

Smithsonian Folklife Festival

Culture Of, By, and For the People



RICHARD KURIN

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*Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C.*

Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies
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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Kurin, Richard, 1950–

Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture Of, By, and For the People.
ISBN 0-9665520-0-8

1. Smithsonian Folklife Festival. 2. Museum programs. 3. Cultural policy.
4. Public folklore. 5. Cultural representation.

Manufactured in the United States of America

COVER: Bahamians mounted a special Fourth of July Junkanoo “rush” for the 1994 Festival that was reprised two years later for the Smithsonian’s 150th *Birthday Party on the Mall*. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

BACK COVER: Children at the 1968 Festival watch the hands of Kentucky potter Ernie Cornelison.
Photo by Robert Yellin

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Norman Kennedy (second from left)
leads friends in a Nova Scotian
waulking song at the 1969 Festival.
Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

FOREWORD

The Smithsonian Institution was founded in 1846 for the purpose of increasing and diffusing knowledge among all humankind. In the 19th century, most scholars and researchers assumed that it was they who created knowledge and therefore had the responsibility to dispense it to others. In this century, we have learned that, particularly with regard to culture, knowledge is more widely distributed. People around the world, including those living in humble physical situations, nonetheless may know much about their environment. Storytellers, elders, and balladeers often know much about the history and values of their communities. Artists, healers, and builders know about aesthetics and science in their own terms. Knowledge, skill, artistry, and wisdom are not the exclusive province of any one people or class. They are distributed through our nation and around the planet and offer ways — sometimes widely recognized, sometimes not — for human beings to live their lives.

We have learned that people everywhere have a contribution to make based on their own knowledge and insights. Nowhere at the Smithsonian is this lesson so dramatically presented as at our Folklife Festival, held annually on the National Mall. Over the last three decades the Festival has brought an array of this knowledge and insight to public attention. It has produced an exchange of knowledge between tradition bearers and visitors, and often inspired both to pursue further inquiry with added vigor.

The diversity of backgrounds and perspectives represented at the Festival is stunning. Just about every community imaginable has been presented, or will be in the decades ahead. Those who have demonstrated their traditions on the National Mall range from Appalachian fiddlers to inner-city hip hop dancers, storytellers from the interior of Kalimantan to the workers of the White House, Indian healers to Smithsonian scientists, cowboys to trial lawyers.

The Festival offers an immensely popular and successful method for engaging ideas. If you want to know how a farmer cares for her crop, or why a potter makes the designs he does, at the Festival you



The statue of the Smithsonian's first secretary, Joseph Henry, located in front of the Smithsonian Castle, is adorned with a Hawaiian lei during the 1989 Festival.

Photo by Laurie Minor

can ask. The Festival provides a means of direct communication across cultural boundaries. It offers an ideal, perhaps utopian means by which people can learn from each other in a large-scale yet intimate way. It is thus no surprise that the

Festival has become a national, even international model of cultural representation.

Most simply, the Festival demonstrates that culture is dynamic, alive in homes, workplaces, dance halls, community centers, and other sites — virtual and real — where people gather. It is through the Festival that the Smithsonian shows that history does not stop, that the life of people cannot be reduced to an object in a case or a sign on a wall. It is through the Festival that people speak for themselves, about their lives and accomplishments, and about how they have made everyday experience meaningful and, sometimes, beautiful. This book describes how.

I. Michael Heyman
Secretary
Smithsonian Institution

PREFACE

Since I first worked for the Festival in 1976, it has been, for me, an optimistic exercise of cultural democracy. That the Festival grows out of the Smithsonian, an institution dedicated to “the increase and diffusion of knowledge,” is telling. The people who come to the Festival to perform, demonstrate, and discuss their cultural traditions have much to share with the rest of us.

That the Festival takes place on the National Mall of the United States is also important. For in the midst of the marble buildings, the monuments, and the seats of power are the voices of the people who gather each summer — in all their diversity — to celebrate and understand their cultural heritage. The Festival embodies a very powerful cultural dialogue that benefits the public and participants alike.

The Festival has been made possible by the efforts of tens of thousands of people over the years. Most of all, it depends upon the exemplary tradition bearers who often travel great distances, put up with the heat, dust, unfamiliar food, and endless questions to grace the Mall with their humanity. Making their presence possible is a network of scholars, educators, and collaborators, some of whom — Gilbert Sprauve, Leslie Gordon, Kurt and Marsha MacDowell, Lynn Martin, Scott Raecker, Bess Lomax Hawes, José Griego, and Sandra Scott — have been kind enough to add their thoughts to this book.

There would have been no Festival if not for the idea of James Morris, the talent of Ralph Rinzler, and the leadership of S. Dillon Ripley. Festival staff have always been mission driven. Marion Hope, Henry Glassie, Dick Lusher, Bernice Johnson Reagon, Mack McCormick, Mike Seeger, Janet Stratton, Manuel Melendez, Gerry Davis, Ethel Raim, Clydia Nahwooksy, Martin Koenig, Tom Kavanagh, Kenny Goldstein, Rosie Hooks, Linn Shapiro, Bob Byington, Bess Lomax Hawes, Charlie Camp, Rayna Green, Tim Lloyd, Frank Proschan, Lucille Dawson, Stu Jamieson, Jeffrey LaRiche, B.C. May, Ernestine Potter, Cythnia Hightower, Shirley Cherkasky, Paul Squires, Sarah Lewis, Betty and Richard Derbyshire, Steve Zeitlin, Susan Kalčík, Jack Santino, Amy Kotkin, Daphne Shuttleworth, Jackie Dulaney, Joan Wolbier, Fred Nahwooksy, Van Mertz, Connie Lane, and others provided the skill and energy to establish the Festival and sustain it as an institution beloved by participants and millions of visitors alike.

Dedication and ability continue to characterize the Festival staff, headed by director Diana Parker, who started in 1975, administrative chief Barbara Strickland — a veteran since 1974 — and technical director Pete Reiniger, who first worked on the Festival in 1971. Deputy director Richard Kennedy, ethnomusicologist Thomas Vennum, policy director James Early, publications manager Carla Borden, folklorists Peter Seitel, Marjorie Hunt, Olivia Cadaval, Betty Belanus, Diana Baird N’Diaye, program coordinators Arlene Reiniger and Kate Rinzler, program manager John Franklin, Folkways director Anthony Seeger, archivist Jeff Place, public relations specialists Linda St. Thomas, Mary Combs, Susan Bliss, Kathy Lindeman, Vicki Moeser, exhibits workers Terry Meniefield and Holly Wright, sound engineers Gregg Lamping and Dean Languell, and stage managers Al McKenney, John Kemper, and Beth Curren have put decades of thoughtful labor into the Festival. Documenters Stephanie Smith and Charlie Weber, folklorists Amy Horowitz and Cynthia Vidaurri, designer Kenn Shrader, technical staffer Deb Sullivan, administrative personnel Linda Benner, Bill Holmes, Heather MacBride, Bernard Howard, Ramona Dowdal, Marni Hoyt, computer specialist R.C. Forney, Folkways sales staff Mary Monseur, Dudley Connell, and Matt Levine, along with other dedicated Smithsonian workers and scores of bright, energetic temporary staff, interns, and fellows have contributed mightily.

The Festival also depends upon many sponsors like The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, supporters like the Folklore Society of Greater Washington, the National Park Service, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture Beltsville Station, volunteers like Dwain Winters, Judy Goodrich, May Vaughn, Juanita Conley, Mary Cliff, Jacqueline Fralley, Alice Hirschfeld, Joyce Ella Hubbard, Marilyn Gaston, Ruth Meyers, Joan Paull, Marvin Nakashima, Johari Rashad, Mark Miller, and Friends of the Festival who back their belief with action. Included are my wife Allyn and daughters Danielle and Jaclyn, who have grown up with the Festival, and my parents, Mary and Saul Kurin, who have in myriad ways served its good goals.

Richard Kurin
Director

Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies
Smithsonian Institution





Bruce Colclasure, Robert Close, and Sherri Lyn Close demonstrate cutting-horse skills for the *Oklahoma* program at the 1982 Festival.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley

CHAPTER 1

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival is an annual exhibition of living cultural heritage from across the United States and around the world. It is produced by the Smithsonian Institution every summer for two weeks around the Fourth of July, on the National Mall of the United States in Washington, D.C., in cooperation with the National Park Service. The Festival is organized to increase and diffuse knowledge about grassroots culture. It is an extension of the Smithsonian outdoors, onto the Mall, with the same mission but a somewhat different approach than the national museums.

Since its inception in 1967, the Festival has featured almost 20,000 musicians, artists, performers, craftspeople, workers, cooks, storytellers, ritual specialists, and other exemplars from numerous ethnic, tribal, regional, and occupational cultures. The Festival typically includes daily and evening programs of music, song, dance, celebratory performance, crafts demonstrations, cooking demonstrations, storytelling, illustrations of workers' culture, and narrative sessions for discussing cultural issues. The Festival is free to the public and annually attracts about one million visitors. As the largest annual cultural event in the U.S.

ABOVE RIGHT The 1980 Festival featured a program on the cultures of immigrants from Southeast Asia.

Photo by Chip Clark

RIGHT Rodolfina Andrevia, a Kuna Indian from Panama, sews a *mola* at the 1994 Festival.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

FAR RIGHT Guy Bruce, from Trion, Georgia, performs at the 1980 Festival.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution





Fireworks explode over the Washington Monument to celebrate the Fourth of July, Independence Day.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

There is no better place, no better time to celebrate the culture of the American people and those from around the world.

— Ralph Rinzler, Festival Director, 1971



Kendrick Smith, from Rockville, Maryland, shows Trinidadian carnival costume making at the 1988 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Smithsonian Folklife Festival

*Take the
instruments
out of their
cases and
let them sing.*

— S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary
Smithsonian Institution, 1966



Senegalese dancer Serigne M'Baye performs *sabar* at the 1990 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

capital, it receives considerable media attention. The Festival has often energized efforts of featured tradition bearers and organizations to continue their own research, education, cultural conservation, and advocacy work in their communities. The Festival is well documented and has stimulated the production of hundreds of publications, dozens of recordings, films, and videos, and numerous educational materials, as well as museum and traveling exhibitions.

The Festival was officially named the Smithsonian Institution Festival of American Folklife from its founding until 1998, whereupon its appellation was simplified to the Smithsonian Folklife Festival in order to reflect long-term popular usage. The Festival was the idea of James Morris, director of Museum Services and then of the Division of Performing Arts. It developed under first director Ralph Rinzler and with the strong support of Smithsonian secretary S. Dillon Ripley. The Festival was part of a larger effort by Ripley in the 1960s to make the National Mall more accessible to the American public and make the Smithsonian's programs more exciting and engaging. He believed that citizens should feel a sense of ownership and identification with the national patrimony, represented by the national treasures kept at the Smithsonian but also evident in the buildings, monuments, and sites in the capital that help define American civic culture.



Ripley wanted visitors to seek out the museums, not be put off by them. He wanted people to feel welcome on the Mall and view it as America's front lawn. He also believed that museums had to do more to engage the public, that their artifacts had to be reunited with the people who made and used them. The Festival was a good way to do this.

The Festival was an instant hit in its first year, drawing over 400,000 visitors and the praise of the Washington press. Congres-

sional support followed, as many saw their constituents and traditions from back home represented on the Mall, given a national spotlight, and enabled to share their knowledge and traditions with their fellow citizens. The Festival's popularity has encouraged the development of programs at local, state, regional, and national levels. The Festival was a major part of the U.S. Bicentennial in 1976, lasting for three months and involving thousands of participants.



Hawaiians including Congressman Daniel Akaka, the Ho'opo'i brothers, Kindy Sproat, and others participate in a "talk story" session at the 1989 Festival.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley

LEFT Tuba Dan leads a Czech-American polka group from Wisconsin at the 1995 Festival. Photo by Eric Long

The Festival usually includes international, regional/state, occupational, and thematic "programs." To date the Festival has featured exemplary tradition bearers from 73 nations, every state and region of the United States, scores of ethnic groups, more than 100 American Indian groups, and some 60 occupational groups. In any one year there may be three or four major programs. Each program is akin to an exhibition in one of the museums, having its own space (about two football fields for large programs), con-

ceptual integrity, signage, performance stages, and demonstration areas. A good-sized program consists of about 100 musicians, craftspeople, cooks, workers, and storytellers, and about 10 lay and academic presenters or facilitators who help provide background information and introductions and who may translate, ask, and answer questions.

International programs have sometimes featured a particular nation or a world cultural region, e.g., the Caribbean, the Andes, as well as transnational populations, e.g., Cape Verdeans, Maroons. Many "national" programs have joined people from the "home country" with immigrant populations in the United States.

Other programs have featured states and territories of the United States as well as regions of the country, e.g., *The American South*, *U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*, and

Smithsonian Folklife Festival Attendance, 1967–1997

1967	431,000	1983	1,000,000
1968	500,000	1984	1,200,000
1969	550,000	1985	1,500,000
1970	650,000	1986	1,300,000
1971	800,000	1987	1,000,000
1972	800,000	1988	1,500,000
1973	1,050,000	1989	1,250,000
1974	1,150,000	1990	1,000,000
1975	1,150,000	1991	1,150,000
1976	4,400,000	1992	1,287,000
1977	500,000	1993	660,000
1978	550,000	1994	884,000
1979	425,000	1995	1,005,000
1980	600,000	1996	1,237,000
1981	1,200,000	1997	804,000
1982	1,200,000		
TOTAL		32,733,000	



Muralist David Chung demonstrates his work at the *Migration to Washington, D.C. Festival* program in 1988. Photo by Laurie Minor

Going to the Festival is like attending a service at the First Church of the Great American idea.

— Henry Allen, *Washington Post* reporter
Life magazine, 1995

have combined themes and regions, e.g., *Family Farming in the Heartland*.

The Festival has presented American Indian cultures, the traditions of African Americans, Latinos, and many ethnic communities, including Lao Americans, Italian Americans, and Russian Americans, for example. Occupational programs have exhibited the worklore of cowboys, taxi drivers, meat cutters, bricklayers, baseball players, doctors, trial lawyers, domestic workers in the White House, and scientists at the Smithsonian. Various thematic programs have cut across cultural groups topically and have included, for example, *Musics of Struggle*, *Cultural Conservation*, *Culture and Development*, and *Heartbeat*:

Music of First Nations Women.

The most distinctive feature of the Festival is its attempt to foreground the voices of tradition bearers as they demonstrate, discuss, and present their cultures. At the Festival tradition bearers, scholars, and Smithsonian curators speak for themselves, with each other, and to the public. The Festival encourages visitors to participate — to learn to sing, dance, eat traditional foods, and just plain speak to the folks represented in the Festival program. The Festival, while celebrating the diversity of the nation and the world, also celebrates our ability to talk with and join with each other, to appreciate and bridge differences in a larger celebration of freedom and



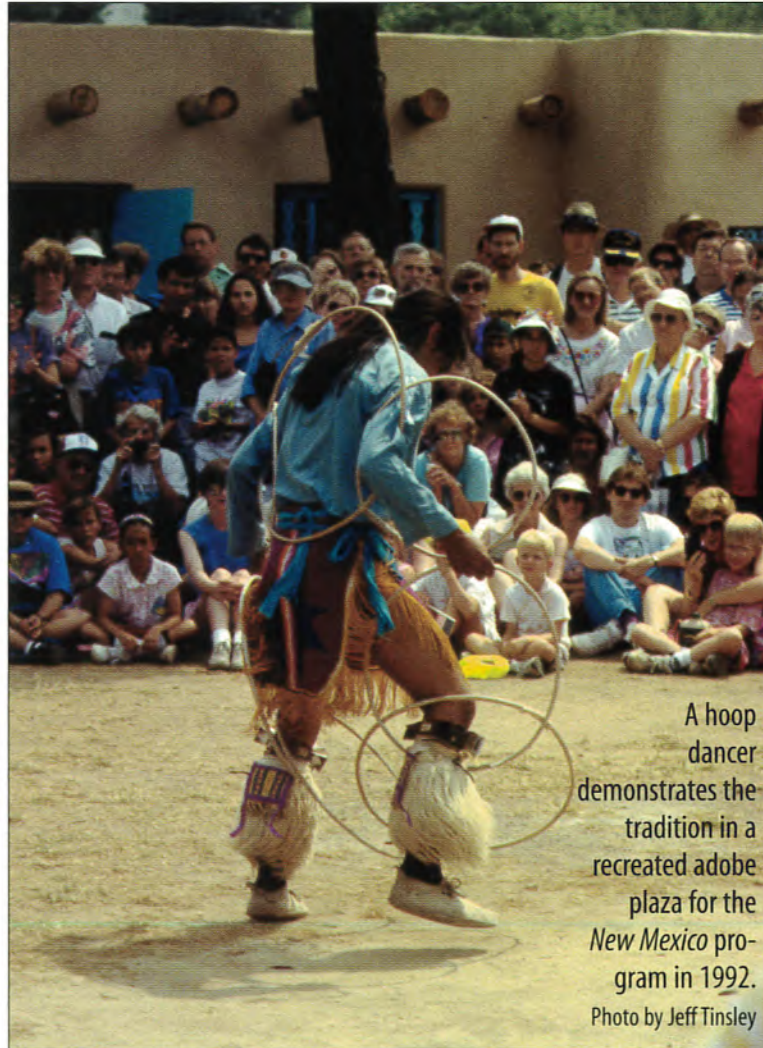
human creativity. The Festival has been called “a national treasure” and going to the Festival likened to an act of cultural citizenship.



A Korean potter demonstrates his craft at the 1982 Festival. Photo by Daphne Shuttleworth



A re-created Kentucky barn provides the backdrop for a music stage at the 1973 Festival. Photo by Jack M. Rottier



A hoop dancer demonstrates the tradition in a recreated adobe plaza for the New Mexico program in 1992. Photo by Jeff Tinsley



Teenagers demonstrate hip hop — a dance growing out of urban youth culture — at the 1993 Festival. Photo by Nicholas J. Parrella

*You can learn
more here in an
afternoon than
in a semester
at college.*

— Jimmy Driftwood

Teacher and musician, *Arkansas* program, 1970

Like other Smithsonian exhibitions, the Festival includes museum-quality signs, photo-text panels, a published program book/catalog, learning centers, museum shops, and food concessions. It also attempts to create a physical context for the traditions represented. In the past, the Festival has included, among other things, a race course from Kentucky, an oil rig from Oklahoma, a glacier from Alaska, a New Jersey boardwalk, a Louisiana Mardi Gras parade, a New Mexican adobe plaza, a Japanese rice paddy, a Kalimantan long house, a Senegalese home compound, and an Indian festival village. Animals, from cattle-cutting horses to llamas, from steers to sheared sheep, have been part of Festival presentations. A buffalo calf was even born on the Mall early one Festival morning, and an escaped steer was roped to the ground in the Kennedy Center parking lot after a chase down Washington streets.

The Festival is a research-based, curated production, drawing on the efforts of Smithsonian staff, academic and lay scholars from the featured cultures, and people who know a great deal about their community. Research for the Festival and documentation of its presentations have resulted in complex, local-level collaborations, training, and an archival collection held at the Smithsonian and disbursed back to various local institutions. This documentation has been used for publications by fellows, visiting scholars, and



Sugar cane boils
on the Mall
at the 1980 Festival.

Photo by Chip Clark





ABOVE Special community celebrations like a Virgin Islands carnival at the 1990 Festival have involved participants of all ages. Photo by Chip Clark

LEFT Graciela Salgado Valdez, a *palenquera* from Colombia, demonstrates rice winnowing at the 1992 Festival program on Maroon culture.

Photo by Eric Long



We'd really screw everything up if we found oil at this location.

— Jim Eubank, Geologist from Texas

Demonstrating the working of an 85-foot-high oil rig on the Mall

Workers demonstrate the techniques practiced in the oil fields at the 1978 Festival.

