been unduly exploited at the expense of the more dignified exhibits, but no amount of emphasis on commercial exhibits, constabulary drills and Scouts parades has distracted attention from the 'dog eaters' and 'head-hunters'."

The Philippine exhibition at the

St. Louis World's Fair was the product of many voices. The dominant one spoke of the rich potential of America's newest colony and the important role civilization would play in the development of this distant land. But other voices wanted simply to show how other cultures live and to "promote peace and good will." Audiences certainly did come to see these "others," and heard all these voices. And undoubtedly some came to stand for a moment in the dawn of the new century to reflect on the new status of America in the world. Organizers of the fair had encouraged this.

A hundred years later the voices involved in the organization of the 1998 Philippine Festival program have been quite different, as Marian Pastor Roces writes in her article in this volume. The Festival team organized by the Cultural Center of the Philippines in Manila researched, conceived, and produced an event that, at its heart, honors and puts at the center master artists. The Festival aims to present their traditions with sensitivity and does not by implication, as in 1904, present these artists as representatives of stages of civilization. Artists were selected for their ability to keep their tradition vital and relevant in the contemporary world. And, most importantly, the Festival enables artists to speak for themselves. At the centennial of its declaration of independence the Philippines is strong enough to be proud of the traditions of all its people and to let them speak for themselves.

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Masters of Tradition in the Modern World

A tradition bearer is sometimes stereotyped as a quaint relic in a remote setting, admired and extolled but isolated and left behind by the times, focused on the past while others face forward to the future.



Staff of the Community Crafts Association of the Philippines film basket makers in Manila. As part of a project to train traditional craftspeople to market goods directly through the Internet, these basket makers learn to photograph and write about their work for direct sale on the Web. Photo courtesy PEOPLink

The year-long research that identified “traditional Filipino artists” for the 1998 Folklife Festival made it clear that this figure does not exist. The picture that emerged was strikingly different. Most artists were equally at home in villages and in more cosmopolitan settings. Born and raised in traditional communities, many had come to the cities as young people to study or find work. There they learned to negotiate with modernity. But they chose to invest their training, educa-

tion, and energy in traditional culture, though knowing full well that it is easier to reject the old ways while living in the city. They have become masters of their traditions despite pressure from the swift change that engulfs the cities and every village in the Philippines. They understand commerce and have found ways to maintain standards of excellence against demands for mass production. Well aware of the emphasis on glossy and elaborate production values in the entertainment industry, they have decided to project the

Elena Rivera Mirano

subtler and healthier values that reflect older ways of thought and living. And some of them have been able to enlist government and corporate support for their individual and collective programs. Three accounts from our research files fill in these general outlines with glimpses of the human experience reflected in Philippine traditional arts.

Victorino Saway

Victorino Saway was 16 when he first saw the city. His father was the great Datu Kinulintang, leader of the Talaandig people and epic singer from the southern mountains of Bukidnon. He was sending his third son, Vic, to the University of the Philippines in Manila to transcribe and translate the Agyu epic. Vic had attended school in his home village of Sungko and was excited about going to the city. But the university disoriented him. Sitting at a desk, listening to his father’s taped performances day after day, he realized that the epics, which he had never paid attention to because they were old-fashioned, were difficult to understand. One day, he recalls, he asked a young Mansaka sitting beside him for help. The latter chided him, “I’m having enough trouble deciphering my own language, and you ask me about yours?” After three weeks, Vic gave up and went home.

But the *datu* would not give up. When Carmen Unabia appeared in Sungko looking for an assistant for her own dissertation research on the Agyu epic, Vic was enlisted. He had begun to understand his father’s intent. Later the *datu* packed him off to Silliman University, and by the time he graduated with a bachelor’s degree in anthropology, he had learned to sing the Agyu as well.



Aga Mayo Butocan presents Maguindanao kulintang music in Manila. Photo by Richard Kennedy

Two graduate degrees later, Vic, now also known as Datu Migketay, is a respected Talaandig leader. He was instrumental in drafting the newly signed Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA), which seeks to protect the rights of indigenous people to their traditional lands, and is now busy explaining the law to these groups all over the Philippines. Recently, he was appointed commissioner of the National Commission on Indigenous People (CIP) created under the new law.

On the community level he and his many talented and far-sighted siblings have organized a preschool for the traditional arts in Sungko that is a model for the teaching of indigenous culture in the Philippines. Children from the age of three onwards learn songs, dances,

games, and stories of their people as well as the rudiments of reading and counting. Their older siblings in elementary and high school congregate here after class hours to learn to make and play instruments, embroider, weave, and manufacture clay beads in the traditional way. Their elders who teach in the school share with the members of the community their expertise in plant and herb lore, myth recitation, ritual performance, and methods of healing. In this way, they consciously ensure that the wisdom of Datu Kinulintang's generation is handed down.

Aga Mayo Butocan

When she was asked to teach Maguindanao *kulintang* at the Department of Music Research in the University of the Philippines in 1968, Aga Mayo Butocan was a 19-year-old schoolteacher in the seacoast vil-

lage of Simuay on the island of Mindanao. She was an accomplished player in the village, but she had never taught *kulintang* in school. Nor had anyone else in the Philippines, for that matter, tried to teach this ancient Southeast Asian form of bossed gong music in school. Aga's naturally reflective spirit rose to meet the challenge, supported by a quiet strength that had served her well as a young student who traveled through crocodile-infested waters to reach the Cotabato Public High School three hours away from Simuay. The Muslim village girl who persisted came back to her village with a teacher's certificate. Later she had come to Manila hoping to get accepted into a more advanced teacher training program, but, lacking important political connections, she could not get in. The job

"I had to study myself,...I had to learn about my own body, mind, and spirit."

—Aga Mayo Butocan



A group of Kalinga men participate in a budong (peace pact). Photo courtesy Cultural Center of the Philippines

at the University of the Philippines was a valued opportunity.

The challenges Aga faced in the first years were formidable. Outside of the island of Mindanao, most Filipinos were not aware of *kulintang*, and there were no models for teaching it other than the traditional system of listening and imitating. In the capital city of Manila, music students were well versed in Bach and Beethoven, jazz and rock 'n' roll, but had never heard of *kulintang*. Aga herself had never conceptualized the *kulintang*. Meeting students' needs, teaching them to play for eight hours a day, five days a week, she was forced to think through her playing, to focus on how she moved, what she thought about, and how she felt as she played. "I had to study myself," she recalls. "Before I could understand what the *kulintang* meant, I had to learn

about my own body, mind, and spirit."

Slowly, she developed a method that has been elaborated and published as the textbook for teaching *kulintang*-playing in Philippine schools of music. In her 30 years of teaching she has taught the *kulintang* to thousands of students. She has inspired many composers, teachers, and researchers. She has organized and trained *kulintang* ensembles that have played all over the world. Despite a growing clamor for dramatic and showy precision in performance, she maintains a traditional improvisational style that is quiet, reflective, and focused on the spirit.

Benecio Sokkong

Although the office of peace-pact holder is handed down from a father to a son in communities in the northern Cordillera mountains, the selection is further refined by criteria of social stature, skill

in negotiation and diplomacy, and knowledge of ritual and protocol. In this way, a community assures itself that it will be well represented in intra- and intervillage disputes about land, security, peace-keeping, and domestic conflict. The community leader who holds the pact is the one who is entrusted with negotiating and recording its terms.

Benny Sokkong is the chosen *budong* (peace pact) holder of the village of Tanglag, Lubuagan, in the province of Kalinga. As a young boy, he watched and listened as his father held sensitive discussions with elders from other villages. He saw how peace and harmony were ensured. By the time he came down to Manila in 1978, hoping to study dentistry, he was already skilled in the ritual preparations of materials involved in holding peace pacts. Lacking the means

to finance his education, Benny took a night job as a security guard. He also became a member of BIBAK, a cultural organization of highlanders from the northern Cordilleras with a chapter in Manila. Although BIBAK was conceived as a performing group that could be invited to school programs, cultural shows, and festivals to present northern Cordillera culture, it also developed into a support group for highlanders in the city. It helps organize traditional weddings, funerals, and other large community events, and it transports people, equipment, and materials to and from these events. Benny found himself working not only with kinsmen from Kalinga but also with other highlanders from different parts of the Cordilleras.

His triple life in Manila — as security guard, dental student, and culture bearer — intensified as he was about to finish his dental degree. He accepted an invitation to teach Kalinga music at the University of the Philippines. With the teaching job came lucrative work as an instrument maker. Cordillera culture has a high visibility in Manila, and many schools, cultural troupes, and community organizations regularly purchase its fragile bamboo instruments. They know their reliable source is the instructor at the

College of Music, not commercial centers like the Baguio market, for the instruments there are made for the tourist trade. Now a dentistry graduate and working as a dental technician, Benny set up a workshop/factory in Baguio city, the hometown of his wife, who is a Kalinga-Ibaloi nurse. The new facility has made it easier to keep up with orders, and his resonant instruments, full of the sound of the mountains, fulfill their purposes in rituals and other cultural events.

Benny continues to commute to Quezon City in metropolitan Manila to teach at the university every week. But he travels just as regularly to Tanglag to settle disputes and conflicts among his kinsmen. He looks forward to the day when he, like his father before him, will officiate at a full-scale *budong*, a peace pact between communities, which requires an intimidating array of financial, physical, cultural, and spiritual resources, but which assures these communities a harmonious, peaceful coexistence.

Reviewing the life stories of these admirable men and women, one can begin to reflect on the questions, what is tradition, and how is it related to the national life of the Philippines a century after the birth of the nation? Tradition is society's perception that there are proper ways of doing things. Undertaking activities in the right way is important because

this ensures the health and well-being of the community. As conditions change and time passes, parts of tradition may alter or even disappear to suit changing needs, but the core, the heart of the "proper way," must remain recognizable. The tradition bearer has invested time and energy in mastering the knowledge, skills, and meaning needed for "the proper way." Thus, as artist and community are drawn into conditions of change, the center can stand to remind us all of what is healthy, whole, and lasting. The germ charged with meaning is passed on, grows, and develops. Traditional masters have made a difficult journey in time and space while living and acting in a world full of tumult and change. The core, the germ of their vision and wisdom, will carry us all, as a nation, into the future.

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Traditional Music in Philippine Cultures

In an environment of modern, technological materialism, Philippine musical traditions remain rooted in spirituality and ancient wisdom about life and nature. They provide valuable, alternative perspectives on Philippine life, history, and culture. Even a fleeting survey of these musical traditions reveals a multisided prism that reflects Philippine society and culture as a complex amalgam of forms in time and space. These forms present striking varieties and nuances, and delineate not only distinct regional and cultural borders and social structures, but also connections to peoples and cultures outside the Philippines.

The kaleidoscopic variety of indigenous musical traditions is easily seen in their instruments, performance techniques, repertoires, and languages. Flat gongs, from the uplands of northern Luzon, are played in a variety of styles and in groups ranging from five to six musicians among the Kalinga, Bontoc, Bago, and Gaddang communities, to an ensemble of three among the Ifugao, accompanied by a single conical drum among the Applay, and an ensemble of two gongs and two drums among the Ibaloi of Benguet.

Such an abundance of musical styles also can be found for bossed (knobbed) gongs, which cover a much wider area from Palawan to the southern islands of Mindanao and Sulu. Among the Bagobo, Manobo, and Bla'an in eastern Mindanao, sets of graduated gongs called

kulintang are suspended in pyramid formation from the lowest drone gong (*bandil*) to the highest of the melodic gongs called *tagungguan*. The gongs of the *kulintang* from western Mindanao are laid in a row. In the ensembles of the Maguindanao, Maranao, Tausug, Sama, Yakan, and Subanen, the *kulintang* is

Ramon P. Santos

musically complemented by larger gongs with varying resonance and tone colors. On the other hand, aerophones (flutes and trumpets), idiophones (buzzers, stamping tubes, log and bamboo slit drums), and chordophones (lutes and zithers), mostly made of bamboo and local timber, also represent specific language groups and communities through their physical and musical characteristics. Melodic drones from these instruments usually combine with kinetic movements in physical and metaphysical space to create an intense, integrated form of expression. This integration is characteristic of *pagipat* healing rites of the Maguindanao and the death ceremonies of *mattala'tam* among the Aetas from Kalinga Apayao and *himmung* among the Ifugao.

Vocal repertoires offer an even more intriguing variety of forms and styles, from epics such as the Ifugao's *Hudhud* and the Mansaka's *Manggob* to forms of lyrical poetry and recitation, e.g., the

Musicians from the Manobo community in Malaybalay, Bukidnon Province, Mindanao, perform on the tangkol (bamboo zither) and kudyapi (stringed lute). Instruments like these are found throughout the Philippines. Photo by E. Caballero, courtesy Cultural Center of the Philippines





Musicians on harp and guitar play lively balitaw songs based on the Spanish jota and sequidilla, on the island of Cebu. Stringed instruments introduced by the Spanish in the 17th century remain popular today in traditional Philippine music.

Photo by Rey S. Rastrollo, courtesy Cultural Center of the Philippines

Ibaloi *badiw*, Maranao *bayok*, and Kalinga *dango*.

Another type of oral repertoire evolved in Christian communities across the archipelago in four centuries of cultural encounter between East and West. These musical expressions took their present hybrid forms through aesthetic assimilation, selective synthesis, and cultural cross-breeding. The varying degrees of acculturation mirrored in these forms indicate the people's resiliency and creative response to change while preserving fundamental aesthetic values.

In Christian population centers, indigenous practices such as epics and rituals gave way to musical resources introduced by Spain. One of these is the long romance narrative later known as *awit* and *kurido*. The genius of local literary composers easily assimilated this form, creating highly imaginative stories that combine characters and events from medieval Europe with local heroes and familiar places. Although initially dissem-

inated as written literature, the *awit* and *kurido* in time became committed to oral memory and were easily quoted in formal and informal discourse. Related genres from Spain also became part of the musico-literary and theatrical experience of the early Christian Filipinos, including the *komedya* and its subgenre *moro-moro*, named for its perennial plot of Christian-Moorish conflict, and the *sar-swela*, romantic comedies featuring members of the Philippine upper class at the turn of the 20th century.

In these communities, gongs and bamboo instruments were replaced by the guitar; by the *rondalla*, a plucked string ensemble that evolved from the Spanish *estudiantina*; by the *comparza*, the brass band, and its local versions, the *musikong bumbong* and *banda boca*; and by a variety of instrumental groupings that accompany other vocal and theatrical performances.

The impact of Christianity can also be seen in the hybridization of religious practices in rural communities. The *sanghiyang* in Cavite province is still a trance ceremony, but its practitioners now invoke the names of saints and use rosary beads and scapulars. In Batangas, the *subli*, a secular folk dance propagated since the 1930s, is now being rediscovered as a complex religious ritual of semi-improvised dances, chanting, and drum playing in honor of the Holy Cross and the Holy Child (Santo Niño).

Locally created musical activities are mostly related to the liturgical cycle of Christmas, Lent, Easter, and Santacrusan, the May commemoration of the finding of the Holy Cross by Constantine and Helena. The spiritual depth of rural Christian Filipinos comes to the surface during Lent, when people perform paraliturgical rituals and acts of self-abnegation and penitence. The chanting of the life and Passion of Christ, *pabasa* and *pasyon*, and their theatrical reenactment, *senakulo*, are almost synonymous with

popular Filipino religious worship, whether they are expressed in Tagalog, Kapampangan, Ilonggo, Sebuano, or Bicol and whether they use ancient regional airs or rock 'n' roll tunes.

The dynamic kaleidoscope of musical life in Philippine cultures has assumed a significant role in nation-building over the last 100 years. From their virtual isolation and derogated status in the emerging Christian society of the 19th century, these musical practices have gained new strength in the present century.

Indigenous and folk artists are now closing ranks with their urban counterparts to form their own cultural troupes, creating their own choreographies, and sometimes performing Western-derived tunes on gongs and bamboo instruments. As contributors of new structural forms and aesthetic meanings to contemporary musical expression, traditional musical cultures have been selectively adapting to the artistic norms of mainstream society, not only to survive, but also to continuously enrich and expand the techniques and repertoires of their unique musical heritage.

Suggested Listening

Folk Songs of the Philippines. Folkways 8791.

Hanunoo Music from the Philippines. Folkways 4466.

Music of the Magindanao in the Philippines, vols. 1 and 2. Folkways 4536.

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Philippine Food

What is the most typical Philippine food? Is it *sinigang*, a cold, sour stew that equally accommodates fish, meat, fowl, or prawns — so refreshing in hot weather? Is it *adobo*, meat, shellfish, or vegetables cooked in vinegar, which keeps without refrigeration? Is it *pancit*, the many kinds of noodles found at all celebrations? Could it be *rellenong manok*, the capon stuffed for Christmas? Or might it be *pritong manok*, chicken fried after a vinegar and garlic marinade?

Even Filipinos cannot frame a simple answer to the question, so varied is their cuisine. *Sinigang* is obviously indigenous, with all its ingredients found in the countryside, and with its analogs in Southeast Asia. *Adobo*, too, is indigenous but bears a Spanish/Mexican name, perhaps because of its similarity to the Mexican *adobado*. *Pancit* is obviously a Chinese contribution, but it has been indigenized by native ingredients and tastes. The capon and its stuffing are Spanish in origin and the fried chicken is American, but both have been adapted to the local palate.

The variety is explained by history and social adaptation. First, there was food drawn only from natural surroundings: marine, river, and other creatures from the waters on and around the archipelago's 7,000 islands; other animals: fowl, birds, and other creatures from field and forest; and vegetation for edible leaves, pods, seeds, roots, flowers, tendrils, as well as spices, condiments, and fruits. Indigenous cuisine is found everywhere with regional differences depending on the ecosystem: lowland or highland, interior or shoreline.

Chinese traders, who have been visiting since the 9th century or earlier, brought noodles, soybean products, and pork.

Their dishes entered the local diet at a popular level, and are now found in markets, sidewalk carts, restaurants called *panciterias*, school cafeterias, and homes of all social levels. So indigenized has *comida china* become that some dishes bear Spanish names — probably because *panciterias* were among the first places for public eating during the Spanish colonial period. Most of the dishes have been so well integrated into eating patterns that many Filipinos consider them not foreign but native born.

Spanish dishes and cooking techniques came with the colonizers and instantly assumed positions of prestige. For one thing, many of their principal ingredients — olive oil, saffron, hams, and sausages — were imported and expensive. For another, the food of officials, friars, and other foreigners seemed superior and desirable because these people comprised an elite social class. Thus, fiesta food is often Spanish: *paella*, stuffed turkeys and chickens, *morcon*, *mechado*, and rich desserts of the Spanish tradition. Christmas, too, features Spanish dishes, since Christianity arrived with the Spaniards: *jamon en dulce*, *ensaimadas*, *queso de bola*, apples, oranges, and chestnuts.

American dishes and preparation styles — pressure-cooked, precooked, fast, and

Doreen G. Fernandez



A meal served on banana leaves in Paete, Laguna Province. The foods in this meal were prepared mostly from local products and include bagoong (shrimp paste) and sticky rice, representing an indigenous cuisine. Photo by Richard Kennedy

instant foods — were introduced with American colonization, education, standards of hygiene, and technology. The multitude of advertisements for hamburgers, fried chicken, fast food, junk food, and soft drinks might make one think that this is the most typical Philippine food.

But typical Philippine food is all of the above. The indigenous cuisine is alive and well in the provinces, where the ingredients are always available, inexpensive, and sometimes even free. The flavoring sauces and dips — *patis* or fish sauce, *bagoong* or shrimp paste, and *calamansi* (native lime) — are used alone or in combinations to fine-tune even foreign food to local palates. The indigenous, peasant diet of rice, fish, and vegetables has been rated by nutritionists among the healthiest in the world with its high carbohydrate/low protein level and minimal fat.



Indigenized cuisines originally from China, Mexico, and the United States are fairly ubiquitous, although more readily found in towns and cities, in restaurants large and small, and on the tables of the middle and upper classes.

Imported or foreign cuisine that has not been indigenized is eaten and understood as foreign: Japanese, Italian, French, and Middle Eastern. Globalization has made these cuisines known, available, and attractive through the media and through the experience of travelers, the educated, and those who have worked and lived abroad.

Indigenous, indigenized, and imported foods meet and mix on the Philippine landscape. They speak of a history of trade, colonization, foreign influence, and social transformation. They also illumine the social structure.

At home among peasants and workers, indigenous cuisine can also be found on the elite's tables, where it is the food of memory — childhood and provincial beginnings and ancestral holiday tables. Methods of preparation may have changed from long, slow boiling over wood fires to microwave cooking, but

indigenous cuisine does not seem likely to disappear under the onslaught of fast food, for it remains a deep cultural and personal preference.

Indigenized cuisine is found on urban and upscale tables and in public eating places. The Philippines has the best Spanish restaurants in Asia because they are not foreign here, but part of a 300-year history. Imported food is generally expensive and exclusive, although stalls selling *shawarma* (Middle Eastern skewers of meat) established by returning overseas contract workers are creeping into villages and subdivisions.

Tasting the local variations in Philippine food is savoring the many flavors of the Philippine culture and environment. Try *kinilaw*, for example, on an island like Bohol. Fish from clean waters is dressed fresh with palm vinegar and condiments to create one of the islands' oldest dishes. Sample the *lechon* at a barrio fiesta. Unlike the Spanish *cochinillo asado*, this could be a full-grown pig stuffed with tamarind or lemongrass leaves and spit-roasted over coals.

Compare the many varieties of *pancit*: from seaside towns served with oysters, squid, or shrimp, from inland communi-

A meal served on china in Malolos, Bulacan Province. The recipes for several of these dishes are inspired by Spanish cuisine, and include the use of vinegar, saffron, and olive oil. Photo by Richard Kennedy

ties served with meat and vegetables, its noodles fat or thin, transparent or opaque with egg, shaken in broth or water (*luglog*), sautéed or fried, sauced or plain.

Try dishes that retain their native names: *laing*, taro leaves with coconut milk and chile; *pinais*, shrimp and young coconut wrapped in banana leaves and steamed in coconut water. Taste Chinese dishes with Chinese names — *lomi*, *mami*, *kekiam* — and those with Spanish names — *arroz caldo*, *camaron rebozado*. Venture to taste the work of young chefs who prepare mango, coconut, and venison in nouvelle ways. Try local fried chicken; let your tongue tell you how it differs from American style and illuminate for you some principles of Filipino flavor.

Food is not only for the eating, but also for the contemplation of history, society, and taste.

Suggested Reading

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Doreen Fernandez is professor of literature and communication at the Ateneo de Manila University. She writes books and articles on cultural, theater, literary, and culinary history. Her weekly column, "In Good Taste," appears in the Philippine Daily Inquirer.

Filipino-American Youth Performing Filipinicity

Filipinicity, according to nationalist scholar Antonio Molina, is the quality of being Filipino regardless of location or surroundings, a quality that describes many Filipino-American youth in America.

How can we understand their cultural identity, created from a Philippine heritage in an American context? Any explanation is necessarily complex, given their diversity of language backgrounds, class origins, and histories in the United States. Filipino Americans (informally, Fil-Ams) have successfully assimilated into the American mainstream, often becoming invisible to the general population while remaining highly visible to one another.

Filipinos came to America over 250 years ago, before the Philippines or the United States was a nation. The pioneer Filipino Americans were crew on Spanish galleons that brought luxury goods from China to Mexico for eventual transship-

ment to Europe. They sailed from ports such as Vigan and Manila for the six-month voyage to Acapulco, Mexico. There some jumped ship, and by the close of the 18th century, these seamen had established the first documented Filipino settlement in America in the bayous near New Orleans.

Filipino settlement in the United States was gradual; groups came under a variety of circumstances and for a variety of reasons. Besides serving on ships, "Manilamen" (another term for Filipinos) worked on the haciendas of Mexican California, and some were even enlisted as members of the Royal Hawaiian Band. By the turn of the 20th

Ricardo D. Trimillos

century young intellectuals began studying in the United States as *pensionados* (government-sponsored scholars). A decade later *sakadas* (workers) were providing cheap and dependable labor for the plantations of Hawai'i, the farms of California, and the salmon industry of Alaska and Washington. Although the early migrants were mostly male, they were eventually followed by couples and entire families. World War II brought another opportunity — citizenship which could be obtained by serving in the U.S. armed services. Until the outbreak of war in 1941, the Philippines' commonwealth status made relocation to the United States simple. Following the end of the war the number of U.S.-bound Filipinos increased despite U.S. efforts to limit it. They were encouraged by relatives already in the States, by opportunities for study and work, and by the promise of a better life than their postwar homeland could offer. After the imposition of martial law and the rise of the Marcos dictatorship in 1972, there was another wave of emigration largely from the professions, business, and academe.

Meanwhile, ongoing since 1898, the American military, missionaries, and businessmen were bringing home Filipina brides, and Filipino men living in the States were marrying non-Filipinas. Their part-Filipino offspring would further enrich Fil-Am identity and shape its version of Filipinicity.

Young Filipino-American dancers perform the tinikling at the annual Philippine Festival in Washington, D.C. This dance from the Visayan Islands has become a standard part of most Filipino-American community gatherings as well as public events. Photo by Paul Tañedo





Danongan Kalanduyan, director of the Mindanao Kulintang Ensemble of Seattle, Washington, performs with his group. Filipino Americans and others join to perform music from the Muslim region of Mindanao. Photo by Xander Hobayan

Strategies for identity formation in America have been both proactive and defensive, the former arising from pride in cultural achievement and the latter from anxiety about cultural loss through assimilation. Instrumental to both strategies, folk dance is the oldest and most widespread focus for Filipino identity. Organized by adults for their children, the dance represents a community-based, grassroots effort to maintain identity. Filipino youth come together (under watchful parents, of course!), participate in cultural learning, and garner positive recognition from non-Filipinos through public performance. Dance groups generally draw upon the choreographies of Bayanihan, the Philippines' most successful folkloric company. For example, their *tinikling* bamboo dance has become a cultural icon and is now practically *de rigeur* for the close of any dance program. More recently some American troupes, like the L.A.-based Kayamanan ng Lahi, are pursuing greater ethnographic integrity by seeking models directly in community culture bearers.

The *rondalla* (plucked string band) is

the ubiquitous ensemble of the Spanish-influenced lowlands and stands as a Philippine national icon. It provides festive accompaniment for song, dance, and socializing. *Rondallas* were popular among prewar immigrants, who soon learned, however, that playing in American dance bands was much more profitable. At present there are youth *rondallas* in such diverse locations as Boston, San Diego, and Seattle. It is a challenge to sustain *rondallas* overseas. Their musical demands are high — one must be able to play by ear and by notation, and their instruments are crafted only in the Philippines, principally in Pampanga and Cebu. A *rondalla* is presented at the Smithsonian Festival.

Filipino choral groups are very popular: three centuries of Spanish Catholicism have made choral singing central to Philippine heritage. The chorus is also popular in many Fil-Am communities, which sponsor groups such as the Philippine Chorale (New York City), the Mabuhay Singers (Daly City, California), and the Silangan Singers (Honolulu). Choral singing is often the major, if not

the only, opportunity for youth to become familiar with Philippine languages. Folk choral genres from the Visayas also are featured in the Festival.

Youth have sparked an interest in *kulintang*, the gong-chime tradition of Muslim groups from the southern Philippines. Cultural organizations in New York (Amauan) and in California (World Kulintang Institute in Los Angeles, Kulintang Arts in San Francisco) have received National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) grants to support residencies by master artists Dr. Usopay Cadar of the Maranao tradition and Danongan Kalanduyan of the Maguindanao.

Kulintang master Kalanduyan is the single Filipino-American artist who has been awarded the prestigious National Heritage Fellowship from the NEA. Although most students have lowland Christian rather than Muslim forbears, they have become serious participants in the genre. Its ascendancy has significance for cultural identity: *kulintang* is clearly a Southeast Asian tradition without Spanish or American influence and is related to the *gamelan* gong orchestras of Java and Bali. It has become an icon of decolonization: associated with high status as entertainment in the courts of the sultanates and structured by a highly codified system of music theory, improvisation, and aesthetics, it is art music. Maguindanao *kulintang* is included as part of the Folklife Festival program.

Young Fil-Ams have also resuscitated several moribund traditions. Thirty years ago, for example, they initiated a renaissance of Philippine martial arts, particularly *escrima* and *arnis*, which were maintained in secret by early immigrants to Hawai'i and California. There are now a national association, a calendar of competitions, and studios and clubs nationwide.

As cultural activists, Filipino-American descendants from the mountain tribes of Luzon formed BIBAK, a network for

Pahiyas: A Philippine Harvest

Members of BIMAK, an organization in the Washington, D.C., area, participate in the annual Philippine Heritage Parade in Washington, D.C. BIMAK represents Filipino Americans whose families came from upland tribal communities in Luzon. BIMAK and BIBAK organizations across the United States are proud of their heritage and work to keep these traditions alive in their families and communities. Photo by Paul Tañedo

defending the cultural rights of upland cultures. Members of these societies, which were put on display at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition and subjected to exoticization and other forms of misrepresentation, are now demanding accurate and respectful treatment of their heritage. BIBAK, an acronym for the five major upland linguistic groups, provides workshops on culture, crafts, dance, and music for the general community. It actively assists folkloric dance groups in appreciating the upland repertory. Each BIBAK chapter has young people in positions of responsibility. The Kalinga upland group is presented at the Festival.

Fil-Am youth have been creative in the present climate of pluralism and multiculturalism, using opportunities to explore heritage that were not available in previous generations. Pilipino Cultural Nights (PCNs), presented on numerous college campuses, are evidence of this creativity. Most universities with a significant population of Filipinos (international students as well as Fil-Ams) have them. Their typical format includes a selection of folk songs and dances, usually drawn from the Bayanihan repertory. In a style reminiscent of the homeland's *bodabil* (vaudeville) shows, humorous skits about the Philippines and, increasingly, about life in America are interspersed. Recent PCNs sometimes select a single theme or create a unifying story line. More than just entertainment, some productions address social issues such as glass ceilings in employment for minorities, U.S.-Philippine relations, and "Tita Aida"



(AIDS). Remarkably, PCNs are entirely organized, rehearsed, and presented by students, as one year's producers share their experience with the next. Although originally intended as educational outreach to the non-Filipino community, they have become largely a celebration of Filipinicity for friends and family. The PCN model has given rise to similar efforts by Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese campus groups.

We can encounter Filipinicity in a variety of social settings, each reflecting a different kind of commitment to heritage. In a nontraditional cultural setting, for example, an emergent Fil-Am theater addresses issues of homeland and diaspora. For example, "Scenes from an Unfinished Country 1905/1995," a work by the Pintig Cultural Group (Chicago), explores themes of American intervention. *Sining Kulisan & Pinoy Ink* [sic] (Vallejo, California) treats the Spanish period in its production, "Heart of the Son." The adjective "Filipino" for jazz, rock, and hip hop carries specific and positive connotations in regional com-

mercial music businesses. In classical music, besides performing Schubert and Bach, Fil-Ams may mark Filipinicity by programming *kundiman* art song or folk-inspired compositions, such as the violin classic "*Hating Gabi*."

In even more nontraditional settings, performing Filipinicity may involve a sartorial dimension — for example, using accessorized *kimona* or *barong tagalog* (embroidered gauzy overblouse or overskirt) as nightclub wear. It may also involve creating in-jokes by appropriating slang: three young L.A. artists collectively call themselves "The Badaf Pinoys." ("Pinoy" is an informal, in-group term of self-reference derived from the final syllables of "Pilipino," while "Badaf" defies direct translation.)

There are private displays of identity as well. For example, individual families continue regional customs of the religious year. The Cebuano celebration of the Santo Niño (Christ Child) still takes place during January in Hawai'i, California, and Illinois, replete with songs, prayers, *santos* (icons), and food.



These World War II veterans are members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars Vicente Lim Post 5471 in Oxon Hill, Maryland. More than 120,000 soldiers from the Philippine Commonwealth Army fought alongside Americans against the Japanese. Thousands of these soldiers resettled in the U.S. after the war. Photo by Paul Tañedo

During Holy Week, families in Washington, Texas, and West Virginia perform the *pasyon*, a vernacular poetic account of Christ's Passion that begins with Creation and ends with the Final Judgment; it also has songs, prayers, *santos*, and food. In New Jersey and Nevada Muslim Filipinos observe Ramadan with daytime fasting and singing the *maulid*, a poetic account about the life of the Prophet. These are the less public parts of identity. *Pasyon* and other religious genres are part of the Festival.

There are challenges to the identity of Fil-Am youth. Assimilation looms large. Among early immigrants its pull was very strong. Its forces had already been at work in the homeland: an American-based public education system, a U.S.-style democracy, and a high degree of English fluency. In general, first-generation immigrants kept many customs, maintained foodways, and retained their languages, speaking Bikolano or Pangasinan at home, for instance. The

second generation (the first American born) maintained some foodways, had passive understanding of the languages, and kept some of the customs, such as touching the back of an elder's hand to one's forehead as a sign of respect (*mamano*). The third and fourth generations — most of today's Fil-Am youth — are often unaware of which Philippine language their elders spoke, observe few of the customs, and know only a few of the Filipino foods served at celebrations, such as spring rolls (*lumpia*), marinated meat (*adobo*), baked rice cake (*bibingka*), and banana fritters (*cambo/maruya/baduya*).

But there is a contrasting segment of Filipino-American youth composed of the newly arrived. Typically having received early schooling in the Philippines and coming from urban rather than rural areas, they are *au courant* with the latest Manila fashions and music; their foodways reflect the eclecticism of the present-day Philippines; and they are fluent in the national language, Pilipino, and often in another regional language.

The two groups constitute polarities: at one end are the children of "old-timer" families, who do not speak a Philippine language, and who feel they have paid their dues by confronting generations of racism in America; and at the other is the "1.5 generation," Filipino newcomers, who are generally unaware that their way was paved by the old-timers. These contrasts generate tensions between, for example, an upwardly mobile third-generation student from a farm labor background and a Manila-oriented 1.5-generation youth from a professional family who affects Philippine versions of clothing, music, and dance.

On a continuum between these polarities are other groups, including part-Filipino children, whose Filipino identity may be problematic and varied, depending upon whether the other parent is Anglo, African, Asian, or Native American.

Filipino identity is made even more complex by the emergence of ethnically defined gangs.

The Centennial celebration itself problematizes identity for Filipino-American youth. It raises issues about the two relevant countries — one, the source of ethnic heritage, the other, the place of citizenship. U.S. intervention in the Philippines a century ago interrupted the development of an independent Asian nation. However, that intervention enabled today's youth and their forbears to become part of American life. Fil-Am identity emerges directly from the complex commingling of these two national and cultural streams. We hope that Filipino-American youth will find in our Festival program, *Pahiyas: A Philippine Harvest*, resonant moments of encouragement and self-recognition.

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1998

The Baltic Nations



A Song of Survival

The Baltic nations emerged on the world news scene in 1988 and 1989 as if from nowhere. For 50 years they had literally disappeared from the map, subsumed into the monochromatic zone of the USSR. Only occasionally would Americans hear that the United States did not recognize the illegal incorporation of the three nations into the Soviet Union.

When Gorbachev invoked *glasnost* and *perestroika* to release the tight controls on economic, political, cultural, and social life, the people of the three Baltic

Demographics

Estonia:

Geographic size: 17,375 sq. miles; Population: 1.5 million; Language: Estonian (official); Religion: Lutheran, Russian Orthodox; Ethnic groups: 60% Estonian, 30% Russian, 10% Other

Latvia:

Geographic size: 24,950 sq. miles; Population: 2.7 million; Language: Latvian (official); Religion: Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox; Ethnic groups: 57% Latvian, 30% Russian, 4% Belarussian, 9% Other

Lithuania:

Geographic size: 25,175 sq. miles; Population: 3.7 million; Language: Lithuanian (official); Religion: Roman Catholic, Protestant, Russian Orthodox; Ethnic groups: 85% Lithuanian, 8% Russian, 7% Other



countries organized

grassroots movements that pushed the experiments to new limits. The demand to discuss the past openly and to raise the issue of “divorce” from the USSR startled and irritated the Kremlin.