Photo by Dane Penland

the Smithsonian's own staff; for education kits that help teach children about their cultural heritage; and for Smithsonian Folkways recordings and various other media products which have won Academy, Emmy, and Grammy awards and nominations.

The Festival has had strong impacts on policies, scholarship, and folks "back home." Many U.S. states and several nations have remounted Festival programs and used them to generate laws, institutions, educational programs, documentary films, television programs, recordings, museum and traveling exhibitions, monographs, and cultural activities.

The Festival generates a great deal of publicity and has positively affected cultural tourism in many places. In 1994 the Festival was named the "Best Event in the U.S." as a result of a survey of regional tourist

bureaus. The Festival has also been the subject of numerous books, documentary films, scholarly articles, and even murder mysteries. The Festival has provided a model for the *Black Family Reunion*, the *Los Angeles Festival*, festivals and programs in other nations, and other major civic cultural presentations, including *America's Reunion on the Mall* for the Clinton inaugural, *Southern Crossroads* for the Olympic Arts Festival in Atlanta's Centennial Park, and the Smithsonian's own 150th anniversary *Birthday Party on the Mall*.

RIGHT Festival staff have organized programs for several presidential inaugurations, including performances in the National Air and Space Museum among others, for Ronald Reagan and George Bush in 1981.

Photo by Daphne Shuttleworth



ABOVE Willard Scott from the NBC-TV "Today" show has long covered the Festival, and in 1992 interviewed Banjo Garcia, a storyteller and cook from New Mexico. The Smithsonian's Mary Combs and "Today" producer Tory Duncan (left) work out details. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

RIGHT White House workers were featured at the 1992 Festival and in a subsequent nationally broadcast video and traveling exhibition. Here they are honored by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in a ceremony and program at a District of Columbia school. Photo by Richard Strauss





Films, television programs,
and recordings developed from the
Festival have won prestigious honors,
including Academy, Emmy, and Grammy awards.



Summer visitors are
used to seeing a sea
of Festival tents on
the National Mall.

Photo by Eric Long



CHAPTER 2

The National Mall of the United States

The need and desire for America's public American celebration of self goes back to the beginning of the nation.

The Fourth of July celebration under President Thomas Jefferson included a festival of sorts, held outdoors — not on the then swampy Mall but on the grounds of President's Park adjacent to the White House. Writes historian William Seale in his monumental *The President's House*:

The Fourth of July was a time to be outside. The President's Park — called the “common” — came alive at daybreak, with the raising of tents and booths soon followed by crowds of people. A regular fair was held, selling food and drink, as well as baskets, rugs, and other cottage products. There were horse races and tests of skill among the men. Cockfights and dogfights took place on the sidelines. In the bare “parade” kept clear in the middle, the Washington Militia and other military companies drilled between ten o'clock and noon.

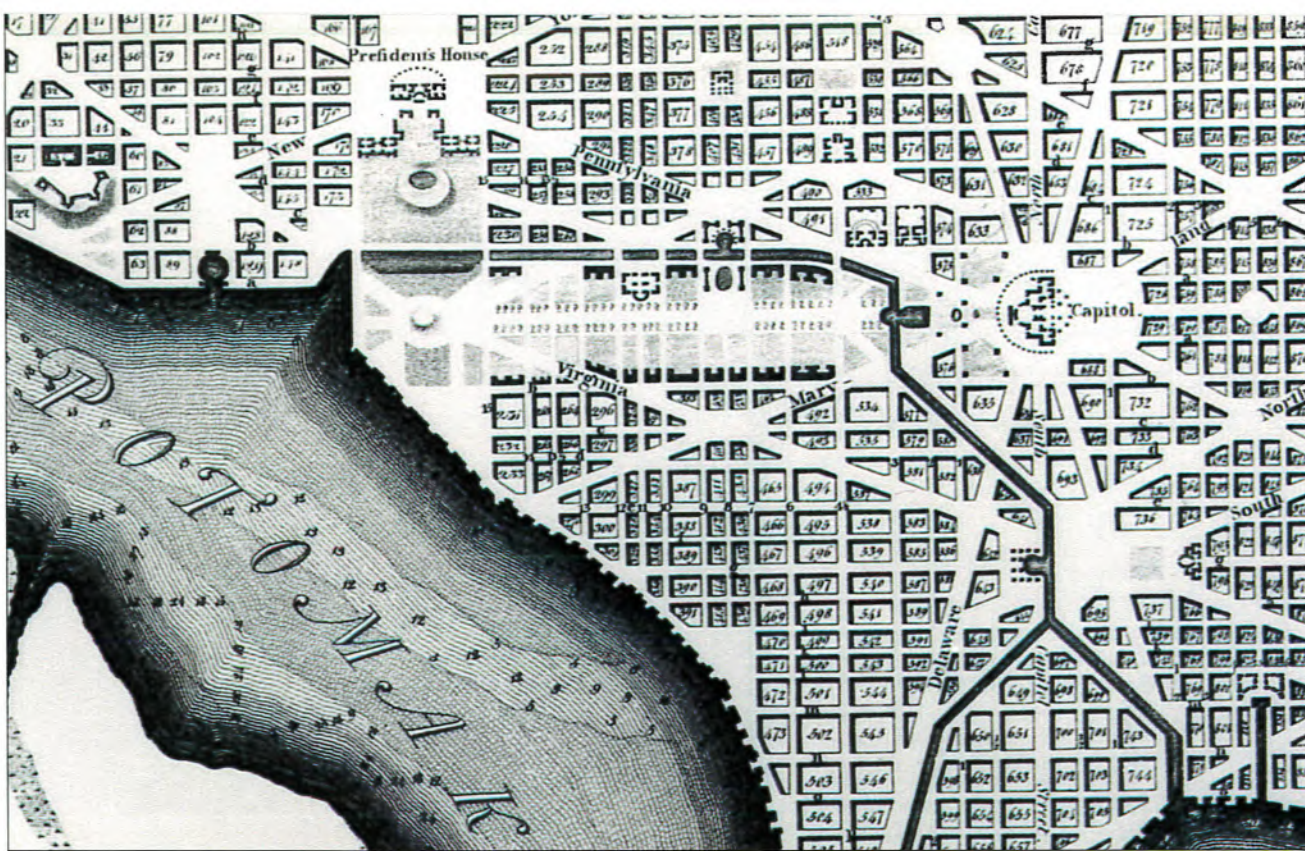
Music played too, and guests were invited into the White House by the president to celebrate their independence.

Celebrations and performances, particularly musical ones, were held outdoors on the White House grounds through most of the 19th century. A bandstand near the South Portico served many presidents and public visitors, even during the Civil War. In the 1880s the bandstand and performances were moved to the Mall and the Smithsonian.

Mall History

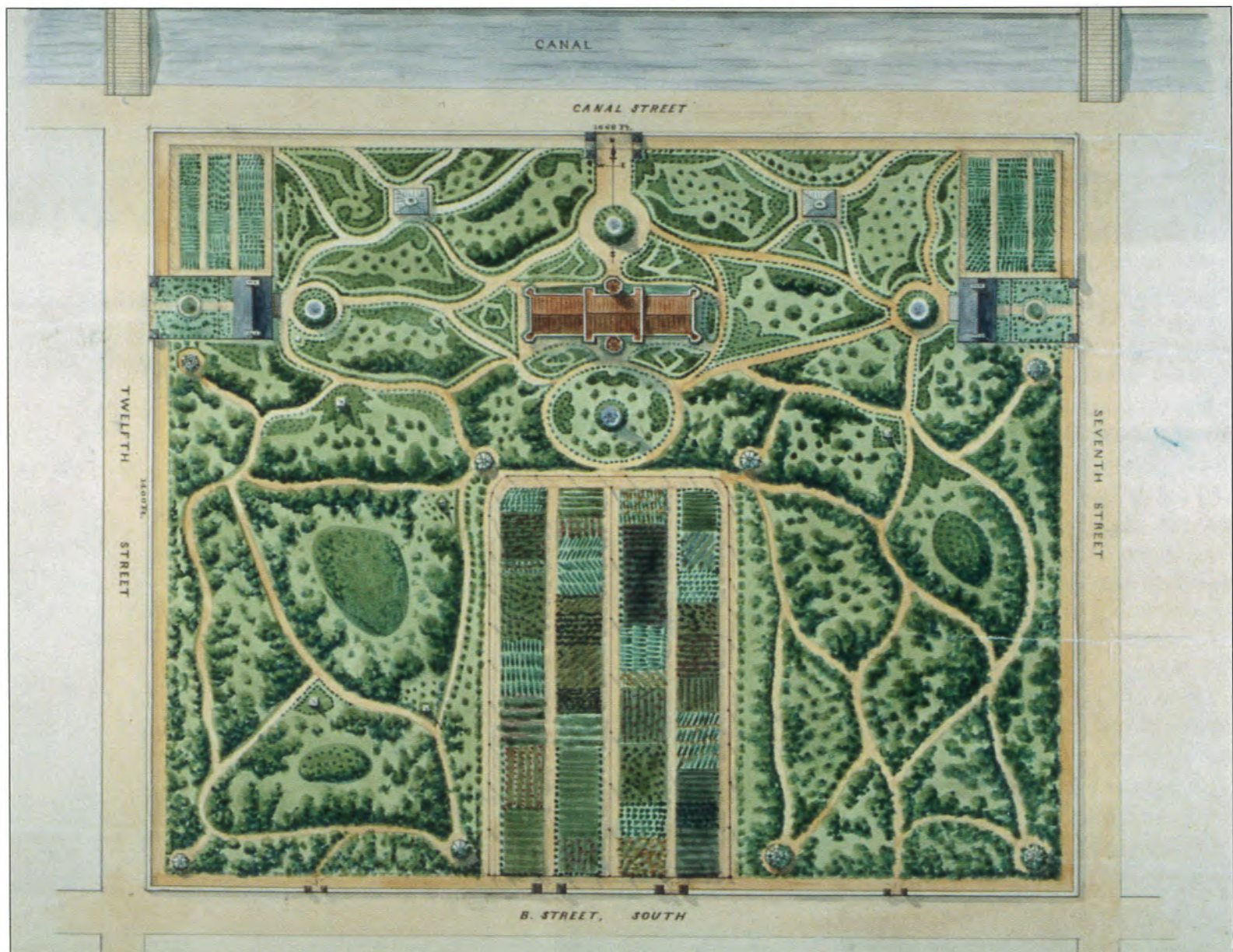
The Mall in Jefferson's time was not an attractive public place. Ending at the Washington Monument grounds and the Potomac River just beyond it, sodden with





L'Enfant's plan for the Mall is rendered in this early engraving of Andrew Ellicott's map. Photo courtesy Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division

Architect Robert Mills drew this plan for the proposed Smithsonian grounds on the north side of the Mall in 1841. Photo courtesy National Archives & Records Administration, Cartographic and Architectural Branch



It's hard to find something to compare with the sight of a skinny old man, his brightly printed shorts showing above his jeans, making corn liquor on Federal property.

— Judith Martin, Folkfest, *Washington Post*, 1969

water from the Tiber Creek and Canal, the Mall was said to give off unhealthy vapors. Though designated as a public walk in L'Enfant's 1791 plan for the Capital City, it failed to take shape as the grand boulevard lined with public buildings and ambassadorial residences that he had envisioned. Though termed the "Mall" on maps by 1804, it remained unsettled and underused for some 60 years. Crops were grown on it and some private fairs held near Center Market on its northern boundaries in the early 1800s.

With the founding of the Smithsonian in 1846, John Quincy Adams and others paced off what was to be known as "Smithsonian Park," which then included much of the Mall. The construction of the Smithsonian "castle" provided the impetus for improving and landscaping the Mall, resulting in Andrew Jackson Downing's plan for the Smithsonian Pleasure Grounds or Gardens. Downing's plan, submitted to and approved by the Smithsonian Regents, called for a natural style of landscaped garden, a "national park" that would be a public museum of living trees and shrubs in six varied scenarios, replete with labels, so as to educate and edify the public and provide a symbolic, enlightening balance between commercial city life and agrarian country life. Downing's plan was never achieved in full, but it did entail the first landscaping on the Mall, the planting of a wide variety of trees and shrubs, and the creation of curved paths and carriage drives which remained well into the 1920s.

As Smithsonian architectural historian Cynthia Field notes, "By the late 19th century, the heart of Washington had neither the clarity of L'Enfant's conception nor the

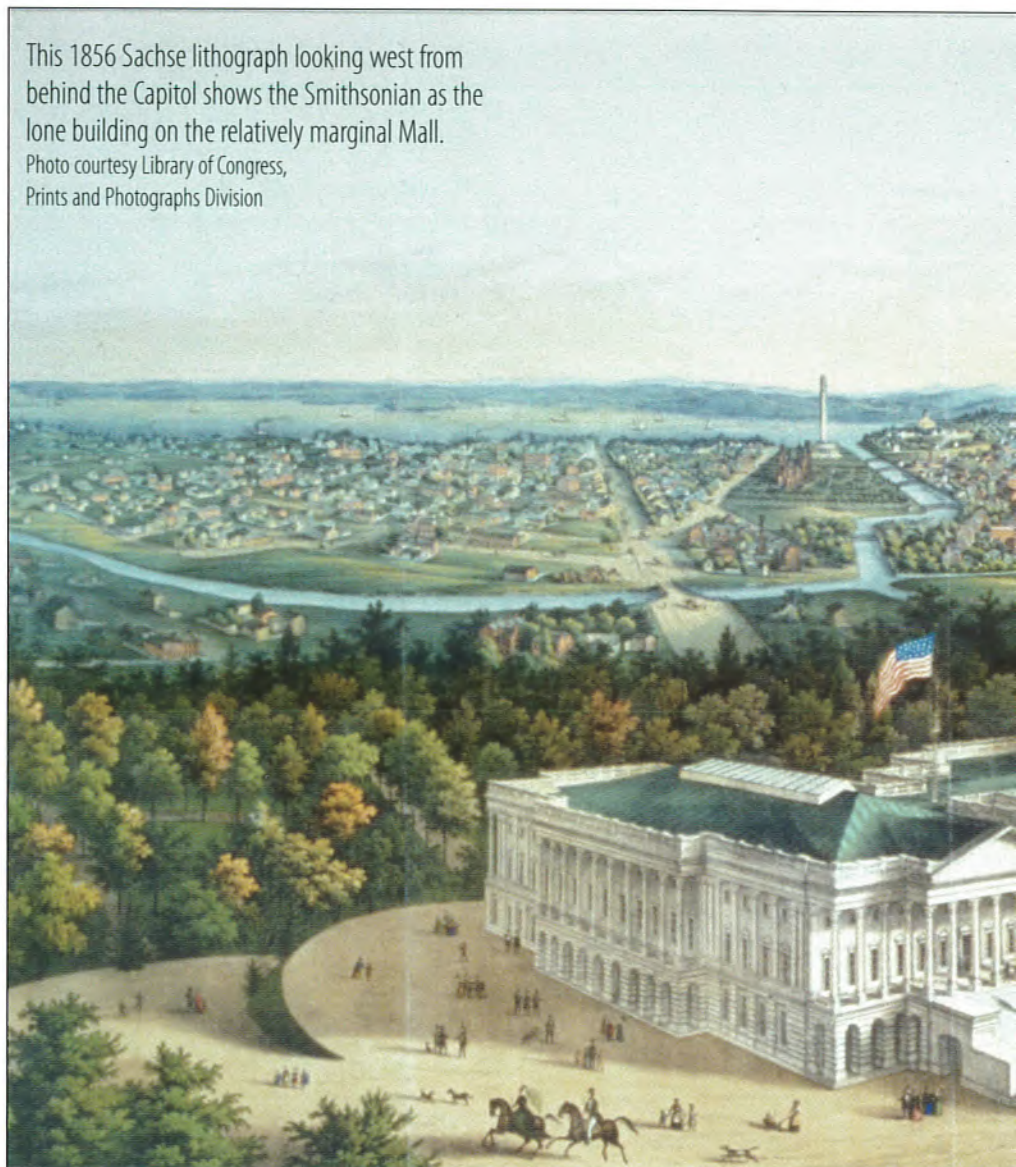
The Mall, with canal, railway station, and the Capitol in disrepair, was unsightly in the Civil War period.

Photo courtesy National Archives & Records Administration, Still Picture Branch



This 1856 Sachse lithograph looking west from behind the Capitol shows the Smithsonian as the lone building on the relatively marginal Mall.

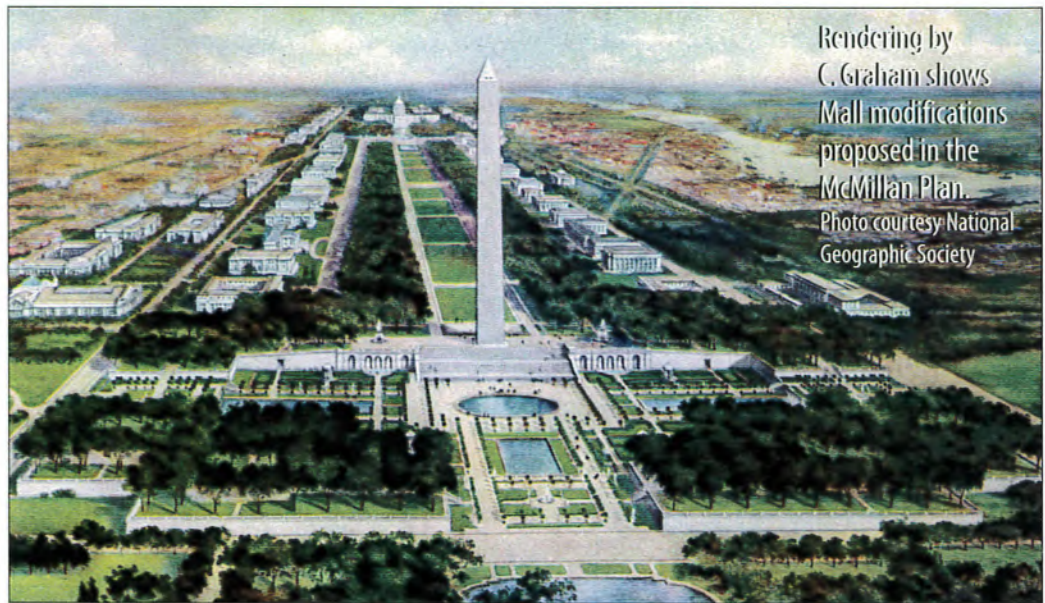
Photo courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division





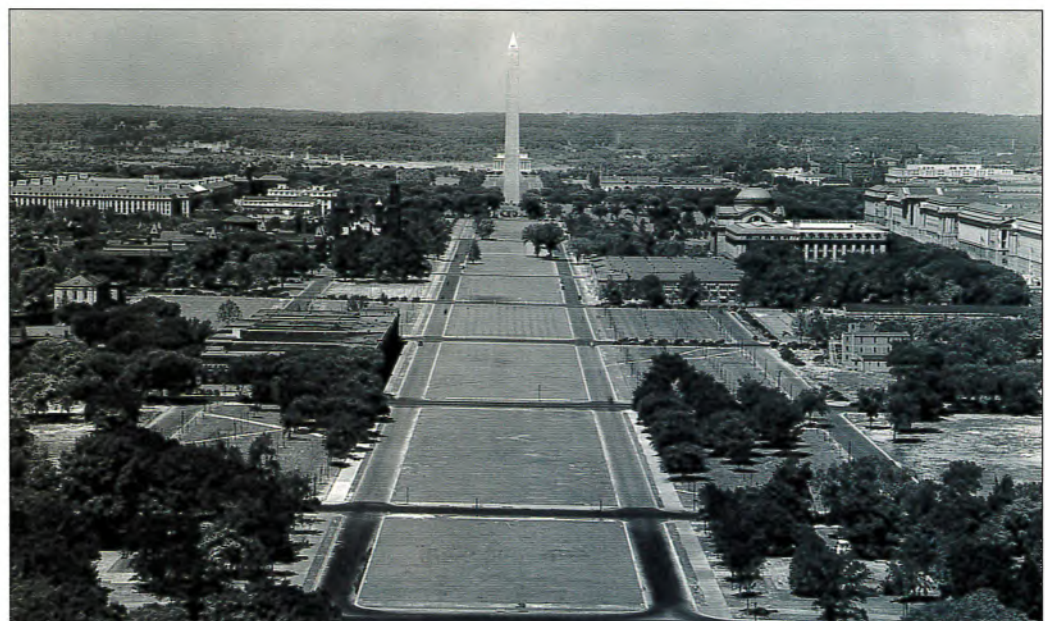
A variety of trees and shrubs recommended by Downing populated the Mall prior to the McMillan Plan.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Rendering by C. Graham shows Mall modifications proposed in the McMillan Plan.