On August 23, 1989, people in the Baltics formed a human chain stretching 430 miles, connecting Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius. They remembered the day in 1939 when Hitler and Stalin had made a secret pact that sealed their fate. Their

massive demonstration told the world that they existed as nations and that they yearned to be masters of their own destiny. They sang their messages and called it the Singing Revolution.

The strength of their conviction came from centuries of consciousness of who they are as people, bound by language, customs, and belief. The fact that they settled this Baltic coast so very long ago and stayed there while other tribes and

Elena Bradunas

nations migrated around them gave them a strong territorial claim. That their languages were neither Slavic nor Germanic helped to insulate them through the many years of subjugation to those more powerful neighbors. The conservatism of the peasants who kept strong ties to land and customs enabled traditions to endure.

Already in the 18th century, when the Romantic Movement was sweeping through Europe, the “lore” of these small nations had been recognized, first by foreign and eventually by their own intellectuals. The first Estonian and Latvian national song festivals, held in 1869 and 1873 respectively, reawakened a sense of unity. This ethnic awareness built a national pride in all three countries that led to their proclaiming independence from Russia in 1918.

The period of independence was short lived, however, as World War II ushered in the Soviets, then the Germans, and then the Soviets again, unleashing a blood bath in all three Baltic lands and years of oppression. Closed borders, forced collectivization, and strict controls on all aspects of cultural and social life did much to break the natural continuity of customs and traditions.

However, language held its own in all three countries, despite dictums that everyone learn Russian. Privately, and

This program is made possible by and is produced in cooperation with the Estonian Government and Estonian Ministry of Culture, the Latvian Government and Latvian Ministry of Culture, and the Lithuanian Government and Lithuanian Ministry of Culture. Additional support comes from the Cultural Endowment of Estonia, the American Latvian Association, and the Lithuanian Foundation.

The Baltic Nations

very carefully, people still held on to religious beliefs and some family traditions. In Estonia, television antennas faced Finland so that people could have a glimpse of life in the West. Writers, artists, and scholars devised clever ways to circumvent Soviet censorship. For example, folklorists would argue that, under Soviet ideology, the ordinary folk, like the proletariat, should be held in esteem. In this way one could defend the study of pre-Soviet songs, tales, and traditions, and interest in authentic folklore became a form of subtle resistance.

During the 1970s collecting and

recording traditional cultural expressions increased on the professional, academic, and grassroots levels. Local folk in various rural regions and young people studying in urban settings formed performing groups to perpetuate song, dance, and musical traditions. Everywhere there was an impetus to learn as much as possible about the past and to actively relate that knowledge to the present. These activities were in full swing in the late 1980s.

The numerous folk ensembles became an integral part of the mass rallies comprising the "Singing Revolutions" in all

three Baltic nations. Some say they could not imagine the national re-awakening having occurred without the ensembles and the entire folklore movement. These ensembles continue to play a vital role today, as the authors in this section describe in their essays.

In these newly

independent countries, society is undergoing many changes. The market economy is affecting daily life, not always beneficially. Western popular culture is exerting a homogenizing influence, especially on the younger generation. The desire to join the ranks of "modern nations" sometimes clashes with the urge to celebrate one's cultural uniqueness. Will the people of the Baltic countries continue to practice and cherish their traditions now that these no longer serve the function of political resistance to a foreign oppressor? Hopefully, they will, although inevitably some transformations will occur.

Our guests from the Baltic nations at the Festival have lived through many swift and significant changes. They have much to show and tell; we have much to learn.

Elena Bradunas, an anthropologist and folklorist, worked at the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, from 1977 to 1985 and is now based in Hawai'i. Her primary documentary work has been among the Lithuanian-American immigrants in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. Since 1990 she has been making extended annual visits to Lithuania and studying the role of folklife in the post-Soviet society.

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Baltic-American Communities

America has been connected to the Baltic countries primarily through the Baltic-American communities. Earlier immigrants lobbied the U.S. government to recognize the fledgling countries at the end of World War I, and they continued to rally aid for them. After the countries were forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union, newly arrived refugees worked hard to ensure that the U.S. government would never recognize the legitimacy of that incorporation. Many families did their best to aid relatives left behind or exiled to Siberia. For themselves they created their own press, ethnic education programs for their youth, and a rich cultural and social network throughout the country. When the Iron Curtain finally came down, they rejoiced in near-disbelief. Since then, many have been making frequent trips to their homelands and also hosting visiting guests and relatives here. Some Baltic Americans have returned from abroad to work in their professional capacities or even in politics. The most recent example is the current president of Lithuania, who is from Chicago. The Smithsonian Festival provides a forum for Baltic Americans to join in the presentation and celebration of their cultural roots.

Traditional Culture in Estonia

Ingrid Rüütel

In prehistoric times the Finno-Ugric tribes, including ancestors of the Estonians, populated vast areas between the Ural Mountains and the Baltic Sea. Estonian culture developed in close contact with the Balts (ancestors of the Indo-European Latvians and Lithuanians) and other Indo-European peoples: Scandinavians, Germans, and later also Russians.

In the 13th century the Estonians were conquered by the Danes and Germans. In time, the German landholders took possession of the entire territory of Estonia, and most Estonians were reduced to serfdom.

In 1721 Estonia became part of the Russian empire. Estonian



The Baltic Nations: Estonia

peasants remained serfs of the German landholders until the feudal system was abolished in the middle of the 19th century. The antiserfdom movement was accompanied by a national awakening with emphasis on Estonian-language education and publications and collecting folklore, as well as on political rights. On February 24, 1918, following the Russian Revolution, the independent Republic of Estonia was proclaimed. The war of independence against Russia was ended by the Tartu Peace Treaty on February 2, 1920, when Russia agreed forever to relinquish claims over Estonia.

Nevertheless, the secret agreement in 1939 between Hitler and Stalin, the notorious Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, resulted in the Soviet invasion of Estonia and its

annexation to the Soviet Union in 1941. This was in turn followed by the Nazi occupation. Both occupations were accompanied by political repression and deportations; Estonia lost one-fourth of its population. These losses were “replaced,” in accordance with the Soviet resettlement and russification policy, by hundreds of thousands of colonists from Russia.

The perestroika led by Gorbachev sparked a unique movement, known as the Singing Revolution, in Estonia and other Baltic states. The efforts by Estonians to restore their independence succeeded; on August 20, 1991, the independent state of Estonia was restored.

Estonia's folklore today falls into three basic categories. There is a repertoire of contemporary folklore — anecdotes, children's games and rhymes, student songs, etc. — which is orally transmitted. Traditional music, dances, and tales, which live in the memories of older people and continue to be practiced, are orally transmitted and also preserved in archives (the central archive for folklore and traditional music being the Estonian Folklore Archives in Tartu at the Estonian Literary Museum). The third form, the so-called secondary tradition or folklorism phenomenon, consists of traditional heritage that has been transmitted through written sources, tapes, radio and television programs. It takes on a “second” life in modern society, in a new context, and is a resource for contemporary amateur and professional art practice.

The preservation of national culture and identity has been a vital question in Estonian history: nation-building as well as our very persistence as a nation have been extremely difficult under various occupations and subordination to

Russians and Germans for hundreds of years. It continues to be vital in the present, because of the large Russian population in Estonia and because, as UNESCO's “Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Folklore” (1989) describes, small nations are always more threatened by cultural assimilation in the situation where the adherence to one's own culture “is often eroded by the impact of the industrialized culture purveyed by the mass media.”

In two regions of Estonia the living tradition of folk song, dance, and music has managed to survive with its integrity intact up to the present time. These are the small island of Kihnu, off the western coast of Estonia, and the southeastern corner of Estonia, Setumaa.

In Kihnu, people have preserved the ancient wedding ceremonies, singing old alliterative verses in Kalevala meter (the *regilaulud* or *runosongs*), and dancing traditional folk dances. Such weddings derive from clan wedding ceremonies that confirm the contract between two lineages. They have pre-Christian origins and are essentially similar to the ancient wedding rites of other Baltic-Finnic peoples. The “two-part” wedding is celebrated separately at the homes of both the bride and the groom; the old ritual songs are performed at the main events in which both clans participate.

An important wedding rite is the distribution of the dowry. The bride's dowry chest has to be filled with items made by her and her friends, and this tradition has supported the persistence of handicraft skills. Also worth noting is that the wedding ceremony includes dancing of old folk dances, which in other settings were long ago replaced by modern dances. Only in the last decade have old folk dances regained their place alongside contemporary dance forms in Kihnu's public social events.

Although the old wedding rites and songs have lost their religious and magical connotations, they have retained their



A region where traditional culture has persisted without disruption is Setumaa. Pictured is a Setu wedding.
Photo by Kaido Haagen



ABOVE In 1989, to protest Soviet occupation, Baltic people joined hands to form a human chain that stretched from Estonia, through Latvia, to Lithuania. Photo by Peeter Langovits



RIGHT St. John's Day celebration on Kihnu Island, Estonia. Photo by Veera Nazarova

symbolic significance. They promote the importance and festiveness of the wedding for the bridal couple and their families, help to prepare the bride for her new social status, and remind the newlyweds about their duties and responsibilities.

The main bearers of tradition in Kihnu have been women. Kihnu men long ago discarded their traditional attire and songs, and the playing of traditional musical instruments, which used to be men's domain, has today been adopted by women (mainly young girls). Seafarers since time immemorial, the men have brought innovations back home. The openness of modern society has fur-

ther influenced the culture on Kihnu island. Radio, television, tape recorders, and recently also video have become a part of daily life, disseminating the global commercial culture; passive listening has replaced active participation. Many Kihnu youth study on the mainland, where they take up residence after they graduate. In summertime they visit their native island and bring forms of contemporary urban culture with them. Nevertheless, when at home in Kihnu, girls wear traditional striped skirts (the fabric is always woven at home, even if the looms are borrowed) and sing and dance old Kihnu songs and dances. One of the

remarkable characteristics of Kihnu culture is its ability to integrate various elements over the course of time without losing its basic substance. The new has not completely superseded the old.

Performing groups on the mainland have adopted some Kihnu songs, dances, and instrumental melodies in their repertoire. Kihnu folk songs have also inspired professional composers. Thus Kihnu culture, though mainly in its newer forms, is perceived as an integral component of Estonian national culture.

Organized folklore groups have become important mediators between traditional and contemporary culture; young people accept such a medium for learning and perpetuating the cultural heritage of their parents. The most famous such group today is Kihnumaa, directed by Katrin Kumpan. Performers in the group represent a mix of generations. Members of Kihnumaa are frequently invited to weddings to perform the role of traditional wedding singers. Wedding songs are led by the older women in the group; girls sing as a chorus and assist the brides.

Another region where traditional culture has persisted without disruption is Setumaa, a relatively isolated area whose population is Eastern Orthodox. Its ancient folk song style has been preserved, and the elderly women are still masters of their local singing language to the extent that they are able to improvise new songs in the traditional manner. Also important in Setu are the village feasts — *kirmased* — which sometimes coincide with a traditional calendar celebration such as Easter. Setumaa is the only region of Estonia where death laments and rituals of ancestor cults, such as a commemorative meal on a grave, have been preserved.

Setu singing deviates considerably from other Estonian folk singing, particularly in its polyphony and performance style. The Setu dialect is likewise unique, even incomprehensible to a northern



Estonian. While being an essential bearer of identity for the Setus, Setu folk songs, like the culture as a whole, strike other Estonians as strange. This strangeness is sometimes a source of embarrassment to Setus and has caused serious problems for those who have migrated to towns and tried to maintain their identity.

A performer and researcher of Setu culture, Õie Sarv, who is the granddaughter of a great Setu singer, Anne Vabarna, writes:

In the environment where I live, there occurs desperate aspiration to mold all people alike, to level any deviation. The inside wants to fight against it, but unfortunately I miss the helping and caring support of my own culture. There are a lot of people like me in Tallinn [the capital of Estonia] and elsewhere, who are not satisfied with the present situation but wish to preserve their ancestral culture, in order to transmit it in turn to their own children. Those phenomena which in the past functioned naturally and implicitly should be attended at present consciously... (Sarv 1994:69).

National song festivals are large affairs with the participants numbering in the tens of thousands, and the audiences in the hundreds of thousands. Pictured is the 1990 All-Estonian Song Festival. Photo by Gustav German

Organized amateur cultural activities have provided urban Setus with such an opportunity to consciously practice their heritage. Setu ensembles of singers are active both in Setumaa and in cities where Setus have settled. They come together at the *leelopaev* festival every three years and various other events. Their main objective is not to perform for an audience, especially for outsiders to the community. More important is the interaction and communication that take place among members of the community and foster the preservation and maintenance of cultural identity and unity.

The attitude that was cultivated in the Soviet period, and that unfortunately is gaining ground in the current open-market society — the degradation of local cultural heritage, and traditional culture in general, as something obsolete and worthless — gives an enormous impetus to the bearers of the culture themselves, the young especially, to underestimate it. What is promoted via mass media chan-

nels is always more popular.

Still, during the last decade, recognition of local cultural traditions has grown and consequently enhanced the appreciation of the native culture by its bearers both in Kihnu and in Setu. But it is impossible to revive all the old forms, and noticeable changes have taken place in those that have been retained. Alongside and/or replacing the old rituals and customs, new feasts have arisen in which old songs and dances are used with changed functions and in changed forms.

In other parts of Estonia, folk songs, music, and dances have spread mainly in secondary forms.

Among amateur folk groups are those which directly carry on the primary tradition, i.e., at least some of their members are authentic tradition bearers and teach younger participants, as is the case with the Kihnu and Setu groups. Other folk music and dance groups perform the so-called secondary tradition. They either

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take examples from authentic folklore and try to perform them in the most genuine manner (although the primary tradition has been broken and the repertoire is learned through recorded sources), or they perform folklore

The preservation of national culture and identity has been a vital question in Estonian history.

arrangements in a more stylized, up-to-date form.

Authentic folklore groups, which began to be formed in Estonia in the 1960s, were rather rare. The groups who performed stylized arrangements and new creations “in folk style” were preferred at official festivals and were also chosen to represent the national culture abroad. The ideology at the time aimed to merge the nationalities and create new entities — the Soviet people and the Soviet culture. Openly expressing one’s national self-consciousness and ethnic identity, even through the native culture, was regarded as “nationalistic” and was prohibited. “Nationalism” was to be replaced with “Soviet patriotism,” which had to be demonstrated at all official festivities. Every festival and even concert program had to be approved by appropriate state organs.

The new, choreographed “folk dances” were performed to the accompaniment of special folk music arrangements as well as new works by contemporary composers. The so-called folk instrument or folk music orchestras might contain tra-

ditional as well as classical musical instruments and always played from written scores. Later, especially in the 1970s, the so-called *külakapellid*, “country orchestras,” became popular, representing more spontaneous music-making and having stronger traditional roots. Many skilled folk musicians, true carriers of traditional music, participated

(and still participate) in such small orchestras; they were not able to perform as soloists at public festivities for a long time, because their style of music-making was not officially recognized. Only in the last decade have authentic folk musicians become appreciated anew. A new generation of folk musicians has appeared who follow traditional performing styles and teach them to other young people.

In spite of the fact that the inner qualities of traditional culture were not recognized during the Soviet period, that authentic folk art was forced into alien frames, its essence and meaning greatly distorted, even the officially accepted folkloric forms served as a means of national self-expression. The same has been true in the case of large song festivals — the first of which was held in Estonia in 1869 — at which numerous amateur choirs from all over the country — tens of thousands of singers — perform and which hundreds of thousands of people attend. A sense of national and cultural identity and the need to manifest it have been carried through the course of history of all these festivities, regardless of what and whom they had to be devoted to officially.

Professional composers such as Alo Mattiisen attempted in the 1980s to introduce into rock music elements of folk music — the monotonously repeated melody that lasts one verse line, performed by a lead singer and chorus —

while the arrangement, sound, and singing style of the singer were those of rock. These songs were performed together with old national songs during the recent “Singing Revolution” and became very popular at political rallies. The lines by the lead singer were repeated by thousands of people, the majority of whom had never before sung old traditional songs nor been rock music fans. (The singing of old folk songs by a lead singer and chorus had also been somewhat popular during the Soviet era thanks to folklore ensembles like Leegajus and Hellero, but also thanks to a well-known composer of a number of folk song arrangements, Veljo Tormis, who has promoted such a singing style while performing as a lead singer himself at various gatherings.) At the 1990 Song Festival, which was organized during the process of restoring independence, barriers between performers and the audience crumbled, and all the participants joined as one rejoicing mass of people, singing old and new popular songs and dancing spontaneously.

Festivals of authentic folklore — local, all-Estonian, and international — which started some 15 years ago, represent a new trend in the Estonian folklore movement. The first local festivals were Viru Säre in northern Estonia and Setu Leelopäevad and Viljandimaa Virred in southern Estonia. Their goal has been to bridge the ancient cultural heritage of their district and contemporary culture by acquainting people with authentic traditional customs, songs, dances, instrumental music, games, and tales, popularizing traditional handicrafts, and disseminating the folklore of other

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Finno-Ugrians and other cultures around the Baltic Sea.

The same philosophy lies behind other local festivals (in recent years their number has noticeably grown) as well as the international folklore festival Baltica, the largest folklore event in the Baltic states. This annual festival, begun in 1987, is organized by the Baltic National Committee of CIOFF (Conseil International des Organisations de Festivals de Folklore et d'Arts Traditionnels) and is held in the three Baltic states on a rotating basis. Organizers first and foremost value inner freedom and naturalness in presentation, not stage efficiency. In addition to preserving, reviving, and developing national and regional cultural traditions, the Baltica festival aims as well to promote contacts with other countries and nations.

The folklore movement in Estonia and in other Baltic countries is one of the reflections of the worldwide folklore movement of the last decades. On the one hand it is connected with the ideals of national identity, of retaining the historical and cultural memory of nations; on the other, with the ideals of cultural pluralism.

Today the international exchange of folklore groups has become rather extensive, as there are numerous festivals in different countries where Estonian groups participate, and foreign groups often visit local festivals arranged in Estonia. One of the new international festivals was started in 1993 in Viljandi by young graduates of the folk music department established at the Viljandi Cultural College in 1991. Their folk music groups, folk music summer schools, and festivals have become very popular, especially among young people.

The essential purpose of international festivals, as we see it, is to widen the cultural competence of the Estonian audience, to learn to understand different cultures, and through all this to create a more tolerant society. This way we may also better comprehend the values of our

own traditional culture. Understanding and respect towards strangers together with preserving and ensuring of one's own identity helps to create harmony; it guarantees the right of all nations and cultures to permanent existence in a linguistically, culturally, ethnically diverse, and interesting world.

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Latvian Traditional Culture and Music

Valdis Muktupāvels

Latvia is a northern European country on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea, with a territory of 24,950 sq. miles. It is generally flat and forested, with higher elevations in the northeast and east, where there are numerous lakes. The original inhabitants were Indo-European-speaking Balt tribes and Finno-Ugric Livs, of whom only a small group has survived on the northwestern shore and in some towns. Latvia's present population is more than two and a half million, of whom almost a million live in its capital, Riga.

For 300 years after the German Crusaders' conquest in the 13th century, Latvia and Estonia were ruled — under the name of Livonia — by the Livonian Order and the Catholic Church. Livonia was dissolved in 1561, and three parts of what is now Latvia developed separately: Kurzeme as the Duchy of Courland; Vidzeme as a part of the Latvian-Estonian province Liefland, ruled by the Swedes; and Latgale as a part of the Polish-Lithuanian state. After the Russian conquest in the 18th century they became three separate provinces within the Russian empire. Latvia achieved its independence in 1918,



Street musicians
in Riga, Latvia.
Photo by Gunārs Tarvāns

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uniting the three distinctive regions. Latvia was occupied by and incorporated into the USSR in 1940, and regained its independence in 1991.

Christianity reached all social strata only after the Reformation, while some pagan rites and practices survived into the 20th century. Before World War II a majority of Latvians (64 percent) were Lutherans. Twenty-six percent of the country's population — only Latgale and a small enclave in western Kurzeme — were Catholic. Half a century later these two main confessional groups were almost equal in number. People's sense of religious identity has tended to become stronger in the 1990s.

The Latvian language has changed very little over the centuries, and together with Lithuanian it is regarded as a surviving dialect of early Indo-European. There are, in fact, two literary language traditions: Latvian, which has developed on the basis of the central and southern dialects and has been the language of the Protestant Church, and Latgalian, the language of the Catholic Church. In addition, the Finno-Ugric Livs have produced a significant body of published materials in their almost extinct language.

Dainas and Singing Traditions

Major differences in musical style and repertoire exist between Protestant Vidzeme and Kurzeme on the one hand and Catholic Latgale on the other. On the whole, traditional singing is preserved much better in Latgale, while modern lyrical and other popular styles are common in most of Vidzeme and Kurzeme. Despite the significant differences, however, there is a remarkable uniting entity — *dainas*. *Daina* — the basic form of the Latvian folk song text — is a short, self-contained quatrain of two non-rhyming couplets; when sung, the couplet or each line of text is usually repeated.

Dainas are sung as accompaniments

both to the ordinary events of daily life and to special events and communal celebrations. As such, they only rarely tell stories, but rather comment on performed rituals, express feelings, or condense folk wisdom into pithy epigrams.

Dainas contain many mythological images, episodes, and motifs. The courtship and wedding of cosmic deities, such as the sun and the moon, are reflected in some rather extensive song cycles.

The first recordings of *dainas* are from the 17th century; more systematic collection began in the second half of the 19th century. The compilation of Latvian folk songs by Krišjānis Barons, *Latvju dainas*, appeared in 1894–1915 and comprised about 300,000 song texts and their variants in six volumes.

“When They Sing, They Are Howling As Wolves”

This extraordinary description by Sebastian Münster, author of the 16th-century book *Cosmographia* about the singing in Livonia, is, in fact, the first written evidence of a unique drone singing tradition which is still practiced in certain areas, especially in the *suiti* region in Kurzeme. Singers are any group of people, among whom there is at least one recognized soloist, who starts the singing. Usually after half of the four-line stanza is sung, the counter-singer repeats it, while a vocal drone part is performed by *vilcejas*, “those who drawl, pull (a tone).” The drone is sung on the vowel *e* (as in “there”) with a sharp, intense voice.

This vocal drone is closely connected to the so-called recited style, which is one of the two basic singing styles in Latvian folk song. The recited style is characterized by the domination of text over melody, and the respective songs are part of traditional events and celebrations; the recited style occurs in family celebration songs, especially at weddings, in lullabies, in a good portion of calendar celebration songs, and in tunes asso-

ciated with work in the fields. During singing, a quatrain is followed rather freely by other quatrains. The choice of the following *dainas* is up to the soloist; it depends on his/her ability, skillfulness, and knowledge, as well as the context in which the singing takes place. Though each quatrain is short, the singing can go on for hours.

In contrast, the “sung” songs are performed mostly solo, but other singers can join as well. The melody of the sung songs, with its range often exceeding an octave, is as important as the text.

From the Cradle to the Grave

In Latvia's traditional culture two ritual cycles — seasonal rituals and rituals marking the progression of family members through major stages of life — were intended to assure wealth, fertility, and continuity. Many themes and symbols of these cycles overlapped, in particular the sun. Festivals of the calendar cycle are linked to the major stations of the sun — the summer and winter solstices and the spring and fall equinoxes. (The world is *pasaule*, “under the sun”; after death the human soul goes singing to *aizsaule*, “beyond the sun,” or to *vina saule*, “that sun, the other sun.”)

One of the most developed vocal genres — *ligotnes* — is connected with Janis, the midsummer solstice celebration on June 23. Janis is the central mythological figure of this orgiastic midsummer night feast, the celebration of which combines features of solar, phallic, and fertility rites. The singing of *ligotnes* can start a fortnight before and can continue a week after midsummer, but the culmination is reached on the evening and the subsequent night of the celebration. Melodies of the songs vary from place to place, and several different melodies might be used in one place during the celebration.

In rural areas singing accompanies autumn work in the fields and *vakarsana*, communal spinning and sewing on autumn and winter evenings. It is also

The Livs

Dainis Stalts

The Livs, an ancient Finno-Ugric people, today live in various concentrations in the country of Latvia. Known as White Indians (*baltie indiāņi*) in reference to American Indians, with whom they believe they share some cultural attributes and historical experiences, they strive to preserve their language and traditions.

Some of these traditions are extraordinarily beautiful, such as the Rite of Spring, which is held at the top of the highest sandy elevation on the seashore. The tradition reflects the belief that in waking returning migrant birds with special songs and rituals on the first day of spring, Livs communicate with the souls of their ancestors, which have been embodied in tiny birds called *tshitshorljīnlists*. With the birds' return also returns hope.

The Livs may have inhabited Latvian territory for more than 5,000 years. The earliest records of the Livs are inscriptions on 7th- and 8th-century Scandinavian rune stones. Artifacts uncovered at grave sites attest to the Livs' skills as craftsmen, makers of tools, weapons, and builders of ships. Letters and chronicles mention the prosperity that existed in Liv-dominated regions around the 12th century. This relative prosperity, however, attracted marauders and pillagers; in the early 13th century the first Teutonic Crusaders subjugated the indigenous people in the name of Christianity, acquiring lands and creating a ruling class which prevailed in the territory of Latvia for over 700 years. During these centuries the majority of the Livs died in wars, of bubonic plague, and of hardship.

After the abolition of serfdom in the 19th century, the rebirth of the Liv nation, who then numbered 3,000, began. The first Liv-language books and the first Liv dictionary were published. But after World War I, only 1,500 Livs remained.

Latvia's declaration of independence in 1918 inspired a second Liv renaissance. Livs organized themselves in communities and established choral societies and associations for Livs and friends of Livs. They produced a newspaper and built a cultural center. Along the Latvian shore in the Kurzeme region, some local schools began to teach the Liv language.

The renaissance was disrupted by the 1940–1941 invasion of Latvia by the Soviet Union. The Liv societies were dissolved, the cultural center closed, and language teaching banned. Deportations to Siberian gulags and flight to the West reduced the Liv population in Latvia by more than half. During their 50 years of occupation, the Soviets made every effort to ban Livs from the dozen or so fishing villages in the northern part of Kurzeme that were their ancestral homes. Fishing boats and equipment were destroyed, schools closed, and the people evacuated to all parts of Latvia. Only at certain Liv folk festivals could the scattered members of the nation meet and celebrate with their music and dance ensembles.



Traditional Liv singers. Photo by Imants Predelis

With the collapse of the Soviet regime, the region along the Baltic seashore was returned to the Livs; they were recognized officially as an ancient founding member of the Latvian people in the new laws of the republic.

The prospect of keeping Liv alive as a spoken language is rather bleak. No more than several dozen people speak it and only one family, mine, is known to speak it at home. Still, the Livs can hold their sacred rites by the seashore, communicate with the souls of their ancestors, and celebrate their traditions with their relatives and friends. Livs, today numbering 500, can freely utter their ancient pledge, "*Minaa un Livli. Min rou un min out*" (I am a Liv. My people is my honor).

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an indispensable part of all ritual and religious events. After a christening in church, singing took place at home during a feast, which in southwestern Kurzeme was followed by *didisana*, ritual swinging and rocking of the baby by all participants in the celebration, accompanied by special songs. Rural weddings started in the bride's house with a farewell party, at which girlfriends of the bride would sing. Since there should be much noise and joy after the marriage ceremony, singing and dancing were essential parts of the celebration. The central musical event at the wedding was *apdziedasanas*, "singing back and forth" — antiphonal, humorous, competitive singing, involving two opposing groups of singers (e.g., boys and girls, relatives of the bride and bridegroom, members of the household and guests); each group sang in turn, teasing or making fun of the other, largely improvising the words. At about midnight, when the bride's crown was taken off and replaced with a woman's headdress, all participants embraced the new couple in a circle and sang songs called *micosanas dziesmas* to mark this particular event.

Of music accompanying stages of the life cycle, that for funerals bears the strongest relation to Christian ceremony; it is mostly psalms and parts of the liturgy that are sung in the house, on the way to the cemetery, and by the grave. The funeral is preceded by *vakesana*, praying and singing by the corpse the night before the funeral, a custom which was still observed throughout the country until the end of the 19th century but now is practiced only in Latgale.

In addition to the music performed in ritual contexts, both men and women sing at the table during feasts, in pubs, and at other social occasions. Courtship and wedding songs are the most common, but certain mythological, soldiers', sailors', humorous, and drinking songs are important as well.

Singing Bones and Golden Strings

A popular legend tells of the magic power of pipes that are made from a reed growing on a grave. When played, those "singing bones" reveal the reason for the death and return the person to life.

Various bark or clay whistles, wooden flutes and reeds, hornpipes, wooden and birch-bark trumpets were made and played by shepherds, not only for entertainment but to collect the herd in the morning and gather it in the evening. Hornpipes were used to calm the herd or to direct its movement. Horns and trumpets announced forthcoming weddings and signaled important moments of the wedding ritual. Goat-horns, usually with three finger-holes, were played during communal work in the fields or at matchmaking ceremonies.

The making and playing of instruments — except for shepherds' instruments, which boys and girls made — was traditionally a male activity. However, rattle-sticks (*trideksnis*, a wooden stick with hanging bells and jingles) and *eglite* (a fir-tree top decorated with colored feathers and with hanging bells and jingles) were used by women to accompany singing in wedding or winter solstice rituals.

The instrument most characteristic of Latvia and significant in Latvian culture is the *kokles* — a box zither with five to twelve or more strings that is supposed to be the instrument of God (compare it to the *kannel* in Estonia, the *kanklės* in Lithuania, and the *kanтеле* in Finland). The tree for its wood must be cut when someone has died but is not yet buried. To emphasize the special value and importance of the instrument, it is traditionally named golden strings. It has an Apollonian,

heavenly aura and a fine, deeply touching tone quality.

The violin became very popular in the 19th century, first as a solo and then as an ensemble instrument with zither and accordion. The dominance of the accor-

Daina — the basic form of the Latvian folk song text — is a short, self-contained quatrain of two nonrhyming couplets.

dion increased in the second half of this century, and it is still the main instrument used for traditional dance music.

A Singing Nation

More than 200 years ago Latvian music was mostly peasants' music, but various kinds of popular music were developing. Following the abolition of serfdom, Latvian social life blossomed in the mid-19th century. Singing societies emerged all over the country and sought choral works that represented the spirit of the emerging feeling of unity and "Latvianess." Four-part harmonizations of Latvian folk songs served this purpose well, and so more and more composers used folk materials as a source for their arrangements.

Choral singing culminated in a large musical event — the Song Festival. The first Latvian Song Festival, held in 1873, became a political event of the first importance, symbolizing the reawakening and unity of the new nation. Subsequent festivals involved thousands of participants and dramatically concentrated national aspirations. After World War II the Song Festival was reinterpreted in terms of Soviet ideology and was successfully incorporated into the regime-supported musical life.

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Dainas

The noted folklore group Skandinieki sang the following *daina* in July 1988, as they led the Baltica folklore festival procession past the KGB building in Riga, Latvia. On this occasion the three flags of independent Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were carried in an open procession under Soviet rule for the first time. It is one of the events which sparked the "Singing Revolution."

The song is a traditional magic charm to ward off evil:

*Lai bij vārdi, kam bij vārdi
Man pašam stipri vārdi;
Daugaviņu noturēju,
Mietu dūru vidiņā.*

*Sīta mani, dūra mani,
Kā ozola blūķenī;
Neiesīta, neiedūra,
Kā tērauda gabalā.*

*Visi meži guni dega,
Visi ceļi atslēgam;
Ar Dieviņa palīdzību
Visam gribu cauri tikt.*

I have words,
I have strong words —
I can drive a stake into the ground
And stop the Daugava River.

They beat me, they stabbed me
Like a wooden stump;
They didn't hit me, they didn't stab me
Like a piece of steel.

All the forests are aflame,
All the roads are locked;
With God's help
I want to pass through it all.

BELOW The organizers of the 1993 Song Festival, Riga, Latvia. Photo by Leons Balodis



Bass Hornpipes and Artificial Braids

In the period between the world wars, professional and popular musical life in the cities and countryside was vibrant. Traditional music had lost its significance in most of the country, although it continued to exist in remote districts, especially in Latgale and western Kurzeme. Thus the need for national music intensified, and in addition to choral activities, a variety of other phenomena developed on the basis of traditional culture. Efforts were made to

"improve" the old, forgotten instruments, especially the *kokles*, and to create folk instrument ensembles.

Though the Soviet occupation in 1940 and World War II interrupted such activities, the "modernization" of instruments continued in the postwar period and resulted in soprano, alto, tenor, and bass modifications of *kokles*, hornpipes, and box-shaped fiddles. Following the Soviet pattern, numerous *kokles* ensembles emerged, along with folk song and dance ensembles, and a state folk music instrument orchestra existed from 1947

until 1961. Uniform, stylized folk costumes, girls' wreaths, and artificial braids became the emblems of all those groups. The folk music orchestra never gained much public support in Latvia, while the *kokles* ensembles, like the folk song and dance ensembles, were quite well accepted. Even in the 1990s those ensembles are to some extent recognized as an expression of "national music" or "national dance."

When the Singing Revolution Is Over

The folklore movement as a socially significant body of activities, aimed at the preservation and dissemination of the treasures of Latvian folklore, started in the late 1970s, a bit later than in the other Baltic countries. It concentrated on traditional music, dance, customs, crafts, and especially on their archaic or authentic forms. Numerous folklore groups — among which Skandinieki was the first — folklore clubs, and workshops emerged at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. Folklorists arranged dance parties, singing, instrument-playing and dancing workshops. As the attention of folklorists was directed not towards music per se but towards music as a part of

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celebration or ritual, certain efforts were undertaken to preserve or renew the rituals themselves.

The cultivation of renewed ethnic music traditions in the 1980s took on the dimension of a national resistance movement, in opposition to Soviet totalitarianism and russification. The most striking expression of this movement was the folklore festival *Baltica '88*. The movement culminated in the "Singing Revolution," a form of non-violent resistance against the occupying regime, consisting of huge, peaceful meetings and much singing of popular and folk songs. Nevertheless, ethnic music did not become a symbol of the restored identity of national music, and in the 1990s its influence has decreased more and more.

Today, while mainstream folklore ensembles show and teach traditional music "as it used to be," a different attitude has emerged among other individuals and groups — a "post-folklore" that leaves space for rather free interpretation of traditional music influenced by rock, minimalism, ethnic music of other parts of the world, or other forms. Among these groups are *Ilgi* and *Rasa*. These various perspectives enrich the process through which Latvian people are revitalizing their musical heritage.

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A modern kokles orchestra.

Photo by Imants Prēdelis

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The Tenacity of Tradition in Lithuania

Zita Kelmickaitė

*L*ithuanians belong to the Baltic group of Indo-Europeans who appeared in the Baltic territories about 3,000–2,500 B.C. Tacitus, a Roman historian of the 1st century, made note of farmers and amber collectors in this area, but the name “Lithuania” appeared in a historical source for the first time in 1009 A.D. Lithuanian is the most archaic of the continuously spoken Indo-European languages and is of great interest to comparative linguists.

The state of Lithuania came into being with the coronation of its first Christian king in 1253. After his assassination, the country remained pagan until 1387, continuing to fight the Germanic Crusaders. Two hundred years later it had expanded to become one of the largest states in medieval Europe, extending from the Baltic Sea south to the Black Sea and east to Muscovy.

Treaties with Poland brought Christianity and, in 1569, unification into a commonwealth of the two nations. Gradually the commonwealth weakened, and in 1795 Lithuania was incorporated into the Russian empire.