Photo courtesy National Geographic Society



As a result of the McMillan Plan the Mall was cleared of its old vegetation. Young elm trees were planted in the 1930s. Photo courtesy Commission of Fine Arts

The Festival centers around the Washington Monument. The objects themselves are a continuing monument to the hands, hearts, and heads of the people.

— Sarah Booth Conroy, *Washington Post*, 1981



Japanese rice planting and the *hanadave* ritual are demonstrated at the 1986 Festival by a group from Hiroshima province. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

character of Downing's." Railroad tracks crossed the Mall with a terminus at its eastern end near the Capitol. The unsightly canal isolated the Mall from the rest of Washington. Various structures abounded. Buffalo and other animals of the National Zoo grazed on it.

This changed in 1901–02, when the Senate Park Commission Plan, informally called the McMillan Plan after its chairman, built upon L'Enfant's vision and developed the version of the Mall familiar to us today.

Central to this plan was the emergence of wide, broad vistas, a straightness, regularity, and uniformity that would impose beauty

on a city grown ugly. The principal architects behind the plan were involved in developing the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. This exposition had attracted some 21 million visitors who were entertained and informed by exhibits of arts and industries, "living" ethnological villages, the dancing of Little Egypt, and a ferris wheel. The exposition also defined a new period in American architecture; the site represented a flowering of "City Beautiful" themes including Beaux Arts architecture, white buildings, great walkways and vistas.

The overall goal of the commission was to develop a park on a grand scale, by view-

ing it as the key feature of a larger urban environment. The commission developed a uniform building line and architectural program for new public buildings to be constructed along the Mall, and foresaw the tearing down of the Smithsonian Castle and the Library of Congress buildings, since they did not fit. The McMillan Plan called for the elimination of hundreds of "intrusive trees" and shrubs and for the planting of elms in neat rows alongside a central grassy greensward. The plan also called for fountains, kiosks, pavilions, new gardens, a major park at the Washington Monument grounds, and the development of the Lincoln Memorial on recovered Potomac swamp land. Most of these recommendations initially met with strong objections, and many were not implemented. By the 1930s, however, the Mall did emerge in a form similar to that envisioned by the McMillan Plan. The railroad tracks and other buildings — though not the Smithsonian Castle and the Library of Congress — were removed. The Mall's streetscape for new buildings, such as the Freer Gallery of Art, was established by 1913. The Lincoln Memorial took shape in the early 1920s; three rows of elm trees, rather than a recommended four, were planted in the 1930s.

As the Mall developed, so too did its administration. Prior to the commission, the Mall was divided into several parks and grounds — the Monument Grounds, the Agricultural Grounds, the Smithsonian Grounds, Henry Park, Seaton Park, and the Botanical Gardens, each with its own administration and character. With the establishment of the Commission of Fine Arts in 1910 and the National Capital Park and Planning Commission in 1926, mechanisms for greater overall planning and unity of the Mall were achieved.

Further refinements under the National Park Service grew from a Skidmore, Owings & Merrill plan developed in 1965. The east-west streets running through the Mall were replaced by pedestrian pathways. Denser tree

planting and the development of grand fountains, pavilions, and the Washington Monument park were also recommended but not implemented. In the 1970s, the Metro system station and tunnel were put in underground. New museums and sculpture gardens were planned, designed, redesigned, and built. Modifications to the Mall continue today with the building of the new National Museum of the American Indian scheduled for the turn of the century and the installation of walkways to meet the requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The People's Place

The physical development of the Mall as a national park has always followed from its conceived relationship to the organization of government, the nation, and the people. The Mall has been viewed as a physical icon of the tie between Congress and the White House, as a symbol of a rural-urban utopian union, and as a setting for public life.

In ways beyond what planners, architects, and landscapers generally have had in mind, the most dramatic public uses of the Mall have grown out of large-scale mobilizations of people asserting their right and role in the space. Though this use has some historical precedents in the 1892 Grand Army encampment, the 1932 "bonus army" mobilization, and the 1939 Marian Anderson concert at the Lincoln Memorial, the seminal event was the 1963 March on Washington. This event, immortalized in the public imagery surrounding Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I have a dream speech" for huge crowds, provided a model for staging public marches and demonstrations on the Mall and, thus, for the nation. Since then, citizens regularly have gathered on the Mall to march for or against one or another cause. Most assert participation in a single American civic culture and call for broadening the bounds of inclusion in that culture. Indeed, the notion of the Mall as mirroring the ideal unity of the people is regularly celebrated through presidential inaugurations

Some Fresh Air for the Nation's Attic

— Barbara Dubivsky, *New York Times*
 Headline for plans to produce the Festival, 1967



The National Park Service's Robert Stanton speaks at the Festival's opening ceremony in 1990. Seated are Regent Jeannine Clark, Secretary Robert McC. Adams, and Assistant Secretary James Early. Photo by Laurie Minor

The National Mall in Washington, D.C., is a symbolic center of our country. Framed by monuments to Presidents Washington and Lincoln and their singular accomplishments, the Mall begins at the U.S. Capitol, where our participatory democracy is constantly renewed. Bordered by the Smithsonian's national museums, which enshrine our knowledge of history, culture, science, and the arts, the Mall is home to our national civic rites — presidential inaugurations, Independence Day festivities, and victory celebrations. The Mall is also our national town square, where Americans have gathered to speak to each other, to represent themselves and their concerns to their fellow citizens.

Since 1967... the Festival of American Folklife has functioned as a combined outdoor museum and interpretive park, where people from around the country can speak directly to their fellow citizens about their history, their culture, and their lives... The dialogue created at the Festival, in which cultural traditions can be respectfully presented, discussed, and even passed along, is vital to our continued civic health. Sometimes this dialogue is celebratory, sometimes sobering. But to appreciate its importance, one need only look around the globe to places where cultural conversations have stopped and where they have been replaced by intolerance, abuse of human rights, and violence.

The Department of the Interior, through the National Park Service, has been a proud partner in the Festival, sharing a commitment to broadbased cultural education. Our work, and our partnership with the Smithsonian and with many others, help Americans understand their cultural heritage and, we genuinely hope, each other.

—Bruce Babbitt, *Secretary of the Interior*
Festival program books, 1995, 1996

Festival of Folklore Will Make the Mall Ring

— Herman Schaden, *Washington Star*

Headline for plans to produce the Festival, 1967



Spectators line the Mall to view horseracing at the 1982 Festival program on Oklahoma. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

and victory celebrations, as well as annual Independence Day concerts and fireworks. As J. Carter Brown, National Gallery of Art director emeritus and long-time member and chair of the Commission of Fine Arts, noted in a 1991 symposium examining its history, “The Mall is a people space.”

This transformation had taken place within a generation. In the early 1960s, when he became secretary of the Smithsonian, S. Dillon Ripley had called the Mall “Forest Lawn on the Potomac,” a rather dreary vision of the nation’s center. With the growth of new Smithsonian museums, Ripley installed a carousel on the Mall, established a performing arts program, initiated the Folklife Festival, the Kite Festival, and held a public convocation honoring James Smithsonian. The Smithsonian and its “front lawn,” the Mall, became a lively, national village green in contrast to other national centers

— Red Square, for example. From family picnics to softball, from inaugurals to flyovers, marches to festivals, the Mall was the “people’s place,” to be used, enjoyed, and owned by them, much as the national patriotism in the museums and the nation as a political entity.

The Festival As Interpretive Park

The Folklife Festival launched the research-based use of living performances and demonstrations at an unprecedented level within the Smithsonian. This was consistent with a larger trend in the museum world of the time — the use of “living history” as a presentational or interpretive technique. Having people perform, recitate, and demonstrate aspects of a tradition provided a lively way to inform an audience. However, whereas living history performances were played by present-day

actors, the Festival emphasized authenticity — the presence and unscripted participation of the people who were active and exemplary practitioners of the represented communities and traditions. The Festival was powerful because the people were real participants in the represented cultures — not actors. And the Festival in turn bestowed additional legitimacy upon the participants by the authority vested in the Smithsonian. The Festival occurred in proximity to the museums (and its enshrined national treasures) and was located in symbolically potent space — the National Mall — at a symbolically loaded time, the Fourth of July.

This orientation fit very well with National Park Service attempts to present and interpret American cultural history in parks around the nation. In 1973, the National Park Service, with direct responsibility for the Mall, began to actively work with the Smithsonian in support of the Festival. A succession of National Park Service directors and secretaries of the interior have reaffirmed that support in the decades since then.

In 1973 Secretary of Interior Rogers Morton noted how the American people had a cherished heritage — “a unique pattern of living woven out of their daily toil.” The National Park Service, representing the repository of our natural, historical, and cultural resources, had a role to play in showing Americans that heritage — “living history,” he called it. Secretary Morton also saw the relationship between national parks around the country and to the Festival on the Mall. The National Park Service could provide a conduit for cultural traditions presented at local and regional levels to reach national attention.

Another National Park Service director, James Ridenour, wrote in the Festival program book,

There are striking parallels between the responsibilities of museum curator and park superintendent, folklife researcher and historical interpreter. For all of us, stewardship is not sim-



Vice President Dan Quayle and Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan join Nebraska radio broadcaster Rich Hawkins and others for a discussion of the culture of family farming during a 1991 Festival program. Photo by Jeff Tinsley



A bandstand made by Mario Picardo out of cardboard, foil, and light bulbs and used for saint's day celebrations in Boston is erected on the Mall for the 1988 *Massachusetts* program. Photo by Rick Vargas

ply a matter of standing quietly by and hoping that nothing damages or destroys our precious national legacy. If that were so our jobs would be much easier — we would be experts at maintenance and repair, but would not concern ourselves with preventing problems or with revitalizing cultural or natural resources. Nor is stewardship simply a matter of locking away our natural treasures, protecting their use or enjoyment. That too would be far easier than our real responsibilities: to balance pre-

sent needs and future hopes, to preserve our heritage while nurturing its perpetuation, to reach some harmony between the often conflicting demands imposed by nature and humanity.

Producing the Festival and meeting its curatorial and logistical needs is no easy task in itself. It is especially challenging given the need to preserve the Mall's physical resources. Various experiments over the years with different varieties of grass have yielded tougher, sturdier turf. Indeed in 1974, Park Service director Everhardt pointed to the role

The statue in the Lincoln Memorial has seen a lot of things... but it's never seen a quarter-acre planting of Kentucky 14 Burley tobacco sprouting greenly within plug-spittin' distance until today.

— Diana McLellan, *Washington Star*
On the *Kentucky* program, 1973

of the Festival in fostering experimentation, "testing ways of making mass use compatible with environmental preservation."

Concerns about the physical condition of the Mall led to a 1990 report by Syracuse University professor P. J. Craul. Warning of the dangers of soil compaction upon the elm trees, he recommended that all forms of planned activity be restricted in order to protect and preserve the Mall as a greensward.

An independent, empirical, scientific study conducted in 1991 by the U.S. Agricultural Research Service, National Soil Dynamics Laboratory, and Auburn University concluded:

The elms on the Mall are currently in a state of good health. Given the healthy state of the elms and the fact that any damage to the ground cover vegetative resource can be repaired, it appears that the National Park

To find Detroit, turn left at the Washington Monument.

— *USA Today*, comment on the Michigan program, 1987

Service has the capability to maintain the Mall in a state of good health and high aesthetic quality despite heavy casual and special event traffic that impact this area. The question of whether or not to restrict casual and/or special event uses of the Mall therefore seems to be not one of biology, but one of management philosophy and economics.

The 1991 study recommended that the health of the elm trees be tracked over time, and that various steps could be taken to minimize impact and possible deleterious effects. Following these studies, the Festival moved larger-scale events to the middle panels of the Mall, which do not have trees, reduced in-ground trenching for cabling by 90 percent, used non-treed plots for storage and staging areas, used more prefabricated structures requiring no ground penetration, rotated panel use, reduced set-up and take-down time, and located trailers and other structures on non-treed walkways. A follow-up study in 1993 indicated that the elms were growing vigorously and in a state of good health.

Still, the Mall faces resource preservation problems. Drainage problems continue to exist. Traffic moving around downtown Washington may have an adverse effect on the health of the trees. Dutch elm and other diseases have resulted in tree loss. Compaction of the soil and its possible effects upon the elm trees remain a concern for both the National Park Service and the Smithsonian. Long-term and regular maintenance is required and might include stress avoidance measures, management of watering, fertilizing, and pruning schedules, nondestructive soil aeration, and the possible insertion of mesh ele-

ments such as are used in sports fields.

There are other challenges as well. Vendors selling T-shirts along the Mall, on the pathways to the national museums and along the walkways to the monuments, detract from the purposes of these institutions and the aesthetic quality of the park. The right to sell T-shirts and other items has been the subject of regulatory changes and legal dispute. These, too, have impacted the Festival, which has long sold publications, documentary recordings, authentic crafts, and other items on the Mall for the purpose of helping inform and educate its visitors about the people, cultures, and traditions represented — much as a museum shop or park visitors' center. The legal challenges of distinguishing educational from commercial uses, accounting for quality, consistency, and standards in what is sold and how it is sold, are considerable.

Because of its special significance, it is difficult to restrict use of the Mall; nor is it necessarily desirable. Clearly, some forms of regulation are necessary. But First Amendment activities, national celebration events such as the Festival, inaugurations, and possibly other events are logically and intimately connected with the meaning and history of the Mall and its public use.

The need to meet National Park Service demands on Mall use affects the way in which culture is represented at the Festival. Moving larger-scale events to the middle panels of the Mall, which do not have trees, while leaving other elements of the same program under the trees may help the elms. To Festival curators, however, this is like moving a part of an exhibition out of the main hall for reasons other than the internal logic of the subject matter or its display. Hence, performance events may be removed from lower audience density crafts demonstrations at the Festival,



People who might not normally meet *do* at the Festival on the Mall.

Photo by Reed & Susan Erskine, Lightworks



A young visitor learns to make sushi during the *Japan* program in 1986. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

even though they may be closely culturally tied and more understandable in contiguity. Separating food service from food demonstration areas — looking versus eating — provides sensory disjunctures. Removing commerce from culture by locating the Festival shop off the Mall, on the lawn of the National Museum of American History instead of in proximity to the represented cultures, impedes understanding of their often conjoined relationship.

But issues like these aside, the Festival remains a vital part of the Mall's use and function. It continues to serve as a model of how other large-scale public events can utilize this most significant space while preserv-

*Way down yonder in the temporary land of cotton,
just east of the Lincoln Memorial, the Smithsonian
planted a mini-cotton crop.*

—*Washington Post*, Comment on the *Mississippi* program, 1974



Children and adults
learn *wari*, an African
bean and counting
game, at the 1995
Festival.

Photo by Richard Strauss

When we visit Washington and despair at its congressional gridlock, we need to renew our optimism and hope by wandering out the back door and down onto the Mall below the Capitol building during Festival time. It is a celebration of the art of the possible. It is a convocation on a commons by worldwide commoners seeking something to hold in common and finding it in contact.

— Larry McGehee, *Chronicle-Independent*
Camden, South Carolina, 1994

ing its resources and meanings. The Festival promotes dialogue; it offers stunning juxtapositions of people and buildings, official culture and that of grassroots

communities, of tidy, orderly space and the ebb and flow of unfolding events. The Festival joins and contrasts the local and the national. And despite its size, visitor-

ship, and the monumental structure of the Mall, the Festival has always fostered and valued intimacy and personal experience in its presentations.





A Bahamian Junkanoo "rush" presented at the 1994 Festival is reprised in 1996 for the Smithsonian's 150th Birthday Party on the Mall

Photo by Jeff Tinsley

CHAPTER 3

The Festival and the National Museum

The Festival is misnamed as such, but there probably isn't a better word for it. The word "festival" is too often used and misused. The Smithsonian Folklife Festival is not a festival of the same sort as a peasant community's harvest celebration, a special sale day at a shopping center, a religious commemoration, or the ceremonies of a nation's independence day — although it may include aspects of all of them. It doesn't seem like a festival of the sort cities sponsor — a program of events dispersed in space and time called an arts festival — though it does have its own multiple venues and a daily schedule of events. Nor does it seem quite like a folk festival — a concert of pop and revival folk music — though it has featured a range of musicians and repertoire. Nor does it seem much like most international folklore festivals, with their pageantry and theatrical, formally costumed, highly choreographed troupes of entertainers — though again it uses stages, lighting, has its ceremonies, and has included people in costumes. What is the Festival?

The Question of Genre

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival has been likened to many things. Existing as part of the Smithsonian's museum complex, the Festival has been called a "living museum without walls" and a "living cultural exhibit." Former Smithsonian official Dean Anderson said, "Museum is a noun, the Festival is a verb." This highlights the Festival's dynamism and contrasts it with museums, which, in the worst case, are lifeless, sterile, and silent. The term "museum" originally meant the "place of the muse." A museum without musings, music, and amusement — words of the same derivation — would seem to run counter to the original purpose. And, indeed, some of the best museums around are

Museum is a noun, the Festival is a verb.

—Dean Anderson, Undersecretary, Smithsonian Institution, 1986



Shoua Her, a Hmong immigrant to Iowa, displays a tapestry documenting the journey of her community from Southeast Asia to the United States.

Photo by Molly Gordon-Maguire

The Festival is an open-air attic.

— John Leonard
New York Times, 1967

renowned for their ability to make us think, to participate in and confront the lives of people. The Festival can provoke thought, does have music, is amusing at times, has museum-like signs, displays, and so on; but is it a museum? Too temporary, say some. Too outdoors, say others. Too frivolous, says a museum curator. Perhaps if only just the objects appeared and not the people who made, use, and understand them. . . . "Too messy, but in a good way," says another official in charge of museums.