Failed armed revolts against the Russians resulted in the banning of Lithuanian books and further oppression. Out of the resistance grew a cultural and political awakening that led to the establishment of an independent republic on February 16, 1918.

Independence was lost in 1940, when Soviet troops acted on the clandestine Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and invaded the country. German occupation followed from 1941 until 1944, when the Soviets returned and annexed Lithuania. At least 20,000 resistance fighters lost their lives, and more than 350,000 Lithuanians were exiled to Siberia during the Soviet occupation.

After a series of mass meetings during the perestroika period, Lithuania was the first of the Soviet republics to declare the reestablishment of its independence on March 11, 1990.

In territory, Lithuania encompasses 25,175 square miles, about the size of West Virginia. Its population is 3.7 million, of which approximately 80 percent are Lithuanians. The majority are Roman Catholic. The four main ethnographic regions are Aukštaitija (east), Žemaitija (west), Dzūkija (southeast), and Suvalkija (southwest).



Visiting the cemetery on
All Souls' Day. Photo by
Zenonas Nekrošius

The Baltic Nations: Lithuania

The Importance of Tradition to Lithuanians

Tradition holds a very special meaning for Lithuanians. For centuries they lived under the threat of extinction and learned to resist their occupiers in a passive yet persistent manner, using patience, perseverance, stubbornness, and conservatism. By holding on to their customs, their language, their religion, and by establishing close ties to their land, Lithuanians safeguarded themselves against complete cultural subjugation to those who held political sway over them.

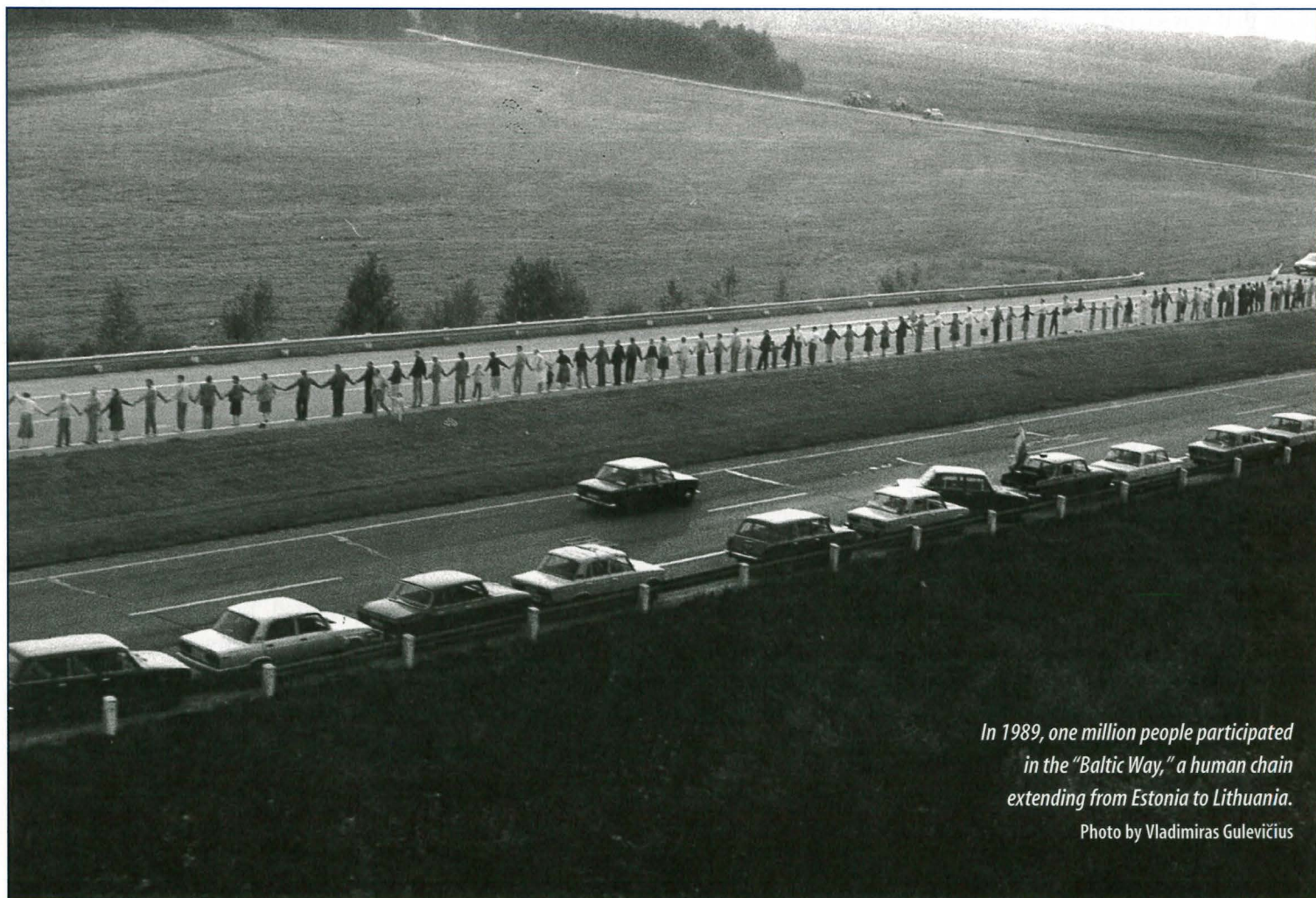
Lithuanians and their ancestors the Balts remained in essentially the same location and did not mix with their neighbors for over 4,000 years. Even when the territory they governed

expanded, they did not move to settle it. Their attachment to their lands and homes can be illustrated by many examples. For one, sacred space remained sacred over time: the cathedral in Vilnius, first built in the mid-13th century, stands on the site of a pagan temple. For another, a settlement that is dated to 1000 B.C. has recently been found in Vilnius on Castle Hill.

Because of their strong attachment to home, the deportations of Lithuanians to Siberia during the first years of Soviet occupation were especially harsh. The stories and reminiscences of the deportees speak not only of the hardships of exile but of the constant longing for home. The same sentiment pervades all the exile songs that were first sung publicly during the mass meetings in 1988–1989 (e.g., “In spring all the birds fly on

home/But we, will we ever return?”). The importance of home and being home was demonstrated again soon after Lithuania declared its independence: huge military aircraft brought back the remains of those who had died in Siberian exile so that they could be reburied in their family cemeteries. Today, if people are not buried in their hometown, usually a handful of dirt from their birthplace is scattered on their coffin.

Together with the concept of home, land itself had profound meaning to Lithuanians. For farmers it was natural to treat it with reverence. One would never spit on the ground. In songs and sayings earth is addressed as if it were a personified being; indeed it once was a pagan deity, Žemyna. Before starting their spring plowing, farmers knelt down to kiss the ground and crossed them-



In 1989, one million people participated in the “Baltic Way,” a human chain extending from Estonia to Lithuania.

Photo by Vladimiras Gulevičius

The Baltic Nations: Lithuania

selves. Bread was plowed into the first furrow as a sacrifice to the land.

The collectivization of agriculture under the Soviets forced people off their individual farms onto large collective farms. The liberal use of pesticides and indiscriminate drainage of wetlands wreaked havoc on the environment and the landscape. Bulldozers razed homes, orchards, cemeteries, even entire villages.

By holding on to their customs, their language, their religion, and by establishing close ties to their land, Lithuanians safeguarded themselves against complete cultural subjugation to those who held political sway over them.

Much that was sacred was desecrated. An important tie was severed — the almost spiritual relationship between a farmer and his land. As more people return to work the newly privatized lands, it remains to be seen what consequences the Soviet experience will have.

Lithuanians are slow to make changes, and when they do choose something new, they often hold on to the old “just in case it may still be useful.” During fieldwork expeditions folklorists often find tools and work implements that are obsolete but that have not been discarded. Lithuanians probably were exhibiting the same tendency to conservatism when they maintained their pagan traditions in conjunction with Catholic practices. Almost 200 years after the formal baptism of the nation, the first Lithuanian book was published — a catechism. In the introduction were a list of pagan deities and an admonition to the faithful against practicing pagan customs in their honor. Pantheistic religious relics and elements of ancient rituals survive to the present day in songs, proverbs, stories, and customs. And there is no sense

of dissonance; elements from different belief systems and historical periods coexist and combine in a unique way. It is this uniqueness that Lithuanians now celebrate as they — very consciously — reflect on their ethnic heritage.

The Role of Folk Songs in the Lives of Lithuanians

Ask Lithuanians about their culture, and invariably they will mention songs. Lithuanians love to sing. The most accomplished singers will know hundreds of songs — songs that are passed to other generations and to other villages. The archive at the

Lithuanian Institute of Literature and Folklore in Vilnius has over 600,000 collected songs.

At the end of the 17th century Pastor T. Lepner's *Der Preusche Littauer* (The Prussian Lithuanian) characterized Lithuanian singing thus:

They are all composers, since they create their own melodies, though some of the melodies they learn from the Germans. Most of their voices are strong. . . . Usually women and girls sing until dawn grinding grains, the humming from which gives them a bass line. . . . The content of their songs — themes of love or anything that comes to mind, what they see around them. . . . Men do not exhibit a tendency toward this art.

During a recent recording expedition, comments by singers echo and extend Lepner's observations: “If you sing, you have a life.” “Our life was so hard — had I not sung, I would have gone insane.”

Lithuanian songs often reflect the female perspective on love, longing, chores, and even the horrors of war. Since women were the primary singers

and guardians of the aural tradition, the songs tend to be gentle with generous use of diminutive forms. Mythological and metaphorical references abound. Characters in songs are usually family members, young maidens, suitors, tillers of the soil. The texts interweave monologue and dialogue to move the story along. Nature and human conditions are juxtaposed in lyrics and express a common sentiment. For example,

The morning star bids goodbye to her father-moon, before going to the sun, draped in clouds with hard rain falling.

A young girl says goodbye to her mother before going to her mother-in-law, sighing and wiping tears.

Song is very much alive in Lithuania. Lithuanians do not sing for the benefit of an audience; for them singing is a way of being together. In earlier times Lithuanians sang work songs at various tasks such as cutting wheat and other songs specific to seasons and celebrations. Now they sing traditional and newer songs at family gatherings, weddings and christenings, or any time company sits down together and the mood strikes them. But when recording older singers, we often hear, “Oh, how they once sang! They would make the fields ring. One group would vie with another to see who could sing better.” Nostalgia itself may be a tradition for Lithuanians.

The time, place, and type and style of song may have changed, but the ability of song to create a sense of togetherness, or *communitas*, as anthropologists call it, has persisted. Two social developments illustrate this phenomenon.

The Rasa (Dew) festival, organized on the castle mound of Kernavė on June 23, 1967 (St. John's Day and Midsummer's Eve), marked the arrival of a national cultural movement of youth dissatisfied with Soviet ideology and looking to the pagan past and traditional culture to restore a sense of balance and goodness



The traditional clothing of each region is woven and worn in a particular way and has a specific pattern, color, and style of tailoring. Photo by Henrikas Sakalauskas

to modern society. The “Ramuva” movement sought to renew old traditions and to break away from Soviet holidays and state-sanctioned, stylized folklore. Named in reference to sacred pagan groves, the movement was characterized by an interest in authentic, national, ethnic culture — at the forefront of which was song.

Since 1968, the Ramuva Society of Vilnius University has organized 27 summer fieldwork expeditions in 22 regions of Lithuania. Close to 1,500 students and professors have taken part in these expeditions. Their collections have been deposited at the Lithuanian Folklore Institute. The Ramuva movement expanded the bounds of official ethnographic studies and gave a patriotic tinge to the study of folklore. For this reason, although the Soviet government allowed students to collect folklore for academic purposes, it feared the effects of young people gathering together and singing during the expeditions — such as their engagement in perpetuating the traditions and the power of the songs to unite them against the Soviets. So the government prohibited such gatherings.

The fieldwork expeditions and the Ramuva movement inspired the formation of many folk ensembles in villages and cities throughout Lithuania. From 1980 to 1989, close to 900 folk ensembles appeared on the scene. The example of city ensembles as well as ethnographic expeditions, folk music gatherings, invitations to rural artists to give concerts in cities, and increased radio and television program time dedicated to folklore encouraged village artists to form ensembles. During this period, ensemble terminology was defined. Village groups that draw on continuous traditions and perform their own area’s folklore are now called ethnographic ensembles. Groups that indirectly adopt or re-create traditions are called folklore ensembles. Today there are hundreds of ensembles, and their continued existence proves the vitality of song in modern Lithuania.

The second dramatic demonstration of the power of song occurred during the days of the mass meetings organized by Sajūdis, the grassroots movement for independence in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Folk ensembles would come

together and begin to sing. When three or four ensembles would start a song together, the audience would join, and soon the entire crowd in the stadium or park would be singing together. Eventually older people became emboldened to sing partisan songs and exile songs — songs which not so long before they had sung only in private and with great caution. The repertoire of those songs spread throughout the country in no time. They helped unite people in sentiment and cause. The experience of singing as a group in communal harmony was nothing new for Lithuanians; what was unique was that song had become a weapon of resistance.

That same power of song was evident on January 13, 1991, when thousands of Lithuanians gathered around the Parliament building, radio and television headquarters, and the television tower to protect their newly declared freedom from Soviet tanks and troops. While they waited through the night, they sang. The song and music stopped when tanks started to roll and gunshots were fired. I was standing next to an older woman

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when it became clear that something ominous was happening. She turned to me and said, "I don't know what would be better: to pray or to sing?" Both were perceived to be equally sacred.

At present, the interest in folk songs and traditional culture that existed in the 1980s has waned somewhat. Although many people long for that

spiritual atmosphere which prevailed while people were standing hand in hand in the Baltic Way or protecting the Parliament or television tower on the night of January 13th, the authenticity of that powerful emotional experience cannot be re-created.

Family: The Safeguard of Lithuanian Traditions

The attachment to group singing illustrates Lithuanians' gregarious side. It was that sense of collective, experienced through song and its open public affirmation, that helped sustain them as a group, both in Lithuania and as exiles and refugees abroad. Family traditions,

on the other hand, do not lend themselves easily to public display, and yet they are the key to understanding a cultural group's attitudes, values, and morals. During all the years of the Soviet occupation, only the family was not penetrated by the all-regulating and all-sanctioning Communist Party. The family nurtured religion and national sentiment and safeguarded traditions; tradi-

The Hill of Crosses is located in central Lithuania. It is customary for people to leave a cross and pray when visiting the site.

Photo by Virgilijus Usinavičius



Land of Crosses

A unique illustration of the interplay between tradition and history is the Hill of Crosses in Šiauliai. The mound was once a fortress. For more than a century, people erected crosses on the hill for all sorts of reasons and occasions, such as supplications for health and wealth and commemorations of births, deaths, or weddings. The Soviet government could not tolerate such an expression of spiritual belief, and the hill was totally annihilated in 1961, 1973, and again in 1975. But the crosses reappeared, almost overnight. The destruction stopped in 1980, and now the hill is again covered with thousands of crosses. They stand witness to the strength of tradition among Lithuanians.

Before the Soviet occupation, crosses and chapel poles had been an integral part of

Lithuania's landscape for hundreds of years. They were constructed near homesteads, at crossroads, by waysides, and when old ones deteriorated, new ones were placed in their stead. Sometimes chapels were nailed directly to trees. It is quite likely that these manifestations of Christian belief actually originated in some earlier totems used by the pagans to mark sacred space around them. The sun, moon, and snake motifs that decorate the crosses clearly harken back to pre-Christian nature worship, though now these symbols are appreciated purely for their aesthetic appeal. It is important to note that this form of decoration has held its appeal for a very long time, thus illustrating the conservatism of both Lithuanian craftsmen and the people who patronized them.

tions, in turn, strengthened familial ties.

Lithuanians have always honored the memory of their dead. It is very important to Lithuanians to carry out the will of a deceased loved one. To this day, in almost all regions of Lithuania the departed is mourned all night with funeral hymns. (It is a wonder how well these hymns and other funeral traditions have been preserved given the strength of the atheistic sovietization.) Graveyards are considered sacred places whose tranquility is not to be disturbed. Periodic visitations and upkeep of graves are obligations taken very seriously. Lighting of vigil candles at cemeteries on Vėlinės, the eve of All Souls' Day, is so important that both November 1 (All Saints' Day)

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and November 2 (All Souls' Day) are designated holidays. This allows people to return to their family graves, even if they are at some distance.

Christmas Eve is the day for family reunions, of both the living and the deceased. At the traditional Christmas Eve dinner, *Kūčias*, an extra place setting is set and food is left on the table all night for the souls of the deceased. The meatless dishes, some special to this night only, are shared in reverence. Reconciliation and the forgiving and settling of debts must be done by Christmas Eve. It is believed that one's disposition on the holiday will remain with the person for the year. This Christmas Eve gathering has always been celebrated quietly and in private, but its effect is powerful and deep. Regardless of whether they are believed or simply articulated, such traditions help strengthen the ties between the living and the dead, the past and the present, and are a means of keeping a balance between material reality and a person's spiritual life.

The fact that the shadow of our ancestors seems to be real and close at hand strengthens the sense of obligation that many Lithuanians feel toward their cultural heritage. Perhaps this is what makes many of us so passionate about our commitment to our traditions. Others may criticize us, saying we are overly conscious in the way we interact with our songs, dress, music, and our historical past. We reply that we must be conscious; otherwise there is the danger that our children will only hear someone else's song, story, and belief. Now that freedom has come and we are masters in our own home, we are still not out of danger. Marcelius Martinaitis, a much-loved and respected poet, writes:

When land is taken away, everybody is a witness. When speech becomes silent, the conscience speaks up. When ethnic traditions are taken away, a people sleep the eternal sleep of dead nations. Land remains in its place, a language can be protected by the written form, but the livelihood of the traditions is lost forever and never resurrected. Like life for a person, traditions are given only once. Ethnic catastrophes are almost unfelt — like radiation.

We can't afford the risk.

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- Encyclopedia Lituanica*, vols. 1–6. Boston: Juozas Kapocius, 1971–1976.
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- Balys, Jonas. *Lithuanian Folk Songs in the United States*. Folkways 4009.
- Lithuanian Folk Music*. Authentic folklore, compiled by Genovaitė Četkauskaitė. 33 Records ADD 33 CD004. Available through Bomba Records, Žygimantų 6, Vilnius 2600, Lithuania, tel. (3702) 223358, fax (3702) 225715, or Vilnius Plokštelių Studija, Barboros Radvilaitės 8, Vilnius 2600, Lithuania, tel. (3702) 610419, fax (3702) 610491.
- Lithuanian folk music KANKLĖS, prepared by Vida Palubinskienė and produced by Egidijus Virbašius, 1996; and Lithuanian folk music WIND INSTRUMENTS, original recordings from 1935–1939, prepared by Rūta Žarskienė, produced by Egidijus Virbašius, 1997. Both recordings are from the collections of the Folklore Archive of the Lithuanian Institute of Literature and Folklore, Antakalnio 6, Vilnius 2055, Lithuania, fax (3702) 226573.
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Zita Kelmickaitė is a musicologist and assistant professor at the Lithuanian Academy of Music. In 1993 she received the National Jonas Basanavičius Award for outstanding work in the promotion of ethnic culture.



1998 Río Grande/Río Bravo



Desert Images by David Lauer

Culture & Environment in the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin: A Preview

He who drinks water from the Río Bravo will never leave its shores.

—Popular saying collected by Gregorio Garza, Field Researcher, Laredo, Texas



Compiled by Lucy Bates, Olivia Cadaval, Heidi McKinnon, Diana Robertson, and Cynthia Vidaurri; translation editors Ileana Cadaval Adam and Patricia Fernández de Castro

This year's Festival program forms part of a larger Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin project that includes:

- Folklife Field Research Schools held in Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado to train local academic and community scholars and to direct local research for the Folklife Festival and other public programs
- Production of local public programs in collaboration with local organizations to present research carried out in the region (sponsored by the Texas Folklife Resources and the Texas Council for the Humanities)
- Smithsonian Folklife Festival programs for 1998 and 1999
- Production of educational materials and a film documentary.

This collaborative training and research approach builds on our work with binational institutions, researchers, and community members that participated in earlier Smithsonian projects in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands region. The following article offers samples of project research reports and reflects the multivocality of the region.

This project is cosponsored by El Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes with support from the U.S.-Mexico Fund for Culture (The Rockefeller Foundation, Fundación Cultural Bancomer, the Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes), SBC Foundation, Texas Folklife Resources, and the Texas Council for the Humanities. Folklife Fieldwork Research Schools were supported by Colorado College, Tierra Wools, the University of New Mexico, University of Texas—Pan American, and a grant from Smithsonian Outreach Funds.

Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

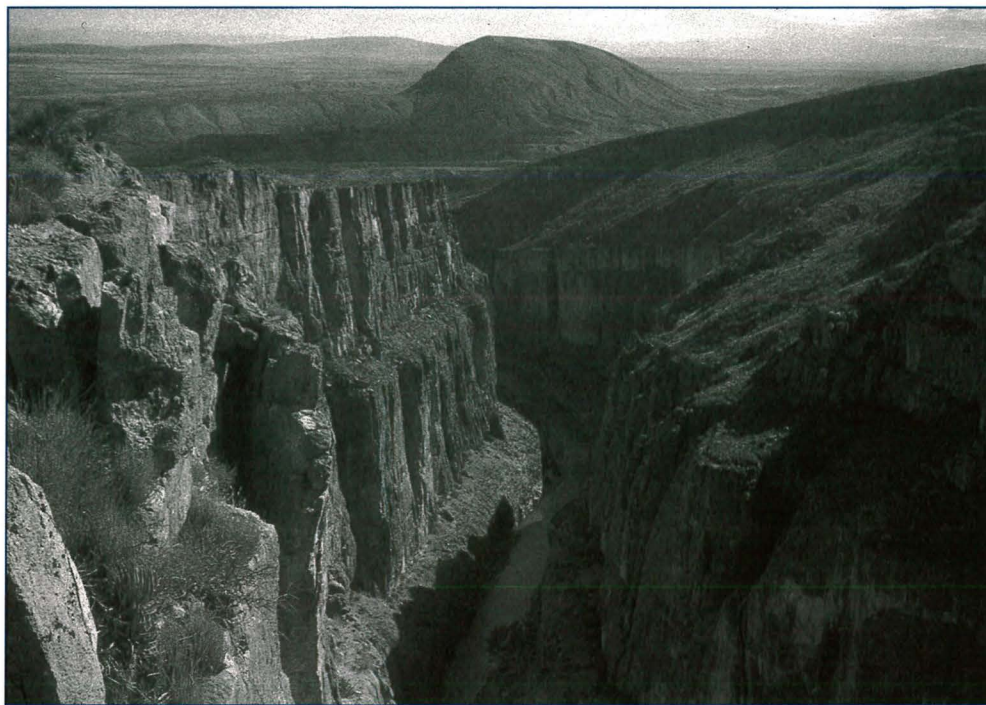
The Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin is a complex cultural, ecological, and political landscape. The river travels through mountains, deserts, plains, and subtropics and the states of Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas in the United States and the states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Durango, and Tamaulipas in Mexico. In its almost 2,000-mile journey, it is known by different names: El Río Grande del Norte, Río Bravo, the Wild River, Río de las Palmas, Po'soge, the Rio Grand. Many diverse groups of people live in the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin, each with its own personal and collective experiences.

Po'soge, the Río Grande del Norte, is one of the longest, most celebrated, and most vital rivers in North America, yet it is one of the most endangered. Water diversion has made the desert bloom through centuries-old Native American and Hispano *acequias* and 20th-century locks and canals. Only by allowing it a measure of its previous wildness will the Río Grande survive as an ecologically healthy river. —Enrique Lamadrid

University of New Mexico

Much research on rivers focuses on water and land rights, environment, history, architecture, health, and archeology. In this project, we asked, together with our Río Grande/Río Bravo colleagues, "What about living people? What about the cultural heritage and creativity of groups whose experiences have been shaped by the river?"

In particular our challenge was to research, plan, and produce a program on how local cultures contribute to a sustainable river-basin environment. Our approach was to engage scholars, educators, and individuals — formally and informally trained — who are involved in community cultural work. We sought to understand relationships between culture and environment and to see how contemporary traditions can be relevant



The river between Texas and Chihuahua, near Presidio and Ojinaga.

El río entre Chihuahua y Texas, cerca de Ojinaga y Presidio. Photo by / Foto de David Bosserman

to balancing human prosperity with environmental sustainability. We asked:

- 1) What kinds of communities live in the region today?
- 2) What is their traditional knowledge for managing the environment?
- 3) Can local culture provide a foundation for sustainable development projects?

These questions led us to explore the many meanings of the Río Grande/Río Bravo.

After a review of the field research, we decided that to adequately treat the richness and magnitude of the project requires an additional year's planning and production. This year, we are presenting a small Festival program that will preview cultural regions, expressive traditions, and issues that will be featured at the 1999 Festival. Many voices and perspectives have shaped this program. The collaborative process has been as important as the public product.

The goal of the Smithsonian project is to understand a region's diversity through its natural resources, cultural traditions, and historical experiences.

The research of our Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin fieldworkers team was focused on community enterprises, recycling projects, and, in general, on sights and sounds of the river that exemplify the region's environment. After learning "what, how, and why," researchers reached the heart and soul of the study, the essential spirit of an individual or community being researched. In each community enterprise, one detects a cultural weight, a force that projects values and richness, and that points to the diversity of life in the region.

—Juanita Elizondo Garza
University of Texas—Pan American

The Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin is nurtured by tributaries, both natural and cultural.

Priscilla Chavéz likes to recall how her father insisted his children learn things that could never be stolen from them. Land can be lost, but the culture endures, as much a part of the Río Grande Valley as the river itself. "My father made good corn flour," she said. "It was the best. And he told my sister, 'I am

going to pass this heritage to you.' And she continued making corn flour, and she makes the best.... To the boys he left the music...."

—Recorded by
Enrique Lamadrid
University of New Mexico

*Carolina Carbajal from
Las Cruces, New Mexico,
with a staff made from
sotol.*

*Carolina Carbajal de Las
Cruces, Nuevo México,
con una ramo de sotol.*

Photo by / Foto de
Elaine Thatcher



A river provides raw materials.

The Ysleta women potters dig river clay in several local spots. When Fermina and her sisters were young and working with their grandmother, the family had sources in four hills. Each hill produced a different color of clay, ranging from pale pink to dark. Today they dig clay wherever they find it. Fermina had found a deposit of good clay but said she had only had access to it for a brief time before it was fenced off and posted.

—Elaine Thatcher
in si' •tu, Santa Fe, New Mexico

The Río Grande/Río Bravo is a desert river of limited resources. It flows through an arid region of cooperation and conflict over water.

The water in the ditch connects us to the river. But it connects us to each other as well.... Even if there are conflicts over the watering schedule and you are mad at your neighbor, you know you have to figure out how to resolve it. Over the long term, it keeps people interacting in a very positive way.

—Riparian biologist Manuel Molles
interviewed by Enrique Lamadrid
University of New Mexico

Great River, Mighty River

Like the semi-desert lands it crosses, the Río Grande/Río Bravo is a natural wonder whose power and beauty we appreciate the more we get to know it. I first saw the river when I moved to Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, on the other side of the border from Laredo, Texas. There on the border, I came to know a river that equally separates, conjoins, and gives life to these two communities. For at the same time that the river is a boundary marker between countries, it is also the shared resource that has allowed communities to thrive together for centuries. First as ranching settlements and now also as international commercial gateways, the towns of Nuevo Laredo and Laredo — like Matamoros and Brownsville, Mier and Roma, Piedras Negras and Eagle Pass, Ciudad Juárez and El Paso — literally live off the river.

Why bring our river to the Smithsonian Folklife Festival? When Olivia Cadaval, Richard Kurin, Cynthia Vidaurre, and I first discussed the idea in El Paso, one of our central concerns was to address the relationship between the river and the communities it has fostered, not only on the U.S.-Mexico border but throughout the watershed. About 13,000,000 persons live in the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin. Many of them are first-generation inhabitants of the U.S. Southwest and northern Mexico. The families of others have been here for a long time. Wide open spaces, clear air, life in the desert and the mountains, and the solace these offer have attracted many. But ironically the growth of cities, industry, agriculture, and ranching have so polluted the river that it is one of the most endangered on the continent. To survive in this environment, the diverse peoples who have made this region have developed strong and tenacious cultures. The river's degradation is a threat to their way of life. The people of the basin have responded with creativity, responsibility, and initiative in an effort to protect their cultural heritage and enhance the vigor of the river and its communities. It is this intense vitality that the Festival celebrates.

—Patricia Fernández de Castro
El Colegio de la Frontera Norte

Acequia, the Spanish word for "irrigation canal," is derived from the Arabic *as-saquiya* (water carrier). Secondary and lateral ditches are called *sangrías*, a metaphorical term that expresses the same wisdom as the Spanish saying: "*El agua es la sangre de la tierra*," "Water is the blood of the land." Another saying: "*El agua es vida*," "Water is life."

—Enrique Lamadrid
University of New Mexico

Human practices can be in harmony or at odds with the logic of the river.

Looking at the Pueblo communities on the Río Grande, we see the large issues of cultural survival, economic development, and environmental maintenance. Control of water is part of that cultural struggle to survive. For example, our value system for use of land and water is incompatible with that of the jurisprudence system. We are taught to con-

serve the water; but the laws say we must use the water, even when we do not need to use it, in order to maintain our water rights. Moreover, the attempt to manage the Río Grande [by building a dam] adversely affected the very social fabric of Cochiti Pueblo. For some 20 years we were not able to carry out our planting rituals. Agriculture is not just a food source for us; it is intimately connected to who we are. This year, for the first time in two decades, we will plant again.

—Regis Pecos, State of New Mexico, Office of Indian Affairs

A river is the focus of values that can bring together or divide communities.

The *matachines* of the East Mountains on the outskirts of Albuquerque perform their important rituals of environmental maintenance and renewal along the waterways of the Río Grande Valley. But recent urban development threatens their

Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

practices. *Matachin* Bernadette Garcia explains: "See, the developers go and sell all this property, but they don't put in the deeds that we have access rights according to the original land grants. Then we end up having to fight them in court be-

cause of that. So the people who buy don't know about it. So they happily move in. Then it's time for our fiestas and our procession. And they say, 'No you can't go through our land. This is my property.' Here is where all the fights

begin. It shouldn't be like that. It's only once a year that we have to go in procession to the spring. We will always go in procession to the spring. Or until they run us over."

—Barbara Gonzales
University of New Mexico
Field School Participant



Matachines at the Feast of San Ysidro, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Los matachines en la Fiesta de San Ysidro, Albuquerque, Nuevo México. Photo by / Foto de Miguel Gandert



The last hand-pulled ferry on the river at Los Ebanos, Texas.

El último chalán tirado a mano en el río en Los Ebanos, Texas. Photo by / Foto de Charles Weber

A river invites journey, settlements and resettlements, borders, and social networks.

I was born in Veracruz on the Gulf of Mexico. I married when I was young. My husband was from Ciudad Victoria in the neighboring state of Tamaulipas, and he was picking cotton at that time. We met, we married, and since his family lived over in Ciudad Victoria he said: "Let's go." And we did. After 20 years of marriage I came to Matamoros on the border. Here in Matamoros, at the *maquiladora*, we interact with each other, tell each other things, know each other, fight and share our problems. We take time in between our work for each other.... Sometimes we sell things to make a little extra money.

—Eustolia Almaguer Vazquez
interview by Alma Jiménez
El Colegio de la Frontera Norte

As the field research trip came to an end, a Texas researcher remarked upon her different experiences of crossing the Río Grande. In Texas, the river forms an international boundary, and crossing means a forced stop by government authorities on each bank. But in Colorado and New Mexico the river can be crossed and crisscrossed without the need for a single halt to identify one's nationality. This experience shed light on the relationship between a geological formation and arbitrary boundaries.

—Juanita Elizondo Garza
University of Texas-Pan American

Los Chileros

In late August one of the most celebrated seasonal rituals of the upper Río Grande begins: the chile harvest. Here, chile is a staple. As people say, "*La comida sin chile es como un beso sin bigotes*," "Food without chile is like a kiss without a moustache." Eduardo and Priscilla Chávez have been roasting and selling chile in the north valley of Albuquerque for as long as anyone can remember. Their chile stand near the St. Carmel Church on Edith Boulevard is a popular meeting place for local residents, for Indians from the nearby pueblos of Sandía, Santa Ana, and Santo Domingo, and for tourists. As Mrs. Chávez says, "Chile brings people together." Mr. Chávez says, "The next best thing to growing chile is selling it."

—Enrique Lamadrid, University of New Mexico



A chile stand in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Un puesto de chiles en Santa Fe, Nuevo México. Photo by / Foto de Olivia Cadaval

A river inspires singers, poets, and storytellers. In the U.S. Southwest, *La Llorona* is a legend of a weeping woman encountered near rivers, streams, and *acequias* in the region. There are many versions of this tale, but they all recount the story of a Native woman who drowns her children out of hate for their Spanish father. She forever haunts the waterways searching for her children.

La Llorona lives in the hearts and minds and *ríos* of Mexican Americans everywhere. Her story is told in schools, on camping trips, and in many other places. Even *las aguas negras* (sewage waters) have heard her cries. From John Dodd, *Hispanic Folk Music of New Mexico and the Southwest* (1980):

Yesterday I wept wanting to see you,
Oh Weeping Woman
And today I cry from seeing you.

—Molly Timko,
University of New Mexico
Field School Participant

The river is the heart of a life-sustaining environment.

Atrisco, New Mexico, began as a 1692 Spanish *merced*, or land grant, west of the river from Albuquerque, bestowed jointly on a group of Tiwa Indians and Spanish settlers. The name is of Aztec origin meaning "place by the water." The size of the tract varied as the Río Grande shifted its course. Until recent times the community made its living through agriculture. Although the people of Atrisco no longer depend on agriculture for their livelihood, the waters of the Río Grande still nourish family gardens, orchards, and alfalfa fields. The traditional *acequias* and the water they carry symbolize the spirit of a community that has learned to defend its culture, lifestyle, and values.

One of the rites of spring along the upper Río Grande is the annual cleaning of the *acequias* from the *acequia madre*, or mother channel, down to each field. Everyone is obligated to participate in the effort. At the Northern Tiwa Indian pueblo of Picurís, special music is sung to help keep the work

rhythms of cleaning the ditch. Instead of beats on a drum, the cadence comes from the percussion of shovels hitting the ground. The flowing of the first water of the spring in the ditch is an occasion marked with blessings, excitement, and anticipation. When the *compuertas*, or floodgates, are opened near Indian pueblos, the waters are blessed with sacred cornmeal. In Hispano communities, the priest blesses the water and the processions that honor the patron saint of agriculture, San Isidro Labrador.

—Enrique Lamadrid
University of New Mexico

Guillermo "Willie" Mancha owns a neighborhood store which has been an institution in Eagle Pass, Texas, since 1948. Three generations of his family have prepared and sold traditional Mexican foods that are part of the ranching culture of the region. For a century Mexican ranchers have created an economy of fruits, vegetables, and livestock, which become ingredients for regional foods such as tamales, *chorizo* (sausage), *menudo* (tripe stew), *fajitas*

Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

(flank steak), and *barbacoa de cabeza* (cow's head barbecue). The custom was to consume the entire animal, preferably a goat, *desde la barba hasta la cola*, "from the beard to the tail." They say Mexicans combined *barba* (beard) and *cola* (tail), to coin the term *barbacoa*, the origins of barbecue.

—Mario Montañó
Colorado College

A river defines complex economic, social, and political environments. Contemporary river basin cultural communities have creatively responded to historical and environmental challenges in different ways. This can be seen in the story of the Rarámuri Indians of Chihuahua, Native communities who were forced to migrate from the countryside.

Considered the most majestically scenic area of Northern Mexico, the Sierra Madre Occidental is the homeland of an indigenous tribe called the Rarámuri [Tarahumara]. Over the years Rarámuri families have steadily been migrating to urban areas in the Mexican states of Chihuahua, Sinaloa, and Durango.

Rarámuri commonly visit the cities in order to sell or trade crafts, medicinal herbs, and textiles; to purchase goods that are not available in their home communities; and to work as wage laborers for short periods of time. In the fall of 1995, Ciudad Juárez created a neighborhood in the northwestern area of the city for migrant Rarámuri. Many women from this community sell medicinal herbs near a local market in Ciudad Juárez. Most of the herbs are brought down from the Sierra usually during the early fall. Taught at an early age to recognize medicinal herbs found in their homeland, Rarámuri know their uses in curing particular diseases.

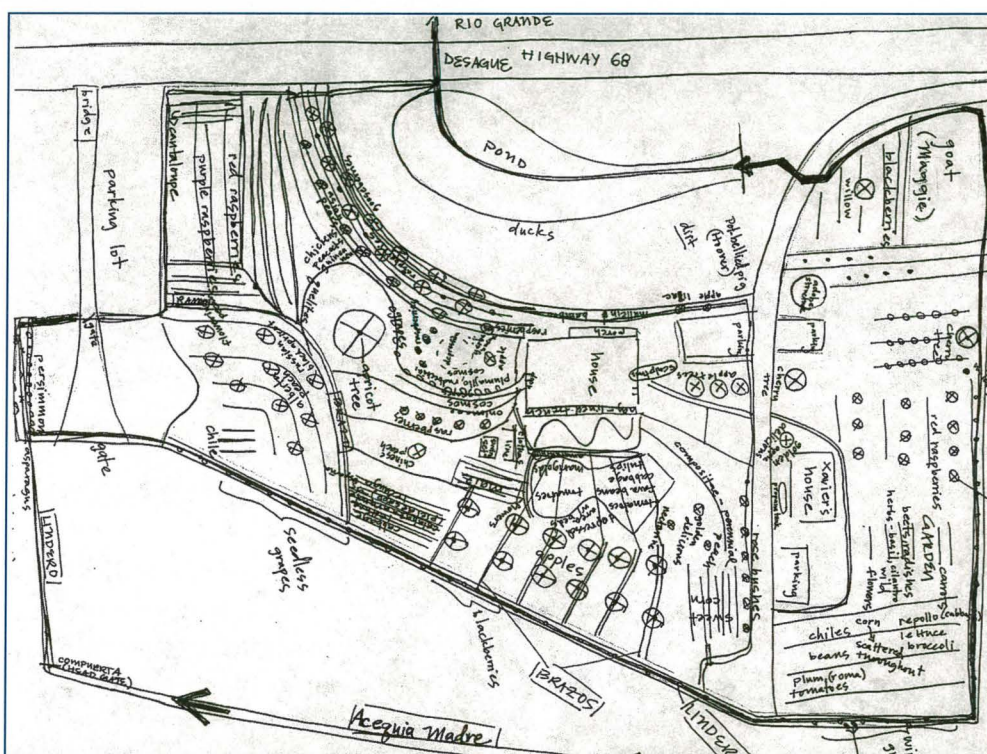
Only a few crafts are made in this community, but several women often travel to the Sierra to gather craft materials unavailable in the urban area. For example, some Rarámuri women gather

The Arellanos and Their Land Grant

The Embudo Valley in New Mexico has a wide variety of environmental zones ranging from desert grassland to piñon-juniper and sub-alpine. The Río Grande sustains the whole region. The area's history of Hispano agriculture and silviculture goes back to the Embudo Land Grant of 1725. Estevan Arellano's mother, Celia Archuleta,

is a direct descendant of Francisco Martín, one of the three original grantees. The Arellanos feel the strong link to their land strengthened and reinforced through the maintenance of foodways and other practices that follow the annual agricultural cycle.

—Ken Rubin
Colorado College Field School Participant



Map of the Arellano centenary ranch.

Mapa del rancho centenario de los Arellano. Drawing by / Dibujo de Joanna Stewart

Amidst the incredible variety in the garden there is a harmony between the plants, the soil, and the human hands that nurture the harvest. According to Estevan Arellano's philosophy of farming, it is important to achieve a natural landscape. "I just let [plants] go and find their own niche where they like to be. . . . They continue moving and finding their own place where it's more natural for them." Estevan's thoughts on chemical pesticides make clear his personal connection to the land. "Pesticides are the worst thing you can do to the soil," he explains. "Soil is a living organism, and it has feelings, it has a soul, it has everything a human being has. So if you want it to produce, you have to treat it kindly."

—Joanna Stewart, Colorado College
Field School Participant

pine needles or bear grass (*palmilla*) to weave baskets (*waris*). But the women also find materials in Ciudad Juárez to sew traditional Indian clothing and weave sashes (*fajas*). They are expert seamstresses.

—Genevieve Mooser
Eastern New Mexico University

Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

Ixtle is a fiber extracted from the *lechugilla* plant and used to weave hammocks, rugs, and bags. The Department of Ecology of the State Government of Coahuila is encouraging people to work by offering scholarships to learn this skill and by helping to support family-run workshops. Craftsman José Isabel Quiroz learned how to weave *ixtle* from his father, who still works with him. Quiroz's wife puts the finishing touches on the crafts.



Cecilio Hernández crushing the lechugilla blade to release the fibers.

Photo by Imelda Castro Santillán



Herbalist Maclovía Zamora travels throughout the Upper Río Grande harvesting regional plants and talking about their use in Hispano and Native American traditions. She harvests cedar from the East Mountain area of Albuquerque to make smudges that are burned during ritual cleaning and purification practices in Native communities.

Maclovía Zamora collecting cedar for making smudges.

Photo by Heidi McKinnon

Brick-making in Ciudad Juárez

In the Colonia Mexico 68 neighborhood in Ciudad Juárez, many of the brick-making families have created a space or "yard" for their homes, kilns, and brick-making businesses. The Colonia lies adjacent to the Juárez Industrial Park, the second largest *maquiladora* manufacturing area in the city. Don Serafín explains how he started his own brick business in the Colonia: "I watched how they worked and how they mixed the earth and loaded it, fired it, the whole process. Before, everything was lyrical, everything rustic, and that is how I taught myself. I simply watched how the older people worked — that's how I learned and liked it. That's why I started to work on my own, and I am still here . . ."

—Erin Ross, Southwest Center for Environmental Research and Policy, New Mexico State University



Tierra Wools

The mission of Tierra Wools is to produce and sell yarn and hand-woven woolen goods; to teach Río Grande weaving, spinning, dyeing, and related skills. We shall maintain a hiring preference for low- to moderate-income people; ensure that provisions will be made so that low- to moderate-income employees will have financial access to ownership; help further the history and culture of the area by maintaining and evolving the Río Grande weaving tradition; maintain a preference for purchasing locally grown wool, especially *churro* wool; and maintain our primary place of business within a 50-mile radius of Los Ojos, New Mexico.

Antonio Manzanares with a churro sheep on his ranch in Los Ojos, New Mexico. Photo by Cynthia Vidaurri

Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

Immediate economic necessity and the long-term dream of owning a piece of land are factors that drive many low-income families of migrant farmworkers to live in *colonias*. To help them achieve their goals, the United Farm Workers of San Juan, Texas, developed a unique program that emphasizes dedication to public action, volunteerism, respect for all cultures, and egalitarianism. Amid telephones, faxes, and computers, *campesinos* use modern technology while still maintaining traditional values and practices.

—Victor Hernández and Cynthia Cortez
University of Texas-Pan American
Field School Participants

Dolores Venegas teaches women traditional craft-making in Río Bravo, Tamaulipas, using recycled materials and others readily available in the surrounding region. *Carrizo*, reed cane, for *piñatas* is found along the banks of the Río Bravo/Río Grande; flower baskets are made from old tin cans; and glue is produced from flour, vinegar, salt, and water. Newspapers and *mazorca* (corn husks) are also used.

—Beverly Ortiz, University of Texas-Pan American
Field School Participant

As we followed the Río Grande, crossing and crisscrossing this river, we became aware of the great environmental and cultural issues that persist along this vast area. From the headwaters in Colorado to the Gulf of Mexico, every region of the Río Bravo/Río Grande faces its own issues of history, language, culture, religion, and sustenance.

—Juanita Elizondo Garza
University of Texas-Pan American

"It Was a Way Out of the Fields"

Every weekend at places with names like El Flamingo, Prieta's Bar, or Club 77, the sound of *conjunto* music blares as dancers twirl to *huapangos*, polkas, *redovas*, and *shotis*. This tradition has survived in what was once an isolated cultural area in South Texas known to the *conjunto* aficionado as "*el valle*" (the valley). At one time, the area was more like Mexico than the United States, but during the first half of this century it adapted American traditions, developing a unique blend that is now known as Tex-Mex.

Traditional dance music is heard in the small local clubs and dance halls where some dance styles have remained relatively unchanged for the past 50 years. But accordion-driven Tejano music coexists with traditional dance music in venues that appeal to the younger generations. In his accordion-repair shop sanctuary, Amadeo Flores entertains a steady trickle of *conjunto* aficionados, star performers, and occasional college students looking for their roots, with an unceasing flow of humor and musical anecdotes. Although he has lived most of his life in the area, he has frequently traveled where his music has taken him. Amadeo is also an expert *bajo sexto* musician, accordionist, accordion tuner, part-time historian, and full-time player of weekly *conjunto* gigs. His history as a performer began in the forties, when music was a pastime, and over the years he has developed it into his livelihood. When asked why the public turned to the accordion-driven *conjunto*, he answers without hesitation, "It's something they understand and they can dance to. They want something simple and return to it." On this day Amadeo was showing off publicity photos of his accordion-repair clients and his current musical competitors, some of whom could be his grandchildren and are, in fact, his pupils. He survives and thrives in a changing musical world through his appreciation of younger generations and his irrepressible sense of humor.

—David Champion and Ramón de León
Narciso Martínez Cultural Center
San Benito, Texas

Olivia Cadaval received her Ph.D. in American studies at George Washington University. Cynthia Vidaurri received her masters in sociology at Texas A & I University and has taught Chicano and borderlands studies at Texas A & M—Kingsville University. They are founders of the Latino Cultural Resource Center at the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies and co-curators of the Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin program. Festival program interns Lucy Bates, Heidi McKinnon, and Diana Robertson are graduates from University of Edinburgh, University of New Mexico, and University of California at Los Angeles, respectively. Ileana Cadaval Adams is an independent writer and translator. Patricia Fernández de Castro is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Chicago and researcher at El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.

La cultura y el medio ambiente en la cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande: Una visión preliminar

Aquel que beba agua del Río Bravo nunca de sus orillas se alejará.

—Dicho recopilado por Gregorio Garza Investigador, Laredo, Texas

Río Bravo, Río Grande

Como las tierras semi-desérticas que cruza, el Río Bravo/Río Grande es una maravilla natural cuyo poder y belleza apreciamos mejor mientras más lo conocemos. Vi el Río por primera vez cuando me mudé a Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, al otro lado de la frontera con Laredo, Texas. Aquí en la frontera llegué a conocer un río que al igual separa que une y da vida a estas dos comunidades. Porque el Río, a la vez que es una frontera entre países, es el recurso común que ha permitido a las comunidades fronterizas florecer juntas durante siglos. Primero como ranchos y villas y ahora como puertos de comercio internacional, las comunidades de Nuevo Laredo y Laredo — como Matamoros y Brownsville, Mier y Roma, Piedras Negras y Eagle Pass, Ciudad Juárez y El Paso — literalmente viven del Río.

¿Por qué traer nuestro Río al Festival de las Culturas Populares del Smithsonian? Cuando Olivia Cadaval, Richard Kurin, Cynthia Vidaurri y yo empezamos a discutir esta idea en El Paso, una de nuestras preocupaciones centrales era tratar la relación entre el Río y las comunidades que han surgido a su vera, no sólo en la frontera México-Estados Unidos sino a lo largo y ancho de la cuenca. Alrededor de 13,000,000 personas viven en la cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande. Muchas de ellas son habitantes recientes del Sudoeste de E.U. y del Norte de México. Las familias de otras han estado aquí durante mucho tiempo. Los espacios abiertos, el aire puro, la vida del desierto y de las montañas han atraído a muchos. Pero, irónicamente, el crecimiento de las ciudades, de la industria y de los ranchos han contaminado tanto al Río que es uno de los que está en mayor riesgo en el continente.

Para sobrevivir en este medio ambiente, los diferentes pueblos que han hecho esta región han tenido que desarrollar una cultura tenaz y fuerte. La degradación del Río es una amenaza a su modo de vida. La gente de la cuenca ha respondido creativa y responsablemente, iniciando un esfuerzo para proteger su herencia cultural y fortalecer al Río y a sus comunidades. Es esta intensa vitalidad lo que el Festival celebra.

—Patricia Fernández de Castro
El Colegio de la Frontera Norte

Compilado por Lucy Bates, Olivia Cadaval, Heidi McKinnon, Diana Robertson y Cynthia Vidaurri; redacción por Ileana Cadaval Adam y Patricia Fernández de Castro

El programa del Festival de este año forma parte del proyecto sobre la cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande, que incluye:

- Los Talleres de Capacitación para la Investigación de Campo que se realizaron en Texas, Nuevo México y Colorado para entrenar a investigadores locales y para dirigir la investigación en la región para el Festival de Tradiciones Populares y para otros programas públicos.
- La producción de programas públicos locales en colaboración con organizaciones locales para presentar la investigación que se realizó en la región (auspiciados por Texas Folklife Resources y Texas Council for the Humanities)
- Los programas del Festival Smithsonian de Tradiciones Populares para 1998 and 1999
- La producción de materiales didácticos y una película documental

Esta manera colaborativa de capacitación e investigación continúa nuestro trabajo binacional con instituciones, investigadores y miembros de la comunidad que han participado en proyectos anteriores del Smithsonian en la región de la frontera México-Estados Unidos. El siguiente artículo ofrece muestras de los reportes de la investigación para el proyecto y refleja la multivocalidad de la región.

Este proyecto ha sido coauspiciado por El Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes con el apoyo de Fideicomiso para la Cultura México/USA (la Fundación Rockefeller, la Fundación Cultural Bancomer y el Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes); la Fundación SBC; Texas Folklife Research y Texas Council for the Humanities. Los Talleres de Capacitación para la Investigación de Campo recibieron apoyo de Colorado College, Tierra Wools, la Universidad de Nuevo México, la Universidad de Texas – Pan Americana y una subvención del Fondo de Smithsonian Outreach.

Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

La cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande forma un complejo paisaje cultural, ecológico y político. El río navega por montañas, desiertos, llanos y subtrópicos y cruza los estados de Colorado, Nuevo México y Texas en los Estados Unidos y los estados de Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Durango y Tamaulipas en México. En su trayectoria de más de 3220 kilómetros se le conoce con nombres diferentes: Río Grande del Norte, Río Bravo, Río de las Palmas, Po'soge. La cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande está poblada por muchos grupos diversos de individuos con sus propias experiencias personales y colectivas.

Po'soge, el Río Grande del Norte o Río Bravo, es uno de los ríos más largos, celebrados y vitales de Norte América, y también uno de los más amenazados. El desierto ha florecido gracias a las aguas repartidas por las antiguas acequias indígenas y novohispanas y los canales y presas del siglo XX. El Río Bravo solo podrá sobrevivir como un río ecológicamente sano si se le deja un poco de su antigua bravura.

—Enrique Lamadrid
Universidad de Nuevo México

Mucha de la investigación sobre ríos se enfoca en los derechos de tierra y agua, el medio ambiente, la historia, la arquitectura, la salud y la arqueología. En este proyecto, nos preguntamos, con nuestros colegas del Río Bravo/Río Grande — ¿Y qué de la gente que aquí vive? ¿Y qué de la herencia cultural y de la creatividad de grupos cuya experiencia se ha forjado por el río?

Nuestro particular reto fue investigar, diseñar y producir un programa que muestre cómo las culturas locales contribuyen a un medio ambiente sostenible en la cuenca del río. Nuestra técnica fue recurrir a académicos, profesores, e individuos con preparación formal e informal comprometidos con el trabajo cultural en su comunidad. Intentamos entender la relación entre cultura y medio ambiente



*La bendición de la acequia durante la Fiesta de San Ysidro, Albuquerque, Nuevo México.
Acequia blessing for the Feast of San Ysidro, Albuquerque, New Mexico.*

Photo by / Foto de Molly Timko

y ver cómo las tradiciones contemporáneas pueden ser pertinentes para equilibrar la prosperidad humana con la sustentabilidad del medio ambiente. Para ello nos preguntamos:

- 1) ¿Qué tipos de comunidades viven hoy en día en la región?
- 2) ¿En qué consiste su conocimiento tradicional para manejar el medio ambiente?
- 3) ¿Puede la cultura local formar los cimientos para proyectos de desarrollo sostenible?

Estas preguntas nos indujeron a explorar los varios significados que tiene el Río Bravo/Río Grande.

Después de revisar la investigación de campo, decidimos que un proyecto de semejante magnitud y riqueza requeriría un año más de planificación para su producción. Por lo tanto, este año presentaremos un pequeño programa en el Festival que ofrecerá una introducción a la problemática, las regiones culturales y las tradiciones expresivas que conformarán el programa del Festival de 1999. Muchas voces y perspectivas han formado este programa y el proceso colaborativo ha sido tan importante como su producto.

El proyecto

El objetivo del proyecto iniciado por el Smithsonian tiene como fin entender la diversidad de la región a través de su naturaleza, medio ambiente, tradiciones culturales y experiencias históricas. Nuestro equipo enfocó su investigación de campo en las empresas comunitarias, el reciclaje y, en lo general, en los paisajes y los sonidos humanos y naturales representativos del medio ambiente ribereño. Después de entender el “qué, cómo y por qué,” los investigadores llegaron al corazón de su estudio, el espíritu o esencia del individuo o de la comunidad bajo investigación. En cada empresa se discierne la fuerza y riqueza de valores culturales, característicos de la diversidad en la región.

—Juanita Garza, Universidad
de Texas—Pan Americana

Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

La cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande se nutre de tributarios naturales y culturales.

A Priscilla Chávez le gusta recordar cómo su papá insistía en que sus hijos aprendieran lo que nunca se les podría robar. La tierra podrá perderse, pero la cultura perdura como parte tan íntegra del valle del Río Grande como el río mismo. “Mi papá hacía buena harina de maíz. Era la mejor. Y le dijo a mi hermana — Voy a dejarte esta herencia a tí. Y ella continúa haciendo la mejor harina de maíz. ... A los muchachos les dejó la música...”

—Grabado por Enrique Lamadrid
Universidad de Nuevo México

Un río provee materia prima.

Las alfareras de Ysleta extraen la arcilla ribereña de varios sitios. Cuando Fermina y sus hermanas eran jóvenes y trabajaban con su abuela, la familia iba a buscarla en cuatro cerros. Cada cerro producía arcilla de distinto color, desde un rosado pálido a uno oscuro. Ahora extraen arcilla dondequiera que la encuentran. Fermina encontró un depósito de calidad pero sólo tuvo acceso a él por corto tiempo antes de que fuera cercado.

—Grabado por Elaine Thatcher
in *si' •tu*, Santa Fe, Nuevo México

El Río Bravo/Río Grande es un río de desierto en el que los recursos son limitados. Fluye por una árida región caracterizada tanto por la cooperación como por los conflictos sobre el uso de agua.

El agua de la acequia nos conecta al río. Pero también nos une a unos con otros.... Aunque haya conflictos sobre el horario de riego y estés enojado con tu vecino, sabes que tendrás que resolverlos tarde o temprano. A largo plazo, eso hace que la gente mantenga buenas relaciones.”

—Biólogo ripario Manuel Molles
entrevistado por Enrique Lamadrid
Universidad de Nuevo México

Acequia, la palabra castellana para canal de riego, se deriva del árabe, *as-saquiya* (cargador de agua). Las acequias secundarias y laterales se llaman sangrías, un término metafórico que expresa la sabiduría misma de los dichos populares: “El agua es la sangre de la tierra” y “El agua es vida.”

— Enrique Lamadrid
Universidad de Nuevo México

Los costumbres humanas pueden estar o no en armonía con la lógica del río.

Observando a las comunidades Pueblo a lo largo del Río Grande, apreciamos la problemática de la supervivencia cultural, del desarrollo económico y de la conservación ambiental. El control del agua forma parte de esa lucha cultural para sobrevivir. Por ejemplo, nuestro sistema de valores en cuanto al uso de la tierra y el agua es incompatible con el del sistema jurisprudencial. Aprendemos a conservar el agua pero al mismo tiempo las leyes dicen que debemos usarla aún cuando no la necesitamos, para así mantener nuestro derecho sobre ella. Además la decisión de construir una presa para controlar al Río Grande afectó negativamente el propio tejido social del Pueblo Cochiti. Durante unos veinte años no pudimos realizar nuestros rituales agrícolas. La agricultura no es simplemente una fuente de alimentación para nosotros; está íntimamente relacionada a nuestra identi-

dad. Este año, por primera vez en dos décadas, sembraremos de nuevo.

—Regis Pecos,
Oficina de Asuntos Indígenas
del Estado de Nuevo México

Un río es un eje de valores que puede unir o dividir comunidades.

Los Matachines de la Sierra Oriental en las afueras de Albuquerque danzan ritualmente para mantener y renovar la tierra y el agua del valle del Río Grande. Sin embargo, el desarrollo urbano reciente amenaza sus costumbres. La matachín Bernadette García explica: “Los empresarios urbanos venden todas estas propiedades, pero no ponen en las escrituras que tenemos derecho de acceso según las mercedes originales. Acabamos teniendo que luchar por ellos en la corte. La gente que compra no sabe nada de esto y se muda muy contenta. Entonces vienen nuestras fiestas y procesiones. Dicen — No pueden pasar por nuestros terrenos porque son nuestros. Es ahí cuando comienzan las peleas. No debe de ser así. Es solo una vez al año que tenemos que ir en procesión al ojo de agua. Siempre haremos una procesión al ojo en primavera. O hasta que nos atropellen.”

—Bárbara Gonzales
Participante del Taller de Investigación
de Campo con la
Universidad de Nuevo México



Rita Morales frente a un altar a la Virgen de Guadalupe en la fábrica maquiladora donde trabaja en Matamoros, Tamaulipas.

Rita Morales, a maquiladora factory worker, next to an altar to the Virgin of Guadalupe in the factory where she works in Matamoros, Tamaulipas. Photo by / Foto de Alma Jiménez

Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

Un río invita viajes, asentamientos, re-asentamientos, fronteras y lazos sociales.

Nací en Veracruz, en el Golfo de México. Me casé muy joven. Mi esposo era de Ciudad Victoria, en el vecino estado de Tamaulipas, y en esa época él estaba trabajando en el algodón. Nos conocimos, nos casamos y como su familia estaba allá en Ciudad Victoria, pues dijo — vámonos — y nos fuimos. Después de estar casada veinte años, vine a Matamoros en la frontera. Aquí en Matamoros, en la maquiladora, uno convive, se cuentan sus cosas, se conocen, se pelean unas con otras, se cuentan sus problemas. Se dan su tiempo entre el trabajo para convivir.... A veces como vendemos cosas, nos ayudamos.

—Entrevista con

Eustolia Almaguer Vázquez
por Alma Jiménez

El Colegio de la Frontera Norte

Al terminarse la investigación de campo, una investigadora de Texas comentó sobre sus diferentes experiencias al cruzar el Río Bravo/Río Grande. En Texas, el río es una frontera internacional y cruzar implica aduanas federales de ambos lados, pero en Colorado y Nuevo México el río se cruza y se vuelve a cruzar sin necesidad de pararse para identificar su nacionalidad. Esta experiencia le ayudó a entender la relación entre formaciones geológicas y barreras arbitrarias.

—Juanita Garza

Universidad de Texas—Pan Americana

Un río inspira a cantantes, poetas y narradores. En el Sureste de Estados Unidos la Llorona es una leyenda de una mujer que se encuentra llorando a la orilla de los ríos, arroyos y acequias de la región. Hay varias versiones pero todas cuentan de una mujer indígena que ahoga a sus hijos enfurecida contra el padre español. Por siempre rondará los sitios de agua en busca de sus hijos.

La Llorona vive en los corazones y las

Los chileros

A finales de agosto, uno de los ritos más celebrados del Río Grande del Norte comienza: la cosecha del chile. Aquí el chile es, más que condimento, alimento básico. Como dice el dicho, "La comida sin chile es como un beso sin bigote." Desde que se acuerda la gente, Eduardo y Priscilla Chávez han rescoldado y vendido chile en el valle

Las ladrilleras de Ciudad Juárez

En el barrio Colonia México 68 de Ciudad Juárez, muchas de las familias ladrilleras han creado un espacio o patio para su casa, su horno y su negocio de ladrillos. La Colonia queda al lado del Parque Industrial Juárez, el segundo en la ciudad por su extensión. Don Serafín explica cómo empezó su propio negocio de ladrillos en la colonia. "Estuve observando cómo trabajaban y cómo revolvían la tierra, como la cargaban, como la quemaban, toda la elaboración. Antes todo era lírico, todo rústico y fue como me enseñé yo. Lo único fui viendo como trabajaban los señores de antes, fue como aprendí y me gustó. Por eso es que comencé a trabajar por mi cuenta y aquí estoy todavía...."

—Erin Ross, Centro de Investigación y
Reglamentación Ambiental del
Suroeste Universidad del
Estado de Nuevo México

mentos y los ríos de los México-americanos en todas partes. Su historia se cuenta en las escuelas, en excursiones y en muchos otros lugares. Hasta las aguas negras han oído sus llantos. De John Dodd, *Hispanic Folk Music of New Mexico and the Southwest* (1980):

Ayer lloraba por verte,
ay Llorona
y hoy lloro porque te ví

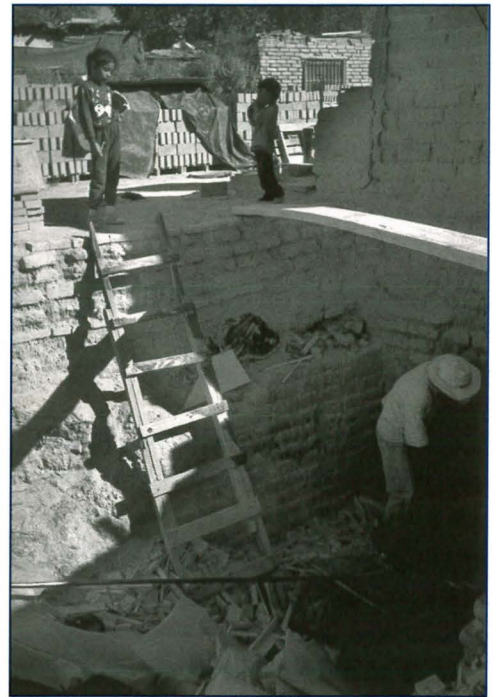
—Molly Timko

Participante del Taller de
Investigación de Campo con la
Universidad de Nuevo México

al norte de Albuquerque. Su tiendita de chile en la calle Edith cerca de la iglesia del Monte Carmel es un lugar donde se reúnen amigos, vecinos, turistas e indígenas de los cercanos Pueblos Sandía, Santa Ana y Santo Domingo. Como dice la señora Chávez, "El chile une a la gente." El señor Chávez dice "Si no se puede sembrar el chile, hay que venderlo."

—Enrique Lamadrid

Universidad de Nuevo México



Gerardo Caballero dentro del horno para hacer ladrillos en el patio de su casa en la colonia México 68.

Brick-maker Gerardo Caballero inside a brick-making oven in his yard. Photo by / Foto de Erin Ross

El río es el corazón de un medio ambiente que sostiene la vida.

Atrisco, al oeste del río en Albuquerque, Nuevo México, comenzó como una merced de la corona española en 1692 otorgada conjuntamente a un grupo de indios tiwas y colonos españoles. El nombre es de origen azteca y quiere decir "lugar cerca del agua". El tamaño del terreno ha variado según los cambios del cauce del Río Grande. Hasta tiempos recientes, la comunidad se dedicaba a la agricultura. Aunque la gente de Atrisco ya no depende en la agricultura para sobrevivir, las aguas del Río

Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

Grande todavía riegan sus jardines, arboledas y campos de alfalfa. Las acequias tradicionales y el agua que llevan simbolizan el espíritu de una comunidad que ha aprendido a defender su cultura, su estilo de vida y sus valores.

Uno de los ritos de primavera en el Río Grande del norte es la "saca" [limpieza] anual de las acequias. Todos están obligados a participar y a contribuir en el trabajo. En el pueblo de Picurís de los indios tiwas, hay cantos especiales para acompañar la limpia de las acequias. En vez de tocar un tambor, el ritmo se marca con los golpes de las palas contra el suelo.

La entrada de las primeras aguas de la primavera en las acequias es una ocasión muy anticipada y celebrada con bendiciones y alegría. Cuando se abren las compuertas cerca de las comunidades Pueblo, las aguas son bendecidas con harina de maíz sagrado. En los pueblos hispanos, el sacerdote bendice el agua y las procesiones que honran al santo patrono de la agricultura, San Isidro Labrador.

—Enrique Lamadrid
Universidad de Nuevo México



Mujeres rarámuri vendiendo hierbas y flores en la banqueta en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua.

Rarámuri women selling herbs and flowers outside on the sidewalk in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Photo by / Foto de Genevieve Mooser



Los Mancha metiendo la carne en el pozo detrás de su tienda en Eagle Pass, Texas.

The Manchas setting the prepared meat in the pit behind their store in Eagle Pass, Texas. Photo by / Foto de Mario Montañó

Desde el año 1948, la Tienda y Marqueta de la familia Mancha ha sido una institución cultural en Eagle Pass, Texas. Ahora, Guillermo, "Willie" Mancha, el hijo mayor, está encargado de supervisar a la tercera generación de hijos y sobrinos que continúan preparando y vendiendo las comidas tradicionales típicas de las rancherías mexicanas de esta región. Por más de un siglo los rancheros mexicanos han creado una economía a base de frutas, verduras y ganado, los ingredientes para comidas regionales como tamales, chorizo, menudo, fajitas y barbacoa de cabeza. La costumbre era de consumir el animal entero, preferiblemente chivo, desde la

barba hasta la cola. Se dice que de allí viene la palabra barbacoa, de la combinación de barba y cola.

—Mario Montañó,
Colorado College

El río define complejos ambientes económicos, sociales y políticos.

Las comunidades ribereñas contemporáneas han respondido creativamente y de diferentes maneras a los retos históricos y medio ambi-

entales. Esto se puede ver en la historia de los indígenas rarámuri de Chihuahua, comunidades nativas que fueron forzadas a emigrar de sus tierras. La Sierra Madre Occidental se considera como el área más majestuosa y pintoresca del norte de México. Aquí viven los rarámuri. Por años las familias rarámuri han emigrado a zonas urbanas, principalmente de los estados de Chihuahua, Sinaloa y Durango. Los rarámuris suelen visitar las ciudades para vender artesanías tradicionales, hierbas medicinales y textiles; para obtener productos que no se pueden conseguir en la Sierra; y para obtener trabajos asalariados temporales. En octubre de 1995, una comunidad rarámuri se estableció en el noroeste de Ciudad Juárez. Muchas mujeres de esta comunidad venden hierbas medicinales cerca del mercado municipal de Ciudad Juárez. Las hierbas son comúnmente traídas de la Sierra al comienzo del otoño. Desde pequeños, a los rarámuri se les enseña a conocer las hierbas medicinales de la Sierra, de modo que conocen sus propiedades curativas.

Se produce poca artesanía en esta comunidad, pero algunas mujeres van a la Sierra a conseguir material artesanal que no se encuentra en una zona urbana. Por ejemplo, consiguen las hojas de pino o la palmilla para hacer canastas (*waris*). Sin embargo, en Ciudad Juárez encuentran materiales para coser vestidos y fajas tradicionales. Las mujeres rarámuri son excelentes costureras.

—Genevieve Mooser, Universidad de
Nuevo México Oriental



Participantes en la escuela de investigación de campo del programa del Río Bravo/Río Bravo trabajando con los miembros del Sindicato de Campesinos Unidos en San Juan, Texas.

Río Grande/Río Bravo Folklife Field Research School participants working with United Farm Workers Union in San Juan, Texas. Photo by / Foto de Charles Weber

Los Arellano y su merced de tierra

El Valle de Embudo en Nuevo México tiene una gran diversidad de hábitats que incluyen planicies desérticas, bosques de pino y junípero y matorral subalpino. El Río Grande sustenta la región entera. La historia de agricultura y silvicultura novohispana en la región comienza con la merced de Embudo de 1725. La madre de Estevan Arellano, Celia Archuleta, es descendiente directa de Francisco Martín, uno de los tres cesionarios originales. Los Arellano sienten lazos fuertes con su tierra que se intensifican y refuerzan preservando ciertas costumbres tradicionales.

—Ken Rubin, Participante del Taller de Investigación de Campo con Colorado College

Dentro de la variedad enorme que existe en el jardín, hay un sentido de armonía entre plantas, tierra y manos que la cosechan. En la filosofía agrícola de Estevan Arellano, es muy importante lograr un paisaje natural. “Yo dejo que las plantas busquen su propio nicho... se mueven y encuentran su lugar más natural.” La actitud de Estevan hacia los insecticidas revela su relación con la tierra. “Los insecticidas son la peor cosa que se le puede hacer a la tierra. La tierra es un organismo vivo; tiene emociones, tiene un alma, tiene todo lo que tiene un ser humano. Si quiere que produzca, hay que tratarla con cariño.”

—Joanna Stewart, Participante del Taller de Investigación de Campo con Colorado College

Tierra Wools

La misión de Tierra Wools es producir y vender estambre y tejidos de lana hechos a mano, y enseñar a tejer, hilar, teñir y trabajos relacionados en la tradición de tejido Río Grande. Daremos prioridad en el empleo a personas de bajo a mediano ingreso; aseguraremos que habrán mecanismos para que estas personas tengan acceso a préstamos para financiar propiedades; ayudaremos a propagar la historia y la cultura de la región manteniendo y desarrollando la tradición del tejido del Río Grande; daremos preferencia en la compra a la lana de la región, sobre todo a la lana churro; y mantendremos nuestro principal centro de negocios dentro de un radio de 50 millas de Los Ojos, Nuevo México.

El ixtle

El ixtle es una fibra que se extrae de la lechuguilla y se usa para tejer hamacas, tapetes y bolsas. La Dirección General de Ecología del Estado de la Secretaría de Desarrollo Social del Gobierno de Coahuila ofrece becas a las personas que quieran aprender a trabajar el ixtle y ayuda a familias con talleres artesanales de este tipo. El artesano José Isabel Quiroz García aprendió a tejer el ixtle de su padre, con quien todavía trabaja. Su esposa le pone los detalles finales a las artesanías.

La necesidad económica y el sueño de ser dueño de su propia tierra son factores que impulsan a muchas familias de trabajadores agrícolas migrantes de bajo ingreso a vivir en asentamientos urbanos marginales o “colonias.” Para ayudarles a realizar su meta, el Sindicato de Campesinos Unidos de San Juan, Texas, desarrolló un programa especial que enfatiza dedicación a la acción pública, trabajo voluntario, respeto por todas culturas y egalitarismo. Trabajando con teléfonos, faxes, y computadoras, los trabajadores agrícolas utilizan la tecnología moderna al mismo tiempo que conservan valores y prácticas tradicionales.

—Víctor Hernández y Cynthia Cortez
Participante del Taller de Capacitación para la Investigación de Campo con la Universidad de Texas—Pan Americana

Dolores Venega le enseña a las mujeres de Río Bravo a hacer artesanías tradicionales utilizando materiales reciclados y otras materias primas de la región. El carrizo para las piñatas se encuentra a la orilla del Río Bravo/Río Grande; las canastas para arreglos florales se hacen con latas usadas; y el pegamento se hace con harina, vinagre, sal y agua. También utiliza periódicos y mazorcas.