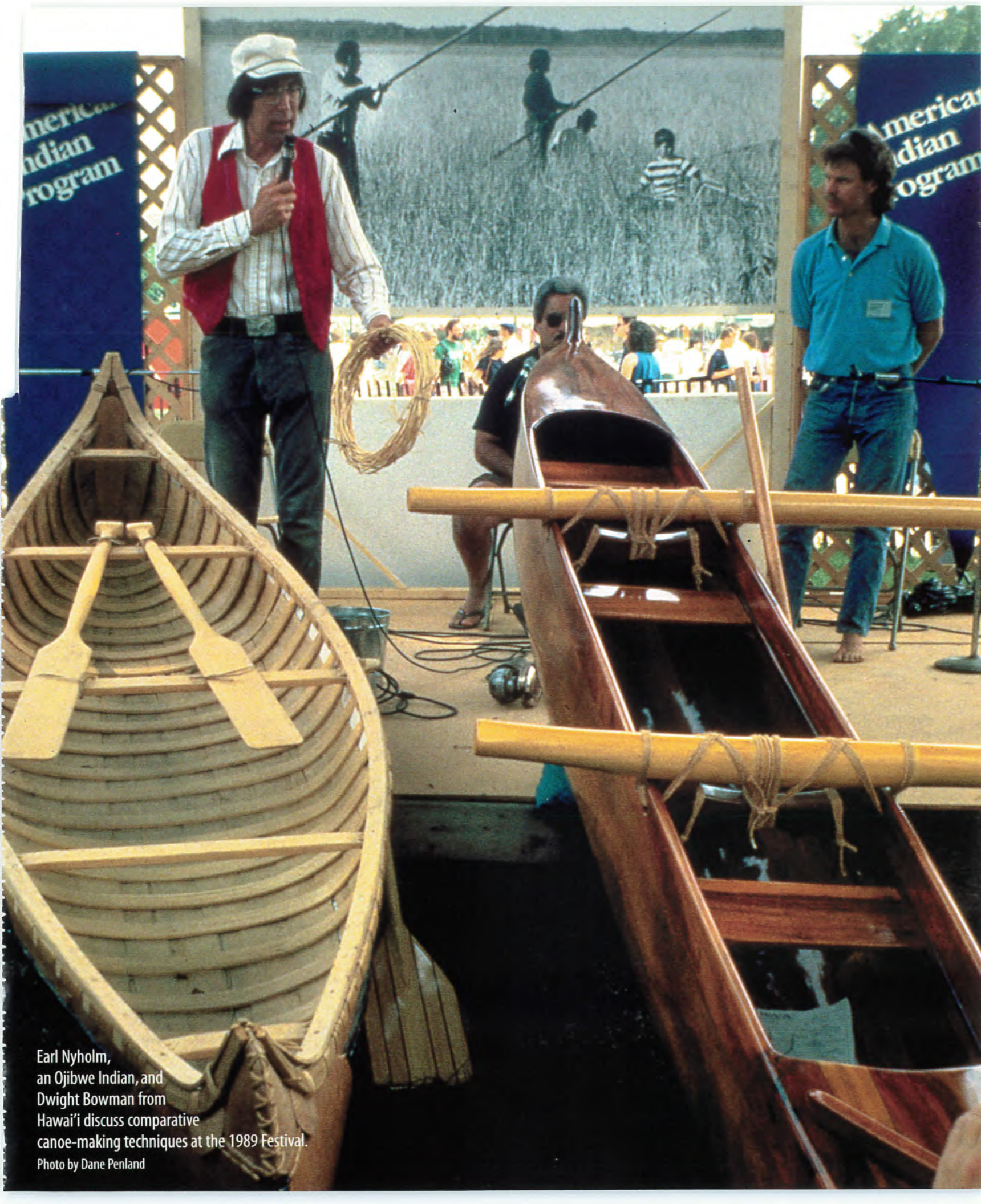
But if not quite a museum, is the Festival more like a zoo, as another colleague once proposed? To be sure, as at a zoo, some living beings come to see other living beings. Zoo organizers provide some information in the form of signs and labels,

The Festival is a ceremony of perpetual expression.

— Herbert Shore
Associates for Cultural Research & Service, 1978

The Festival is a theater of living performance.

— S. Dillon Ripley
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, 1973



Earl Nyholm, an Ojibwe Indian, and Dwight Bowman from Hawai'i discuss comparative canoe-making techniques at the 1989 Festival.

Photo by Dane Penland

and try to present creatures in something of their natural setting. By seeing the creatures, visitors learn about them, appreciate their existence, and may come to understand more general issues. Zoo staff do this, they say, to help preserve the animals and their habitat as part of our diverse biological heritage. Similarly, Festival organizers present people to visitors to display their culture. Signs, labels, banners, reconstructions of bits of home settings, and photographs help visitors understand and interpret what they see, hear, and sense. Hopefully, too, visitors gain an appreciation of displayed traditions, national and worldwide cultural diversity. But there are big differences between the zoo and the Festival. Visitors are just as likely to see themselves on display as “others.” And at the Festival, the people presented talk back and play the major role in shaping their own self-representation.

There are other metaphors for the Festival. Festival director Diana Parker calls it a “cultural DMZ” (demilitarized zone). Some people have likened it to a cultural theme park, others to a street fair and block party. To some it is a series of performances and demonstrations; to others, it is an annual lunch break with free entertainment. For Cajun fiddler Dewey Balfa it was an illustrated book of cultural practice; for tourism officials a promotional event, or a sampler for a trip around the world. For Arkansas musician and teacher Jimmy Driftwood it was an entertaining and substantive graduate course in American culture. For New Mexican weaver Irene Lopez it is a utopian space to appreciate human differences. For the conspiratorial, the Festival is a form of national propaganda, where the state imposes its understandings upon the masses; for the anarchist, the Festival is a demonstration against the cultural hegemony of the state, a reassertion of the people’s ability to make their culture and define themselves. For yet others it is merely a good time.

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival is a complex form of institutional public cultural display that accomplishes a number of dif-

[The Festival] is like walking through a major research project or term paper and, like a good book, one that you can't put down.

— Bernice Johnson Reagon, Cultural historian
Philadelphia Inquirer, 1984



Girls from Iowa demonstrate the importance of basketball as a community event at the 1996 Festival.
Photo by Rick Vargas



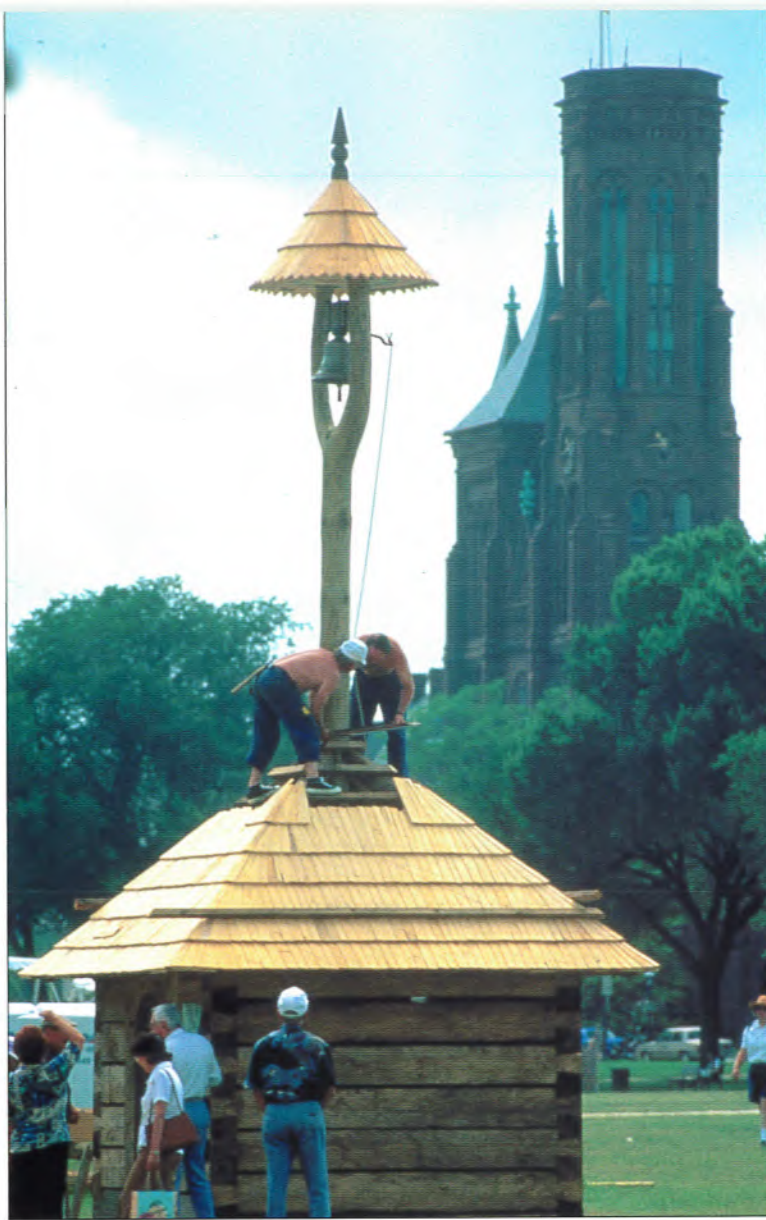
LEFT Hawaiian Marie McDonald made a royal lei for the King of the Ga people of Ghana and presents it to him after much cross-cultural negotiation on how to do so at the 1989 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

RIGHT A New Mexico kitchen, created for the 1992 Festival with modern appliances and “outdoor” horno oven, hosted Czech, Anglo, Hispanic, Pueblo, and African-American cooks from that state.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley

The Festival is a people-to-people celebration in which all of us are participants — now as organizers, now as celebrators, now as audience, as hosts and as guests, as friends and neighbors or as strangers finding that we can speak the same language of mutual enjoyment.

— Margaret Mead
Anthropologist
Redbook, 1975



A traditional belfry was dismantled in the Czech Republic, transported to Washington, and is rebuilt by Czech carpenters on the Mall for the 1995 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Manuel Da Luz
Gonçalves helps
present traditions of his
Cape Verdean
community at the
1995 Festival.

Photo courtesy
Smithsonian Institution



Once a year, America returns to its capital. It brings its crafts, its ideas, its hopes, and its music. But most important, it brings its people, for they are America.

— Caleb Pirtle III, *Southern Living*, 1971

ferent purposes and occupies a variety of conceptual spaces. It can be seen in a number of different ways, and its successes and failures tallied accordingly.

The Festival As a Festival

In general, festivals provide a time out of time. Festivals are liminal moments, temporary pauses or transitions in the mundane, routine flow of events and activities, in which new relationships can be made and old ones reinforced or inverted. Festivals may indeed reinvest the social order with legitimacy — connecting that order to higher powers, cosmic purposes, and sacred history. But festivals may also provide a release valve, so to speak, giving members of society a chance to revolt against the usual order and counter the structure of relationships. Festivals typically conjoin and separate people, magnify and compress space and time.

In the Washington scheme of things, the

Folklife Festival does operate like a festival. It creates its own space on the Mall, a sometimes jarring presence in the midst of official, neat space. It creates a kind of face-to-face community in the shadows of inanimate buildings and the institutions of state. The Festival is messy, it leaks at porous boundaries of participation, time, and event. The Festival does compress time and space, creating an experience and event which are intense but short lived, in which representations are magnified, pushed together, and then, just as quickly, dispersed. And it brings people together — tradition bearers, the public, scholars, officials, administrators, builders, designers, volunteers, etc. — who would not normally interact. As Margaret Mead wrote,

The Festival is a people-to-people celebration in which all of us are participants — now as organizers, now as celebrators, now as audience, as





It is the life of the American folk that we celebrate here today, not their encased artifacts, as important as they may be. For it is the people themselves here in festivals like this across the country that provide us with an understanding of our own community. No curator can convey through a glass display case what the people themselves can say to us directly.

— Mark Hatfield, Senator from Oregon, 1978

A portion of a Mardi Gras parade from New Orleans moves down the Mall at the 1985 Festival. Photo by Jeff Tinsley



The Festival has examined a broad range of community events and rituals, including aspects of a Maryland fox hunt at the 1972 Festival.

Photo courtesy
Smithsonian Institution

The Festival is like National Public Radio without the middle-class accents.

— Henry Allen, *American Culture*, 1987

hosts and as guests, as friends and neighbors or as strangers finding that we can speak the same language of mutual enjoyment.

There is something reassuring in the fact that official Washington can make room for the humanity the Festival seeks to represent. Although the capital feeds on politics and breeds bureaucracy, what it really loves is drama. The Festival provides some of this drama through cultural juxtapositions — a horserace course from the Capitol to the Washington Monument, a Tennessee moon-

shine still in sight of the Justice Department, a Hawaiian lei draped over the statue of “the *baole* guy” (Joseph Henry, the Smithsonian’s first secretary), a buffalo birth on the Mall.

Most festive of all is what happens amongst people who gather to talk, listen, sing, dance, craft, cook, eat, and watch. Unlike the rules and regulations and authoritative voices that come from the buildings, Festival voices are more intimate, a bit more human. The lack of direct personal contact so expected in official Washington is contrasted with the folksiness, perceived or real,



At the 1990 Festival program on the *Musics of Struggle*, Gallaudet University students demonstrate how they used the rhythms of sign language during the “Deaf President Now” movement.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Logger Gary Winnop demonstrates his lumbering skills for the *Alaska* program in 1984.

Photo by Jeff Ploskonka



Nathan Napoka of Hawai'i discusses and demonstrates taro farming techniques at the 1989 Festival. Photo by Dane Penland

The Festival is a living museum without walls of any kind.

— Robert McC. Adams
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, 1986

at the Festival. Indeed, the social space of the Mall and Festival have a certain power that the Smithsonian's Anacostia Museum director Steve Newsome calls "sanctified." This power, coupled with the sense that the Mall is everyone's and no one's at the same time, enables people to cross boundaries they usually wouldn't cross. And when people speak on the Mall at the Festival, they often feel they are doing so with a power they do not ordinarily possess. I think people listen in somewhat the same way.

This makes it hard, if not impossible, for anyone to impose a single, overriding, monological voice upon the Festival. When the Festival works, it is overtaken by the contingents of participants and the contingencies of their participation. We know this, which is why

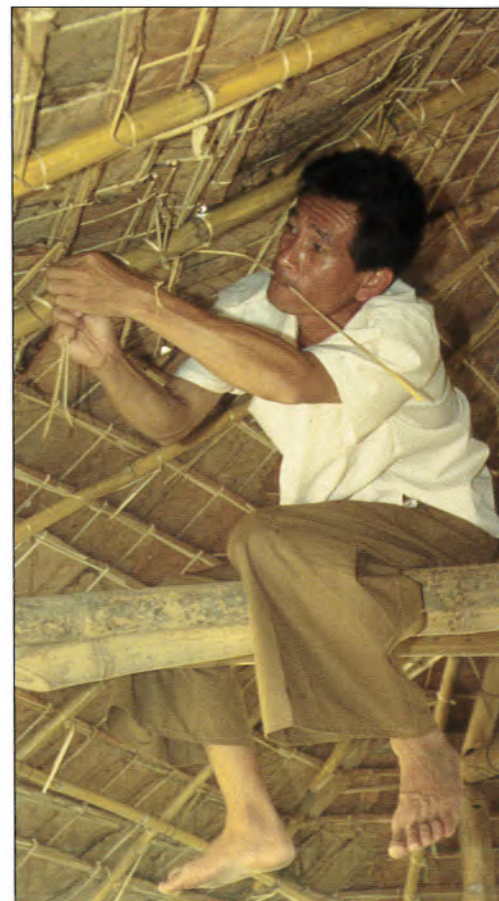
we have to fight both within and outside our own bureaucracies so hard, lest the desire for control squeeze the spirit out of the people.

To some extent, and for its limited time every year, the Festival is also a *Smithsonian* festival of sorts. An "infomercial" in *Business Week* referred to the Festival as the time when the Smithsonian, the "normally stately institution, lets its hair down." This counterstructural theme is evident in *Old Ways in the New World*, a murder mystery by former Smithsonian staffer Richard Conroy that begins:

This is a tale of an imaginary time

A Thai builder demonstrates
thatching techniques at the 1994 Festival.

Photo by Richard Strauss



A performance
of Thai puppetry
engages an
audience.
Photo by Jeff Tinsley





LEFT Narrative sessions such as this for the *Thailand* program enable people to explain their traditions to visitors.

Photo by John Dillaber

BELOW Visiting children learn about Thai masks from a master craftsman. Photo by Beth Laakso



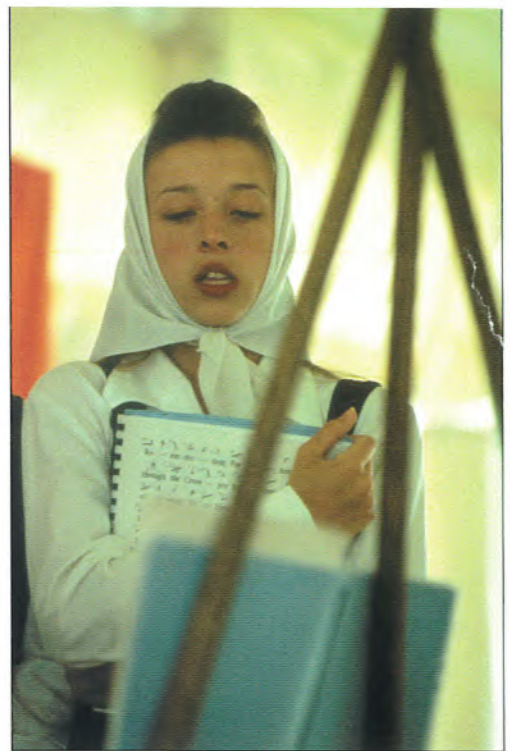
[the 1976 Festival] when the folklorists tried to take over the Smithsonian Institution and how they almost succeeded. And how the traditionalists of the museum were driven to the foul crime of murder to prevent this great catastrophe.

Museums in their most formal ways can project a sense of the inside (spatially and culturally), the serious (almost dour), propriety (laden with valuable objects), and rule bound (no talking, no touching, restricted access). The Festival by contrast not only occurs physically outside but also represents

the outside, associated with the common people, the playful, and the open ended. Given the great popularity of the Festival, attendance by dignitaries, and attention by the press, the normal power relationship on the Mall shifts — the outsiders are in — if only for the duration of the Festival.

The Festival As a Genre of Cultural Representation

Political and poetic dimensions are linked in cultural displays like the Festival. While the Festival may, in some literal way, recall 19th-



ABOVE The 1995 Festival joined Old Believers and Molokans from Russia and the United States in demonstrations of sacred music. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Lois Haskell-Habeytes and Ector Roebuck tell *ananci* stories from the Virgin Islands at the 1990 Festival. Photo by David W. Leiby

Mohammed Habibi and Mahmoud Tutu illustrate the continuity of Egyptian music in Washington, D.C., at the 1995 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



FAR RIGHT Michael Doucet and his group, BeauSoleil, have performed at several Festivals and in 1998 became the first Cajun group to win a Grammy for best traditional music album. Photo by Jeff Tinsley



century forms of cultural exhibitionism and voyeurism like the Columbian Exposition and the St. Louis World's Fair, it is far removed from them. The Festival has benefited from decades of cultural research and discussions about representation. There have been shifts in authoritative voice; collaboration in self-representation, treatment of contemporary contexts, and the forms of discourse have significantly changed, thanks in large part to the efforts of a generation of cultural workers who have labored at the intersection of scholarship, cultural community advocacy, and public

education. Large-scale cultural displays are situated in a public world in which various parties have a stake. Politicians, advocacy groups, rebels, and scholars may use these forms to forward their own agendas, and have become very sophisticated in doing so, as is readily apparent in various case studies of Festival programs.

As a representational genre, living cultural exhibitions like the Festival share features with the zoo, the local fair, town meeting, object-based museum exhibition, ethnographic monograph, talk show, and documentary film. The Festival is a “low-resolu-

tion medium,” as Bob Byington, the Festival's former deputy director, saw it. The Festival differs from a book, film, exhibition, and concert in that it lacks linearity. While the Festival has some highlighted special events, a daily schedule, and structured forms of presentation, many things happen simultaneously. Simply, the Festival offers the ability, indeed the desirability, for people — visitors, staff, participants — to chart their own experiential routes through it. The density of the crowd, the symbolic weight of the location, the significance of the time help make this experience important.



Most distinctively, the Festival offers the immediacy and sentient presence of people possessed of knowledge, skill, and wisdom, who can and do speak for themselves. They can cooperate with as well as challenge the ethnographers who claim to and so often do represent them. They can engage Festival organizers and visitors in dialogue and confrontation. They can speak with, conspire with, and learn much from each other, and with all of this gain skill and standing in representing their own concerns in a complex world. In offering bits, pieces, and slices of life, they provide others a way in to their life as they are willing to publicly represent it. At the same time, Festival staff, as practitioners of our own art gain experience and appreciation in both understanding and conveying representational processes.

Cultural displays like the Festival are risky. Who knows what the musician from Jerusalem and the Hawaiian nationalist will say when they have the microphone and pulpit in front of thousands of people on the Mall? Yet with risk comes the playful ambiguity of the genre, the way in which cultural styles are brought to the organization and experience of the event itself. New forms and syntheses of cultural expression may even emerge at and be invented through the event.