—Beverly Ortiz, Participante del Taller de Capacitación para la Investigación de Campo con la Universidad de Texas—Pan Americana

Era una vía para salir del campo

Los fines de semana en lugares como El Flamingo, Bar Prieta o Club 77 la música de conjunto satura el ambiente mientras las parejas bailan al compás de huapangos, polkas, redovas y chotises. Esta tradición ha sobrevivido en el sur de Texas, en lo que una vez fue una región cultural aislada conocida por los aficionados a la música tejana de conjunto como el Valle. En un tiempo, la región era más como México que como Estados Unidos, pero a mediados de este siglo se introdujeron tradiciones musicales estadounidenses y surgió algo que no es mexicano ni americano sino tex-mex. La música tradicional se escucha en los pequeños clubes y salones de baile — en locales donde perviven estilos de baile que no han cambiado en 50 años. Ahora la nueva música tejana convive con la más tradicional.

Amadeo Flores entretiene al continuo flujo de aficionados, músicos y estudiantes universitarios que pasan por el santuario de su taller de reparación de acordeones con su incesante plática sobre la música y refranes, dichos y chistes. Aunque ha vivido la mayor parte de su vida en el Valle, la música le ha servido de vehículo para conocer todo el país. Además de afinador de acordeones, Amadeo es acordeonista, toca bajo sexto y es historiador. Su historia como músico comenzó en los años cuarenta, cuando la música para él era un pasatiempo; con el tiempo la ha convertido en una manera de ganarse la vida. Cuando le preguntan qué es lo que atrae a la gente a la música de conjunto con acordeón, contesta sin vacilar, “Es algo fácil de entender y bailar. Quieren algo sencillo y vuelven a esto.” Hoy Amadeo estaba presumiendo con sus fotos de publicidad de los clientes a quienes les repara sus acordeones y de sus rivales musicales, algunos de los cuales podrían ser sus nietos y, de hecho, son sus alumnos. Con su aprecio por las nuevas generaciones y su sentido de humor incontestable, Amadeo prospera en el cambiante mundo musical.

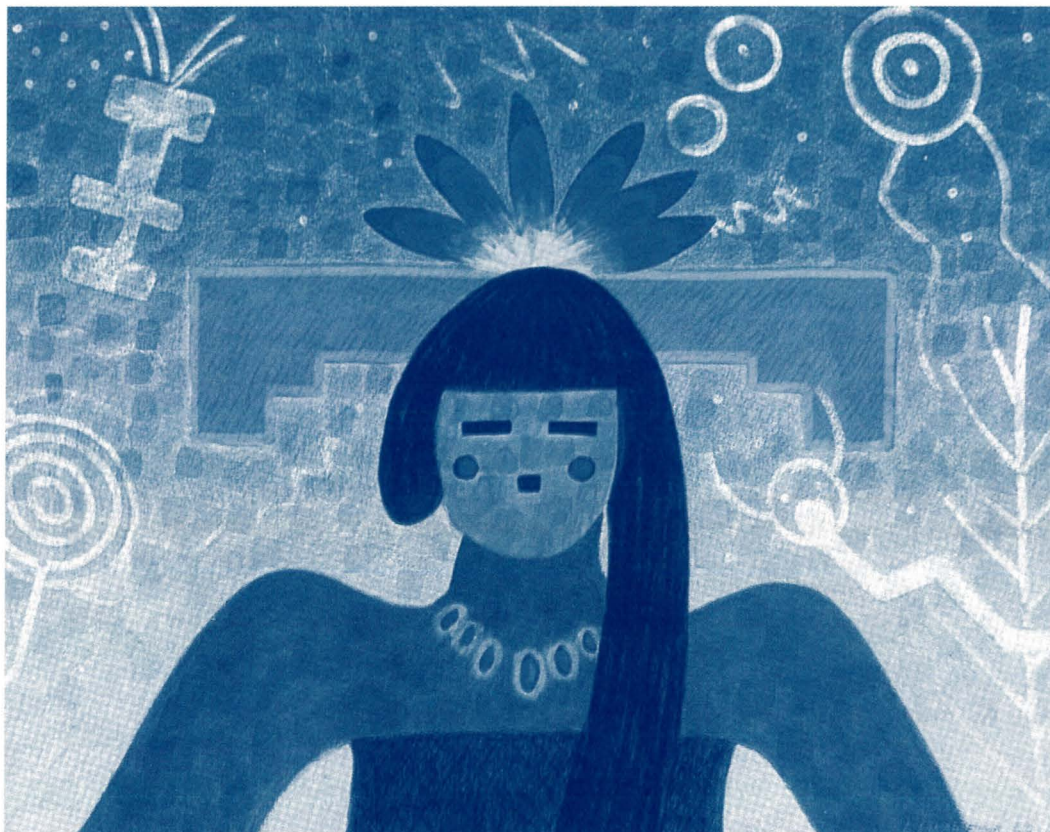
—David Champion y Ramón de León, Centro Cultural Narciso Martínez, San Benito, Texas

Al seguir el Río Bravo/Río Grande, cruzando y volviendo a cruzarlo, nos dimos cuenta de la enorme problemática cultural y ambiental que persisten en este trecho vasto. Desde su origen en Colorado hasta el Golfo de México, cada región del Río Bravo/Río Grande enfrenta su propia polémica sobre la historia, el idioma, la religión y los medios de vida.

—Juanita Garza
Universidad de Texas—Pan Americana

Olivia Cadaval recibió su doctorado en la Universidad de George Washington. Cynthia Vidaurri recibió su maestría en la Universidad Texas A & I y fue profesora de estudios chicanos y fronterizos en la Universidad de Texas A & M—Kingsville. Son fundadoras del Centro Latino de Recursos Culturales en el Centro de Estudios Culturales y Programas de Tradición Popular y co-directoras del programa sobre la cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande. Las pasantes del programa del Festival Lucy Bates, Heidi McKinnon y Diana Robertson son graduadas de la Universidad de Edimburgo, la Universidad de Nuevo México y la Universidad de California en Los Angeles, respectivamente. Ileana Cadaval Adam es escritora y traductora independiente. Patricia Fernández de Castro está terminando su doctorado en la Universidad de Chicago y es investigadora de El Colegio de la Frontera Norte.

1998 Festival Concerts



Jazz and First-Generation American Klezmer Musicians

Klezmer is the traditional instrumental music of the Jews of Eastern Europe and, as far as we know, dates from the 16th century. The term “klezmer” itself derives from the Hebrew words *kley zemer*, “vessel of song,” referring to the musical instruments.

Heavily influenced by the existing folk genres in the area — e.g., Romanian, Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Gypsy — and traditional Jewish cantillation, klezmer was filtered through Jewish ears and consciousness.

Immigrant klezmer musicians who came from Eastern Europe to America during the early 20th century found a ready market for their skills. Many large American cities had Jewish neighborhoods filled with large young families. Yiddish was spoken by the vast majority. The newly arrived klezmerim found work using the old repertoire at weddings, society, labor union, and synagogue functions. Those adept at reading music could also find employment in Yiddish theaters.

American-born musicians began to perform klezmer music in the mid-1920s. Max Epstein (clarinet/saxophone/violin) was playing violin in a Yiddish theater orchestra at the age of 12, in 1924. Although he plays American dance music, Epstein's klezmer clarinet and violin are totally European in overall style. He follows in the tradition of his idols, the European-born Dave Tarras (1897–1989) and Naftule Brandwein (1889–1963). Brandwein's was the dominant clarinet approach — somewhat rough, but daring and exciting — until the advent of Tarras in the late 1920s. Most of the first-generation American

players followed the style and repertoire of Dave Tarras — smooth, graceful, and elegant. I would compare the two: Brandwein is to Tarras as early Benny Goodman is to Artie Shaw.

Aside from Epstein, the most important first-generation American klezmer clarinetist was Tarras's son-in-law, the awesome Sam Musiker (1916–1964), who was the featured jazz clarinet soloist in the Gene Krupa band from 1938 until 1942. As with most in his generation, Musiker was an outstanding saxophonist as well. Jazz was an important component of Sam's klezmer playing and composing. His younger brother, Ray Musiker (born 1926), plays with a more “classical” tone, and his compositions reflect the more “modal” approach of contemporary jazz.

Others who play in the Tarras style are Howie Leess, a devotee of Artie Shaw and a brilliant improviser on the tenor sax; Leess's first cousin, Danny Rubinstein, who plays marvelous modern jazz on sax as well; Paul Pincus, a Juilliard graduate who spent many years as a clarinetist and bass clarinetist in Broadway pit orchestras and plays elegant saxophone with little jazz influence; and Rudy Tepel, for years a band leader at Hasidic weddings, who employs a curious “society” sax vibrato on the clarinet and a punchy sax style reminiscent of Charlie Barnet.

An anomaly among first-generation

Peter Sokolow

American klezmer clarinetists, Sid Beckerman follows neither Brandwein nor Tarras. Sid's style derives from that of his father, Shloimke Beckerman (1883–1974), a good technician on both clarinet and saxophone who played in a Paul Whiteman big band unit at New York's posh Palais Royale in the early 1920s. He was the only one of the immigrant generation who played the saxophone well. Sid's playing is totally devoid of jazz influence and surprisingly lacking in vibrato, which also is apparent on the few recordings made by his father in the 1920s. On Sid's other instruments, trumpet and trombone, the jazz influence varies.

When klezmer came to America, it moved indoors, from open fields to catering halls, where it found — pianos! There weren't many pianists in klezmer in the immigrant generation; the piano remained for the first-generation Americans, so many of whom were given music lessons by their parents. Klezmer dance bands used piano for “oom-pah” rhythm. The younger pianists such as my father, Abraham Sokolow (1896–1987), emulated the dynamic style of George Gershwin (1898–1937), whose innovative harmonies and rhythms pervaded American dance music from the 1920s until World War II. Some of these ideas found their way into klezmer music, introduced by Abe Ellstein, who played with Dave Tarras; Sam Eisenberg, who played with Max Epstein; and Sam Medoff, pianist and arranger on the 1930s and 1940s radio series, “Yiddish

The Fourth Annual Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert is made possible with support from The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, the Ruth Mott Fund, Friends of the Festival, and Kate Rinzler.



The revivalists have...brought our old-time catering-hall dance music onto the concert stage, into the recording studio, and on television and radio.

Peter Sokolow, Henry Spoznik, Howie Lees, and Sid Beckerman (left to right) perform in the early 1990s.
Photo courtesy Peter Sokolow

Melodies in Swing.” Some bands used the accordion in addition to or as a substitute for the piano.

The archetypal klezmer drummer in America was Irving Gratz (1907-1989), the mighty little man who played for Dave Tarras. An immigrant who played a pure klezmer style — rolls on the snare drum, steady bass drum, and cymbal accents — Gratz’s “time” was impeccable: no rushing or slowing down, no jazz whatsoever. The drummers who put some Krupa into klezmer were the youngest Epstein brother, Julie (born 1926, in my opinion the best today), Sol Gubenko (brother of jazz vibist Terry Gibbs), Marvin Kutcher (nephew of trombonist Sam), and Si Salzberg.

I am the “bridge” between the first two generations of American klezmer and the

revivalists of Henry Sapoznik’s age and younger. I learned the music from Tarras, Gratz, Tepel, the Epstein brothers, and Sid Beckerman, all of whom I performed with regularly, starting in the late 1950s. Oddly, I learned a newer, more “yankified” klezmer than that of the revivalists, who went to the old Abe Schwartz, Harry Kandel, and Naftule Brandwein recordings for their style and repertoire. Even though I have been playing this music since before many of the “kids” were born, their basic approach predates mine! Many of my colleagues and I have introduced the revivalists to the style and repertoire of the Dave-Tarras-and-later period, which spans the years from 1930 to 1960. After 1960, klezmer music became dormant, awaiting rediscovery and revitalization through the efforts of

the dedicated scholars and performers of the klezmer revival. The revivalists have redefined our old music, lending a patina of artistry to the old, derogatory term *klezmer*, meaning a musical simpleton only capable of playing old Yiddish tunes poorly. They have brought our old-time catering-hall dance music onto the concert stage, into the recording studio, and on television and radio, giving new careers and a modicum of fame and public recognition to a bunch of old, semi-retired veterans. We “old guys” would like to thank the “young guys” for getting us a part in this wonderful music scene.

Pete Sokolow is a veteran of New York’s Jewish music scene. Cofounder of Klezmer Plus!, he is highly regarded for his New Orleans and early jazz stylings.

Old-Time Music and the Klezmer Revival: A Personal Account

By the time I graduated from high school in 1971, I knew that I had a great affinity for traditional music — especially “old-time” music from Appalachia.

Cutting loose from my Orthodox Jewish upbringing and liturgical studies under my cantor father, I put my Jewish music in deep freeze and careened my way through rock and protest, winding up with “authentic folk.” Dubbing myself “Hank,” I ventured forth with my \$10 Japanese banjo intent on embodying the hard livin’, hard travelin’ repertoire of rural Americans. Haunting the numerous coffeehouses in Greenwich Village or heading to the Wailing Wall of folk music, Washington Square Park, I would play a host of antique American songs with other children and grandchildren of East European Jewish émigrés. The music scene was awash with fiddlers, banjo players, mandolin players, and guitarists who, with their long stringy, beards and intense gazes, looked like nothing less than students playing hooky from *beys medresh*, the Jewish house of study. I fit right in. One band I sat in with was The Wretched Refuse String Band, whose name underscored the relatively recent immigrant backgrounds of the musicians’ families.

The following few years were filled with listening to 78 rpm recordings of bands like Uncle Dave Macon and the Fruit Jar Drinkers, Dr. Humphrey Bates and the Possum Hunters, and my favorite, Charlie Poole and the North Carolina Ramblers. In 1972, I formed my own old-time band, The Delaware Water Gap String Band. The DWG soon became a popular group

in the bite-size universe shared with other urban revival old-time bands like the New Lost City Ramblers and the bluegrass-oriented Greenbriar Boys, in which Ralph Rinzler played.

To this 19-year-old Brooklyn boy, North Carolina seemed like an amalgam of Shangri-La and Tobacco Road. My dream was to go as soon as possible. In the summer of 1973 I got a chance to make a field trip to Mt. Airy to the home of Tommy Jarrell and Fred Cockerham, two of the most wonderful players of old-time music. Septuagenarians both, the irascible Tommy and the dryly self-deprecatory Fred made perfect teachers. They were generous, demonstrative, appreciative, accessible, and endlessly authentic. Over the next few years I made half a dozen trips; these remain some of the most powerful and wonderful memories I have.

At breakfast one morning on one of these trips, Tommy offered me scrambled eggs, bacon, and biscuits drenched in bacon-fat gravy. I opted for just coffee. The genial Tommy pressed me with “Come on, Hank, eat up!” We parried and thrust until Tommy, getting more and more obstreperous, blurted out: “What’s the matter with you, Hank? What’re you, a damned Jew?” Whoa! I’m still not sure if I was more startled by Tommy’s language or his knowing that pork is not kosher. In any case I stammered out: “Why, yes, Tommy, I am.” It turned out that, touched and impressed as he and Fred were about the boundless enthusiasm Jews had for their music and

Henry Sapoznik

culture, they were still puzzled about the proliferation of us in old-time music. After all, their own kin took nearly no interest in it.

Tommy asked me, “Hank, don’t your people got none of your own music?” Well, of course we had “our own” music: cantorial melodies I sang with my father, Hasidic tunes we sang in yeshiva, numerous songs sung with gusto during Passover. There was also the Israeli music I deeply loathed. But where were the great fiddlers, the driving elemental dance tunes, and exuberant, unself-conscious genres of music? Above all, where were the Jewish Tommys and Freds? I didn’t know, but I meant to find out. And did.

Excerpted from *Klezmer! A Social History of Yiddish Music in America* (Schirmer Press, forthcoming).

Suggested Reading

Sapoznik, Henry. “Klezmer Music: The First Five Hundred Years.” In *Musics of Multicultural America*, ed. Kip Lornell and Anne Rassmusen. New York: Schirmer Press, 1998.

Suggested Listening

Dave Tarras: *Yiddish-American Klezmer Music 1925–1956*. Yazoo 7001.
Klezmer Plus! Featuring Sid Beckerman and Howie Leess. Flying Fish 70488.

Henry Sapoznik is a leader in the revitalization of traditional Yiddish music. He is currently working on a history of music and a documentary for public radio on the history of Yiddish radio.

Folkways at 50: Festivals and Recordings

Fifty years ago, an immigrant audio engineer with a deep love of American music, Moses Asch, started his third record company in New York City after suffering two bankruptcies.

He called the new company Folkways Records and decided he would use it to create a kind of public archive of the world's sounds. He was also determined to provide a record label for those whose voices were rarely heard beyond their communities, from the most traditional artists to the most avant-garde. He

would eventually produce over 2,100 LP records and keep them all in print until his death in 1986. In 1987 the Smithsonian Institution acquired Folkways Records as well as the Moses and Frances Asch Collection of archival materials, now both part of the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies. In 1998 we look back over a half-century of activities that have profoundly influenced the music of our time, and



Pete Seeger and Moses Asch at Folkways' office, New York City, 1956.

Photo © David Gahr

look forward to new technologies and new directions through which to do the same for the future.

It is appropriate to celebrate Folkways' 50th anniversary at the Folklife Festival. Folkways Records was a touchstone of the early folk music revival through its support of many influential artists and its participation in many events. Moses Asch housed *Sing Out!* magazine during its early years; he recorded at the Newport

Anthony Seeger

Folk Festival; he published the recordings of generations of researchers and scholars — including some of those who would eventually have a major influence on the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. For example, recordings of Doc Watson and his family by Ralph Rinzler, founding director of the Festival, were first issued on Folkways; Bernice Johnson Reagon, African-American scholar, singer, songwriter, and folklorist with the Festival's African Diaspora Program, recorded her first album on Folkways. Moreover, the philosophies of Folkways and the Folklife Festival were similar: to celebrate cultural diversity and human artistry; to provide an educational framework through which to understand cultural manifestations; and to encourage people to delve as deeply as they wish into the subject matter by providing substantial supplemental material — liner notes in the case of Folkways and program books like this one in the case of the Folklife Festival.

In three 50th anniversary concerts we recognize the importance of music for children in the Folkways legacy, look back at some of the influential artists recorded by Moses Asch in the 1940s, and then look forward to artists who appear on the most recent compact disc issued by Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.

**Children's Matinee, Friday, June 26th,
5:30 – 7:00 P.M., Featuring Ella Jenkins
and Larry Long with Children from
Rural Schools in Alabama**

Music for children has been one of the most influential parts of Folkways Records — many people heard their first Folkways record in a classroom. Moses Asch thought children should be exposed to good, authentic music from many cul-

Support for Folkways At 50 comes from BMI (the American performance rights organization), the United States Postal Service, M.A.C.E. (Mississippi Action for Community Education), Global Arts/Media Foundation, P.A.C.E.R.S. (Program for Academic and Cultural Enhancement of Rural Schools) Small Schools Cooperative & Community Celebration of Place Project, KOCH International, Smithsonian Magazine, Smithsonian Institution National Museum of American History, TRO The Richmond Organization, Columbia Records and Sony Music Entertainment, Michael Asch, Walter Beebe and the New York Open Center, Andrew Dapuzzo and Discronics, David Glasser, Charlie Pilzer, and Airshow Mastering, Inc., Judith DeMaris Hearn, Ella Jenkins, Richard Kurin, Mark Miller and Queens Group, Inc., Microsoft Corporation/Media Acquisitions Department, Arnold L. Polinger, Razor & Tie Entertainment, and The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds.

tural traditions. In this afternoon concert we celebrate not only the contributions of musicians who perform for children but the creativity of children themselves.

Folkways Founders/U.S. Postal Service Folk Musicians Stamp Concert, Friday, June 26th, 7:00 – 9:00 P.M.

In 1998 the U.S. Postal Service is issuing a stamp series commemorating four important figures in the folk music revival of the 1950s and 1960s: Lead Belly, Woody Guthrie, Sonny Terry, and Josh White. All four artists recorded for Moses Asch. To honor these men who played prominent roles in both Folkways and 20th-century American music, we are inviting musicians whose styles have been strongly influenced by them to perform at an evening concert. Featured artists are Toshi Reagon, Josh White, Jr., Arlo Guthrie, and the Willie Foster Blues Band.

Heartbeat: Voices of First Nations Women Concert, Sunday, June 28th, 5:30 – 9:00 P.M.

Because most traditional Native women's music has been performed in private settings — in their homes or during tribal ceremonies — very little of this music has been heard outside the women's own communities. Yet women's music is a growing and dynamic part of Native music today. In addition to traditional women's genres, women have recently begun to perform music previously restricted to men. A number of singer/songwriters also have created songs that use Native languages and rhythms and often deal with issues of concern to contemporary American Indians.

Some of the artists featured on a new Smithsonian Folkways recording of Native women's music will be presented in a concert that celebrates both the release of the album and the half-century that Folkways Records and Smithsonian Folkways Recordings have been introducing wider audiences to commu-

nity-based music. The program will feature Sharon Burch (Navajo singer/songwriter), Joy Harjo and Poetic Justice (contemporary poetry and jazz), Judy Trejo and her daughters (Paiute traditional songs), Mary Youngblood (Aleut-

Seminole flute player), Tzo'kam (traditional Salish songs), and Sissy Goodhouse (Lakota traditional singer).

Anthony Seeger, Ph.D., is curator and director of Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.

Suggested General Reading

Goldsmith, Peter. *Making People's Music: Moe Asch and Folkways Records*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998. The first comprehensive biography of the man who founded Folkways Records, his vision, and his influence on 20th-century music.

Suggested Listening for the Children's Matinee

Jenkins, Ella. *Songs Children Love to Sing*. Smithsonian Folkways 45042.

Long, Larry. *Here I Stand: Elders' Wisdom, Children's Songs*. Smithsonian Folkways 45050.

Smithsonian Folkways Children's Music Collection. Smithsonian Folkways 45043.

Suggested Listening for the Folkways Founders Concert

LEAD BELLY *Folkways: The Original Vision* (Smithsonian Folkways 40001) with songs by Lead Belly and Woody Guthrie; *Lead Belly's Last Sessions* (Smithsonian Folkways 40068); and the *Lead Belly Legacy Series* (Smithsonian Folkways 40044, 40045, 40105).

WOODY GUTHRIE *Folkways: The Original Vision* (Smithsonian Folkways 40001) with songs by Lead Belly and Woody Guthrie; *This Land Is Your Land* (Smithsonian Folkways 40100); and, for children, *Nursery Days* (Smithsonian Folkways 45036).

SONNY TERRY *Sonny Terry: The Folkways Years* (Smithsonian Folkways 40033) and *Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee Sing* (Smithsonian Folkways 40011).

JOSH WHITE The original acetate masters recorded by Moses Asch were preserved for over 50 years and released in April on *Josh White: Free and Equal Blues* (Smithsonian Folkways 40081).

Suggested Reading & Listening for the First Nations Women Concert

Bataille, Gretchen. *American Indian Women: A Guide to Research*. New York: Garland, 1991.

Green, Rayna. *American Indian Women: A Contextual Bibliography*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.

———. *Women in American Indian Society*. New York: Chelsea House, 1992.

Jamieson, Kathleen. *Native Women in Canada: A Selected Bibliography*. Ottawa: Social Sciences and Humanities, 1983.

Burch, Sharon. *The Blessing Ways*. Canyon CR546.

———. *Touch the Sweet Earth*. Canyon CR535.

———. *Yazzie Girl*. Canyon CR534.

Goodhouse, Sissy. *The Third Circle: Songs of Lakota Women*. Makoche 113.

———. *Tiwahe*. Makoche 140.

Harjo, Joy, and Poetic Justice. *Letter from the End of the Twentieth Century*. Silver Wave 914.

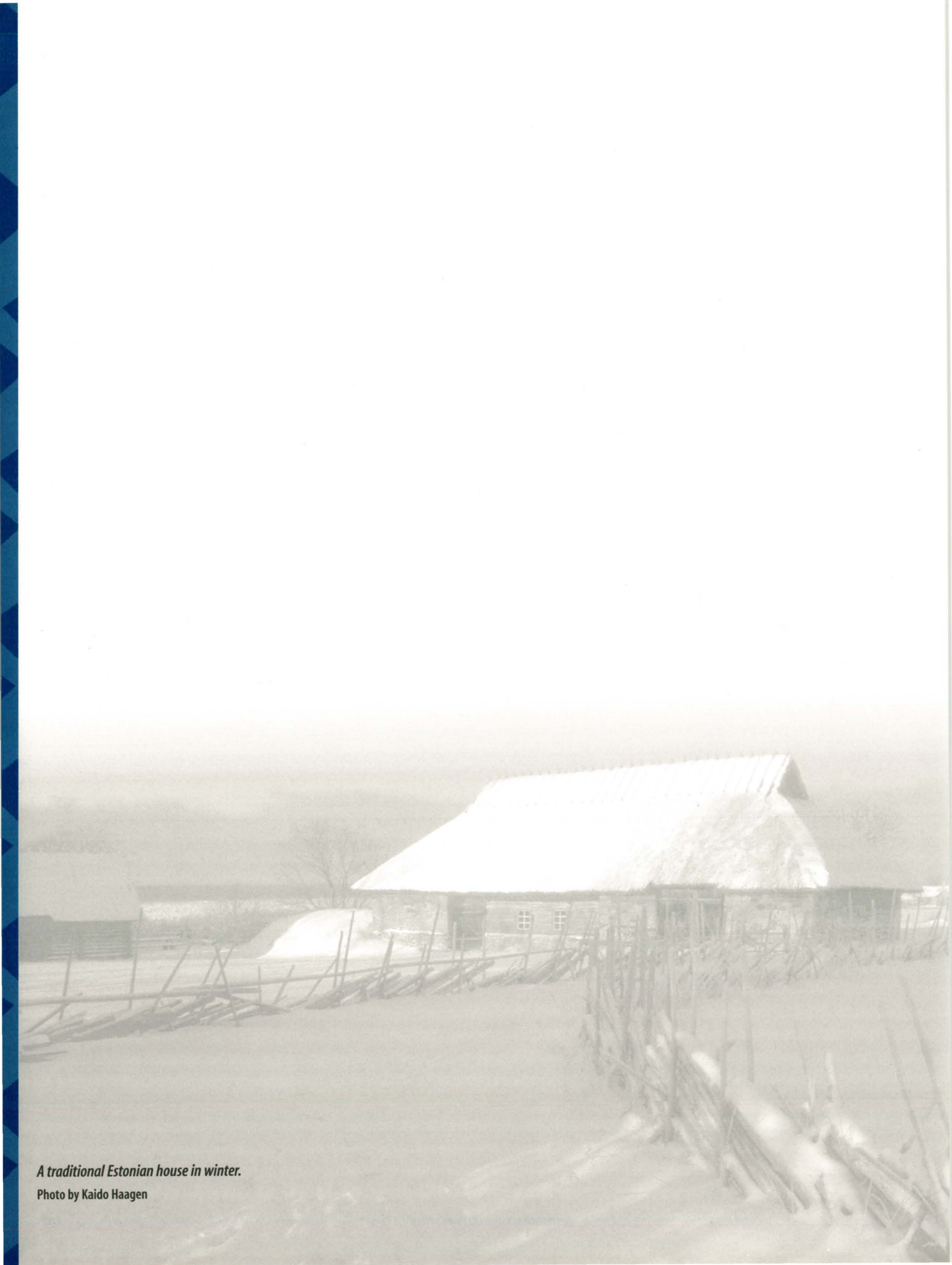
Heartbeat: Voices of First Nations Women. Smithsonian Folkways 40415.

Heartbeat 2: More Voices of First Nations Women. Smithsonian Folkways 40455.

Youngblood, Mary. *The Offering*. Silver Wave SD 917.

General Festival Information

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A traditional Estonian house in winter.

Photo by Kaido Haagen

General Festival Information

Festival Hours

The Opening Ceremony for the Festival takes place at the *Wisconsin* Ballroom Tent at 11 a.m., Wednesday, June 24. Thereafter, Festival hours are 11 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with evening events to 9 p.m. except July 4.

Festival Sales

Traditional Wisconsin, Philippine, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin food is sold. See the site map on the back cover for locations.

A variety of crafts, books, and Smithsonian Folkways recordings related to the 1998 Festival are sold in the Festival Marketplace on the Mall-side lawn of the National Museum of American History.

Press

Visiting members of the press should register at the 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 at Madison Drive and 12th Street.

Restrooms & 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 National Museums of American History and Natural History, and inside the museums.

Lost & Found/ Lost Children & Parents

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer Tent near the Administration area at 12th Street near Madison Drive. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer Tent also.

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.

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 program area. Sign-language interpreters are on site every day of the Festival. Check the printed schedule and signs for interpreted programs. Special requests for interpreters should be made at the Volunteer Tent. Service animals are welcome. 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 audio-cassette and Braille versions of the program book are available at Festival information kiosks and the Volunteer Tent.

A limited number of wheelchairs are available at the 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.

Wisconsin Music and Dance Traditions

CLETE BELLIN ORCHESTRA —

CZECH OLD-TIME

Cletus Bellin, piano/vocals;
Forestville

Gene Burmeister, trumpet; Green Bay

Bill Jerabek, drums/vocal
harmony; Denmark

Joseph Jerabek, tuba; Casco
Diana Schroeder, accordion;
Manitowoc

John Wiedow, trumpet;
Green Bay

Gary Drzewiecki, polka dancer;
Pulaski

Julie Drzewiecki, polka dancer;
Pulaski

HAESE & SCHLEI — SCHRAMMEL MUSIC
Elfrieda Haese, vocals; Colgate
Heidi Schlei, zither/vocals; Sussex

Linda Hartwich, polka dancer;
Trempealeau

Randy Thull, polka dancer; River Falls

KARL & THE COUNTRY DUTCHMEN —
DUTCHMAN MUSIC

Nic Dunkel, trumpet; Black Earth
Karl Hartwich, concertina;
Trempealeau

Tony Kaminski, tuba; Trempealeau
Jeff Langen, drums; LaCrescent, MN

Frank Melmer, banjo; Owatonna, MN
Gary Schroeder, trumpet; Fairfax, MN

Frank Montano, Woodland flute;
Bayfield

NORM DOMBROWSKI & THE HAPPY NOTES
— POLISH POLKA

Ken Camlek, trumpet/vocals;
Stevens Point

Joe Dombrowski, trumpet/vocals;
Stevens Point

Mark Dombrowski, saxophone/
clarinet/vocals; Stevens Point

Norm Dombrowski, drums/vocals;
Stevens Point
Marie Kubowski, piano/concertina/
violin/vocals; Stevens Point
Joe Larson, bass; Stevens Point

NORSKEDALEN TRIO — NORWEGIAN
FIDDLE

Eleanor Bagstad, piano; Westby
Tilford Bagstad, fiddle; Westby
Beatrice Olson, accordion; Westby

QUEENS OF HARMONY — AFRICAN-
AMERICAN GOSPEL

Julia Love Brown, tenor/high tenor;
Milwaukee

Dorothy Johnson, baritone/lead;
Milwaukee

Joyce Johnson, tenor/high tenor;
Milwaukee

Jessie McCullum, tenor/high tenor;
Milwaukee

Ella Ray, baritone/lead; Milwaukee

STEVE & VERNE MEISNER ORCHESTRA —
SLOVENIAN-STYLE POLKA

Rick Hartman, drums; Whitewater
Gary Hendrickson, banjo; Monroe

Steve Meisner, accordion/bass/
piano; Whitewater

Verne Meisner, accordion; Waukesha
Larry Sokolowski, saxophone;
De Forest

VATRA — *TAMBURITZA*

Ivo Gretic, *berde*; Greenfield

Boris Kuzmanovic, *brač*/vocals;
Greendale

Davor Pozgaj, *bugarija*/vocals;
Milwaukee

Christopher Ulm, *brač*/vocals;
Milwaukee

Ryan Werner, *prim/brač/čelo*;
West Allis

Craft Traditions

Annabelle Argand, needleworker;
Madison

Else Bigton, furniture builder;
Barronett

Andrej Borzecki, shrine maker;
Armstrong Creek

Joe Bunij, shrine maker; Armstrong
Creek

Ray Cadotte, dance regalia maker;
Lac du Flambeau

Jose Chavez, altar/*santos/retablos*
maker; Franklin

Rosa Chavez, altar maker; Franklin
Venerable Ngawang Chojor, sand
mandala maker; Madison
Betty Piso Christenson, egg
decorator; Suring

Diane DeFoe, birch-bark basket
maker; Bayfield

Pat Ehrenberg, quilter; Ripon
Jean Giese, rosemaler; De Soto

Nancy R. Hall, black ash basket
weaver; Wittenberg

Sidney Hall, black ash basket
weaver; Wittenberg

Margaret Hart, moccasins/regalia
maker; Cumberland

Bernie Jendrzejczak, papercutter;
Hales Corner

Joe Krevs, accordion repairer/
maker/player; Milwaukee

George Leazer, clay doll maker;
Milwaukee

Marie Leazer, rag doll maker;
Milwaukee

Wang Xiong Lee, metalworker;
La Crosse

Stephanie Vuljanic Lemke, egg
decorator; Mazomanie

Constance Mahairas, icon painter;
La Crosse

Hazel M. Maki, rag rug weaver;
Washburn

George McCormick, wooden doll
carver; Milwaukee

Vera Mednis, sash weaver; Warrens
Kim Nishimoto, corn husk doll
maker; De Pere

Phil Odden, woodcarver; Barronett
Christine Okerlund, quill basket
maker; Wittenberg

Linda Ollerman, quilter; Ripon
Ron Poast, Hardanger fiddle maker;
Black Earth

Elda Schiesser, papercutter; New
Glarus

Mildred Schuman, beadwork artist;
Lac du Flambeau

Velma Seales, quilter; Milwaukee
Blanche Shankle, quilter;
Milwaukee

Eileen Skinaway, beadwork/regalia
artist; Luck

Irene Vuorenmaa, rag rug weaver;
Hurley

Sidonka Wadina, wheat weaver;
Lyons

Kou Xiong, marriage broker;
Madison

Dang Yang, *qeej* maker/player;
Milwaukee

Long Yang, basket maker;
Sheboygan

Moa Yang, needleworker; Watertown

Occupational/Recreational Traditions

Jeff Ackley, wild rice harvester;
Crandon

Neena Ackley, wild rice treader;
Madison

Vicki Ackley, wild rice harvester;
Madison

Ed Beaumont, logger; Brantwood
Joe Belliveau, tree farmer;
Tomahawk

Norma Belliveau, wreath maker/
tree farmer; Tomahawk

Fred Benjamin, moccasin game
singer; Lac Court Oreilles

Brooks Big John, decoy carver/fish-
erman/fishing guide;
Lac du Flambeau

Bradley Boon, dairy farmer;
Greenwood

Duane Boon, dairy farmer;
Greenwood

Dale Buhrow, beer brewer;
Chippewa Falls

Mark Bussian, 4-H activities/
pig showing; Columbus

John Bussman, cheese maker;
Monroe

Bill Casper, sturgeon fisherman;
Fond du Lac

Chris Dimka, shoemaker;
Sheboygan

Harold Hettrick, duck hunter;
Ferryville

Roger King, ginseng grower;
Wausau

Randy Krahenbuhl, cheese maker;
Monticello

Shelley Krahenbuhl, cheese maker;
Monticello

Willi Kruschinski, boatbuilder/lure
maker; Winchester

Betty Lacapa, wild rice parcher; Lac
Court Oreilles

Tony Mayotte, wild rice harvester;
Lac Court Oreilles

Tim Murphy, beer brewer; Chippewa
Falls

Dennis O'Donnell,
"junque"artist/dairy farmer;
Frederic

Arthur Oksuita, beer brewer; Stevens
Point

Peggy Rau, dairy farmer; Dorchester

Zak Rau, dairy farmer; Dorchester

Bill Schlinsog, cheese maker/grader;
Madison

Mary Lou Schneider, sturgeon decoy
carver; Fond du Lac

Harold Schumacher, ginseng grow-
er; Marathon

Tim Smith, deer hunter; Green Bay

Paul "Sugar Bear" Smith, heritage
gardener; Oneida

Pam Walker, cranberry grower;
Wisconsin Rapids

Ryan Walker, cranberry grower;
Wisconsin Rapids

Hollis Ward, tavern owner; Elkhorn

Cindy Wills, 4-H activities/pig show-
ing; Belmont

Darron Wills, 4-H activities/pig
showing; Belmont

Gina Wills, 4-H activities/pig show-
ing; Belmont

James Van Wychen, cranberry grow-
er; Warrens

Nodji Van Wychen, cranberry grow-
er; Warrens

John Zappa, beer brewer; Stevens
Point

Foodway Traditions

Dorothy Hodgson, pasty maker;
Shullsburg

Eric Olesen, kringle baker; Racine

Debra Usinger, sausage maker;
Milwaukee

University of Wisconsin Marching Band

Mike Leckrone, Director of Bands
Galen S. Karriker, Assistant Director
of Bands

John Biester, Announcer
Gary Smith, Photographer
Gary Moore, Security Officer
Clarinet