The Smithsonian helps validate the voices of the represented at the Festival. As Smithsonian folklorist Peter Seitel has suggested, this occurs in specific ways, through particular presentations where scholar-ethnographers provide a model of listening and respect for public audiences.

Others may doubt whether there is anything to learn from tradition bearers presented at the Festival. Some entertainers, politicians, and experts who themselves seek the limelight of display (through their performances, appearances, and distinguished lectures) worry about the ethics of the display of people who, they fear, may not have the capacity, talent, or good sense to represent themselves well.

Despite the challenges to and questions about it, the Smithsonian Folklife Festival continues to provide a model for localities, states, and other nations to present grassroots cultural expressions to their citizenry. It is no surprise that many other events draw inspiration and lessons from it. Indeed, even the venerable old Smithsonian drew upon the Festival as genre for the production of its own 150th anniversary celebration. In 1996, the Festival featured a program on Smithsonian workers with over 400 researchers, curators, physical plant workers, horticulturalists, educators, security personnel, administrators, and educators doing their stuff out on the Mall. This was then expanded into a mile-long *Birthday Party* held for some 600,000 visitors on the National Mall on August 10–11, 1996. Some of the Smithsonian ancestors might have been quite surprised, but ultimately heartened, to learn that the Festival genre, historically used to represent others, had become a successful means of representing ourselves.



Janie Hunter talks about her life in the South Carolina low country at the 1991 Festival.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley



If there is one moment that has come to symbolize for me the Smithsonian's identity as a people's place it was that perfect late-summer weekend when we held our Birthday Party on the Mall. As one of the performers put it, for a moment Washington felt like an ideal small town, where we all came together in shared curiosity and inspiration. We don't always get it right; but when we do, this is a magical place.

— I. Michael Heyman, Secretary
Smithsonian Institution
Smithsonian magazine, 1996



During the *Working at the Smithsonian* program at the 1996 Festival, Smithsonian horticulturalists including Sung Do Kim show how they decorate the museum grounds and gardens. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Smithsonian trades- and craftsmen demonstrate their museum repair and restoration skills. Photo by Jeff Tinsley



Louis Fleming of the National Air and Space Museum tells visitors how with specialized equipment he cleans airplanes hanging from the museum's ceilings. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution




Smithsonian researchers discuss their work with the public. Photo by Jeff Tinsley



At the 1996 Festival Smithsonian fabricators demonstrate the knowledge and skills needed to exhibit a stuffed tiger.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Fireworks over the
Smithsonian Castle
by the Gucci
Brothers accompany
Ray Charles' rendition
of "America the
Beautiful" for the
Smithsonian's 150th
Birthday Party on
the Mall.

Photo by Beth Laakso



Designers at the Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum work with visitors at the Smithsonian *Birthday Party*. All photos courtesy Smithsonian Institution



National Museum of the American Indian Director Rick West and representatives of scores of Native peoples assert their presence and that of the new museum on the Mall as part of the celebration.



Visitors to the *Birthday Party* learn about the instrumentation in a jet fighter from National Air and Space Museum specialists.



Mickey Hart, drummer with the Grateful Dead and supporter of Smithsonian efforts to document and preserve traditional music, hosts the *Birthday Party* concert featuring Aretha Franklin, Trisha Yearwood, Buffy Sainte-Marie, and the Smithsonian Jazz Masterworks Orchestra.

Why We Do the Festival

Gladys Widdiss, a Wampanoag Indian from Gay Head on Martha's Vineyard, sat in a rocking chair under a tent on the National Mall. She picked up the microphone to speak to some of the more than one million people who would visit the Festival in 1988. Gladys spoke of her pottery made from the clay of the Gay Head cliffs and of her efforts to teach young people about the traditional Wampanoag respect for the natural environment. She spoke of her own life, and, with her voice cracking from the emotion of the moment, Gladys said:

I'm a Wampanoag Indian grandmother. And that's what I want to be.

I don't ever want to feel ashamed of what I know and who I am. And I want to tell my grandchildren that.

Years ago, my daughter Danielle made a calendar for her preschool art project. For each month she drew an accompanying illustration: Valentine hearts for February, turkeys for November. For July, she drew a picture illustrating fireworks for the Fourth of July, along with three, large, human-like statues in flames. Danielle couldn't explain that her picture evoked the 1985 Festival, when as part of the India program we burned 40-foot-high paper and bamboo statues of the evil king Ravana and his cohorts on the Mall. Instead she recalls that "the fireworks scare away bad things."

In 1987, Alexandre Nikolai Demchenko, deputy director of cultural education at the then USSR Ministry of Culture, was negotiating the terms under which Soviet folk artists and musicians would come to the Festival. "So," he said, "you do not want our best dance academy students to come to your Festival to perform peasant dances. You want the peasants themselves, the real people who do these dances."



Effigies of King Ravana and his cohorts burn on the Mall in 1985, symbolizing the destruction of evil during Hindu Ram-Lila enactments in India.

Photo by Karen Brown

I'm a Wampanoag Indian grandmother. And that's what I want to be. I don't ever want to feel ashamed of what I know and who I am. And I want to tell my grandchildren that.

— Gladys Widdiss, Potter, Gay Head, Massachusetts, 1988



You should be proud of your nationality, you should be proud of your region. I want to respect your culture, you respect my culture. And if we ever learn to do this, America is a beautiful country, but it would be even more beautiful. And we can do that.

— Dewey Balfa, Cajun fiddler, 1982

We are a people from many different backgrounds, and yet one, in the middle of God's Pacific, based on our native Hawaiian heritage which bonds us together in a spirit of love and pride, and built upon by those who came later for a better life, reaching out so that their children's future would be secure. All of this is here for you to enjoy. To you, from the community of communities, to the nation of nations, we bring our spirit of aloha.

— John Waihee, Governor of Hawai'i, 1989



LEFT Dewey Balfa was an exemplary, articulate Cajun fiddler whose participation in the Festival encouraged a renaissance in Cajun culture. Photo by Reed & Susan Erskine, Lightworks



ABOVE White House workers Lillian Parks, Alonzo Fields, Eugene Allen, Armstead Barnett, and Sam Ficklin talk about the history of that institution from their perspective at the 1992 Festival with Worth Long (far left). Photo by Richard Strauss



Cuban performers participate in a Caribbean program at the 1989 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



In 1976 for the Bicentennial Festival, Ethel Mohamed from Belzoni, Mississippi, worked with Festival designer Janet Stratton to make a tapestry illustrating the diversity of American and world cultures based upon the previous years' Festivals. The colorful, memory-style tapestry illustrates folk dancing, cooking demonstrations, musical performances, and children's games on the Mall. According to Ethel, the tapestry is like the Festival — a celebration of all of us joined together.

Gladys, Danielle, Demchenko, and Ethel are each right. We do the Festival to encourage grandmothers to teach their granddaughters, to scare away possible public evil, to give voice to living traditions, and to celebrate our common, though multicultural, humanity.

While the Festival seems to us both logical and valuable, it is viewed by some as an

Cape Verdean *mast* traditions celebrated at the Festival in 1995 indicate the transnational character of the community, and its mixing of cultural symbolism. Photo by Richard Strauss

innocuous diversion and possibly even deceitful. Consider Allan Bloom's views in *The Closing of the American Mind*:

The "ethnic" differences we see in the United States are but decaying reminiscences of old differences that caused our ancestors to kill one another. The animating principle, their soul, has disappeared from them. The ethnic festivals are just superficial displays of clothes, dances and food from the old country. One has to be quite ignorant of the splendid "cultural" past to be impressed or charmed by these insipid folkloric manifestations.... And the blessing given the whole notion of cultural diversity in the United States by the

culture movement has contributed to the intensification and legitimization of group politics, along with a corresponding decay of belief that the individual rights enunciated in the Declaration of Independence are anything more than dated rhetoric.

Accordingly, if this view is correct, it would make little sense to do the Festival: folklife should be relegated to a museum of dead cultures, and the Smithsonian should reject representations of cultural diversity. Why then do we do the Festival? Are our reasons well founded?

For the People to Be Heard

We do the Festival so that people can be heard. The Festival gives voice to people and

National Heritage Fellows at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival

The highest honor the U.S. government bestows on a traditional artist is the National Heritage Fellowship, awarded annually under the auspices of the National Endowment for the Arts.

Honorees have received their awards at the White House and in the U.S. Capitol. The idea for the awards came from Bess Lomax Hawes, the NEA Folk Arts Program founding director, who had been deputy director of the Festival during the U.S. Bicentennial. For the first two years, 1982-83, the fellowships were awarded at the Festival. As of 1997, 209 fellowships had been given; 126 awardees have appeared in one year or another at the Festival.

Juan Alindato, carnival mask maker, Puerto Rico

Eppie Archuleta, Hispanic weaver, Colorado

Alfonse "Bois Sec" Ardoin, Creole accordionist, Louisiana

Howard Armstrong, African-American string band musician, Michigan

Pedro Ayala, Mexican-American accordionist, Texas

Kenny Baker, bluegrass fiddler, Tennessee

Dewey Balfa, Cajun fiddler, Louisiana

Louis Bashell, Slovenian-American accordionist, Wisconsin

Kepka Belton, Czech-American egg painter, Kansas

Sister Mildred Barker, Shaker singer, Maine

Jerry Brown, Southern potter, Alabama

Natividad Cano, *mariachi* musician, California

Liz Carroll, Irish-American fiddler, Illinois

Inez Catalon, French Creole singer, Louisiana

Gladys Leblanc Clark, Acadian spinner and weaver, Louisiana

Jack Coen, Irish-American flutist, New York



Adam Popovich and his brothers play at the 1973 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Betty PISO Christenson, Ukrainian-American egg decorator, Wisconsin

Raphael Cepeda, *bomba* musician, Puerto Rico

John Cephas, Piedmont blues musician, Virginia

Nicholas & Elena Charles, Yup'ik wood-carvers, Alaska

Clifton Chenier, Creole accordionist, Louisiana

Joseph Cormier, Cape Breton fiddler, Massachusetts

Elizabeth Cotten, African-American singer, New York

Burlon Craig, Southern potter, North Carolina

Paul Dahlin, Swedish-American fiddler, Minnesota

Clyde Davenport, Appalachian fiddler, Kentucky

Belle Deacon, Athabascan basket maker, Alaska

Giuseppe & Raffaella DeFranco, Italian-American musicians, New Jersey

Sonia Domsch, Czech-American lace maker, Kansas

Lyman Enloe, old-time fiddler, Missouri

Albert Fahlbusch, dulcimer musician, Nebraska

Fairfield Four, gospel singers, Tennessee

Michael Flatley, Irish-American dancer, Illinois

Canray Fontenot, African-American Creole fiddler, Louisiana

Thomas Edison "Brownie" Ford, cowboy singer, Louisiana

Juan Gutiérrez, Puerto Rican musician, New York

Jose Gutiérrez, *jarocho* musician, California

Richard Hagopian, Armenian-American musician, California

Periklis Halkias, Greek-American clarinetist, New York

Charles Hankins, boat-builder, Louisiana



Robert Jr. Lockwood performs in 1991, here with Ruth Brown. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Joe Heaney, Irish-American singer, New York

Wayne Henderson, Appalachian luther, Virginia

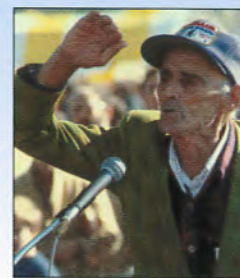
Bea Ellis Hensley, blacksmith, North Carolina

Ray Hicks, Appalachian storyteller, North Carolina

Stanley Hicks, Appalachian musician, North Carolina

John Lee Hooker, blues musician, California

Solomon & Richard Ho'opi'i, Hawaiian musicians, Hawai'i



Nimrod Workman performs at the 1978 Festival. Photo by Fred Herter, Jr.

Janie Hunter, African-American storyteller, South Carolina

John Jackson, African-American musician, Virginia

Nathan Jackson, Tlingit woodcarver, Alaska

Tommy Jarrell, Appalachian fiddler, North Carolina

Bessie Jones, Sea Island singer, Georgia

Meali'i Kalama, Hawaiian quilter, Hawai'i

Nalani Kanaka'ole & Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahela, hula masters, Hawai'i

Raymond Kane, slack key musician, Hawai'i

Maude Kegg, Ojibwe storyteller, Minnesota

Ilias Kementzides, Pontic Greek-American musician, Connecticut

Will Keys, Appalachian banjo player, Tennessee

Lily May Ledford, Appalachian musician, Kentucky

Esther Littlefield, Tlingit regalia maker, Alaska

Valerio Longoria, Mexican-American accordionist, Texas

Robert Jr. Lockwood, Delta blues musician, Ohio

George Lopez, Hispanic woodcarver, New Mexico

Wade Mainer, Appalachian banjo player, Michigan

Mike Manteo, Italian-American marionettist, New York

Hugh McGraw, shape-note singer, Georgia

McIntosh County Shouters, African-American spiritual/shouters, Georgia

Lanier Meaders, Southern potter, Georgia

John Mealing, African-American railroad work song singer, Alabama

D. L. Menard, Cajun singer, Louisiana

Lydia Mendoza, Mexican-American singer, Texas

Art Moilanen, Finnish accordionist, Michigan

Glenn Ohrlin, cowboy singer, Arkansas

Vernon Owens, Anglo-American potter, North Carolina

Irvan Pérez, Isleno singer, Louisiana

Elijah Pierce, African-American carver/painter, Ohio

Adam Popovich, *tamburitz*a musician, Illinois

Hystercine Rankin, African-American quilter, Mississippi

Ola Belle Reed, Appalachian banjo picker/singer, Maryland

Almeda Riddle, Ozark ballad singer, Arkansas

Georgeann Robinson, Osage ribbon worker, Oklahoma

LaVaughn Robinson, tap dancer, Pennsylvania

Mone & Vanxay Saenphimmachak, Lao-American weavers, Missouri

Mark Savoy, Cajun accordion maker, Louisiana

Earl Scruggs, bluegrass banjo player, Tennessee

Duff Severe, saddle maker, Oregon

Joe Shannon, Irish-American piper, Illinois



John Cephas with Phil Wiggins has performed at numerous Festivals. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

Harry Shourds, decoy carver, New Jersey

Kenny Sidle, Anglo-American fiddler, Ohio

Philip Simmons, ornamental ironworker, South Carolina

Howard "Sandman" Sims, tap dancer, New York

Willie Mae Ford Smith, gospel singer, Missouri

Dolly Spencer, Inupiat doll maker, Alaska

Clyde "Kindy" Sproat, cowboy singer, Hawai'i

Simon St. Pierre, French-American fiddler, Maine

Ralph Stanley, bluegrass musician, Virginia

Alex Stewart, cooper, Tennessee

Margaret Tafoya, Pueblo Indian potter, New Mexico

Liang-xing Tang, Chinese-American *pipa* player, New York

Sanders "Sonny" Terry, blues musician, New York

Ada Thomas, Chitimacha basket maker, Louisiana

Jenny Thlunaut, Tlingit blanket weaver, Alaska

Paul Tiulana, Eskimo mask maker, Alaska

Lucinda Toomer, African-American quilter, Georgia

Henry Townsend, blues musician, Missouri

Othar Turner, African-American fife player, Mississippi

Cleofes Vigil, Hispanic singer, New Mexico

Douglas Wallin, Appalachian ballad singer, North Carolina

Lem Ward, decoy carver, Maryland

Newton Washburn, basket maker, New Hampshire

Arthel "Doc" Watson, Appalachian musician, North Carolina

Arbie Williams, African-American quilter, California

Dewey Williams, shape-note singer, Alabama

Horace "Spoons" Williams, spoons player, Pennsylvania

Melvin Wine, Appalachian fiddler, West Virginia

Nimrod Workman, Appalachian ballad singer, West Virginia

Cornelius Wright, Jr., African-American railroad work song singer, Alabama

Kau'i Zuttermeister, hula master, Hawai'i



John Lee Hooker plays at the 1983 Festival, here with George Thorogood. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

Narciso Martinez, Texas-Mexican accordionist/composer, Texas

Marie McDonald, lei maker, Hawai'i

Sylvester McIntosh, Crucian musician, U.S. Virgin Islands

Brownie McGhee, blues guitarist, California

Bill Monroe, bluegrass musician, Tennessee

Vanessa Paukeigope Morgan, Kiowa regalia maker, Oklahoma

Seisho "Harry" Nakasone, Okinawan-American musician, Hawai'i

Joyce Doc Tate Nevaquaya, Comanche flutist, Oklahoma



Sonia Domsch demonstrates lace work at the 1994 Festival. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

The closer you look at us, the more you will see. At this Festival, we can see ourselves, not as others see us, or think they see us, but as we really are.

— Robert Ray, Chair, Iowa Sesquicentennial Commission, 1996

Bahamians came to fully appreciate that we do in fact have a rich cultural tradition of which we can be justifiably proud. On behalf of the government and people of The Bahamas, I want to thank you.

— Hubert Ingraham, Prime Minister, The Bahamas, 1995

cultures not otherwise likely to be heard in a national setting. The Festival emphasizes folk, tribal, ethnic, occupational, and regional traditional culture, generally non-elite and noncommercial forms created in communities throughout the United States and abroad. It is the culture of people trained by word of mouth and practice, doing what they do largely for members of their own family, town, city, social group, or religious community. The Festival has been instrumental in representing the cultures of particular groups who often do not appear in the nation's cultural consciousness. The Festival has been a leader in illustrating the occupational cultures of working people — taxicab drivers, waiters, firefighters, railway workers — and the cultures of deaf people, of children, and of new immigrant groups.

By enabling culture bearers to speak from the “bully pulpit” of the National Mall, the Festival disseminates alternative forms of aesthetics, history, and culture. Musical performances, crafts, foodways demonstrations, and other programmatic activities meet Smithsonian standards of authenticity, cultural significance, and excellence. Their

placement in a national museum setting conveys their value to artists, to home communities, to general audiences, and to specialists.

Some worry that “lesser others” will be embarrassed in public or exploited for their “otherness” in front of Festival crowds. Sometimes there is good cause to worry. But sometimes it is the worriers themselves who are most embarrassed, and who either from their own shame, romanticism, or paternalism would prefer to talk for those “others.” From my point of view, the problem is not in giving people, all sorts of people who have something cultural to say, the center stage. The issue is the quality and quantity of mediation — how to effectively provide the ways by which people can speak for themselves. We have found that people who come to the Festival are pretty skilled in self-representation, or get to be so quite quickly.

When we ask crucial questions to former Smithsonian Folklife Festival participants about their experience, the results are overwhelmingly positive. In surveys, 81 percent rate their Festival experience as “excellent,” 18 percent as “good”; very few rate their

experience as “fair,” no one bad. When we ask participants if they'd come back again, an overwhelming 86 percent say “definitely yes”; almost all the rest respond “maybe yes.” Participants like the Festival, generally feel they are well represented and that they impart some useful information to visitors. The majority also feel the Festival has a positive effect on their life and that of their community.

So That People May Be Encouraged

We do the Festival so that practitioners may be encouraged to pass on their skills and knowledge. Much of popular mass culture suggests to traditional practitioners that they are anachronisms, practicing forms of culture and art that have lost their vitality and beauty. The Festival is a way of saying to such people, “What you do is valuable, so valuable that the Smithsonian Institution would like you to show it to the nation.” This recognition — of particular crafts, musical styles, verbal art, folk medical knowledge, occupational lore — provides encouragement to the practitioner and is sometimes a source of strength back home. Some people gain an understanding or appreciation of their own cultural contribution and may promote and transmit the tradition with greater resolve as a result of Festival participation. Over the years, the Festival has had this revitalizing effect on Cajun culture in Louisiana, among various American Indian nations, among African-American communities, among stone carvers. In other countries such as India, Festival participation contributed to the effort of street performers and itinerants to gain rights to practice their arts and gain title to their land. Similar effects are reported elsewhere. In a survey of participants, 63 percent indicated the Festival had a direct, substantial impact upon their lives. Some 56 percent reported the experience had positively affected their community.

The Smithsonian Festival has sometimes helped nations, states, and territories, work-



Smithsonian Folklife Festival Participant Survey

The Festival experience was:

Excellent81%
 Good18%

Would you come back?

Definitely yes86%
 Maybe yes13%

Has the Festival made an impact on your life?

Definitely63%

Has the Festival affected your community?

Definitely56%

Mililani Allen teaches coconut weaving to children during the 1989 Festival program on Hawai'i.

Photo by Richard Strauss

Being a participant in the Festival was certainly the highlight of my life.

— Lloyd Snow, Musician, Castana, Iowa, 1996

We are very much aware of the impact this Festival has had on our own states and regions. The cultural traditions brought out by the Smithsonian are worthy of respect, celebration, and scholarship on home turf.

— Mark Hatfield, Senator from Oregon, 1978

ers, and communities reconceive their identity. Letters from officials of other nations, from governors, senators, community leaders, and tribal heads, often attest to this. These kinds of helpful though intangible effects are also felt by individuals, who have sent scores and scores of unsolicited letters asserting the direct impact of the Festival experience upon their lives.

Participants' experience in developing their own means of self-presentation and interpretation as they interact with Festival staff, experts, and the public often helps back home and in other exhibition contexts. In some cases culture bearers have sought professional training and advanced educational opportunities, partly as a result of their Festival experience. They have used this training, combined with their own knowledge, to teach about their cultures in universities and to develop and run programs and exhibits at museums, including the Smithsonian.

As for more tangible impacts, Indian craftspeople gained direct income as a result of Festival participation in 1985 — so much so that a foundation, formed with the help of Jackie Kennedy Onassis and Liz Moynihan, helped channel millions of dollars in sales, and resulting financial benefit, back to India. Festival participants have received recording contracts and royalties; some have started their own businesses; others have

developed strategies for their communities to gain from cultural tourism, performances, and other projects.

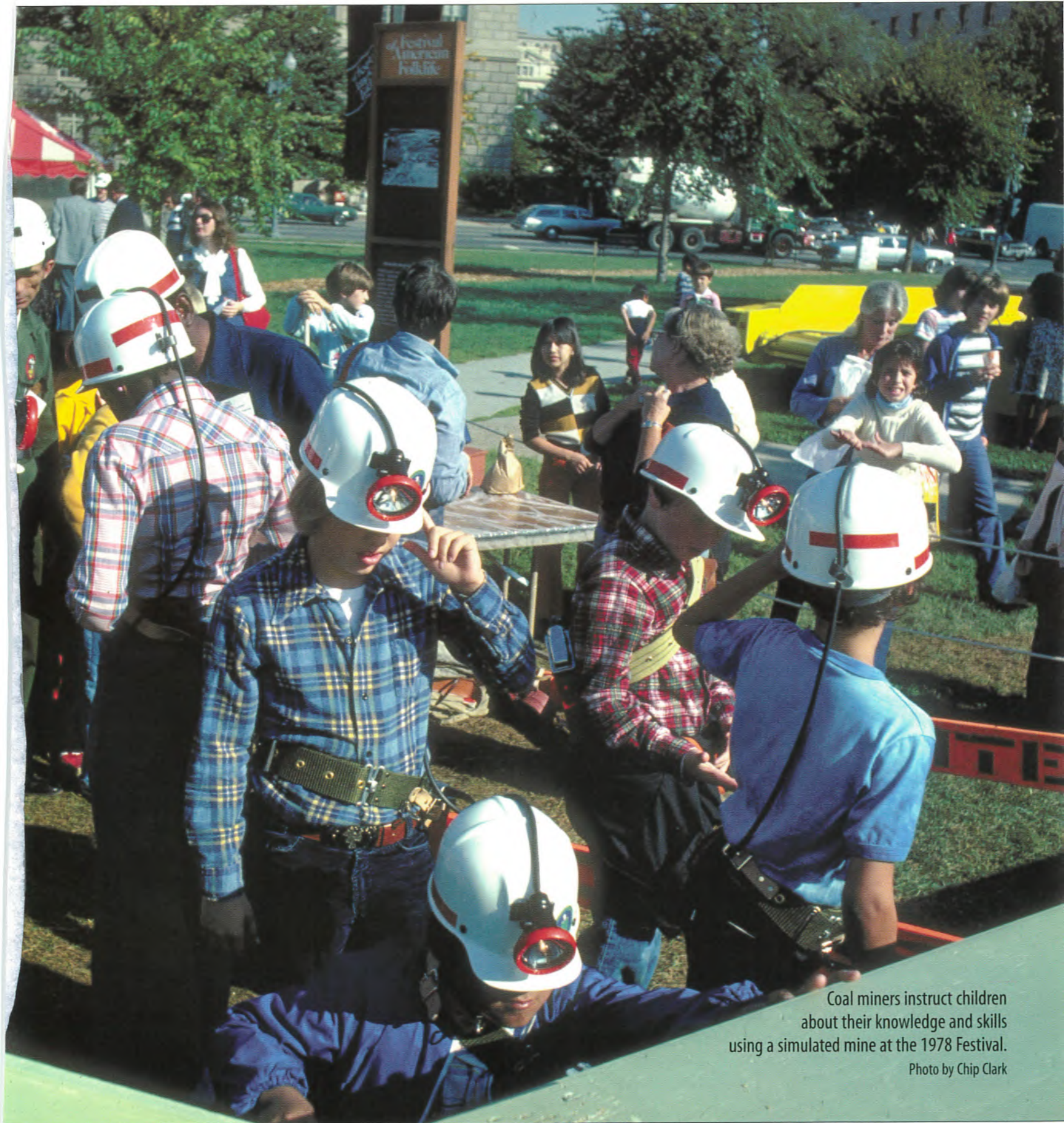
The Festival has also made a difference in establishing and supporting local institutions, archives, and professional positions in states — for example in Michigan, Iowa, and New Hampshire — and in other nations.

So That We Learn

The Festival provokes dialogue, not didacticism. It contributes to the broad educative function of the national museums, providing a neutral ground for approaching people different from oneself.

The Smithsonian Festival has illustrated a tremendous range of what might be considered grassroots culture. It has, by its very nature, defined as cultural forms of expression that many would overlook. It has addressed world regions and city neighborhoods, world religions and very localized ritual systems, transnational ethnic groups and complex national ones, blue- and white-collar occupations. We've also looked at the culture of groups like the deaf and done comparative, thematic programs, from the musics of struggle to the sounds of the sacred. And while the blues, Appalachian string music, *conjunto*, Cajun music, and Native American drumming are mainstays, over the years there have been a Quaker





Coal miners instruct children about their knowledge and skills using a simulated mine at the 1978 Festival.
Photo by Chip Clark

Reasons Not to Do the Festival?

There have been critiques of the Festival from its inception, some serious, others spurious. In most cases, critical understanding and assessment of its purposes have contributed to making the Festival a better, more focused, cogent activity. Some people see ways of perfecting the Festival; others think it is fundamentally flawed either because its goals are wrong, or because it is not a viable way of fulfilling the purposes it sets out.

When it was first produced in 1967, some Washingtonians accused Smithsonian secretary S. Dillon Ripley of turning the Mall into “a midway.” They thought the Festival was mere song and dance, diversionary entertainment that distracted from the serious nature of the Mall and its surrounding institutions. Within the Smithsonian, several curators argued that the tradition bearers on the Mall were not exemplary, true practitioners of their cultures, but rather marginal, debased survivors, who imperfectly imitated traditions which had died decades, even centuries, earlier. They saw no educational value in the performances and demonstrations — true knowledge, they asserted, resided in their own historical studies. And there was certainly no reason to encourage Festival participants to pass on their flawed artistry or skill.

In the early 1970s, various scholarly and expert observers like David Whisnant, Rayna Green, Herb Shore, Bruce Nickerson, Roy Bryce-Laporte, Peter Seitel, and others were asked to assess the Festival. While their assessments were generally positive, several recurring negatives emerged. Educational materials were not clear enough to audiences, presentations were of mixed quality, and historical background was lacking.

Several staff who worked on the Festival in the mid-1970s questioned whether the concentration on traditional folk culture had a deleterious impact on public understanding of the cultural groups at the Festival. Representation of minority culture groups by their folk traditions might leave visitors falsely thinking that these groups have no fine arts or had made no contributions to theater, literature, or popular music.

Others in the mid-1970s found that Festival logistics and arrangements for participants were not as strong as they needed to be. Arrangements put strains on them, and ran counter to the very purpose of honoring them. Richard Bauman, Inta Carpenter, and a team of graduate students from Indiana University offered similar criticism in a 1987 study, and went further to suggest that participants have their own understandings of the Festival, their own purposes for participating in it — ones not necessarily shared by the Smithsonian.

Charles Camp and Tim Lloyd, who had worked on the Festival, wrote a paper, “Six Reasons Not to Produce Folklife Festivals,” published in 1982. They perceived a lack of evidence to support the thinking that folklife festivals actually help folk culture, educate and inform the public about folk culture, or serve as a public celebration of a rich and diverse cultural heritage.

In 1993 Robert Cantwell published *Ethnomimesis*, in part about the Festival. He claimed that people at the Festival become actors of their own ethnicity, that the Festival constructs an image of people not of their making, and then manipulates them and visitors in a magical though pleasurable rite of public theater.

And in 1994, Richard and Sally Price published *Maroons on the Mall*, arguing that folklife festivals are so fundamentally flawed that they are discredited, immoral acts, where producers put exotic people on display, patronizingly exploiting the powerless for the entertainment of the powerful.

Responses to these criticisms have been made in scholarly journals, at professional meetings, in other published studies such as Laurie Sommers’ *Michigan on the Mall*, and Richard Kurin’s *Reflections of a Culture Broker*. They have also been made by Festival staff, in their practice, and by Festival participants — who, refreshingly, often take issue with what others have to say about them.

clambake; a Hawaiian general store where people could “talk story”; farmers growing taro, corn, potatoes, and filling out forms; gardeners; indoor and outdoor cooks; community celebrations; wakes and memorial services; a few weddings; a birth; cowboys and cowgirls; trial lawyers; Indian lacrosse, Cambodian volleyball, girls’ basketball; and Smithsonian security guards.

People learn two types of things at the Festival. One is a general message that goes something like this: the world and the country are full of interesting people with a variety of cultural traditions — and that’s okay, even good. The second thing at least some people learn is particular information — where Cape Verde is on a map, that there are such people as Maroons, that there’s a legacy of French song styles in Missouri, that Amana makes more than radar ranges, and so on. It is easy to observe people at the Festival reading sign text, looking intently at maps and photographs, asking questions at workshops, and studying someone’s musical style during a performance. There are numerous cases where visitors, staff, and even other participants become entranced with a particular tradition, where the Festival experience provides an epiphany of sorts. In such cases, visitors have often gone off to visit or study with the participant after the Festival in order to learn more. We also find children who, as a result of the Festival, start learning more about a tradition from their parents or other elders. And we’ve had several people who, through their Festival experience, decided to go to graduate school for advanced training on something relating to their experience.

Surveys of Festival participants and visitors confirm these observations. More than 95 percent of participants surveyed thought that the public actually learned from what they did at the Festival — even though many thought they could have done an even better job. In a 1994 survey, 86 percent of visitors thought participants did a good job in conveying knowledge about their tradi-

The Festival is the surest antidote for what ails America down deep. Too bad there isn't more of it.

— William Fulbright, Senator from Arkansas, 1970

At the Folklife Festival, everyone gets to be neighbors.

— Phyllis Richman, *Washington Post*, 1987

This woman came up to me and said, "Can you tell me when any group will be playing 'America the Beautiful'? I said, "Ma'am, every group here is singing that song in their own special way."

— Mike Herter, Stage manager, 1987

The Festival is a Walt Whitman sampler of this country's culture.

— Richard Harrington, *Washington Post*, 1986

Festival goers find a world in miniature on the National Mall — an international version of the county fair.

— *Destinations* magazine, 1993

The Smithsonian had one component of the Festival called "Old Ways in the New World." I was hired to do the Irish-American part of it, and it was that research, going around the country for a few months, seeing what was there, that really opened all the doors to me and enabled me to find out what a wealth of Irish music there was in America. That was a pivotal event because it brought musicians from Ireland into contact with musicians from America. It was a major coming together for the scene here in America.

— Mick Maloney, Musician and folklorist, 1995

I grew up in a very Russian, very Molokan community in San Francisco. I never really thought of myself in any other way other than as a Russian Molokan. I guess we were very insular, and did not see our connections to anyone else. The Festival has now changed all this. Standing on the Mall, seeing the wealth of cultural heritage under those beautiful trees in the midst of Washington, I had the realization, and the feeling for the first time in my life that I too was an American. That I had a place here. And that my Russian, Molokan heritage made me part of America, not separate from it.

— Edward Samarin, Festival participant, 1995

tion. Some 80 percent think they learned something at the Festival; only 13 percent thought that no learning took place. Some 65 percent indicated that what they learned was interesting and enlightening.

Another study in 1997 by Krista Thompson, an Emory University-Rockefeller Humanities fellow, pointed to the centrality of the tradition bearer in conveying knowledge. Visitors ranked the quality of participant performances and demonstrations highest, followed by participant explanations of their traditions. Festival program book articles, presentations by scholars, and content signs followed in perceived importance.

The educational function of the Festival is recognized by teachers, who use its presentations in developing curriculum units and particular lesson plans. Additionally, teachers use education kits we've produced from Festival research and documentation.

The Festival also contributes to the development of scholarship and museology. Festival programs are based on research. This research is usually multidisciplinary, involving folklore, ethnomusicology, cultural anthropology, history, cultural geography, various ethnosciences, and area and ethnic studies. In its methodology, our research veers away from the monographic, tending toward group efforts involving academic, museum, and community scholars.

Descriptive and analytic efforts focused on particular traditions are balanced by synthetic attempts to understand and present larger wholes. A considerable amount of fieldwork and archival research may be accomplished in the course of Festival program development. Through the course of Festival research, linkages are established for scholars, community people, and institutions that have resulted in products beyond the Festival — books, dissertations, recordings, radio programs, and documentary films. Just as the writing of an ethnography can sharpen the understanding of a culture, so does curating a Festival program aid the process of synthesizing knowledge. Festival programs, such as

As an African American I was particularly affected when learning of the Maroons. That was never in the history books I read.

— C. Chapelle, Friend of the Festival, 1996

Just when it seems that the nation has been McNuggeted, Roseanned, and Classic Rocked into dull sameness, the Festival comes along to prove otherwise.

— Marsha Mercer, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 1989

To celebrate my becoming a citizen of the United States, we went to Washington, D.C. I saw a huge July 4th parade and got to visit the White House too. While both these events were fun and appropriate, nothing could compare to the thrill of attending the Festival on the Mall.

— L. Vickers, Festival visitor, 1996



Jesse Jackson joins a discussion with Maroon leaders at the 1992 Festival. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

those on the African diaspora, help generate new and important scholarly understandings of cultural relationships.

The Festival contributes to the development of methods for the representation of culture. Folklorists, art historians, semioticians, exhibition designers, and others are continually involved in exploring the variegated means by which cultures may be represented in museum contexts. Mannequins and objects in glass cases provide one of the older means of museum exhibitry, now enhanced by interactive computer terminals and screens, talking robots, and multimedia presentations. The Festival has long served as a model for museum-based living cultural exhibitions and as a laboratory for experimenting with new presentational formats and theories of presentation.

So That We Celebrate Cultural Democracy

The Smithsonian's Festival, and I think most folklife festivals, offer a forum for the inclusion of cultural diversity within a civil society; diverse means of expression find a valuable place within a larger, global, or national whole.

This inclusionary spirit prompts extraordinary sharing among participants. It happens at special moments, either on the Mall or back at the hotel out of public view. New experiences and ways of thinking arise from the juxtaposition of cultures at the Festival. For example, a saint's day procession in 1988 was recreated on the Mall by Italian and Portuguese Americans from Massachusetts. As the procession reached the *Migration to Washington, D.C.* program, Salvadorans awaited with traditional sawdust drawings, which in Latin America are to be trod upon by processions. The Italian and Portuguese Americans took their cues from the Salvadorans and participated in the ritual. Similarly, Russian singers greeted the procession with songs to saints, and the people from Massachusetts hugged the singers, cry-

ing and dancing. More commonly, musical juxtapositions take place at the hotel, where musicians from India have jammed with Cajuns, Eskimos have sung with Koreans, Azerbaijanis have played with Greeks. The Festival too becomes a topic of cultural creativity. Bahamian Kayla Edwards and the Dacey Doh singers composed a Festival anthem in 1994, Zuni Roger Cellicion a flute piece in 1992, and Massachusetts craftspeople a multimedia sculpture of their common experience. While participating in the 1994 Festival, temple painter Sakaya Khunpolpitak redrew the Mall in a Thai aesthetic style. He saw the Mall as the American *sanam luang*, the “field of kings” in central Bangkok where major events of national scope take place. Like the Festival, these forms of expression are ephemeral, but often unpredictable, emergent, and quite creative. U. S. Virgin Islanders discovered some of their root traditions when they were co-featured at the Festival with Senegal in 1990. This led to further

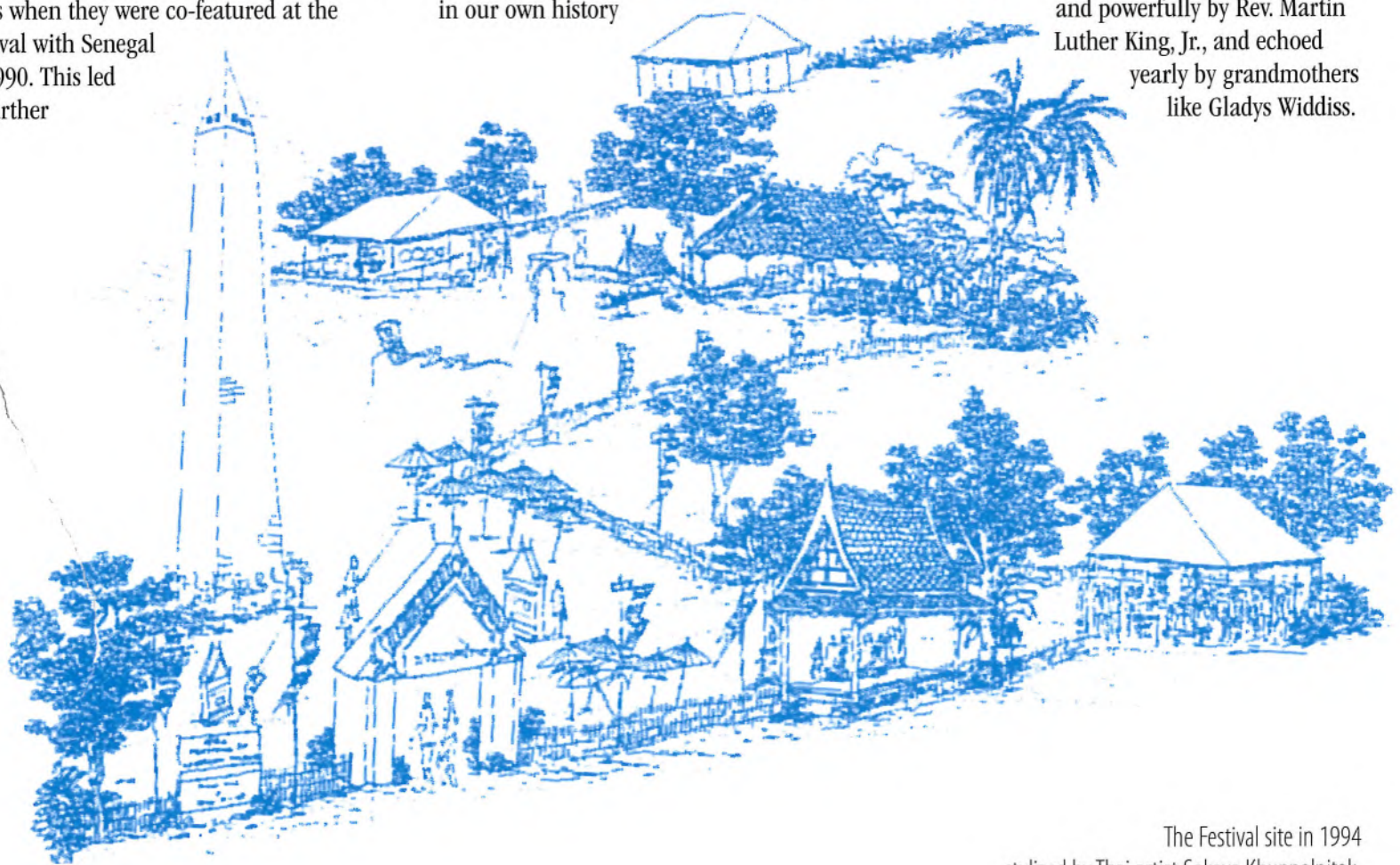
cultural exchange of artists in ensuing years.