Jennifer Ceman, Christopher Goss,
Amy Krier, Missy Mayer

Saxophone

Ben Bares, Brianna Benjamin, Tracy
Daluge, Mike Dettman,
Christopher Herlache, Andrew
Klaetsch, Nicole Kreuziger,
Amanda Newby, Laurie Strobel

Trumpet

Anne Abrahamson, Nicole
Ammerman, Franz Arvold, Jon
Berge, Rachel Berger, Ryan
Beverung, Erika Breiby, Scott
Brown, Jonathan Claas, Ryan
Cook, Jolene Crosby, Derek
Daun, Robert Detlefson, Pat
Feldhausen, Mark Flanner, Steve
Geiger, Merris Gullickson,
Melissa Hampton, Paul Henslin,
Scott Hurley, Raymond Konyn,
Rob Koth, Jennifer Lange, Chad
Leblanc, Steve Lindley, Paul
Lindorf, Sarah Macleish, Scott
Magee, Melissa Martin, Maureen
McDonald, Nicholas Myhre,
Chris Nelson, Jill Newman, Cara
Olbrantz, Heidi Platt, Adam
Plotkin, Brad Pope, Brian Pope,
T. Gregory Reed, Kristen Riebau,
Daniel Ries, Jason Reisterer, Neal
Rozga, Jason Rymer, Heidi
Salzmann, Chris Sawyer,
Kimberly Scheidegger, Steve
Schmitt, Cathie Schallue, Anna
Sics, Benjamin Socie, Erica
St. John, Chris Stillwell, Mathew
Sullivan, Bill Utter, Stephanie
Volden, Katie Wachowski, Justin
Woodley

Flugel Horn

Bob Bailey, Joel Dreier, Nathan
Lukehart

Mellophone

Emily Engel, Ellen Ezerins, Elizabeth
Mergener, Laura Pedersen, Chris
Remington, Rae Dawn Rippchen,
Jamie Ruprecht, Raechal Sager,
Steve Schrammel, Sara White

Trombone

Damon Bach, Geoff Bares, Derek
Bergert, John Buchholz, Cassie
Carbon, Karey Clark, Tony Diehl,
Tim Drews, Jeff Gentile, Laura
Hageman, Erik Hoven, Gregory
Ingersoll, Brad Knoll, Chris
Knudson, Natalie Krueger, Kyle
Manske, Edward Niles, Tim
Nowaczyk, Daniel Olson, Craig
Parker, Sue Peck, Greg Piefer, Eric
Plate, Erin Pyzik, Amy
Quackenbush, Kim Rauwald,
Daniel Rooney, Gretchen
Scheidler, Zac Schultz, Sarah
Simonis, Brian Skinner, Brett
Slaney, Joel Sohre, Ray Tainter,
Jake Thull, William Tills, Geoffrey
Wawrzyniak, Michael Whisler,
Marie Zimmer, Brian Zweig

Euphonium

Andy Forster, Ann Kaminski, Rob
Konitzer, Kevin Krause, Branden
Linley, Michael Tessmer, Dan
Uttech, David Wirch

Tuba

Zachery Dachel, Daniel Evans, Hugh
Francis, Shane Haack, Cari Jo
Keller, Hans Peterman, Mark
Pronovici, Michael Schmidt, Kyle
Schneider, Rob Scholl, Andy
Schuh, Mindy Tempelis

Percussion

Aaron Faessler, Brian Frailing, Tricia
Horwitz, Joel Jacklin, Tony
Larocca, Brent Lavin, David
Muencheberg, Kristin Sebranek,
Geoff Seufert, Kevin Sprewer

Field Assistants

Sean Chandler, Bill Garvey, Carl
Gitchel, Mark Messer, Cindy
Schwibinger, Fritz Statz, Michael
Stone, Janice Stone, Matthew
Whiting

Pahiyas: A Philippine Harvest

Cluster A: Binding, Weaving, Lashing

Boatbuilders

Lydia Ignacio Fojas; Aklan Province
Norman P. Fojas; Aklan Province

Epic Singer

Lang Sengid Kambay; South
Cotabato Province

Kiping Maker

Miguelito V. Abuso; Lucban, Quezon
Province

Traditional Builders

Sylvio S. Bobos; Manila
Arnelio Manzano; Manila

Weavers

Miguelita A. Bangkas; Davao del Sur
Province
Baingan Adzad Dawan;
Maguindanao Province
Susima M. Dela Cruz; Aklan
Province
Salinta Barra Monon; Davao del Sur
Province
Rhodora D. Sulangi; Aklan Province
Maria Todi Wanan; South Cotabato
Province

Cluster B: Beating, Tapping, Pounding

Goldsmith

Roberto L. Gorobat; Paracale, Bicol

Silversmith

Julio R. Ramirez; Pampanga
Province

Festival Participants

Cluster C: Carving, Incising, Molding

Boatbuilder

Bua Hudasan Kara; Maguindanao Province

Carvers

Fermin R. Cadapan; Paete, Laguna Province

Rodico A. de Dios; Pampanga Province

Leon D. Tayaban; Ifugao Province

Kulintang Maker

Zacaria Akman Amboa; Maguindanao Province

Philippine Kitchen

Milagros S. Enriquez; Malolos, Bulacan Province

Nicanora Teresa C. Santiago; Malolos, Bulacan Province

Basketball Court

ARNIS MASTERS, CEBU CITY

Arnold G. Canete

Mario Isagani A. Talledo

KULINTANG ENSEMBLE, MAGUINDANAO PROVINCE

Aga Mayo Butocan, Leader
Sinsuat Delawangan Dalgan
Kanapia Sibay Kalanduyan
Dinanding Dilawangan Kalimudan
Labaya Sagire Piang
Samaon Silongon Solaiman, *kudyapi* player

PASIKING (KALINGA ENSEMBLE),

KALINGA-APAYAO PROVINCE

Benicio D. Sokkong, Leader

Damaso L. Balway

Calixto B. Cabannag

Inocencio L. Damagon

Jose Marie K. Felipe, Jr.

Imelda S. Polittude

Dancers:

Benedicto L. Damagon

Fidel P. Tayawa

TALAANDIG ENSEMBLE,

BUKIDNON PROVINCE

Victorino Saway, Leader

Jean S. Gangga

Marlon P. Necosia

Adolino L. Saway

Rodelio L. Saway

Liza L. Saway

Orlanda P. Saway

Narita T. Sihagan

Chapel

CHORAL ENSEMBLE, BACONG, NEGROS

ORIENTAL PROVINCE

Exuferio V. Tinguha, choirmaster & *parol* maker

Glenn S. Aurea, *parol*-making assistant

Leona R. Aurea, *cantora*/soprano

Simplicia V. Baro, *cantora*/soprano

Catalina T. Gajilomo, *cantora*/soprano

Angel M. Honculada, *parol*-making assistant

Genoveva T. Sagarino, *cantora*/alto

Sylvia T. Vendiola, *cantora*/soprano

MUSICONG BUMBONG, BULACAN PROVINCE

Alfredo C. Anastacio, snare drum

Antonio A. Anastacio, harmonica

Rodrigo C. Anastacio, bass drum

Antonio D. Bautista, trombone

Roberto C. Capiral, trumpet

Ernesto B. de Dios, trombone

Roderic C. Garcia, cymbals

Melchor F. Gimenez, clarinet

Bernabe A. Ignacio, bamboo bass

Zosimo B. Miday, trumpet

Rizalino A. Remigio, saxophone

Domingo M. Rosco, saxophone

Roman A. Santa Ana, bamboo bass

Maximo C. Santiago, harmonica

RONDALLA MARIKINA, MARIKINA CITY, MANILA

Marcial R. de Jesus

Arcadio R. dela Cruz

Edgardo G. Labrado

Rodolfo T. Poblea

Montano M. Santos

Teofilo M. Santos

SUBLI ENSEMBLE, BATANGAS PROVINCE

Abdon O. Cruzat, Leader

Dancers:

Rufina V. Boongaling

Beda M. Dimayuga

Bibiana C. Escalona

Miguela C. Maquimot

Simeon C. Maquimot

Leonardo E. Valdez

Drummers:

Felix C. Cruzat

Severino D. Cruzat

Jose E. Manalo

The Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Estonia

Music and Dance Traditions

ALLE-AA

Ülle Jantson

Ott Kaasik

Ando Kiviberg

Ürjo Jaama

Tuule Kann

Aare Kiviväli

Toivo Luhats

Raivo Sildoja

Aivar Teppo

Margus Veenre

Enrik Visla

KIHNUMUA (KIHNU GROUP)

Singers

Ly Leas

Reene Leas, lace maker/singer

Argo Lilles

Veera Nazarova

Veronika Nazarova

Heldy Odinchenko, embroiderer/singer

Liisi Sang

Küllli Sepp

KULDATSÄUK (SETU GROUP)

Singers

Taimi Auser

Ego Kõiv

Helena Kudre, lace maker/singer

Eevi Laanetu

Valve Poolak

Maret Vabarna, sash maker/singer

LEIGARID

Dancers & Makers of Traditional Clothing

Tiiu Aasa

Marget Indov

Sille Kapper

Merike Reinok

Õie Rekand

Lembe Torop

Dancers & Game Leaders

Tõnu Aas

Heinar Kukkk

Alar Leming

Tõnu Linno

Margus Paap

Paavo Saare

Musicians

Elina Aasa Parra

Eero Sommer

Jaan Sommer

Toomas Torop

Craft Traditions

Tiit Sarapuu, boatbuilder

Kati Sihvre, traditional clothing maker

Aivar Siim, herbalist

Valdur Tilk, woodworker

Liina Veskimägi, wool processor

Latvia

Music and Dance Traditions

DANDARI

Elina Küle Braže

Elina Hermane

Inta Jansone

Zigmārs Kristsons

Zane Kriumane

Sandra Lipska

Lauris Neikens

Ilmārs Pumpurs

Valdis Putniņš

Ernests Spičs

Ieva Tamane

Juris Zalāns

Río Grande/ Río Bravo Basin

Charles Aguilar, musician/
farmer/fiesta organizer;
Bernalillo, New Mexico

Estevan Arellano, centenary
rancher/historian/sculptor/
writer; Embudo, New Mexico

Michael Blakeman; San Juan/
Rio Grande National Forest,
Del Norte, Colorado

José Guadalupe Alejandro Bautista,
Ramámuri woodcarver/bilingual
teacher/runner; Cuidad Juárez,
México

David Champion, *conjunto*
musician; Mercedes, Texas

José Cisneros; Big Bend National
Park, Big Bend, Texas

Marta Cruz Moreno, Ramámuri bas-
ket weaver/
seamstress; Cuidad Juárez,
Chihuahua, México

Silvestre Amadeo Flores, *conjunto*
musician/accordion tuner; Alice,
Texas

Jesús Godínez, *conjunto* musician;
Alice, Texas

Arnold Herrera, drummer/
drummer/educator; Cochiti
Pueblo, New Mexico

José Maldonado, *conjunto* musician;
McAllen, Texas

Rita Morales Alvarez, *maquiladora*
worker/brickmaker/foodways;
Matamoros, Tamaulipas, México

José Isabel Quiroz García, *ixtle*
weaver; Saltillo, Coahuila,
México

Moisés Quiroz Cortéz; Saltillo
Coahuila, México

Luis Román, *retablo* painter/
muralist/sign painter; Ojinaga,
Chihuahua, México

María Elena Russom, Tierra Wools
weaver; Los Ojos, New Mexico

Juan Antonio Tapia, *conjunto* musi-
cian; Brownsville, Texas

Dolores Venegas, paper crafts; Río
Bravo, Tamaulipas, México

Clemente Zamarripa, *vaquero*/
horsehair braider; Santa Elena,
Texas

Lithuania

Music and Dance Traditions

Veronika Povilionienė, singer

INSULA

Alvydas Alimas
Sigita Dacienė
Jonas Latakas
Rita Macijauskienė
Vygandas Norvilas
Milda Ričkute
Loreta Šarkaitė
Valdemaras Skugaras
Elvyra Spudytė
Linas Ulkštinas
Zenaida Vaičiukauskaitė
Gintaras Vaitkaitis

MARCINKONYS VILLAGE FOLK ENSEMBLE

Rūta Antulytė
Jonas Bajoriūnas
Jonė Cerebiejienė
Juzė Česnulevičienė
Stanislovas Česnulevičius
Juzė Grigienė
Antanina Kokienė
Juozas Korsakas
Birutė Korsakienė
Vincas Miškinis
Aldona Paulauskienė
Rožė Pačkauskienė
Jonas Sereičikas
Petronėlė Sereičikienė
Joana Serenčikienė
Rozalija Vilčinskienė

SODAUTO (LITHUANIAN FOLK ENSEMBLE OF GREATER BOSTON)

Birutė Banaitienė
Bronius Banaitis
Vytautas Bazikas
Gintaras Čepas
Valentina Čepienė
Andrius Dilba
Vytautas Dilba
Teresė Durickas
Darija Giniūnaitė
Danutė Kazakaitienė
Kristina Krikščiukaitė
Lilija Kulbienė
Aidas Kupčinskas

Gita Kupčinskienė
Kęstutis Kveraga
Rikantė Kveragienė
Jūratė Narkevičienė
Gintautas Narkevičius
Kotryna Rhoda
Henrikas Rimkus
Vida Rimkuvienė
Danguolė Senutienė
Renata Švedaitė
Janina Švedienė
Rima Tamulė
Orinta Vaičiulytė

SUTARAS

Antanas Fokas
Bronislovas Glovickis
Robertas Kunickas
Gintautas Paukštis
Laimutis Žemaitis

TRYŠ KETURIUOSE

Daina Norvaišytė
Gabrielė Širkaitė
Ingrida Varnienė
Daiva Vyčiniene

Craft Traditions

Vytautas Jarutis, blacksmith
Alfredas Jonušas, amber worker
Rūta Jonuškienė, *sodas* (straw craft)
designer
Monika Kriukelienė, weaver
Stasys Mickus, fence maker
Adelija Mickuvienė, Easter egg deco-
rator
Raimundas Puškorius, woodcarver
Leokadija Šalkovska, *verba* binder

RASA
Kārlis Freibergs
Gita Lancere
Rūta Muktupāvela
Valdis Muktupāvels
Iveta Tāle

SALMANIS FAMILY
Indra Čekstere
Ilze Primane
Aina Salmane
Pēteris Salmanis
Uldis Salmanis
Anda Skuja
Dāvis Skuja
Tālivāldis Skuja
Zane Zvaigzne

STALTS FAMILY
Mārtiņš Heimrāts
Zoja Kļujeva
Marga Stalta
Helmī Stalte
Julgī Stalte
Dainis Stalts
Dāvis Stalts
Raigo Stalts
Ričards Stalts
Valda Vitola

Craft Traditions

Olģerts Gerdiņš, fishing net maker
Juris Indāns, traditional craftsman
Māris Jansons, musical instrument
maker
Aldis Kalcenauss, boatbuilder
Māris Karlsons, ceramicist
Daina Kraukle, weaver
Ilga Madre, knitter
Inita Straupe, weaver
Vitauts Straupe, metal jewelry
maker
Vilnis Vincēvičs, blacksmith
Ingrīda Žagata, potter

Festival Participants

Folkways at 50 Anniversary Concerts

Children's Matinee

Ella Jenkins; Chicago, IL
Larry Long; Minneapolis, MN
Slater Huff; Packers Bend, AL

CHILDREN FROM MONROE HIGH SCHOOL;
PACKERS BEND, AL

Angel Carstarphen
LaKecia Carstarphen
Paulette Carstarphen
Adrienn Cheeseboro
Kimberly Cheeseboro
Latonya Cheeseboro
Yshika Cheeseboro
Rapheal Davis
Domoneek McCoy
Tromesha Packer
Bryant Timmons
Patricia Tunstall

CHILDREN FROM T.W. MARTIN HIGH
SCHOOL; GOODSPRINGS, AL

Shawn Bromley
Courtney Dotson
Jon Dotson
Stephanie Hicks
Ryan Logan
Brandon Morris
Jada Parker
Cameo Raney
Brandon Reynolds
Josh Salter
Landon Waid
Sabrina Williams

Folkways Founders/U.S. Postal Service Folk Musicians Stamp Concert

Arlo Guthrie; Housatonic, MA
Abe Guthrie
Annie Guthrie
Cathy Guthrie
Sarah Guthrie

Toshi Reagon; Brooklyn, NY

Josh White, Jr.; Detroit, MI

THE WILLIE FOSTER BLUES BAND
Willie Foster; Greenville, MS
John Horton, III; Greenville, MS
Roosevelt Rogers; Greenville, MS
Richard E. Taliaferro; Greenville, MS
Larry Wright; Leland, MS

Heartbeat: Voices of First Nations Women Concert

Sharon Burch; Santa Rosa, CA

Sissy and Cedric Goodhouse;
Fort Yates, ND

Christina Gonzalez; Schurz, NV
Delgadina Gonzalez; Schurz, NV

JOY HARJO AND POETIC JUSTICE
Charlie Baca; Albuquerque, NM
Richard Carbajal; Phoenix, AZ
Joy Harjo; Hollywood, CA
Derek James; Los Angeles, CA
John Williams; Albuquerque, NM
Susan Williams; Albuquerque, NM

Judy Trejo; Wadsworth, NV

TZO'KAM
Joyce Fossella; Vancouver, BC
Judy Lemke; North Vancouver, BC
Irma Rabang; Sumner, WA
Maria Stiglich; Langley, BC
Freda Wallace; Vancouver, BC
Flora Wallace; Vancouver, BC
Russell Wallace; North Vancouver,
BC

Mary Youngblood; Sacramento, CA

Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

Sid Beckerman, clarinet
Lauren Brody,
accordion/piano/vocals
Steven Greenman, violin
Margot Leverett, clarinet/saxophone
Paul Pincus, tenor
saxophone
Mark Rubin, bass/tuba
Henry Sapoznik, banjo/
vocal/producer/director
Peter Sokolow, keyboard/
vocal/musical director
Michael Spielzinger, drums
Steven Weintraub, dance instructor

CHILDREN'S MATINEE

FRIDAY, JUNE 26

5:30 - 7:00 P.M.

WISCONSIN BALLROOM STAGE

Ella Jenkins

Larry Long with Youth & Elders from Rural Alabama

This concert has been made possible with support from the P.A.C.E.R.S. (Program for Academic and Cultural Enhancement of Rural Schools) Small Schools Cooperative of Alabama.

FOLKWAYS FOUNDERS/U.S. POSTAL SERVICE

FOLK MUSICIANS STAMP CONCERT

FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 7:00 - 9:00 P.M.

BALTICS MUSIC STAGE

The Willie Foster Blues Band:

Willie Foster

John Horton, III

Roosevelt Rogers

Richard E. Taliaferro

Larry Wright

Arlo Guthrie

Toshi Reagon

Josh White, Jr.

This concert has been made possible with support from the United States Postal Service, BMI, M.A.C.E. (Mississippi Action for Community Education), and Global Arts/Media Foundation.

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

SUNDAY, JUNE 28, 5:30 - 9:00 P.M.

BALTICS MUSIC STAGE

Sharon Burch

Judy Trejo

Delgadina Gonzalez

Sissy and Cedric Goodhouse

Christina Gonzalez

Mary Youngblood

Joy Harjo and Poetic Justice:

Joy Harjo

Richard Carbajal

Susan Williams

Derek James

John Williams

Charlie Baca

Tzo'kam:

Russel Wallace

Judy Lemke

Flora Wallace

Irma Rabang

Maria Stiglich

Freda Wallace

Joyce Fossella

This concert has been made possible with support from the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of American History.

KLEZMER! THE TRIUMPHANT RETURN OF YIDDISH MUSIC

THURSDAY, JULY 2, 5:30 - 9:00 P.M.

BALTICS MUSIC STAGE

Sid Beckerman

Paul Pincus

Michael Spielzinger

Lauren Brody

Mark Rubin

Steven Weintraub

Margot Leverett

Henry Sapoznik

Steven Greenman

Peter Sokolow

This concert has been made possible with support from the Friends of the Festival, The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, and the Ruth Mott Fund.

Desert Voices, Desert Light **LUCES Y VOCES DEL DESIERTO**

A photography exhibit on the Chihuahuan Desert in conjunction with the *Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin* Smithsonian Folklife Festival program.

Una exhibición fotográfica sobre el desierto de Chihuahua en conjunto con el programa de la cuenca del Río Bravo/Río Grande del Festival Smithsonian de Culturas Populares.

June 19 - August 30, 1998 19 de junio - 30 de agosto de 1998

S. Dillon Ripley Center, Third Level Tercer Piso

Photography **Fotografía:**

David Lauer, Nacho Guerrero, Marco Antonio Hernández

Sound Documentation **Documentación de Sonido:**

Andrés Camou, David Lauer, María Teresa Guerrero

This exhibition is sponsored by the Smithsonian Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, the Smithsonian International Gallery, and the Mexican Cultural Institute with support from the Fideicomiso para la Cultura Mexico/USA (Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Fundación Cultural Bancomer & The Rockefeller Foundation) and MCI.



"The desert is not an empty space, not uninhabited land, but a remarkable place where life is fragile but tenacious."

"El desierto no es un espacio vacío, ni una tierra de nadie, sino un lugar insólito donde la vida resiste con una existencia tenaz y frágil."

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Wednesday, June 24

Wisconsin

Río Grande/
Río Bravo

Marketplace

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

Ballroom Stage	Heritage Stage	Kitchen	Tavern	Wisconsin Talk	The Basin/ La Cuenca Stage	Sales Tent Stage
Opening Ceremony  <p>Honorable Esteban Torres, Secretary I. Michael Heyman, Richard Kurin, Honorable Salvador H. Laurel, Honorable Saulius Šaltenis, Honorable Ramona Umblija, Honorable Jaak Allik, Honorable Herb Kohl, Honorable Tommy G. Thompson, Arnold Goldstein, Diana Parker, Honorable David Obey</p>						
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Danish Specialties	Welcome to Holly's Bar 	Images of the Holy	Conjunto Music Workshop 	
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	Instruments Made & Played	Sausages	Sheepshead & Euchre	Fish Tales	Fiesta Traditions	
Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Finnish Dishes	Jokes & Lies	The Hmong Marriage Broker 	Crafts & Natural, Found & Industrial Materials 	
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Instruments Made & Played	Mexican Foods	Concertina/ Accordion Workshop	Immigration to Wisconsin	Amadeo Flores y su conjunto	Lithuanian Verba Making: Leokadija Salkovska
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes 	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Pasties	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Hunting Stories	Women & Sustainable Development 	
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Norwegian Foods	Tuba Workshop	Mother Tongues	Art Traditions	
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Hmong Music	Danish Specialties	Walloon Songs	Quilts & Storycloths	Amadeo Flores y su conjunto 	Philippine Woodcarving: Leon Tayaban
Wisconsin Old-Time Dance Workshop	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio		Duckpin Bowling	Wisconsin Accents	Río Conversations	

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

Ongoing Demonstrations

Demonstrations of religious crafts work, textile work, decorative arts, doll making, egg decorating, instrument making, basket making, Native American beadwork.

Presentations in the rice camp of rice winnowing, treading, roasting, drying, mocasin games: 12:00, 3:00.

Activities related to occupational knowledge & recreational skills including shoe-

making, metalworking, logging, tree growing, boatbuilding, ice fishing, lure making, decoy carving, duck & deer hunting.

Agricultural presentations: Cheese making, beer brewing, indige-

nous crops (ginseng, cranberry marsh, three sisters garden).

Milking: 12:00, 2:00, 4:00

Pig Showing: 11:00, 1:00, 3:00

11:30-12:30 Family Activity—Learn rosemaling at the "Decorative" tent.

2:00 Special Presentation of doll makers at the "Dolls" tent.

Ongoing Presentations & Activities:

Demonstrations and family activities on Basin crafts and occupational skills.

 Indicates Sign Language Interpreted

 Indicates family programs and children's activities.




FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Wednesday, June 24

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

Philippines

Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Chapel	Basketball Court	Sari-sari Store	Philippine Kitchen	Foodways	Main Music Stage	Pub Stage
Opening Ceremony  <p>Honorable Esteban Torres, Secretary I. Michael Heyman, Richard Kurin, Honorable Salvador H. Laurel, Honorable Saulius Šaltenis, Honorable Ramona Umblija, Honorable Jaak Allik, Honorable Herb Kohl, Honorable Tommy G. Thompson, Arnold Goldstein, Diana Parker, Honorable David Obey</p>						
Religious Music (Bamboo Band)	Maguindanao <i>Kulintang</i> Playing	Church Art	Aklanon Cuisine			
Tagalog Songs & Poetry Readings	Arnis (Martial Arts)	Gayak: Preparation as Art	Tagalog Cuisine	Latvian St. John's Day Cheese	Latvian Traditional Music: Dandari Salmanis Family Rasa Stalts Family	Estonian Music: Teppo & Veenre
		Maguindanao Lute Performance	Tagalog Cuisine 			Estonian Music: Luhats & Visla
Filipino Classical Music (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Philippine Marches (Bamboo Band)	Concepts of Home	Tagalog Cuisine	Lithuanian Blueberry Dumplings	Lithuanian Traditional Music: Sutaras Veronika Povilionienė Trys Keturiuose Insula	Estonian Violin Duet: Torop & Jaama
Subli	Maguindanao <i>Sagayan</i> Performance		Bagobo Cuisine	Estonian Caraway Cheese		Latvian Liv Music: Stalts Family
Cebuano Devotional Singing	Folk Songs and Dances (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Family Activity: Talaandig Storytelling 	Kiping (Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers)	Latvian Pies 	Estonian Traditional Music: Leigarid Alle-aa	Latvian Traditional Music: Rasa
Fiesta Music (Bamboo Band)	Kalinga Music & Dances	Paglalakbay: Travel Stories				Lithuanian Music: Sutaras
	Talaandig Kaamulan	T'boli Topical Singing 	Batangas Cuisine	Lithuanian <i>Boba</i> Bread		Lithuanian Folk Ensemble: Insula
Dancing Christmas Star Lanterns						

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

Cluster Demonstrations: Cluster A <i>(Binding/Weaving/Lashing), Tent 1:</i> Talaandig woven traps: 11:45-12:45; Bagobo hemp dyeing & weaving: 12:45-1:45, 3:30-4:30; silk weaving: 1:45-2:45, 4:30-5:30; Maguindanao lute performance: 2:45-3:30. 	Cluster B <i>(Beating/Tapping/Pounding):</i> Goldsmithing: 11:45-12:45, 2:30-3:30; silversmithing: 12:45-1:45, 4:15-5:15; Kalinga gong music: 1:45-2:30; <i>kulintang</i> playing: 3:30-4:15.	Cluster C <i>(Carving/Incising/Molding):</i> Maguindanao boat carving: 11:45-12:45; Tagalog <i>santos</i> carving: 12:45-1:45; Ifugao carving: 1:45-2:30, 4:30-5:15; Kapampangan <i>santos</i> & furniture carving: 2:30-3:30; <i>kulintang</i> making: 3:30-4:30.
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Ongoing demonstrations Estonia: Boat making, herbalist, national costumes, summer kitchen, swing, wood-working. Latvia: Activities table, basket making, boat & net making, blacksmith, ceramics, jewelry making, musical instruments, textiles & woodworking. Lithuania: Amber jewelry, Easter eggs, forge, shrine carving, straw ornaments, weaving, wood crafts & village table. Family activities will be offered throughout the day. For details see daily schedules at the Information booth. 
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5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Thursday, June 25

Wisconsin

Río Grande/ Río Bravo

Marketplace

11:00

12:00









1:00






2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

<i>Ballroom Stage</i>	<i>Heritage Stage</i>	<i>Kitchen</i>	<i>Tavern</i>	<i>Wisconsin Talk</i>
Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	Hmong Music	Oneida Corn Soup 	Welcome to Holly's Bar	Fish Tales 
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Sausages	Badger Button Box Music	The Hmong Marriage Broker 
Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Danish Specialties	Packerlore 	Images of the Holy
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Pasties	Jokes & Lies	Basket Makers 
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Greek Specialties	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Hmong Instruments 
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	Vocal Traditions	Slovakian Foods	Sheepshead & Euchre	Native Plants: Three Sisters Garden & Wild Rice
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	Fiddle Workshop	Mexican Foods	Tuba Workshop	Norwegian Decorative Arts
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Sausages	Duckpin Bowling	Wisconsin Weather 
Wisconsin Old-Time Dance Workshop	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano 	Wild Rice		Inventors

<i>The Basin/ La Cuenca Stage</i>
Culture & Local Development Projects 
Art Traditions 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Pueblo Culture in Education 
Women's Work 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Local Culture & Tourism
Fiesta Traditions 
Río Conversations

<i>Sales Tent Stage</i>
Horsehair Braiding: Clemente Zamarripa
Ukrainian Egg Decorating: Betty Piso Christenson

5:30-9:00

For
information
on Evening
Programs
and Special
Events see
page 130.

Ongoing

Demonstrations

Demonstrations of religious crafts work, textile work, decorative arts, doll making, egg decorating, instrument making, basket making, Native American beadwork.

Presentations in the rice camp of rice winnowing, treading, roasting, drying, mocasin games: 12:00, 3:00.

Activities related to occupational knowledge & recreational skills including shoe-

making, metalworking, logging, tree growing, boatbuilding, ice fishing, lure making, decoy carving, duck & deer hunting.

Agricultural presentations: Cheese making, beer brewing, indige-

nous crops (ginseng, cranberry marsh, Three Sisters garden).

Milking: 12:00,
 2:00, 4:00

Pig Showing: 11:00,
 3:00

11:30-12:30
Family Activity: Learn
papercutting
at the "Decorative"
tent.



2:00
Special Presentation of
hunting traditions at
the "Hunting Shack."

Ongoing

Presentations &
Activities:
Demonstrations and
family activities on
Basin crafts and
occupational skills.



Indicates
Sign Language
Interpreted.



Indicates
Family
Programs and
Children's Activities.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Thursday, June 25

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

Philippines

Chapel	Basketball Court	Sari-sari Store	Philippine Kitchen
Religious Music (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Kalinga Music & Dances	Bagobo Bossed Gong Performance	Talaandig Cuisine
<i>Pasyon</i>	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	Body Language	Cebuano Cuisine
Music of the Revolution (Bamboo Band)	Talaandig <i>Kaamulan</i>		<i>Kiping</i> : Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
<i>Daigon, Pastores, and Folk Songs</i>		Basketball (Team Tanduary)	Tagalog Cuisine
Folk Songs and Dances	Maguindanao <i>Kulintang</i> Music	Representing Us	Maguindanao Cuisine
<i>Subli</i>	Fiesta Music (Bamboo Band)	Family Activity Program: Talaandig Toy Making	Tagalog Cuisine
Dancing Christmas Star Lanterns	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	The Philippine Centennial	<i>Batangas</i>
<i>Serenata</i>	Kalinga Peace Pact		

Cluster Demonstrations: Cluster A (Binding/Weaving/Lashing): <i>Tent 2:</i> Woven toys: 11:00-11:45; Aklan boatbuilding & rituals: 11:45-12:45, 3:30-4:30; Kalinga weaving: 12:45-1:45; pineapple fiber weaving: 1:45-2:45, 4:30-5:30, Kalinga instrument making: 2:45-3:30.	Cluster B (Beating/Tapping/Pounding): Food pounding: 11:00-11:45; <i>kulintang</i> music: 11:45-12:30; silver-smithing: 12:30-1:30, 4:00-5:00; Kalinga gong music: 1:30-2:15; gold-smithing processes: 2:15-3:15; Talaandig gong music: 3:15-4:00.	Cluster C (Carving/Incising/Molding): Talaandig drum & flute making: 11:00-11:45; Kapampangan <i>santos</i> & furniture carving: 11:45-12:45; <i>kulintang</i> making: 12:45-1:45; Ifugao carving: 11:45-2:30; Tagalog <i>santos</i> carving: 2:30-3:30; Maguindanao boat carving: 3:30-4:30; Maguindanao cooking, <i>kulintang</i> playing, rituals: 4:30-5:30.
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Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Foodways	Main Music Stage	Pub Stage
Lithuanian Potato Dishes	Estonian Traditional Music: Kihnumaa Luhats/Visla Alle-aa	Latvian Folk Music: Salmanis Family
Estonian Daily Fare		Latvian Traditional Music: Rasa
Latvian <i>Sklandu</i> Pies	Latvian Traditional Music: Stalts Family Dandari Salmanis Family Rasa	Lithuanian Music: Sutaras
Lithuanian Potato Dumplings with Meat		Lithuanian Folk Ensemble: Insula
Estonian Barley Dishes	Lithuanian Traditional Music: Marcinkony's Village Folk Ensemble & Veronika Povilionienė Trys Keturiuose Insula Sutaras	Estonian Music: Teppo & Veenre
Latvian Daily Fare		Estonian Music: Luhats & Visla
		Estonian Games: Leigarid
		Estonian Music: Alle-aa

Ongoing demonstrations Estonia: Boat making, herbalist, national costumes, summer kitchen, swing, woodworking. Latvia: Activities table, basket making, boat & net making,	blacksmith, ceramics, jewelry making, musical instruments, textiles & woodworking. Lithuania: Amber jewelry, Easter eggs, forge, shrine carving, straw ornaments, weaving, wood crafts	& village table. Family activities will be offered throughout the day. For details see daily schedules at the Information booth.
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11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Concerts and Dance Parties see page 130.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Friday, June 26

Wisconsin

Río Grande/ Río Bravo

Marketplace

11:00

12:00

1:00







2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

<i>Ballroom Stage</i>	<i>Heritage Stage</i>	<i>Kitchen</i>	<i>Tavern</i>	<i>Wisconsin Talk</i>
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra 	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Pasties	Welcome to Holly's Bar	Local Politics
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Polish Foods	Beer: From the Brewery to the Tap	The Hmong Marriage Broker
Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Instruments Made & Played 	Danish Specialties	Concertina/ Accordion Workshop	Indigenous Crops: Rice, Cranberries, Ginseng
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Sausages	Sheepshead & Euchre	Papercutting Arts
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Hmong Music & Games 	Fish Fry		Wisconsin Regions
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Pasties	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Images of the Holy
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Sausages	Weird Weddings & Other Gigs 	Hmong Healing Rituals & Customs
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Cranberry Dessert	Changing Shifts	Sturgeon Season
Polish Hop Dance Workshop	Hmong Music	Wild Rice	Duckpin Bowling	Wisconsin Forests 

<i>The Basin/ La Cuenca Stage</i>
Conjunto Music Workshop 
Migration Experiences 
Oral Traditions
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Ranching Culture 
Women & Sustainable Development 
Regional Culture
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto 
Río Conversations 

<i>Sales Tent Stage</i>
Philippine Parol Making (Christmas Lanterns): Exuferio V. Tinguha
Latvian Folk Music: Rasa

5:30–9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

Ongoing Demonstrations

Demonstrations of religious crafts work, textile work, decorative arts, doll making, egg decorating, instrument making, basket making, Native American beadwork.