Sometimes the exchange has been sustained among individuals. During the 1986 Festival a Tennessee cooper observed and started sharing his knowledge with a sake cask maker from Japan. He wanted to learn more about cask making from a Japanese perspective and eventually received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to study in Japan with his fellow craftsman. The influence of Japanese techniques and aesthetics may in the future emerge back in Tennessee, and is likely to baffle future archeologists.

The Festival provides a metaphor for our own national culture. America’s political and legal history establishes a context for the intensely public display of our cultural diversity and aspirations at the Festival. There are many countries of the world in which the Festival could not occur. There are also times in our own history

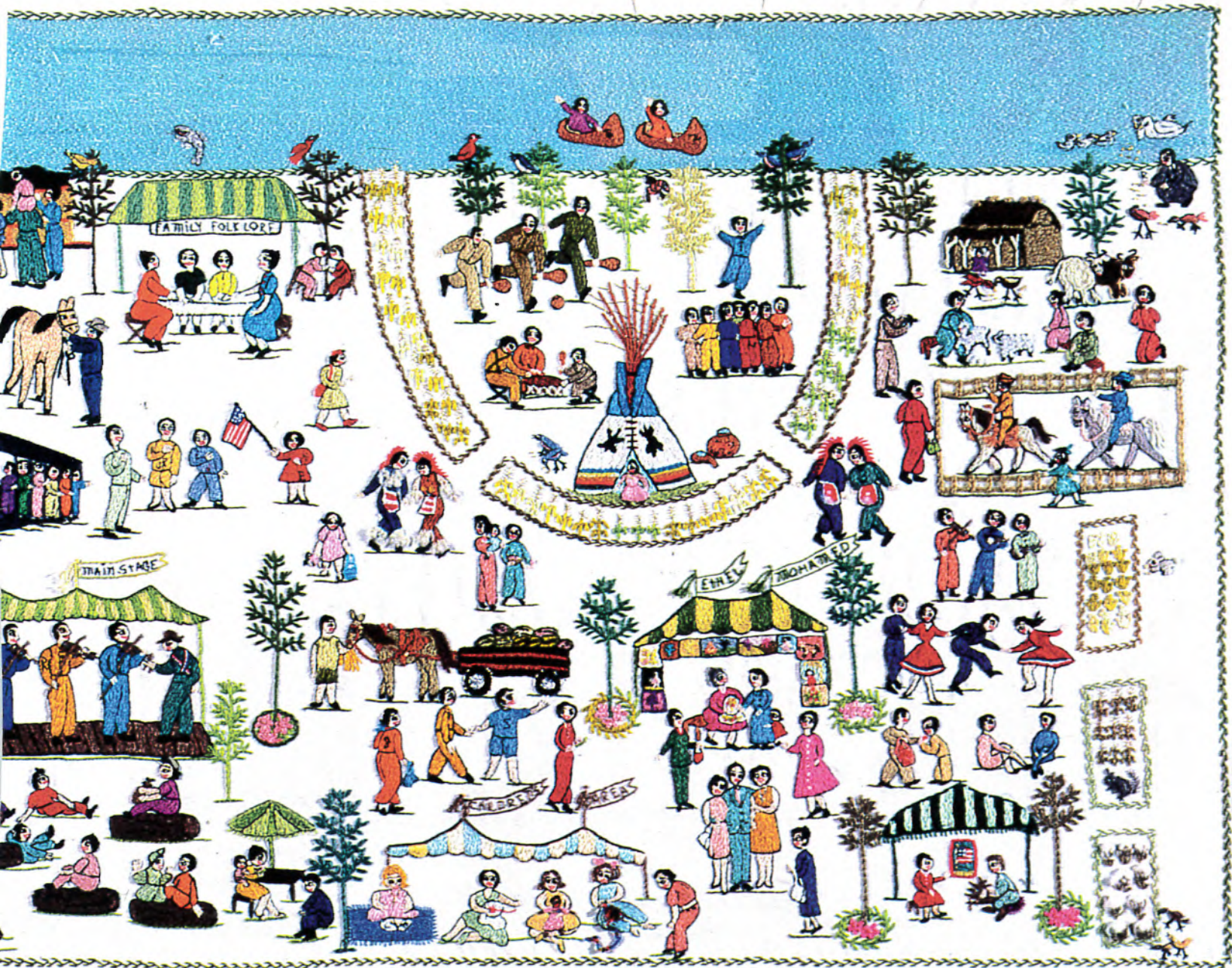
when the Festival would be untenable, when fears of certain cultures, intolerance of minorities, the narrowing of accepted values, racism, anti-Semitism, and other forms of cultural discrimination and hatred subvert the principles enunciated in our political structures and laws.

The Festival is tied to our freedom. It is both a vehicle as well as an indicator of an open national cultural conversation. The Festival makes us proud, not chauvinistically proud but, as Secretary Ripley used to say, quietly proud of who we are. And it is through that understanding and appreciation of who we are that we appreciate others. The Festival is a symbol of our ability as a nation to find strength in our diversity rather than insist on a homogeneous, singular national, or yet worse, human culture. It is no accident that the Festival is tied in time and place to a dream enunciated so clearly and powerfully by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and echoed yearly by grandmothers like Gladys Widdiss.



The Festival site in 1994 stylized by Thai artist Sakaya Khunpolpitak.





This tapestry by Mississippian Ethel Mohamed captures Festival activities on the Mall for the Bicentennial.

Producing the Festival

In Smithsonian terms, the Festival is a museum, and its programs are akin to exhibitions. The Festival, like the museums, has a director, and the programs have curators. As with other exhibitions, Festival programs are based upon research and professional, scholarly review. The production of the Festival is affected by numerous variables — Smithsonian priorities, available funds and resources, the desires and interests of the many people and organizations involved, and the logistics and contingencies of implementation. The Festival faces some additional variables because it is held outdoors, involves so many overlapping jurisdictions, and deals with people — intimately as participants, and, in large scale, with thousands of visitors at a time. Nonetheless, there are certain general features of and constraints upon the Festival and its programs that serve as a guide for production.

Festival Basics

The Festival, despite its sometimes counter-structural image, is an integral activity of the Smithsonian. The Festival is part of the Smithsonian's Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies. It is supported as an item in both the Smithsonian's internal budget and in the Institution's annual federal appropriations from Congress. To the extent possible this ensures the Festival's continuity.

While most employees have Festival responsibilities as part of their job descriptions, to this day only one person on the staff is devoted full time, year round to the Festival. This is the director, Diana Parker. Other staff combine Festival curatorial or production responsibilities with other roles. Pete Reiniger, the Festival technical director, does sound engineering for Smithsonian Folkways; Barbara Strickland, who oversees



We felt honored and respected.

— Orlando McFarlin, Musician, The Bahamas, 1994



Nancy Gomi, on right, with relatives and neighbors performs *batuk* informally in front of her home on the Cape Verdean island of Santiago. She and her group came to the Mall for the 1995 Festival. Photo by Raymond A. Almeida

Having deftly sold the idea of performing a traditional New England clambake on the Mall in Washington, I then had to figure out how to bridge the gap that arose between the needs of the Festival programmers and those of the Allen's Neck folks [a Quaker community in Massachusetts], who were flattered to be invited but not at all sure that they actually wanted to participate.

From a research point of view, I learned more about the nature of the Yankee character through observing the negotiations and interactions at the cultural interface of the Festival than I had to date in the more "natural" context. It turned out, happily, that the Festival experience was deemed a major success by everyone involved, but particularly by the people of Allen's Neck.

—Kathy Neustadt, Massachusetts program Presenter, 1988, in *Clambake: A History and Celebration of an American Tradition*

finances, does so for the Festival as well as other Center activities. Ethnomusicologist Thomas Vennum, who might curate a Festival program, conducts research and writes books. Staffing levels, permanent physical office space and support, and a base budget give the Festival a basic infrastructure — although we complain that we never have enough. Expectations that the Festival will also be supported by various Smithsonian services, from accounting to audits, horticulture to zoo veterinarians, contribute to a sound base of operations — although we increasingly rely on services from outside the Institution.

The Festival's physical space on the National Mall is secured by long-term understanding with the National Park Service and codified under the Code of Federal Regulations. Under these regulations, the Festival is deemed a national celebration event — along with presidential inaugurations and the Fourth of July Independence Day festivities — and has priority for use of the National Mall. While on the whole there has been a great deal of cooperation between the Park Service and the Festival since the former took on a cosponsoring role in 1973, disagreements periodically arise over use of the treed plots, restrictions on sales, provision of services, food concessions, and other matters.

The Festival as a whole has taken on various conceptual, spatial, and design configurations over its history. But in the main, it has remained remarkably consistent in its philosophical orientation and means of production. At the heart of each Festival are its constituent programs.

Defining a Festival Program

A Festival program will generally be devoted to a nation, region, state, or city, a community, occupational group (e.g., *Workers at the White House, American Trial Lawyers*) or ethnic group, or a cultural theme (e.g., *Family Farming, Sacred Sounds*). Genres of expressive culture to be represented within a

program vary in relation to its conceptual organization and the empirically determined traditions of a particular community. Some programs may focus on only one genre. Typically, state and country programs span several genres. Genres selected for a Festival program attempt to engage public audiences with the cognitive, normative, aesthetic, and affective sensibilities of the cultures represented. Physically, a program may occupy only a single stage or tented area, or it may occupy a five-acre site with multiple stages, built structures, and elaborate design elements, as for example did *New Mexico* with an adobe plaza and church, a *chareada* rodeo pen, and Navajo sheep camp.

Decisions on what programs to have at the Festival come from several sources and processes. The Center's scholarly staff engages in a continual dialogue, internally as well as with university and lay scholars and with other colleagues from public organizations. A Center advisory board contemplates a variety of issues in the cultural arena. Suggestions about possible Festival programs emerge from these discussions. Sometimes the impetus for a program comes from officials from other nations, state governments or agencies, and even private individuals who think they have a good idea. Some ideas grow out of the desire to celebrate an anniversary, event, or status, others out of a compelling practical or intellectual need to examine an important issue or cultural "hot" spot.

For a program to be realized at the Festival, three general conditions must be met. Substantive grassroots cultural traditions that can be brought to the Mall for public presentation must exist. Funds to finance the program must be raised. The necessary permissions to participate must be secured from those being represented and their legitimate representatives. Festival staff will expend considerable time and energy exploring these conditions as they develop a program idea.

The process that creates a Festival con-

sists of two principal phases, research and production. The former includes preresearch selection of culture areas and themes, the raising of funds and securing of necessary approvals, field research, and research evaluation. The production phase of the Festival includes selection and preparation of participants, planning the Festival program, site, and exhibit materials, the Festival presentation, and management of the event itself. Festival-related products like sound recordings, educational materials, television programs, documentary films, and publications may accompany or follow the event.

Curation: A Conceptual Framework

The Festival presents the practitioners of living cultural traditions within the context of a particular program on the Mall to public audiences. In order to do this, Festival program curation includes the identification and selection of folk traditions, the identification and selection of participants for the Festival who represent those traditions, the development of presentational formats and expository materials for selected traditions and participants, and the development of thematic concepts, aesthetic and functional designs, and practical logistics for the program as a whole.

Curators, scholarly staff, and partners — scholars, culture bearers, organizers from the represented community — apply and debate ideas about folklife and grassroots cultural traditions in developing thematic plans and deciding what and whom to research. Curators or curatorial teams are drawn from the Smithsonian staff and local lay and academic scholars from inside as well as outside the community to be represented. On the Smithsonian side, many staff members — Betty Belanus, Olivia Cadaval, James Early, John Franklin, Amy Horowitz, Marjorie Hunt, Richard Kennedy, Richard Kurin, Diana N'Diaye, Diana Parker, Tony Seeger, Peter Seitel, Thomas Vennum, Cynthia Vidaurri — have served as curators.

Counterparts have included state folklorists Lynn Martin, Rachele Saltzman, Rick March, Yvonne Lockwood, Maida Owens, Deborah Boykin, Suzi Jones; scholars Gilbert Sprauve, José Griego, Andrew Wiget, Kurt Dewhurst, Marian Pastor Roces, Margarita Mazo, Ted Levin; cultural activists Worth Long and Rajeev Sethi; culture agency professionals Gail Saunders, Chakrabort Chitabongs, Catherine Kerst, Kevin Healy; and many, many others. At the inception of planning for a Festival program, gatherings of key cultural partners are held to help develop curatorial ideas. People from the community play a strong role in the curation of their own representation.

The Festival is oriented toward community-based forms of knowledge, skill, and expression learned through informal relationships and exhibiting intergenerational continuity. Typical genres include oral tradition (e.g., narrative, epics, poetry, proverbs, riddles, speech, stories), social custom (e.g., festivals, celebrations, games, rituals, folk religion, customary behavioral codes and their practice), material culture and its supportive knowledge (e.g., crafts, architecture, costuming, foodways, agriculture,

fishing, medicine, occupations), and the performing arts (e.g., music, dance, drama, puppetry). These are the forms that tend to mark cultural identity. Forms of folk culture are considered traditional to the extent that they maintain standards or values recognized by the community as having continuity with, and being informed by, past practice. They are living traditions to the extent that they are practiced, socially integrated within community life, and speak to its cognitive, normative, affective, and aesthetic concerns.

Curation

Festival curators do not just book acts or audition talent. The application of curatorship from the museum world to the Festival, and increasingly to performing arts programs across the United States, implies a concern for research, a knowledge base and sensitivity to the public exhibition or representation of culture, and a concern for the people participating. It does not mean treating people as nonsentient objects, putting them on display, placing them on pedestals, and scripting their participation. The work of a Festival curator is the conceptualizing, negotiating, and managing of a program on community traditions presented on the Mall. The curator manages a process to help produce an appropriate representation of the traditions of a community or group of communities. A curator has to get the various people involved — communities, individuals, governments, activists — to agree and even cooperate. This is a challenge.

In 1988, for my first day on the job for the Smithsonian as curator of the Hawai'i program, I attended a meeting of Hawai'i's museum directors that included a keynote speaker from Canada. I was introduced as a curator from Washington working on a Festival program. The keynote speaker, a museum scholar-curator, pointed out that if anyone came from Ottawa and wanted to do a festival program on British Columbia, he would tell him to go home — implying I had no place in Hawai'i. I was left to explain my role. I said that I would work closely with local community groups and scholars on the research phase of the project to document Hawai'i's traditions. This work would be done locally, the research documentation would reside in the state, and the selection of the Festival program elements and people would be made with strong local participation. I would have a local curatorial partner, and the Smithsonian would rely on scores of local researchers, institutions, and community groups. This collaborative mode of operation respects all parties and avoids the kind of insensitive, exploitative displays done in the past — and sometimes still done and rightly decried by my Canadian colleague.

—Richard Kennedy

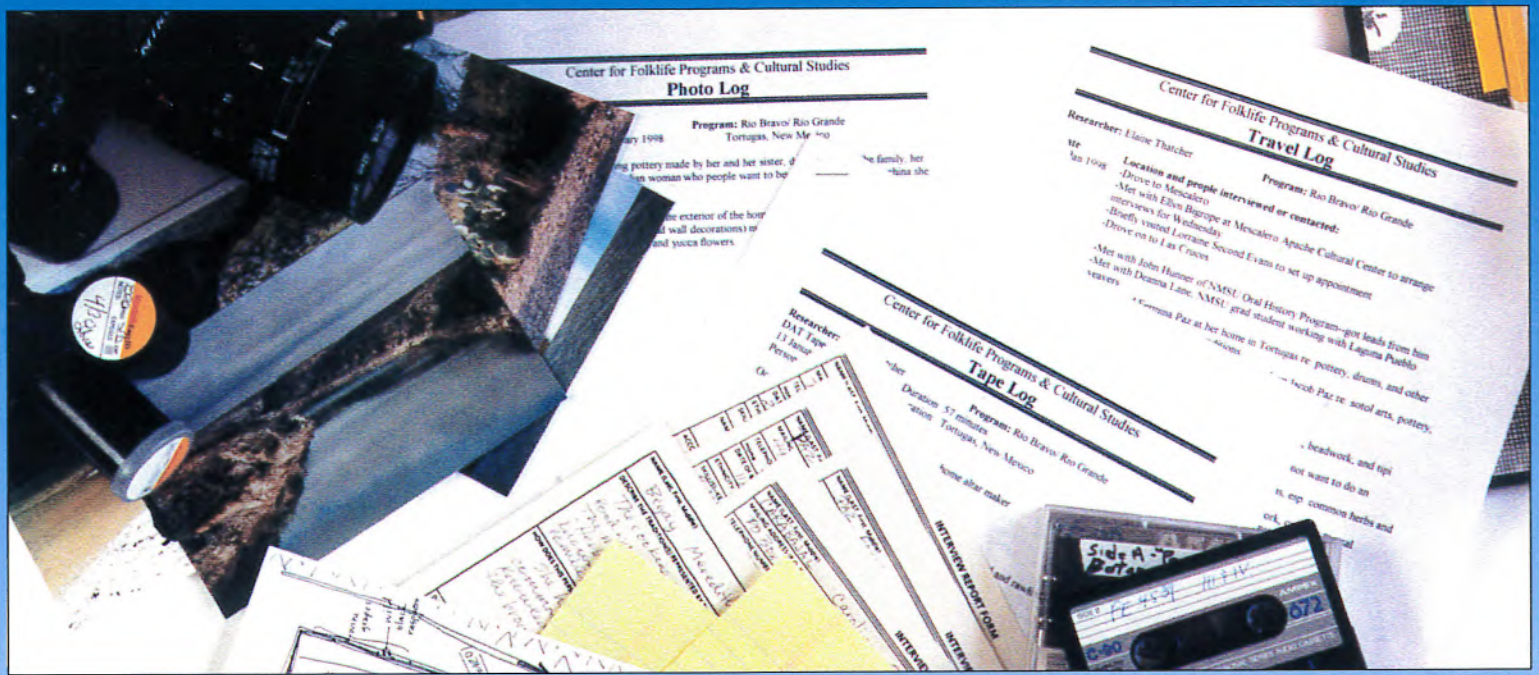


Debates over the nature of folk traditions and what might be included in that category are rich, numerous, and interesting. For a program with Iowa, for example, discussions ensued over whether girls' basketball, town bands, tractor assembly, and country music qualified. Intriguing as well are arguments over authenticity, a significant category for most Smithsonian research, collection, and exhibition activities. Traditions — like gospel, for example — need not be very old to be “authentic.” Folk cultural forms may be appropriated by exogenous individuals and organizations and enter popular or elite culture in refracted ways. “Folk” or “folk rock” music, for example, familiar to most Americans, is a genre of popular culture rather than a form of authentic folk culture. Folk traditions can be said to be nonauthentic when they purport to be an

expression of a community but are devised, defined, or controlled by outside agencies. Such involvement disarticulates a particular folk form from its social, cultural, historical, aesthetic, biographical, and ecological context. A theatrical “folkloric” dance troupe which draws upon a region’s folk dance repertoire for inspiration, employs professional dancers, an orchestral band, choreographer, set and costume designers, and performs for a ticketed audience is not presenting authentic folk traditions. The dancers are authentically who they are, but they are hardly those whose role they play. “Folk traditions” revived and reconstructed by those outside the community do often strive for and sometimes achieve a literal reproduction of one or more features of a tradition. Yet despite the commitment of participants, such efforts separate the folk form from its cultur-

Students in the Smithsonian–Colorado College field school interview Mike Blakeman of the Río Grande National Forest on issues of ecotourism. Students come from Colorado College, the University of Texas–Austin and –Pan American, and the University of New Mexico. Photo by Charlie Weber

al milieu and alter its historical meaning and significance. This does not mean that Festival curators regard folk traditions as unchanging or gauge authenticity solely by conformity with some past (possibly the oldest) practice. While folk traditions are by definition culture conserving, their enactment provides the means through which ongoing change is often negotiated. Folk traditions may change as a result of social and cultural processes within the community itself. Variation among practitioners, the accumulation of knowledge, the evolution of tech-



Documentary materials generated by Festival fieldworkers. Photo by Kenn Shrader

Research and Training

We often tell researchers that nothing can prepare them for the Festival except being there and seeing it for themselves. I know this from first-hand experience, when I was initially enlisted by the Smithsonian to do work on a “research-based presentation of contemporary living cultural traditions” for the *U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* program. Though I knew the region well — it was my home, and I had done a good deal of research — I didn’t understand the end product very well. Ideally, researchers should visit the Festival before conducting their fieldwork, but fiscal realities often make this difficult.