Presentations in the rice camp of rice winnowing, treading, roasting, drying, mocasin games: 12:00, 3:00.

Activities related to occupational knowledge & recreational skills including shoe-

making, metal working, logging, tree growing, boatbuilding, ice fishing, lure making, decoy carving, duck & deer hunting.

Agricultural presentations: Cheese making, beer brewing,

indigenous crops (ginseng, cranberry marsh, Three Sisters garden).

Milking: 12:00, 2:00, 4:00

Pig Showing: 11:00, 1:00, 3:00

2:00–3:00 Family Activity: Learn egg decorating at the "Slavic Crafts" tent. 

2:00 Special Presentation of ginseng at the ginseng gardens.

Ongoing Presentations & Activities: Demonstrations and family activities on Basin crafts and occupational skills.



Indicates Sign Language Interpreted



Indicates family programs and children's activities.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Friday, June 26

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

Philippines

Chapel	Basketball Court	Sari-sari Store	Philippine Kitchen
Cebuano Devotional Singing	Kalinga Music & Dances	Talaandig Woven Traps	Kiping: Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
Religious Music (Bamboo Band)	Philippine strings (Lute & Rondalla)	Pukpuk: Filipino Beat	
Tagalog Songs & Poetry Reading	Arnis (Martial Arts)	Assembling Paroles (Christmas Star Lanterns)	Tagalog Cuisine
Filipino Love Songs (Rondalla)	Maguindanao Kulintang Playing	Maguindanao Lute Performance	Aklan Cuisine
Dancing Christmas Star Lanterns	Talaandig Kaamulan	Gayak: Preparation as Art	Kiping: Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
Fiesta Music (Bamboo Band)	Folk Songs & Dances (Rondalla)		Bagobo Cuisine
Subli	Philippine Percussion Instruments (Kalinga, Talaandig, Bagobo)	Filipino Time	Kalinga
Cebuano Pasyon			

Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Foodways	Main Music Stage	Pub Stage
Estonian Fish Soup	Latvian Traditional Music: Rasa Dandari Saltnis Family	Lithuanian Folk Ensemble: Insula
Latvian Wrapped Herring	Lithuanian Traditional Music: Marcinkony Village Folk Ensemble Veronika Povilionienė Trys Keturiuose Insula	Lithuanian Music: Sutaras
Lithuanian Potato Dishes	Estonian Herring	Estonian Violin Duet: Torop & Jaama
Estonian Herring	Latvian Parpalinu Soup	Estonian Music: Teppo & Veenre
Lithuanian Herring Dishes		Estonian Music: Luhats & Visla
		Estonian Music: Alle-aa
		Latvian Music: Dandari
		Latvian Folk Music: Salmanis Family

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

Cluster demonstrations:
Cluster A (Binding/Weaving/Lashing):
 Tent 3: T'boli hemp weaving & dyeing: 11:00-12:00, 2:30-3:30; T'boli singing: 12:00-12:45, 4:15-5:00; assembling kiping (Tagalog decorative rice wafers): 12:45-1:45; arnis (martial arts): 1:45-2:30, 3:30-4:15.
Cluster B (Beating/Tapping/Pounding):
 Tagalog hemp weaving: 11:00-11:45; goldsmithing: 11:45-12:45, 2:30-3:30; silver-smithing: 12:45-1:45, 4:15-5:15; Kalinga gong music: 1:45-2:30; kulintang playing: 3:30-4:15.
Cluster C (Carving/Incising/Molding):
 Kapampangan santos & furniture carving: 11:00-12:00, 3:45-4:45; Ifugao carving: 12:00-12:45, 4:45-5:30; Maguindanao boat carving: 12:45-1:45; Tagalog santos carving: 1:45-2:45; kulintang making: 2:45-3:45.

Ongoing demonstrations
Estonia: Boat making, herbalist, national costumes, summer kitchen, swing, wood-working.
Latvia: Activities table, basket making, boat & net making, blacksmith, ceramics, jewelry making, musical instruments, textiles & woodworking.
Lithuania: Amber jewelry, Easter eggs, forge, shrine carving, straw ornaments, weaving, wood crafts & village table. Family activities will be offered throughout the day. For details see daily schedules at the Information booth.

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.



FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Saturday, June 27

Wisconsin

Río Grande/ Río Bravo

Marketplace

11:00

12:00



1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

Ballroom Stage	Heritage Stage	Kitchen	Tavern	Wisconsin Talk
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	Hmong Music	Oneida Corn, Beans & Squash	Welcome to Holly's Bar	America's Dairyland 
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Cooking with Cranberries	Fiddle Workshop	Ethnic Communities
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony 	Greek Foods	Beer: From the Brewery to the Tap	Hmong Healing Rituals & Customs 
Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Sausages	Concertina/ Accordion Workshop	Doll Makers
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Hmong Instruments & Vocals	Danish Specialties 	Tavern Stories	Wisconsin Regions
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Pasties	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Woodland Indian Crafts
Family Activity: Learn to Polka 	Instruments Made & Played	Shore Lunch	Cribbage	Footwear: Moccasins & Allen-Edmonds 
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Pork Dishes	Duckpin Bowling	From Generation to Generation
Polka Workshop	Croatian Songs	Sausages		Packerlore

The Basin/ La Cuenca Stage
Crafts & Access to Resources 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Environmental Impacts on Traditional Cultures 
Art Markets
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Living on the River 
Migration Experiences 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Río Conversations 

Sales Tent Stage
Polish Papercutting: Bernice Jendrzczak
Woodcarving: Luis Roman

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

Ongoing Demonstrations Demonstrations of religious crafts work, textile work, decorative arts, doll making, egg decorating, instrument making, basket making, Native American beadwork.	Presentations in the rice camp of rice winnowing, treading, roasting, drying, moccasin games: 12:00, 3:00. Activities related to occupational knowledge & recreational skills including shoe-	making, metalworking, logging, tree growing, boatbuilding, ice fishing, lure making, decoy carving, duck & deer hunting. Agricultural presentations: Cheese making, beer brewing,	indigenous crops (ginger, cranberry marsh, Three Sisters garden). Milking: 12:00, 2:00, 4:00 Pig Showing: 11:00, 1:00,  3:00	2:00 Special Presentation of boatbuilding skills in the "Fishing" tent.
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Ongoing Presentations & Activities: Demonstrations and family activities on Basin crafts and occupational skills.
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 Indicates Sign Language Interpreted
 Indicates family programs and children's activities.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Saturday, June 27

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

Philippines

Chapel	Basketball Court	Sari-sari Store	Philippine Kitchen
Religious Music (<i>Rondalla</i>)	PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN PERFORMANCES	Family Activity : Kalinga Bamboo Instrument Making 	Talaandig Cuisine
<i>Pasyon</i>	Likas Pamana		Cebuano Cuisine
	Young Filipinos of Pittsburgh	Arnis (Martial Arts)	
Music of the Revolution (Bamboo Band)		Balikbayan	Kiping: Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
<i>Daigon, Pastores & Folk Songs</i>	Tanghalang Pilipino	Travel Stories	Tagalog Cuisine
Folk Songs and Dances (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Philippine Performing Arts Company, Inc.	Filipino Americans	
<i>Subli</i>	Philippine American Literary, Sports, and Arts Foundation		Maguidanao Cuisine
	Mutya Philippine Dance Company, Inc.	Talaandig Beadwork	Tagalog Cooking
Dancing Christmas Star Lanterns	BIMAK	Marian Devotions	
<i>Serenata</i>	Pilipino American Cultural Arts Society, Inc.	Celebrating the Sea	Batangas Cuisine
			
	Procession & Concert		

Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Foodways	Main Music Stage	Pub Stage
	Lithuanian-American Folk Group: Sodaauto 	Estonian Music: Luhats & Visla
Latvian Potato Pancakes with Salmon		Estonian Games: Leigarid
	Lithuanian Traditional Music: Marcinkonys Village Folk Ensemble & Veronika Povilionienė 	Estonian Music: Alle-aa
Lithuanian Christmas Eve Dishes		Estonian Music: Luhats & Visla
Estonian Breads	Estonian Traditional Music: Tuule Kann Leigarid Luhats/Visla Alle-aa	Latvian Traditional Music: Rasa
Latvian Side Dishes		Latvian Folk Music: Salmanis Family 
	Latvian Traditional Music: Rasa Dandari Stalts Family Salmanis Family	Lithuanian Music: Sutaras
Lithuanian Mushroom Dishes		Lithuanian Folk Music: Insula
Estonian Curd Pie 		

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.



Cluster demonstrations: <i>Cluster A (Binding/Weaving/Lashing)</i> — Tent 1: Silk weaving: 11:30-12:30, 2:45-3:45; Maguindanao lute performance: 12:30-1:15, 3:45-4:30; Bagobo hemp dyeing & weaving: 1:15-2:15, 4:30-	5:30; Bagobo gong performance: 2:15-2:45. <i>Cluster B (Beating/Tapping/Pounding)</i> — Food pounding: 11-11:45; <i>kulintang</i> music: 11:45-12:30; silver-smithing: 12:30-1:30, 4:00-5:00; Kalinga gong music: 1:30-2:15; gold-	smithing: 2:15-3:15; Talaandig gong music: 3:15-4:00. <i>Cluster C (Carving/Incising/Molding)</i> — Talaandig drum & flute making: 11:00-11:45; Kapampangan <i>santos</i> & furniture carving: 11:45-12:45; <i>kulintang</i> mak-	ing: 12:45-1:45; Ifugao carving: 1:45-2:30; Tagalog <i>santos</i> carving: 2:30-3:30; Maguindanao boat carving: 3:30-4:30; Maguindanao cooking, <i>kulintang</i> playing, rituals: 4:30-5:30.
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Ongoing demonstrations Estonia: Boat making, herbalist, national costumes, summer kitchen, swing, wood-working. Latvia: Activities table, basket making, boat & net making,	blacksmith, ceramics, jewelry making, musical instruments, textiles & woodworking. Lithuania: Amber jewelry, Easter eggs, forge, shrine carving, straw ornaments, weaving, wood crafts	& village table. Family activities will be offered throughout the day. For details see daily schedules at the Information booth.
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FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Sunday, June 28

Wisconsin

Río Grande/ Río Bravo

Marketplace

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

<i>Ballroom Stage</i>	<i>Heritage Stage</i>	<i>Kitchen</i>	<i>Tavern</i>	<i>Wisconsin Talk</i>
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Danish Specialties	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Images of the Holy 
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Instruments Made & Played	Sausages	Welcome to Holly's Bar	Immigration to Wisconsin
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	Family Activity: Song Workshop 	Pasties	Beer: From the Brewery to the Tap	Basket Makers
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Hmong Music & Games	Croatian Specialties	Concertina/ Accordion Workshop	Fish Tales 
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Danish Specialties	Tavern Stories	The Hmong Marriage Broker
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Hmong Food	Tuba Workshop	Quilters
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Sausages 	Sheepshead & Euchre	Seasonal Crafts
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	Walloon Songs	Pasties	Changing Shifts	Hunting Stories
Wisconsin Old-Time Dances	Hmong Music	Rouladen	Duckpin Bowling	Generational Farms 

<i>The Basin/ La Cuenca Stage</i>
Weaving Traditions 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Traditional Crafts 
Regional Culture 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Saint's Day Fiesta Workshop 
Saint's Day Fiesta 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Río Conversations 

<i>Sales Tent Stage</i>
Estonian Music (Violin Duet): Toomas Torop & Ürjo Jaama
Philippine Woodcarving, Religious Figures and Furniture: Fermin Cadapan

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

Ongoing Demonstrations

Demonstrations of religious crafts work, textile work, decorative arts, doll making, egg decorating, instrument making, basket making, Native American beadwork.


Presentations in the rice camp of rice winnowing, treading, roasting, drying, mocasin games: 12:00, 3:00.

Activities related to occupational knowledge & recreational skills including shoe

making, metal working, logging, tree growing, boatbuilding, ice fishing, lure making, decoy carving, duck & deer hunting.

Agricultural presentations: Cheese making, beer brewing,

indigenous crops (gin-seng, cranberry marsh, Three Sisters garden).

Milking: 12:00,  2:00, 4:00

Pig Showing: 11:00, 1:00, 3:00

2:00 Special Presentation of weaving traditions in the "Textiles" tent.

Ongoing Presentations & Activities:

Demonstrations and family activities on Basin crafts and occupational skills.



 Indicates Sign Language Interpreted





 Indicates family programs and children's activities.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Sunday, June 28

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

Philippines

Chapel	Basketball Court	Sari-sari Store	Philippine Kitchen
Cebuano Devotional Singing 	Kalinga Music & Dance	Talaandig Woven Traps	<i>Kiping</i> : Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
Religious Music (Bamboo Band)	Philippine String Instruments (Lute & <i>Rondalla</i>)	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts) Demonstration	Tagalog Cooking
Tagalog Songs and Poetry Reading	Cross-Cultural Easter Traditions	Assembling <i>Paroles</i> (Christmas Star Lanterns)	Aklan Cooking
Filipino Love Songs (<i>Rondalla</i>)	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	Maguindanao Lute Performance	Tagalog Cooking
Dancing Christmas Star Lanterns	Maguindanao <i>Kulintang</i> Playing	Family Activity: T'boli Topical Singing 	Tagalog Cooking
Fiesta Music (Bamboo Band) 	Talaandig <i>Kaamulan</i>	Healing	Bagobo Cooking
<i>Subli</i>	Folk Songs and Dances (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Bawdy Music	<i>Kiping</i> : Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
Cebuano <i>Pasyon</i>		A Space of Your Own 	Talaandig

Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Foodways	Main Music Stage	Pub Stage
Lithuanian Soups	Estonian Traditional Music: Kuldatsäuk Luhats/Visla Torop/Jaama Tuule Kann	Latvian Folk Music: Salmanis Family
Estonian Sauerkraut		Latvian Līv Music: Stalts Family
Latvian Salads	Latvian Traditional Music: Salmanis Family Stalts Family Rasa Dandari	Lithuanian Folk Music: Insula
Lithuanian Stuffed Potato Sausage 	Lithuanian-American Folk Group: Sodauto	Lithuanian Music: Sutaras
Estonian Sauerkraut Casserole	Lithuanian Traditional Music: Sutaras Trys Keturiuose Marcinkonys Village Folk Ensemble & Veronika Povilionienė Insula	Estonian Accordion Duet: Luhats & Visla 
Latvian Sauerkraut Stew 		Estonian Folk Ensemble: Kihnumaa
		Estonian Games: Leigarid
		Estonian Violin Duet: Torop & Jaama

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.



Cluster Demonstrations:
Cluster A (Binding/Weaving/Lashing):
Tent 2: Pineapple fiber weaving: 11:30-12:30, 2:30-3:30; Aklan boat building & rituals: 12:30-1:30, 3:30-4:30; Kalinga instrument making: 1:30-2:30;

Tagalog woven toys: 4:30-5:15.

Cluster B (Beating/Tapping/Pounding):
 Tagalog hemp weaving & dyeing: 11:00-12:00; T'boli singing: 12:00-12:45, 4:15-5:00; assembling *kiping* (Tagalog decorative

rice wafers): 12:45-1:45; *arnis* (martial arts): 1:45-2:30, 3:30-4:15; T'boli hemp weaving & dyeing: 2:30-3:30.

Cluster C (Carving/Incising/Molding):
 Kapampangan *santos* & furniture carving:



Ongoing demonstrations
Estonia: Boat making, herbalist, national costumes, summer kitchen, swing, wood-working.
Latvia: Activities table, basket making, boat & net making,

blacksmith, ceramics, jewelry making, musical instruments, textiles & woodworking.
Lithuania: Amber jewelry, Easter eggs, forge, shrine carving, straw ornaments, weaving, wood crafts

& village table. Family activities will be offered throughout the day. For details see daily schedules at the Information booth.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Wednesday, July 1

Wisconsin

Río Grande/ Río Bravo

Marketplace

11:00

12:00






1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

<i>Ballroom Stage</i>	<i>Heritage Stage</i>	<i>Kitchen</i>	<i>Tavern</i>	<i>Wisconsin Talk</i>
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Pasties	Welcome to Holly's Bar	Hunting Stories 
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Hmong Music	Shore Lunch	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Woodworking: From Dolls to Doorways
<i>Tamburitza</i> Music: Vatra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Croatian Foods 	Cross-Cultural Accordion Styles Workshop	The Hmong Marriage Broker
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Cheese Dishes	Sheepshead & Euchre	Papercutting Arts
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Sausages	Fiddle Workshop 	Images of the Holy
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Mexican Foods	Tavern Talk	Indigenous Crops: Rice, Cranberries, Ginseng 
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	Vocal Traditions	Pasties	Walloon Songs	Water Ways 
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	<i>Tamburitza</i> Music: Vatra	Sausages	Jokes & Lies 	Quilts & Storycloths
Wisconsin Old-Time Dance Workshop	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Cranberry Dessert	Duckpin Bowling	Hmong Healing Ritual & Customs

<i>The Basin/ La Cuenca Stage</i>
Crafts & Natural, Found & Industrial Materials 
Fiesta Traditions
<i>Conjunto</i> Music Workshop 
Native Traditions
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto 
Conservation & Recreation
Art Traditions 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Río Conversations 

<i>Sales Tent Stage</i>
Latvian Instrument Making: Maris Jansons
Philippine Woodcarving: Leon Tayaban

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

Ongoing Demonstrations

Demonstrations of religious crafts work, textile work, decorative arts, doll making, egg decorating, instrument making, basket making, Native American beadwork.

Presentations in the rice camp of rice winnowing, treading, roasting, drying, mocasin games: 12:00, 3:00.

Activities related to occupational knowledge & recreational skills including shoe

making, metalworking, logging, tree growing, boatbuilding, ice fishing, lure making, decoy carving, duck & deer hunting.

Agricultural presentations: Cheese making, beer brewing,

indigenous crops (ginseng, cranberry marsh, Three Sisters garden).

Milking: 12:00, 2:00, 4:00

Pig Showing: 11:00, 1:00, 3:00

12:30-1:30 Family Activity: Learn sewing skills in the "Quilts" tent. 

2:00 Special Presentation of egg decorating in the "Slavic Crafts" tent. 





Ongoing Presentations & Activities: Demonstrations and family activities on Basin crafts and occupational skills.

 Indicates Sign Language Interpreted

 Indicates family programs and children's activities.

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

Philippines


Chapel	Basketball Court	Sari-sari Store	Philippine Kitchen
Religious music (Bamboo band)	Kalinga Music and Dances	Bagobo Bossed Gong Performance 	Talaandig Cooking
<i>Pasyon</i>	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	Artists Plus	Cebuano Cooking
Music of the Revolution (Bamboo Band)	Talaandig Music and Dance	Being Filipino 	<i>Kiping</i> : Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
<i>Daigon, Pastores</i> and Folk Songs	Maguindanao Kulintang Music	Coconut: The Tree of Life	Tagalog Cuisine
Folk Songs and Dances (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Tagalog Fiesta Music (Bamboo band) 	Cross Cultural Program: Oral Tradition and Nation	Maguindanao Cooking
<i>Subli</i>	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	Talaandig Toy making	Tagalog Cooking
Dancing Christmas Star Lanterns	Philippine Percussion Instruments	Faith and Ritual	
<i>Serenata</i>		Conflict and Negotiation	<i>Tagayan</i> and <i>Pulutan</i>

Cluster demonstrations: Cluster A (Binding/Weaving/Lashing): Tent 3: Tagalog hut lashing: 11:00-11:45; assembling <i>paroles</i> : Christmas lanterns: 11:45-12:45; T'boli hemp weaving & dyeing: 12:45-1:45, 3:30-4:30; <i>arnis</i> (martial arts): 1:45-2:30; assembling <i>kiping</i> : 2:30-3:30; Children's activity program: T'boli singing: 4:30-5:15. Cluster B (Beating/Tapping/Pounding): food pounding: 11:00-11:45; <i>kulintang</i> playing (11:45-12:30; silver-	smithing: 12:30-1:30, 4:00-5:00; Kalinga gong music: 1:300-2:15; gold-smithing: 2:15-3:15; Talaandig gong music: 3:15-4:00. Cluster C (Carving/Incising/Molding): Talaandig drum & flute making: 11:00-11:45; Kapampangan religious	figure & furniture carving: 11:45-12:45; <i>kulintang</i> making: 12:45-1:45; Ifugao carving: 1:45-2:30; Tagalog religious figure carving: 2:30-3:30; Maguindanao boat carving: 3:30-4:30; Maguindanao cooking, <i>kulintang</i> playing, rituals: 4:30-5:30. 
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FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Wednesday, July 1

Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Foodways	Main Music Stage	Pub Stage
	Latvian Traditional Music: Dandari Rasa Stalts Family Salmanis Family	Lithuanian Music: Sutaras
Estonian Caraway Cheese		Lithuanian Folk Music: Insula
Latvian St. John's Day Cheese		
Lithuanian Blueberry Dumplings	Lithuanian Traditional Music: Veronika Povilionienė & Marcinkony's Village Folk Ensemble Trys Keturiuose Sutaras	Estonian Traditional Music: Kuldatsäuk 
Estonian Breads		Estonian Games: Leigarid
		Estonian Music: Luhats & Visla
Latvian Pies	Estonian Traditional Music: Alle-aa Tuule Kann Luhats/Visla Leigarid	Estonian Accordion Duet: Teppo & Veenre
Lithuanian <i>Boba</i> (Buckwheat Bread)		Latvian Music: Dandari
		Latvian Folk Music: Salmanis family 

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

Ongoing demonstrations Estonia: Boat making, herbalist, national costumes, summer kitchen, swing, wood-working. Latvia: Activities table, basket making, boat & net making,	blacksmith, ceramics, jewelry making, musical instruments, textiles & woodworking. Lithuania: Amber jewelry, Easter eggs, forge, shrine carving, straw ornaments, weaving, wood crafts	& village table. Family activities will be offered throughout the day. For details see daily schedules at the Information booth. 
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5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Thursday, July 2

Wisconsin

Río Grande/ Río Bravo

Marketplace

11:00

12:00






1:00






2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00



<i>Ballroom Stage</i>	<i>Heritage Stage</i>	<i>Kitchen</i>	<i>Tavern</i>	<i>Wisconsin Talk</i>
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Instruments Made & Played	Pasties	Jokes & Lies	Working in Wisconsin Industry 
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Sausages	Tavern Tales	The Hmong Marriage Broker
<i>Tamburitza</i> Music: Vatra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Hmong Foods	Badger Button Box Music	Ice Fishing 
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Oneida Corn Soup	Sheepshead & Cribbage	Hunting Stories
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Wild Duck & Wild Rice 	<i>Tamburitza</i> Workshop	Basket Makers
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Sausages	Holly's Stories	Songs in Many Languages
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra 	<i>Tamburitza</i> Music: Vatra	Cheese Dishes	Tuba Workshop	Wisconsin Regions
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	Hmong Music	Pasties	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Hmong Healing Rituals & Customs
Learn to Polka 	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Booyah	Duckpin Bowling	America's Dairyland

<i>The Basin/ La Cuenca Stage</i>
Culture & Local Development Projects 
Art Traditions 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Traditional Culture in Education 
Women's Work 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Conservation and Recreation 
<i>Conjunto</i> Music Workshop
Río Conversations

<i>Sales Tent Stage</i>
Basket Weaving: Marta Cruz
Ho-chunk Black Ash Basket Making: Nancy R. Hall

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

Ongoing Demonstrations Demonstrations of religious crafts work, textile work, decorative arts, doll making, egg decorating, instrument making, basket making, Native American beadwork.	Presentations in the rice camp of rice winnowing, treading, roasting, drying, mocasin games: 12:00, 3:00. Activities related to occupational knowledge & recreational skills including shoe-	making, metalworking, logging, tree growing, boatbuilding, ice fishing, lure making, decoy carving, duck & deer hunting. Agricultural presentations: Cheese making, beer brewing, indige-	nous crops (ginseng, cranberry marsh, Three Sisters garden) Milking: 12:00, 2:00, 4:00 Pig Showing: 11:00, 1:00, 3:00	11:30-12:30 Family Activity: Learn to weave with wheat in the "Slavic Crafts" tent.  2:00 Special Presentation: Cranberries. 
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Ongoing Presentations & Activities: Demonstrations and family activities on Basin crafts and occupational skills. 

 Indicates Sign Language Interpreted
 Indicates family programs and children's activities.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Thursday, July 2

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

Philippines

Chapel	Basketball Court	Sari-sari Store	Philippine Kitchen
Cebuano Devotional Singing	Kalinga Music and Dances	Talaandig Woven Traps	<i>Kiping</i> : Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
Religious Music (Bamboo Band)	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	Beauty Tips	
Tagalog Songs & Poetry Reading	Maguindanao <i>Kulintang</i> Music	Talaandig <i>Dugso</i> Dance	Cross-Cultural Program: Steamed Things in Leaves
Filipino Love Songs (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Talaandig Music and Dance	Maguindanao Lute Performance	Aklanon Cuisine
Dancing Christmas Star Lanterns	Music of the Revolution (Bamboo Band)	The Faces of Gender	Tagalog Cuisine
<i>Subli</i>	Filipino Love Songs (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Philippine Bamboo Instruments	Bagobo Cuisine
Tagalog Fiesta Music	Talaandig Music and Dance	Christmas in the Philippines	<i>Kiping</i> : Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
<i>Pasyon</i>		Lullabies and Baby Lore	
			Kalinga Rice Wine

Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Foodways	Main Music Stage	Pub Stage
Latvian Daily Fare	Lithuanian Traditional Music: Marcinkonys Village Folk Ensemble and Veronika Povilionienė	Estonian Accordion Duet: Teppo & Veenre
Lithuanian Potato Dishes	Trys Keturiuose Insula Sutaras	Estonian Music: Alle-aa & Tuule Kann
Estonian Daily Fare	Estonian Traditional Music: Kihnumaa Luhats/Visla Tuule Kann Alle-aa	Latvian Folk Music: Dandari
Latvian <i>Sklandu</i> Pies		Latvian Folk Music: Rasa
Lithuanian Potato Dumplings with Meat	Latvian Traditional Music: Dandari Rasa Stalts Family Salmanis Family	Lithuanian Folk Music: Insula
Estonian Barley Dishes		Lithuanian Folk Music: Sutaras

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.



Cluster Demonstrations: <i>Cluster A (Binding/Weaving/Lashing):</i> <i>Tent 1:</i> Bagobo hemp dyeing & weaving: 11:00-12:00, 1:30-2:30; silk weaving: 12:00-1:00, 3:15-4:15; Bagobo gong performance: 1:00-	1:30; Maguindanao lute performance: 2:30-3:15; Coconut frond plaiting: 4:15-5:00. Cluster B (Beating/Tapping/Pounding): Tagalog hemp weaving: 11:00-11:45; goldsmithing: 11:45-	12:45, 2:30-3:30; silversmithing: 12:45-1:45, 4:15-5:15; Kalinga gong music: 1:45-2:30; kulintang music: 3:30-4:15. Cluster C (Carving/Incising/Molding): Kapampangan religious figure & furni-	ture carving: 11:00-12:00, 3:45-4:45; Ifugao carving: 12:00-12:45, 4:45-5:30; Maguindanao boat carving: 12:00-1:45; Tagalog religious figure carving: 1:45-2:45; kulintang making: 2:45-3:45.
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Ongoing demonstrations Estonia: Boat making, herbalist, national costumes, summer kitchen, swing, woodworking. Latvia: Activities table, basket making, boat & net making, blacksmith, ceramics,	jewelry making, musical instruments, textiles & woodworking. Lithuania: Amber jewelry, Easter eggs, forge, shrine carving, straw ornaments, weaving, wood crafts & village table. Family activities will	be offered throughout the day. For details see daily schedules at the Information booth.
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FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Friday, July 3

Wisconsin

Río Grande/
Río Bravo

Marketplace

11:00

12:00






1:00







2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

<i>Ballroom Stage</i>	<i>Heritage Stage</i>	<i>Kitchen</i>	<i>Tavern</i>	<i>Wisconsin Talk</i>
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Hmong Music	Cheese Dishes	Welcome to Holly's Bar 	Stories from the Cloth
Tamburitza Music: Vatra	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Cranberry Dishes	Beer: From the Brewery to the Tap 	Hunting Stories
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Sausages	Jokes & Lies	Packerlore
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	Czech Songs	Pasties	Tavern Stories	Decorating Eggs
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Finnish Dishes	Tuba Workshop	The Hmong Marriage Broker
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Instruments Made & Played	Croatian Cooking	Sheepshead & Euchre	Native Crops: Corn & Wild Rice
Tamburitza Music: Vatra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Cornish Foods	Fiddle Workshop	Sturgeon Season
Family Activity: Learn to Dance the Kolo	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Sausages	The Tailgate Party 	Wisconsin Accents
	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Fish Fry	Duckpin Bowling	Packerlore 

<i>The Basin/ La Cuenca Stage</i>
Conjunto Workshop 
Migration Experiences 
Oral Traditions
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Desert Culture 
Women & Sustainable Development 
Regional Culture
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto 
Río Conversations 

<i>Sales Tent Stage</i>
Philippine Parol Making: Exuferio V. Tinguha
Estonian Embroidery

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

Ongoing Demonstrations

Demonstrations of religious crafts work, textile work, decorative arts, doll making, egg decorating, instrument making, basket making, Native American beadwork.

Presentations in the rice camp of rice winnowing, treading, roasting, drying, mocasin games: 12:00, 3:00.

Activities related to occupational knowledge & recreational skills including shoe-

making, metalworking, logging, tree growing, boatbuilding, ice fishing, lure making, decoy carving, duck & deer hunting.

Agricultural presentations: Cheese making, beer brewing,

indigenous crops (gin-seng, cranberry marsh, Three Sisters garden).

Milking: 12:00, 2:00, 4:00

Pig Showing: 11:00, 1:00, 3:00 

12:30-1:15 Cross-cultural session on cheese making in the "Cheese Making" tent.

Ongoing Presentations & Activities: Demonstrations and family activities on Basin crafts and occupational skills.

 Indicates Sign Language Interpreted

 Indicates family programs and children's activities.



FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Friday, July 3

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

Philippines

Chapel	Basketball Court	Sari-sari Store	Philippine Kitchen
Religious Music (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Tagalog Fiesta Music (Bamboo Band)	Kalinga Bamboo Instrument Making	Talaandig Cooking 
<i>Pasyon</i>	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	The Christmas Calendar	Cebuano Cooking
Music of the Revolution (Bamboo Band) 	Kalinga Dance and Music	Tales of Gold	<i>Kiping</i> : Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
Tagalog Songs & Poetry Readings	Talaandig Music and Dance	Growing Up in Music 	Tagalog Cooking
Folk Songs and Dances (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Maguindanao <i>Kulintang</i> Music	Legacy of the Americas	Maguindanao Cooking
<i>Subli</i>	Philippine Marches (Bamboo Band)	Family Activity: Talaandig Beadwork 	Tagalog Cooking
Dancing Christmas Star Lanterns	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	Cross-Cultural Program: Performing Asia	<i>Batangas</i>
Filipino Classical Music (<i>Rondalla</i>) 	Kalinga Dance and Music	Bagobo Bossed Gong Performance	

Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Foodways	Main Music Stage	Pub Stage
Lithuanian Potato Dishes	Estonian Traditional Music: Leigarid Tuule Kann Luhats/Visla Alle-aa	Latvian Folk Music: Rasa 
Estonian Herring	Latvian Traditional Music: Dandari Rasa Stalts Family Salmanis Family	Latvian Liv Music: Stalts Family
Latvian <i>Parpalīnu</i> Soup	Lithuanian Herring Dishes	Lithuanian Folk Music: Sutaras 
Estonian Fish Soup 	Lithuanian Traditional Music: Sutaras Trys Keturiuose Insula	Estonian Violin Duet: Torop & Jaama
Latvian Herring		Estonian Accordion Duet: Tõnurist & Kann 

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.



Cluster demonstrations:
Cluster A (Binding/Weaving/Lashing), Tent 2: Tagalog woven toys: 11:00-11:45; Aklan boat building & rituals: 11:45-12:45, 3:30-4:30; Kalinga weaving: 12:45-1:45; pineapple fiber weaving: 1:45-2:45; Kalinga instrument making: 2:45-3:30; T'boli singing: 4:30-5:15.
Cluster B (Beating/Tapping/Pounding): Cebuano hemp pounding: 11:00-11:45; *kulintang* music: 11:45-12:30; silversmithing: 12:30-1:30, 4:00-5:00; Kalinga gong music: 1:30-2:15; goldsmithing: 2:15-3:15; Talaandig gong music: 3:15-4:30.
Cluster C (Carving/Incising/Molding): Talaandig drum & flute making: 11:00-11:45; Kapampangan religious figure & furniture carving: 11:45-12:45; *kulintang* making: 12:45-1:45; Ifugao carving: 1:45-2:30; Tagalog religious figure carving: 2:30-3:30; Maguindanao boat carving: 3:30-4:30; Maguindanao cooking, *kulintang* playing, rituals: 4:30-5:30. 

Ongoing demonstrations
Estonia: Boat making, herbalist, national costumes, summer kitchen, swing, woodworking.
Latvia: Activities table, basket making, boat & net making, blacksmith, ceramics, jewelry making, musical instruments, textiles & woodworking.
Lithuania: Amber jewelry, Easter eggs, forge, shrine carving, straw ornaments, weaving, wood crafts & village table. Family activities will be offered throughout the day. For details see daily schedules at the Information booth.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Saturday, July 4

Wisconsin

Río Grande/ Río Bravo

Marketplace

11:00

12:00




1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

<i>Ballroom Stage</i>	<i>Heritage Stage</i>	<i>Kitchen</i>	<i>Tavern</i>	<i>Wisconsin Talk</i>
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony 	Sausages	<i>Tamburitza</i> Workshop	Immigration to Wisconsin
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Pasties	Tavern Tales	Natural Fibers in Crafts
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Mexican Foods	Concertina/ Accordion Workshop	Water Ways
Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	<i>Tamburitza</i> Music: Vatra	Wild Duck	Sheepshead & Cribbage	Working in Wisconsin Industry
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Greek Foods	Beer: From the Brewery to the Tap	Doll Dioramas
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	Family Activity: Song Workshop 	Norwegian Foods	Sports Talk	America's Dairyland 
<i>Tamburitza</i> Music: Vatra	Instruments Made & Played	Sausages	Duckpin Bowling	Water Ways
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Cornish Foods	Holly's Stories	Hunting Stories 
Wisconsin Old-Time Dance	Hmong Music	Holiday Cookout	Fish Tales	Hmong Healing Ritual & Customs 

<i>The Basin/ La Cuenca Stage</i>
Crafts & Access to Resources 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Agricultural & Ritual Cycles 
Art Markets
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Living on the River 
Tourist Crafts 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Río Conversations 

<i>Sales Tent Stage</i>
Decoy/Lure Carving: Willi Kruschinski
Tierra Wools Weaving: Maria Elena "Nena" Russom

5:30-7:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

Ongoing Demonstrations

Demonstrations of religious crafts work, textile work, decorative arts, doll making, egg decorating, instrument making, basket making, Native American beadwork.

Presentations in the rice camp of rice winnowing, treading, roasting, drying, mocasin games: 12:00, 3:00.

Activities related to occupational knowledge & recreational skills including shoe

making, metalworking, logging, tree growing, boatbuilding, ice fishing, lure making, decoy carving, duck & deer hunting.

Agricultural presentations: Cheese making, beer brewing,

indigenous crops (gin-seng, cranberry marsh, Three Sisters garden).

Milking: 12:00

Pig Showing: 11:00,  1:00

2:00 Special Presentation: Ice fishing decoys at the fishing area.

Ongoing Presentations & Activities: Demonstrations and family activities on Basin crafts and occupational skills.

 Indicates Sign Language Interpreted

 Indicates family programs and children's activities.







FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Saturday, July 4

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

Philippines

Chapel	Basketball Court	Sari-sari Store	Philippine Kitchen
Cebuano Devotional Singing	Kalinga Music and Dances	The Cross and the Crescent 	<i>Kiping</i> : Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
Religious Music (Bamboo Band)	Philippine Strings (Lute and <i>Rondalla</i>)	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	Tagalog Cuisine
Cross-Cultural Wedding Traditions	Maguindanao <i>Kulintang</i> Music	Surviving Modernity 	Aklanon Cooking
Filipino Love Songs (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Philippine Marches (Bamboo Band)	Family Activity: Maguindanao Lute Performance 	Tagalog Cuisine
Dancing Christmas Star Lanterns	Talaandig Music and Dances	Foreigners: The T'boli Gaze	Bagobo Cooking
Tagalog Fiesta Music (Bamboo Band)	Folk Songs and Dances (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Americans: The Filipino Gaze 	<i>Kiping</i> : Tagalog Decorative Rice Wafers
<i>Subli</i>	Philippine Percussion Instruments	Inside & Outside	Kalinga Rice Wine
<i>Pasyon</i>			

Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Foodways	Main Music Stage	Pub Stage
Estonian Breads	Latvian Traditional Music: Stalts family Dandari Rasa Salmanis family	Lithuanian Folk Music: Sutaras
Latvian Potato Pancakes with Salmon	Lithuanian Traditional Music: Marcinkonys Village Folk Ensemble Veronika Povilionienė Trys Keturiuose Insula 	Lithuanian Folk Music: Insula
Lithuanian Mushroom Dishes	Estonian Traditional Music: Leigarid Alle-aa Kuldatsäuk Kihnumua	Estonian Accordion Duet: Tõnurist & Kann
Estonian Curd Pie		Estonian Music: Sommers & Aasa
Latvian Side Dishes	Singing Revolution Special Program: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	Estonian Violin Duet: Torop & Jaam 
Lithuanian Christmas Eve Dishes		Latvian Folk Music: Rasa
		Latvian Folk Music: Dandari

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

Cluster demonstrations:
Cluster A (Binding/Weaving/Lashing), Tent 3: T'boli hemp weaving & dyeing: 11:00-12:00, 2:30-3:30; T'boli singing: 12:00-12:45, 4:15-5:00; assembling *kiping*: 12:45-1:45; *arnis* (martial arts): 1:45-2:30, 3:30-4:15.
Cluster B (Beating/Tapping/Pounding)—Tagalog hemp weaving: 11:00-11:45; goldsmithing: 11:45-12:45; silversmithing: 12:45-1:45, 4:15-5:15; Kalinga gong music: 1:45-2:30; goldsmithing: 2:30-3:30; *kulintang* playing: 3:30-4:15.
Cluster C (Carving/Incising/Molding)—Kapampangan religious figure & furniture carving: 11:00-12:00, 3:45-4:45; Ifugao carving: 12:00-12:45, 4:45-5:30; Maguindanao boat carving: 12:45-1:45; Tagalog religious figure carving: 1:45-2:45; *kulintang* making: 2:45-3:45.

Ongoing demonstrations
Estonia: Boat making, herbalist, national costumes, summer kitchen, swing, woodworking.
Latvia: Activities table, basket making, boat & net making, blacksmith, ceramics, jewelry making, musical instruments, textiles & woodworking.
Lithuania: Amber jewelry, Easter eggs, forge, shrine carving, straw ornaments, weaving, wood crafts & village table. Family activities will be offered throughout the day. For details see daily schedules at the Information booth.

5:30-7:00
 For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Sunday, July 5

Wisconsin

Río Grande/ Río Bravo

Marketplace

11:00

12:00






1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

<i>Ballroom Stage</i>	<i>Heritage Stage</i>	<i>Kitchen</i>	<i>Tavern</i>	<i>Wisconsin Talk</i>
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Pasties	Welcome to Holly's Bar	Fish Tales 
<i>Tamburitz</i> Music: Vatra	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Slovakian Foods	Fiddle Workshop	The Hmong Marriage Broker 
Czech-American Music: Clete Bellin Orchestra	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Sausages	Jokes & Lies	Indigenous Crops: Rice, Cranberries, Ginseng
Family Activity: Learn to Polka 	Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	Wild Rice	<i>Tamburitz</i> Workshop	Passing on Traditions
Polish-Style Polka: Norm Dombrowski & the Happy Notes	Hmong Music	Cheese Dishes 	Sheepshead & Euchre	Working in Wisconsin Industry
German-American Music: Karl & the Country Dutchmen	Ojibwe Woodland Flute Music: Frank Montano	Cranberry Dishes	Beer: From the Brewery to the Tap	The Dairy Farmer
Norwegian Fiddle Music: Norskedalen Trio	African-American Gospel: Queens of Harmony	Sausages	Schrammel Music: Haese & Schlei	Hunting Stories
Slovenian-Style Polka: Steve & Verne Meisner Orchestra	<i>Tamburitz</i> Music: Vatra 	Booyah	Concertina/ Accordion Workshop	Wisconsin County Fairs
Dance the Polka	Vocal Traditions	Cornish Specialties	Duckpin Bowling	Hmong Healing Rituals & Customs

<i>The Basin/ La Cuenca Stage</i>
Desert Resources 
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Traditional Crafts 
Regional Culture
Amadeo Flores y su conjunto
Saint's Day Fiesta Workshop 
Saint's Day Fiesta 
Río Conversations

<i>Sales Tent Stage</i>
Lithuanian Instrument Making: Antanas Fokas
Philippine Woodcarving: Fermin Cadapan

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

Ongoing Demonstrations

Demonstrations of religious crafts work, textile work, decorative arts, doll making, egg decorating, instrument making, basket making, Native American beadwork.

Presentations in the rice camp of rice winnowing, treading, roasting, drying, mocasin games: 12:00, 3:00.

Activities related to occupational knowledge & recreational

skills including shoe-making, metalworking, logging, tree growing, boatbuilding, ice fishing, lure making, decoy carving, duck & deer hunting.

Agricultural presentations: Cheesemaking,

beer brewing, indigenous crops (ginseng, cranberry marsh, Three Sisters garden).

2:00 Special Presentation: Prentice Loader at the logging area.

Ongoing Presentations & Activities: Demonstrations and family activities on Basin crafts and occupational skills.



 Indicates Sign Language Interpreted

 Indicates family programs and children's activities.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Sunday, July 5

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

Philippines

Chapel	Basketball Court	Sari-sari Store	Philippine Kitchen
Religious Music (<i>Rondalla</i>)	Kalinga Music and Dances	Family Activity  Bagobo Bossed Gong Performance 	Talaandig Cuisine
<i>Pasyon</i>	<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	Body Covering 	Cebuano Cuisine
Music of the Revolution (Bamboo Band)	Talaandig Music and Dance	Body Language 	<i>Kiping</i>
<i>Daigon, Pastores, and Folk Songs</i>	Maguindanao <i>Kulintang</i> Music	Maguindanao Lute Performance	Tagalog Cuisine
Folk Songs and Dances (<i>Rondalla</i>)		Church Art	
<i>Subli</i>	Tagalog Fiesta Music (Bamboo Band)	Family Activity: Talaandig Toy Making 	Maguindanao Cuisine
Dancing Christmas Star Lanterns		<i>Arnis</i> (Martial Arts)	Tagalog Cuisine
<i>Serenata</i>	Kalinga Peace Pact	A Space of Our Own	Batangas Cuisine

Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Foodways	Main Music Stage	Pub Stage
	Lithuanian Traditional Music: Veronika Povilionienė & Marcinkony's Village Folk Ensemble Trys Keturiuose Insula	Estonian Violin Duet: Torop & Jaama 
Latvian Sauerkraut Stew		Estonian Music: Sommers & Aasa
Lithuanian Soups		Estonian Accordion Duet: Tõnurist & Kann
	Estonian Traditional Music: Leigarid Luhats/Visla Alle-aa	Latvian Folk Music: Dandari
Estonian Sauerkraut Casserole		
Latvian Salads		Latvian Liv Music: Stalts Family
	Latvian Traditional Music: Stalts Family Dandari Rasa Salmanis Family	Lithuanian Folk Music: Sutaras
Lithuanian Stuffed Potato Sausage		Lithuanian Folk Music: Insula
Estonian Sauerkraut		

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00

4:00

5:00

Cluster demonstrations:
Cluster A (Binding/Weaving/Lashing), Tent 2: Woven toys, 11:00-11:45; Aklan boat building & rituals: 11:45-12:45, 3:30-4:30; Kalinga weaving: 12:45-1:45; pineapple fiber weaving: 1:45-2:45, 4:30-5:30; Kalinga instrument making: 2:45-3:30.
Cluster B (Beating/Tapping/Pounding): Food pounding: 11:00-11:45; *kulintang* music, 11:45-12:30; silver-smithing: 12:30-1:30, 4:00-5:00; Kalinga gong music: 1:30-2:15; goldsmithing: 2:15-3:15; Talaandig gong music: 3:15-4:00.
Cluster C (Carving/Incising/Molding): Talaandig drum & flute making: 11:00-11:45; Kapampangan religious figures & furniture carving: 11:45-12:45; *kulintang* making: 12:45-1:45; Ifugao carving: 1:45-2:30; Tagalog religious figures carving: 2:30-3:30; Maguindanao boat carving: 3:30-4:30; Maguindanao cooking, *kulintang* playing, ritual: 4:30-5:30. 

Ongoing demonstrations
Estonia: Boat making, herbalist, national costumes, summer kitchen, swing, wood-working.
Latvia: Activities table, basket making, boat & net making, blacksmith, ceramics, jewelry making, musical instruments, textiles & woodworking.
Lithuania: Amber jewelry, Easter eggs, forge, shrine carving, straw ornaments, weaving, wood crafts & village table.
Family activities will be offered throughout the day. For details see daily schedules at the Information booth. 

5:30-9:00

For information on Evening Programs and Special Events see page 130.

FESTIVAL SCHEDULE

Evening Programs and Special Events



All Evening Programs are Sign Interpreted

Wednesday, June 24 – St. John's Day Celebration in the Baltic Program Area; Bonfire begins at 5:30 p.m.— This all-day event, based on the most popular summer holiday in the Baltics, will include a traditional procession, songs, and folk dances, and will culminate with traditional ceremonies from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania around a bonfire.

Thursday, June 25 – Río Dance Party at the Baltic Main Music Stage, 5:30 p.m., with South Texas *conjunto* music.

Thursday, June 25 – Wisconsin Concert at the Baltic Main Music Stage, 7 p.m.

Friday, June 26 – Children's Matinee at the Wisconsin Ballroom Stage, 5:30-7 p.m.— Music for children has been one of the most influential parts of Folkways Records, celebrating its 50th anniversary this year. This concert features Folkways recording artists Ella Jenkins and Larry Long, along with singers from Packers Bend and Good Springs, Alabama. This concert is made possible with support from the P.A.C.E.R.S. Small Schools Cooperative & Community Celebration of Place Project, and The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds.

Friday, June 26 – Folkways Founders/U.S. Postal Service Folk Musicians Stamp Concert at the Baltic Main Music Stage, 7-9 p.m.— The Smithsonian Folklife Festival celebrates "Folkways at 50" marking the anniversary of this historic record label founded in 1948. The U.S. Postal Service is issuing a stamp series commemorating four important figures in the folk music revival of the 1950s and 1960s: Woody Guthrie, Lead Belly, Josh White, and Sonny Terry. This concert will feature Arlo Guthrie, Josh White Jr., Toshi Reagon, and the Willie Foster Blues Band, contemporary musicians who have carried on the traditions of these Folkways artists. This concert is supported by the United States Postal Service, BMI, Global Arts/Media Foundation, and The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds.

Saturday, June 27 – Philippine/Philippine-American Program at the Philippine Basketball Court, 5:30 p.m.— A traditional procession led by the Philippine delegation and Philippine Americans will circle the Festival site, culminating in a concert of Philippine music and dance.

Sunday, June 28 – Heartbeat: Voices of First Nations Women at the Baltic Main Music Stage, 5:30 p.m.— Several of the artists featured on a new Smithsonian Folkways recording, *Heartbeat 2: More Voices of First Nations Women*, will be presented in this concert, which celebrates both the release of the recording and the Folkways anniversary. This program honors Native American women singers from across the continent, and includes Sharon Burch (Navajo singer/songwriter), Joy Harjo and Poetic Justice (contemporary poetry and jazz), Judy Trejo and

her daughters (Paiute traditional songs), Mary Youngblood (Aleut-Seminole flute player), Tzo'kam (traditional Salish songs), and Sissy Goodhouse (Lakota traditional singer). This concert is supported by The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds.

Wednesday, July 1 – Baltic/American Dance Party at the Baltic Main Music Stage— Baltic Americans and the general audience can learn traditional dances. Estonian dancing: 5:30-6:30 p.m.; Latvian dancing: 6:30-7:30 p.m.; and Lithuanian dancing: 7:30-9 p.m.

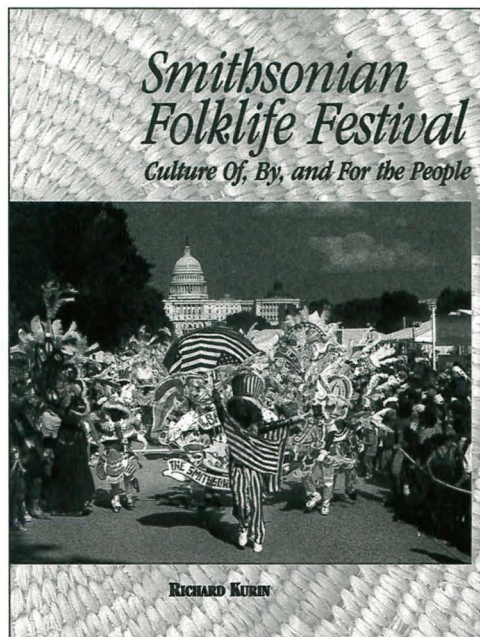
Thursday, July 2 – Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert: "Klezmer! The Triumphant Return of Yiddish Music" at the Baltic Main Music Stage, 5:30 p.m.— This year's fourth annual Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert, honoring the achievements of the longtime Festival director, will feature klezmer music (Eastern European Jewish music). Veteran klezmer musicians Peter Sokolow, Sidney Beckerman, and Paul Pincus will perform with "new generation" musicians Henry Sapoznik, Michael Spielzinger, Margo Leverett, Lauren Brody, and Mark Rubin. The concert will be followed by a dance party with instruction by Steve Weintraub. This concert is supported by the Friends of the Festival, The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, and the Ruth Mott Fund.

Friday, July 3 – Wisconsin Tailgate Party in the Wisconsin Program Area, 5:30 p.m.— Tap into the spirit of Wisconsinites' enthusiastic support for the Packers and Badgers, as we replicate a Wisconsin tailgate party on the Mall. Included will be the University of Wisconsin marching band doing their traditional "fifth quarter," costume judging, and polka dancing, as well as roving bands and speakers drawn from Packerlore.

Saturday, July 4 – Wisconsin Polka Dance Party at the Wisconsin Ballroom Stage, 5:30-7 p.m.— To feature this popular Wisconsin dancing tradition we are hosting a "polka party" drawn from the variety of polka styles present in the state—German, Slovenian, Czech, and Polish. Professional polka instructors will teach various styles of polka dance.

Sunday, July 5 – Pan-Festival Polka Dance Party at the Wisconsin Ballroom Stage, 5:30 p.m.— Although there is tremendous diversity in the cultures presented in this year's Festival, there are many shared customs as well. Come join in this final dance party which features distinct polka styles from the traditions of the Baltic nations, Río Grande, and Wisconsin.

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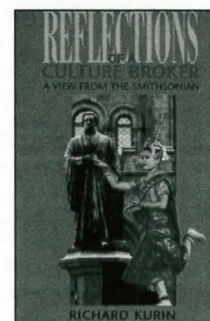
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The Philippines program is produced in collaboration with the Cultural Center of the Philippines and the Philippine Centennial Commission and is supported by the American International Group, Inc., The Starr Foundation, Bell Atlantic, the Asian Cultural Council, and the Philippine Centennial Foundation/USA.

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This program is made possible by and is produced in cooperation with the Estonian Government and Estonian Ministry of Culture, the Latvian Government and Latvian Ministry of Culture, and the Lithuanian Government and Lithuanian Ministry of Culture. Additional support comes from the Cultural Endowment of Estonia, the American Latvian Association, and the Lithuanian Foundation.

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Tierra Wools, the University of New Mexico, University of Texas-Pan American, and a grant from Smithsonian Outreach Funds.

Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

This program is made possible with support from The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, the Ruth Mott Fund, Friends of the Festival, and Kate Rinzler.

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Underwood, Hank Young
Sign Master: Ernest Hairston

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Reiniger
Interns: Ethan Johnson, Eduardo
Nunes, Siv Ostlund, Charles Paul

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Curators: Richard March, Thomas
Vennum
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Anne Pryor, Arlene Reiniger
Wisconsin Technical Coordinator:
Carl Eiche
Program Assistants:
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Interns: Barbara Barnett, Laura
Collins, Meredith Forster, Mary
Lee, Megan Rice
Chief Volunteer: Elisa Volkert
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Gilmore, Gina Grumke, Michelle
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Kerchmar, Andy Kraushaar,
Barbara Lau, Jim Leary, Richard
March, Ruth Olson, Anne Pryor,
Lynn Ramsey, Bob Rashid, Pete
Roller, Craig Stinson, Evelyn
Terry, Bob Teske, Thomas
Vennum, Mai Zong Vue, Thomas
U. Walker
Presenters: David Bisonette, Mike
Chiarappa, Cindy Kerchmar,
Barbara Lau, Richard March,
Ruth Olson, Anne Pryor, Bob
Rashid, Pete Roller, Erin Roth,
Gary Sturm, Evelyn Terry, Bob
Teske, Mai Zong Vue, Mark
Wagler, Joe Bee Xiong, Thomas
Vennum

Pahiyas: A Philippine Harvest

Curators: Richard Kennedy, Marian
Pastor Rocas
Program Director: Ramon Obusan
Program Coordinators: Eva Mari G.
Salvador, Andrea Yangas
Research Director: Flora Elena R.
Mirano
Research Associate: Ricardo
Trimillos
Researchers: Marialita Yraola
(supervising researcher), Edna
Marcil M. Martinez (senior
researcher), Eduardo Borbon,
Ricardo Cruz, Leonido Gines, Jr.,
Maria Patricia B. Silvestre,
Dennis Julio Y. Tan

Presenters: Paulo Alcazaren, Carmencita J. Bernardo, Eduardo Borbon, Joseph Cristobal, Ricardo Cruz, Frank I. Depakakibo, Leonido Gines, Jr., Pacita O. Ignacio, Arnelio B. Manzano, Edna Marcil M. Martinez, Jojo Mata, Flora Elena Mirano, Oliver Patino, Maria Patricia B. Silvestre, Dennis Julio Y. Tan, Marialita Yraola, Consuelo Zapata

Site Designer: Paulo Alcazaren

Production Designer: Ricardo G. Cruz

Production Staff: Frank I. Depakakibo, Dennis Julio Y. Tan

Interns: Wendy Clupper, Grace Wang

The Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania

Curators: Kalev Järvela (Estonia), Dainis & Helmi Stalts (Latvia), Zita Kelmickaitė (Lithuania)

Coordinators: Alar Ojalo (Estonia), Alvis Lidaks (Latvia), Vida Šatkauskienė (Lithuania)

Program Coordinator: Kerry Stromberg

Program Assistant: Rebecca Maksel

Festival Aide: Guntis Kalnins

Embassy Liaisons: Jaan Salulaid (Estonia), Liana Eglīte (Latvia), Rita Kazragienė (Lithuania)

Baltic-American Festival Committee: Guna MacDonald (Coordinator), Liina Keerdoja (Estonian American Council), Aivars Osvalds (American-Latvian Association), Laima Šileikis-

Hood (Lithuanian-American Committee, Inc.), Dalė Lukas (LAC, Inc. Washington, D.C. representative)

Researchers

General program: Ilze Akerbergs, Elena Bradunas, Rebecca Maksel, Kerry Stromberg

Estonia: Ingrid Rüütel, Chair, Paul Hagu, Kalev Järvela, Ats Joorits, Peeter Laum, Mart Maripuu, Alar Ojalo, Linda Sade, Aivar Siim, Liivi Soova, Anu Tarvis, Valdur Tilk, Igor Tõnurist, Lembe Torop

Latvia: Juris Gagainis, Juris Indāns, Lilita Līdaka, Valdis Muktupavels, Inese Pētersone, Guntis Šmidchens, Ernests Spičs, Daina Vitoliņa

Lithuania: Giedrė Ambrozaitienė, Birutė Imbrasienė, Zita Kelmickaitė, Juozas Kudirka, Vacys Milius, Jolanta Paškevičienė, Giedrė Puodžiukaitytė, Vida Šatkauskienė

Presenters:

Estonia: Kristiina Paul, Leena Valge, Silvi Valge

Latvia: Andris Rūtiņš, Guntis Šmidchens, Līga Varesa

Lithuania: Elena Bradunas, Audronis Braukyla, Darius Sužiedelis

Interns: Andrew Bryan, Sarah Everett

Río Grande/ Río Bravo Basin

Curators: Olivia Cadaval, Cynthia L. Vidaurri

Program Coordinator: Heidi McKinnon

Program Assistants: Lucy Bates, Heather Harbaugh, Diana Robertson, Sonya Salazar, Natalye Swetye

Field school Media Instructor: Charles Weber

Translators: Ileana Cadaval Adam, Lucy Bates, Patricia Fernández de Castro

Research Advisor: Patricia Fernández de Castro,

Presenters: David Champion, Juanita Elizondo Garza, Enrique Lamadrid, Ramón de León, Mario Montaña, Genevieve Mooser, Dan Sheehy

Research Coordinators: Juanita Elizondo Garza, Rodolfo Garza Gutiérrez, Enrique Lamadrid, Hector Romero Lecanda, Mario Montaña, Cirila Quintero, Socorro Tabuenca

Researchers: Armando Acosta, Estevan Arellano, Alejandro Arrecillas, Angelica Bautista, Mike Blakeman, Norma Cantú, Imelda Castro Santillán, David Champion, Jerry Chapman, Karen Chapman, Cynthia L. Chávez, Cynthia Cortez, Peter J. García, Gregorio Garza, Bárbara Gonzales, Steve Harris, Victor Manuel Hernández, Alma Jiménez, Ramón de León, Heidi H. McKinnon, Genevieve Mooser, Marisa Oliva, Francis Ortega, Beverly Ann Ortiz, Gustavo Palacio Flores, Marcos Rodríguez, Rose Rodríguez-Rabin, Erin Ross, Ken Rubin, Joanna Stewart, John Stockley, Bob Tenequer, Elaine Thatcher, Molly Timko, Curtis Tunnell, Ethel Warrior, William Warrior

Folkways at 50 Anniversary Concerts

CHILDREN'S MATINEE

FOLKWAYS FOUNDERS/U.S. POSTAL SERVICE FOLK MUSICIANS STAMP CONCERT

Curators: Anthony Seeger, Amy Horowitz

Coordinator: Ivy Young

HEARTBEAT: VOICES OF FIRST NATIONS WOMEN

Curators: Howard Bass, Rayna Green

Artwork: Linda Lomahaftewa

Design: Watermark Design Office

Research and Production Assistants: Allison Cooley, Emily Crow, Deena Gift, Kim Harper, Ann Hoog, Michael James, Lisa Levine, Carol Keesling, Nadia Khatchadourian, Renee Pastore, Ann Silverman, Sarah Grogan

Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

Curator: Henry Sapoznik

Coordinator: Kate Rinzler

Intern: Elise Berman

Educational Offerings

Festival Teacher's Seminar

As in previous years, the Center will offer a seminar for teachers during the Festival. "Bringing Folklife Into Your Classroom" is cosponsored by the Smithsonian Office of Education. This popular seminar, now in its fifth year, attracts Washington-area teachers who obtain hands-on experience in the folklorist's methods of learning about culture: observing, documenting, interviewing, and interpreting. Instructors for the course, which meets June 23–27, are Drs. Marjorie Hunt and Betty Belanus of the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies.

Visiting Students

High school students from rural Wisconsin will be attending the Festival in preparation for producing their own festival based on the history and culture of their community. The students will work with staff involved in different parts of the Festival, and will take on these roles for their own production. (This project was made possible by the Flambeau School District, the Flambeau History Club, and New Paradigm Partners with support from the Annenberg Foundation, the Kellogg Foundation, and Rippin Foods.)

Current Educational Offerings

From the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies

Workers at the White House

This half-hour video documentary features the occupational folklife and oral histories of a broad range of White House workers — butlers, maids, doormen, chefs, plumbers, and others. Through their memories, skills, and values, these workers help us to understand the White House in human terms — as a home and a workplace, a public building and a national symbol. A 24-page educational booklet accompanies the video. Produced in cooperation with the White House Historical Association and the National Archives, copyright 1994. Grades 6-12. \$24.95. Catalog # SF48003

Borders and Identity

This bilingual kit explores the complex notion of identity along the United States/Mexico border. In four segments — on history, belief, expressive arts, and occupational traditions — students learn from the stories of border residents. This kit includes a four-part video, a poster-size cultural map, and a teacher/student guide with exercises for classroom use. Published 1996. Grades 6-12. \$55.00 kit; \$10 cultural map separately. Catalog # SF90010

Land and Native American Cultures

This kit introduces students to the use of land in Native American communities through three case studies: the Hopi of Arizona; the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian of Alaska; and the Aymara and Quechua of Bolivia and Peru. Units address subsistence, crafts, mythology, and ritual. The kit includes an extensive teacher/student guide with narrative, photographs, resource listing, and activity questions. A slide set accompanies the guide. Published 1997. Grades 9-12. \$21.00. Catalog # SF90011

Wisconsin Powwow / Naamikaaged: Dancer for the People

This two-video set shows how powwows incorporate historical traditions and modern innovations. The first video is a general treatment of the powwow as it is held by Ojibwe people in northern Wisconsin. The second follows a young Ojibwe, Richard LaFerner, as he dresses and paints himself for a powwow, honors his ancestors, and sings at powwows in northern Wisconsin. A 40-page accompanying booklet includes historical background, transcription of soundtrack, classroom questions, and suggestions for further reading and listening. Published 1996. Grades 6-12. \$34.95. Catalog # SF48004

Learning About Folklife: The U.S. Virgin Islands & Senegal

This kit concentrates on the rich folklife of the U.S. Virgin Islands and Senegal through a focus on foodways, music and storytelling, and celebrations. The kit contains a four-part video-cassette, two audio-cassettes, and a teacher's guide with maps, photographs, and line illustrations. Published 1992. Grades 6-12, \$45.00. Catalog # SF90012

To order, write, FAX, or call: Smithsonian Folkways Mail Order, 414 Hungerford Dr., Suite 444, Rockville, MD 20850
Phone: (301) 443-2314 — FAX: (301) 443-1819 — Orders only: (800) 410-9815 All prices include shipping and handling.

Visit the Smithsonian Institution on the Web at <<http://www.si.edu>>.

Friends of the Festival

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival presents the wealth of American and world cultures for the education and enjoyment of visitors. But it doesn't end with the celebration on the Mall; Smithsonian staff transform Festival research into traveling exhibitions, films, publications, learning guides, and Smithsonian Folkways recordings. Supported by a combination of federal and private funds, the Festival and its related programs depend on the generous assistance of the public to preserve grassroots cultures.

We invite you to join us.

As a Friend of the Festival, you will support the Festival and its work of cultural preservation, education, and research. You'll learn what happens behind the scenes at the Festival and about opportunities to volunteer on Festival projects.

As a Friend at the \$25 level, you will receive:

- a newsletter about the Festival and the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies;
- the Festival program book, which describes the featured Festival programs in a beautifully illustrated volume; and
- a 10% discount, exclusive to the Friends, on Smithsonian Folkways recordings ordered through the mail-order catalogue.

For our Friends at the \$50 level:

- we also include a one-size-fits-all Festival T-shirt.

And for those at the \$75 level:

- you will receive all of the above and a Smithsonian Folkways recording selected from the most popular of Festival-related recordings.

Our Rinzler's Circle* members, at the \$500 level, will receive:

- all of the above gifts and other special recognition throughout the year.

Please be sure to visit the Marketplace while you are at the Festival. We look forward to discussing the Friends program with you there and can enroll you as a member of the Friends of the Festival when you visit. Your assistance will play an integral part in supporting research and education about traditional cultures.

* Ralph Rinzler was the long-time director of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. Ralph passed away in July 1994. We have created the Circle to honor his outstanding commitment and accomplishments.

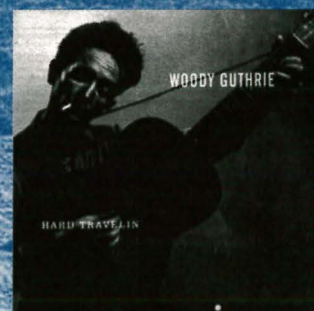
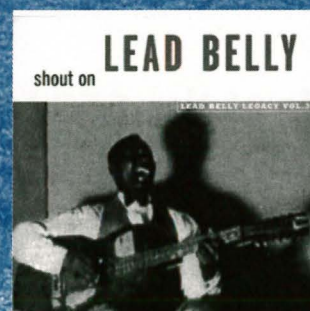
Folk and Blues



Smithsonian Folkways Recordings celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of Folkways Recordings.

Recordings related to previous Smithsonian Folklife Festivals, Folk, Blues, Bluegrass, Jazz, American Indian, Classical, World, Children's Music, Spoken Word, and much more. Available at the Festival Marketplace, record stores, and at www.si.edu/folkways, or 800 410-9815. Catalogues available.

Historic recordings from Lead Belly, Woody Guthrie, Sonny Terry, and Josh White — four artists being honored with stamps unveiled at the Folkways Founders/ U.S. Postal Service Folk Musicians Stamp Concert (Friday, June 26, 7:00-9:00 p.m.).

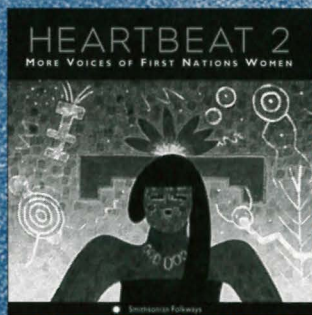
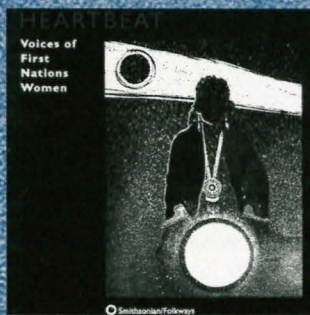


American Indian Music

Many of the artists featured at the Heartbeat: Voices of First Nations Women Concert (Sunday, June 28, 5:30-9:00 p.m.) perform on these two eclectic and spirited CDs.

Children's Music

These Ella Jenkins and Larry Long recordings give a taste of the wide variety of children's music available on Smithsonian Folkways. See Ella and Larry at the Children's Concert (Friday, June 26, 5:30-7:00 p.m.)



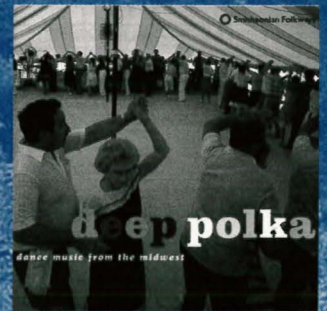
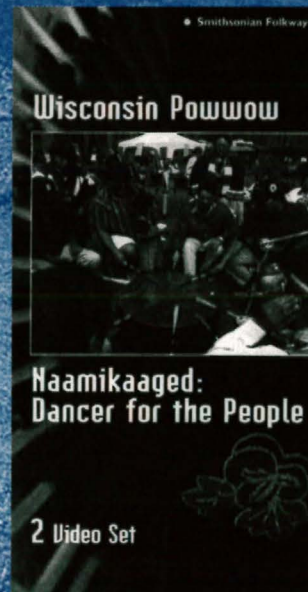
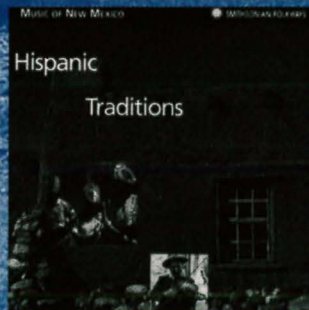
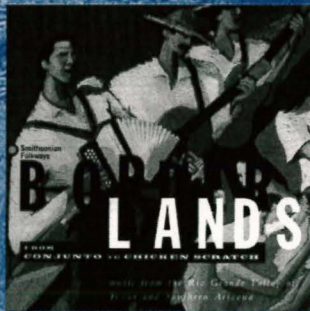
For more concert information, see schedule on page 130.

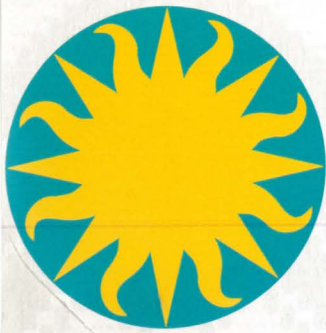
Music from the Southwest

Tex-Mex, Hispanic, and American Indian sounds on these CDs richly complement this year's Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin program.

Music and Dance from Wisconsin

Wisconsin's diversity of cultures is celebrated with these titles: a 2-video set of American Indian traditions and a CD of European-rooted polka.





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Corinne Kratz, Ivan Karp, Alan

Lomax, Worth Long, Rene Lopez,

Kate Rinzler

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Michael Asch, Jane Beck, Don

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Lisa Mendelson

Concessions Specialist, National Capital

Parks-Central: Nelson Hoffman

Employees of the National Capital Area

and the United States Park Police

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Wisconsin

The Wisconsin program is made possible

by and is produced in cooperation with

the Wisconsin Arts Board and the

Wisconsin Sesquicentennial Commission

on the occasion of Wisconsin's 150th

anniversary of statehood. Wisconsin cor-

porate contributors include AT&T, SC

Johnson Wax, and The Credit Unions of

Wisconsin.

Philippines

The Philippines program is produced in

collaboration with the Cultural Center of

the Philippines and the Philippine

Centennial Commission and is supported

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Inc., The Starr Foundation, Bell Atlantic,

the Asian Cultural Council, and the

Philippine Centennial Foundation/USA.

The Baltic Nations

This program is made possible by and is

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Ministry of Culture, the Latvian Govern-

ment and Latvian Ministry of Culture,

and the Lithuanian Government and

Lithuanian Ministry of Culture. Additional

support comes from the Cultural

Endowment of Estonia, the American

Latvian Association, and the Lithuanian

Foundation.

Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin

This project is cosponsored by El Consejo

Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes with

support from the U.S.-Mexico Fund for

Culture (The Rockefeller Foundation,

Fundación Cultural Bancomer, the Fondo

Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes), SBC

Foundation, Texas Folklife Resources, and

the Texas Council for the Humanities.

Folklife Fieldwork Research Schools were

supported by Colorado College, Tierra

Wools, the University of New Mexico,

University of Texas-Pan American, and a

grant from Smithsonian Outreach Funds.

Ralph Rinzler

Memorial Concert

This program is made possible with

support from The Recording Industries

Music Performance Trust Funds, the Ruth

Mott Fund, Friends of the Festival, and

Kate Rinzler.

Support for Folkways At 50

comes from BMI (the American perfor-

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1998 Smithsonian Folklife Festival