As co-curator of a program on the *Rio Grande/Rio Bravo Basin*, I faced the challenge of effectively communicating fieldwork needs to researchers by developing a field school institute with Olivia Cadaval. We trained graduate students and community scholars who lived in the Basin. Senior scholars who have done previous Festival work helped guide research teams. Fieldworkers

were included in the overall program conceptualization and implementation process from the beginning.

Field school exercises included interviews, site design, sign writing, supply list development, narrative stage topic development, and stage scheduling. Activities were reinforced with Festival research and development guidelines and visual aids that illustrated Festival terminology and productions. This gave researchers a good idea of how their findings would be used, and how they could impact the overall Festival program.

A thorough training program certainly has its price. It is time and labor intensive for curators. But the return is also significant. Researchers become committed to the program and often develop a sense of intellectual ownership. This contributes to a substantive institutional and professional dialogue between the Smithsonian and its staff and local partners. We think the overall program benefits from the engagement.

—Cynthia Vidaurri

nique, or the alteration of ecological conditions may provide bases for variability in tradition. Alternatively, material conditions, beliefs, and values may change to the extent that indigenous practitioners recognize and articulate a disjuncture between old and new or root and derivative forms — consciously and willingly using power hand tools or electric rather than acoustic instruments, for example. Another source of change involves the relationship between the community practicing the tradition and the larger soci-

ety of which it is part. Where “folk” communities are embedded in a larger society derived from or closely related to them, folk traditions may develop orthogenically into universalized forms of popular or even elite culture — jazz and quilting are good American examples. Inversely, forms of elite or popular culture may become appropriated or particularized by such communities and be transformed into folk tradition — religious music is a good example. In socially complex situations, where communities are

embedded in national and international cultures substantially different from their own, folk traditions are subject to more dramatic changes. They may, as a matter of state policy or socioeconomic intrusion, be constrained, repressed, or forcibly discontinued. They may vanish permanently or re-emerge after some dormancy through either internally or externally fueled revitalization processes. In some situations the practice of folk traditions turns inward, striving for isolation from the dominant culture, as with

the Amish and some Indian pueblos. Alternatively, diffusion between traditions of diverse cultural communities can lead to varying types of syntheses and reactions, ranging from nativism to creolization to acculturation. This happens in both urban and rural areas, in zones of contact between different cultures. So, for example, in New York City one finds kosher Chinese food and in Appalachia old-time string music heavily influenced by the recording industry. The Festival is most concerned with cultural change from the perspective of the local communities of practice and concentrates on the ways in which tradition bearers have retained a measure of control over cultural production.

Festival programs feature those individuals engaged in an exemplary practice of particular traditions, as indicated by their status within their own community. Individuals are also selected for their ability to present themselves, their communities, and their traditions in an effective way in a public setting.

Any individual practitioner or group calls upon a repertoire to create enactments within a particular tradition. For a musician, repertoire consists of songs, instrumental skills, and forms of performance action and interaction. Craftspeople have repertoires of forms, designs, and techniques. Workers have repertoires of knowledge and techniques for doing their job; cooks have repertoires of food preparation and presentation. In rare cases individuals and groups have a singular set of traditions associated with only one cultural community. More typically, individuals participate in and carry the cultural traditions of several communities to which they simultaneously and to varying degrees belong. Thus the total repertoires of individuals and groups may be complex, drawn not only from folk but also from popular and elite cultures, and perhaps from the cultures of other communities and societies. Cajun musicians, bluesmen, and Hawaiian cowboy singers can all play pop tunes as well — and

Iowa Program Field Researchers for the

American Indian Center (Sioux City) Native American groups in Western Iowa, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux, Omaha, and Winnebago (foodways, crafts, storytelling, spirituality, art)

John Berquist (Folklorist and musician, Ames) Music, children's folklore, material culture, farm traditions, Norwegian traditions in north-central Iowa

Jay Black (Photographer and journalist, Clear Lake) Hispanic, Greek, and Norwegian small-town life, material culture, and cafes in north-central Iowa

James Lewis Callaway (Historian, Great Plains Black Museum, Omaha) African-American traditions in Council Bluffs, foodways, music, children's folklore, narrative

Phyllis Carlin (Professor, communication studies, University of Northern Iowa) Farm women in northeast Iowa, work and occupational traditions, personal experience narratives

Casa Latina (Sioux City) Hispanic traditions in the Sioux City area, material culture, narrative, folk medicine, foodways, holiday celebrations, needlework, community life

Karen Downing (High school teacher of language arts, West Des Moines) Ethnic grocery shops and restaurants in Des Moines, including Thai, Italian, Jewish, Laotian, Vietnamese, Hispanic, and East Indian communities

Kristin Elmquist (Anthropologist, Swisher, recently with the Brooklyn Historical Society) Lebanese and Asian ethnic communities of Cedar Rapids, including foodways, music, dance, rites of passage, holiday customs, and children's folklore

April Frantz (Architectural historian, Office of the State Archaeologist, Iowa City) Material culture, music in Iowa City, Czech polka in Cedar Rapids, polka-hour radio shows

Janet Gilmore (Folklorist, Wisconsin Folk Museum, Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin) Mississippi fishing/river culture, including fish markets, fish smoking, foodways, and material culture

Gregory Hansen (Ph.D. candidate at Indiana University in folklore) Southwest Iowa traditions, woodcarving, Danish needlework, Missouri River fishing,

blacksmithing, auctions, music, railroad business

Loren Horton (Historian, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City; Eye to I) Community bands, piano teachers, the Amish, radio home shows, rural funeral/gravemarking customs

Rich Horwitz (Professor, American Studies, University of Iowa) Hog farming and pork production, Kalona Koffee Klub and the Kalona Ladies Coffee Club, small-town amusement park and family music making, Iowa City

Iowa Academy of Family Physicians (Des Moines) Interviews with Iowa family physicians in Algona, Amana, Ames, Boone, Clear Lake, Coralville, Cresco, Decorah, Des Moines, Humboldt, Iowa City, Johnston, Kalona, Marshalltown, Montezuma, North Liberty, Spencer, St. Ansgar, and Strawberry Point

Iowa Commission on the Status of African-Americans (Des Moines) African-American music, foodways, crafts, dance, rites of passage, and children's folklore

Iowa Nurses' Association (West Des Moines) Interviews with nurses

Iowa School for the Deaf (Council Bluffs) Deaf storytelling, nicknames, games, children's folklore, holiday celebrations, and homecoming customs

Italian American Center (Des Moines) Italian community in Des Moines, including holiday celebrations, music, dance, foodways, children's folklore and games, and occupational traditions

Lorraine Johnson (Social worker; Co-director of "Little Stars," Sioux City) Ethnic traditions in Sioux City among African Americans, Asians, Greeks, and Jews, including foodways, music, celebrations, and material culture

Donald Jonjack (Journalist, Dubuque and Galena, Illinois) Dubuque folklife, including river-related occupations, railroads, and ethnic religious groups, such as the German and Irish Catholics

Cornelia Kennedy (Professor, Dutch Studies, Northwestern College) Dutch cultural traditions, foodways, rites of passage, music, dance, celebrations, crafts, and storytelling

Lee Kline (Radio announcer, Des Moines) Interviews with significant Iowa radio personalities

1996 Smithsonian Folklife Festival

Mark Knudsen

(Journalist, Des Moines) Folklife along the Iowa Missouri River corridor including fishing, river boating, and storytelling

Mike Koppert (Site manager, Abbie Gardner's Cabin, Arnolds Park) Ethnographic field research on the folklife and resort culture of the Lake Okoboji region, including fishing, boating, boat building, dock making, and foodways

Labor Institute for Workforce Development (SC Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, Des Moines) Labor culture including railroad and meat packing industries in Ft. Madison, meat packing and farmland industries in Denison, John Deere (Waterloo) and Firestone (Des Moines) plants

Catherine Lewis (Cultural Anthropologist, Ph.D., University of Iowa) Women's softball league, Johnson County 4-H involvement, chain saw artistry, quilting, Irish music, spinners, and weavers

Jack Libbey (Mississippi Boat Pilot, Marquette) Iowa Lower Mississippi fishing and river culture, interviews

with riverboat captains, turkey hunters, furniture makers, lock tenders, towboat mid streamers, boat builders, river storytellers, and clambers

Nancy Michael (Ph.D. candidate at Indiana University in folklore) Research on corporate culture of Hon Industries in Muscatine, Principal Insurance Group in Des Moines, John Deere in Ankeny, and Barr-Nunn Transportation

Dave Moore (Folk singer, Iowa City) Traditional music in eastern Iowa, including Hispanic musical groups (W. Liberty, Muscatine, and the Quad cities), African-American music (Cedar Rapids area), and family music-making groups

Jerri Morgan, John DeWall (Meat packers, Sioux City) Culture of the meat packing industries in Sioux City, interviews with pork, beef, and poultry packing plant workers

Jane Nielsen (Regional rep.—western Iowa, Iowa Sesquicentennial Commission) Culture in western Iowa, with emphasis on the Danish traditions of the Elk Horn/Kimballton area (needlework, foodways,

crafts, music, and dancing), auctioneering in northwest Iowa, county fair activities, and material culture

Harry Oster (Ret. English professor, University of Iowa) Folk music from eastern Iowa, including blues, Irish, fiddle, country rock, bluegrass, Czech polka music

Janet Parrish (Researcher and recording engineer, Cedar Falls) Cedar Falls/Waterloo areas on Danish, Greek, Chinese, and Asian music, foodways, and celebrations

Paula Placencia (Student, women's studies, Iowa State University) Hispanic/Mexican community of Des Moines, including rites of passage, family occupations, music, dance, holidays and celebrations, and foodways

Harley Refsal (Woodcarver and lecturer in Scandinavian folk art, Luther College) Material culture and folk art in northeast Iowa, Scandinavian crafts, carving, Christmas traditions

Janice Rosenberg (Oral historian, Jewish Family Service, Des Moines) Jewish commu-

nity of Des Moines, including music, dance, rites of passage, foodways, and traditional family occupations and businesses

Erin Roth (Folklorist) Mennonite and Swedish traditional culture in southeast Iowa, Mennonite Tai Dom in Des Moines, Old Thresher's Festival in Mt. Pleasant, foodways, occupations, crafts, and needlework of Czechs and Slovaks in Cedar Rapids, Croatian folklife in Centerville

Beth Rotto (Musician and researcher, Decorah) Traditional music and dance, seasonal community celebrations and events, children's folklore, woodworking, and women's folklife in northeast Iowa

Earl Sampson (Researcher and farm hand, Elk Horn) Folklife of rodeos (announcers, ropers, rodeo stock contractors, rodeo storytellers, bareback riders), horse trading, horse-shoeing, cowboy poetry, saddle making in southwest Iowa

Cynthia Schmidt (Ethnomusicologist, University of Nebraska, Omaha) Music making in western Iowa,

Hispanic bands from Storm Lake, German singing societies in Manning, Gospel singing in Council Bluffs and Sioux City, country music in Braddyville, German polka band music, square dance calling and dance fiddle

Jim Skurdall (Professor, Norwegian and German, Luther College) Scandinavian narrative traditions in northeast Iowa, including winter sport and Christmas narratives, immigrant stories, and traditional family folklore

Kumsan Ryu Song (Physician, Des Moines) Asian communities of Des Moines, including music, dance, foodways, traditional medicine, holiday celebrations, and children's activities

Becky Swanson (Regional rep.—Eastern Iowa, Iowa Sesquicentennial Commission) Survey of living folk culture in eastern Iowa, including needlework, foodways, crafts, music and dancing, county fair activities, and material culture

Barb Trish (Professor, political science, Grinnell College) Ethnographic field research on the Iowa caucuses

Caroline Trumpold (Ret. teacher, Middle Amana) Amana colonies, including tinsmithing, Easter egg dyeing, foodways, needlework, quilting, singing, carpet weaving, rug hooking, braiding, woodcarving

Priscilla Wanatee (Meskwaki Settlement, Tama) Meskwaki traditional culture, including music, dance, children's traditions, games, and crafts

Cliff Weston (Ethnomusicologist; Ph.D. Candidate in history, University of Iowa) African-American music in the Cedar Falls and Waterloo areas

Mike Wiseman (Instructor, Scott Community College, Bettendorf; Ph.D. Candidate in American studies, University of Iowa) Flood narratives in Davenport/Bettendorf

Michael Zahs (Middle school teacher; Co-leader, Eye to I, Washington) Welsh music, Amish communities, Hmong traditions, and children's folklore

sometimes they do. The items of repertoire selected for a given situation and the style in which an item is presented depend on many factors, among them the performers' perception of their own cultural identity and of the cultural identity of the audience.

The Festival is only secondarily concerned with the display of performers' versatility and acquired familiarity with other traditions. Festival performers present their traditional repertoires in styles appropriate to that community or in-group, rather than for touristic or other out-group performances. An occasional part of Festival presentation, particularly when dealing with the issue of changing traditions, consists of performance of nontraditional elements which have entered the repertoire and have been structured by the tradition so that their rendition is stylistically appropriate and meaningful to an in-group audience. Less appropriate for Festival presentation are items from traditional repertoires rendered in acculturated styles and oriented toward noncommunity or out-group audiences.

Festival Research

The role of the researcher is to provide documentation and recommendations about communities, traditions, and practitioners. Some researchers may also work in production: preparing participants, helping to present them at the Festival, writing an article for the Festival program book, writing signs, producing a published recording or educational materials. Some programs will require the services of a handful of researchers — others will need several dozen. (If there is little money for research and a program makes do with extant research, Festival staff disparagingly refer to it as "rolodex research.") It is the general practice of the Festival to include both academic and lay scholars in these research groups. While some researchers may come from the Smithsonian and outside the cultural community, the Festival strongly encourages the use of researchers from

within, recognizing the substantive and social benefits of participatory research.

Curators serve as research coordinators, reviewing the literature on relevant folk traditions, identifying areas where original research needs to be done, and also identifying documentary sources which may be useful for research and presentation purposes. Curators identify academic and lay scholars who are familiar with and have carried out work on the folk traditions of a cultural region or group. They develop a roster of researchers, proposed geographic areas, and topics of research. Curators often arrange group meetings with those identified as potential researchers. At these meetings, scholars discuss the goals of the Festival, the potential traditions to be represented, the criteria for selecting participants, and ideas for presentation and overall conceptualization of the program. If appropriate, Festival staff may offer researcher training.

Most contracts for research call for specific fieldwork; some may also include provisions for archival research. Additionally, they may call for analytic and synthetic work on the conceptual and presentational aspects of the program. The Smithsonian provides guidelines and sometimes equipment and supplies for documenting their research. Fieldworkers usually maintain close contact with the curators during the research phase as policy, procedural, and content issues arise. Fieldworkers generally write preliminary and then final fieldwork reports based on their findings.

Fieldworkers research particular traditions by locating social activities to observe and specific people within their targeted community who are knowledgeable in the selected tradition. In some cases this is a matter of working with relationships that already exist as a result of previous, perhaps even long-term research. In other cases it is a matter of making contacts within the community, gaining entry, pursuing leads, discovering community standards of excellence, and identifying individuals who are recog-



nized as embodiments of those standards. Researchers secure requisite permissions from people to interview, record, and photograph them with the understanding that such documentation will not be used for any commercial purpose without the express permission of the tradition bearer.

Researchers document local styles and repertoires and how they have changed over time; the regular contexts of performance or production; the usual values, meanings, and ideas associated with them; and the criteria for excellence. Fieldworkers employ the standard techniques of ethnographic, folkloristic,



Research documentation is housed in the Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives and Collections at the Smithsonian. Here, head archivist Jeff Place looks for a recording. Photo by Kenn Shrader

ethnomusicological, and historical research. In addition, they are especially attentive to details concerning the logistics of practice — given that these might affect the performance or demonstration of the tradition at the Festival on the Mall.

Fieldworkers fill out standard Smithsonian interview report forms for each person interviewed, take notes, and record information with tape recorders and photographic and video cameras as appropriate. All the documentation goes into the Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives and Collections at the Smithsonian, where it is logged, processed,

and entered into a computer database. Eventually copies will also go to the appropriate local repository. Good fieldwork documentation enhances future research and also contributes to the development of ancillary educational products like films, television programs, Smithsonian Folkways recordings, and Smithsonian Cultural Education learning guides.

Planning and Directing

Research for the Festival may occur over the course of a whole calendar year. A formal fieldwork review assesses the research and

recommendations for the program. It is at this point that research documenting the practice of selected traditions is crucial for reviewers to determine the appropriateness of the traditions for presentation at the Festival. Interviews and field notes help give reviewers an idea of the people and traditions being considered. Audio recordings allow for an assessment of musical style and quality. Videos and photographs give reviewers a sense of processes, activities, and events that might be recreated on the Mall, or not.

Criteria considered in recommending inclusion of particular communities and

practices are: appropriateness as a folk tradition given the program, authenticity, historical importance to the community's social and cultural life, pertinence to the program theme, artistic content, and presentability. Criteria for individual practitioners include: the person's role as a tradition bearer, artistic excellence in a traditional

repertoire, and strength of presentation. Budgetary resources and logistical feasibility will also bear on the traditions selected, the numbers of persons to be included, and the elaborateness with which the tradition can be represented at the Festival. It is the Festival director's job to oversee these program reviews. Typically there are three to

five such reviews every year, depending upon the number of programs at the Festival. The reviews tend to occur about six months before the Festival. The director has to balance program content and resources, the needs of the various programs, and the overall production capacity of the Festival.

During the research phase formal agree-

Directing the Festival

Directing the Festival is the best job in the world. Not that it isn't hard. Most Festivals include three to five programs. At any one time we are engaged in various stages of program development for about five years of Festivals. That means working on, say, 20 different programs. The work consists of meeting appropriate officials, making innumerable presentations to possible sponsors, strategizing with colleagues in the field of cultural research, hearing from potential participants, consulting with advisors, and deciding which programs we should attempt to produce.

Once we make a decision to produce a program, we have to find a curator, develop a detailed budget, find the research money, and develop other materials needed for fieldwork and fundraising. And that is just for future programs. We are currently working on many projects that have grown out of previous Festival programs — "restagings" of programs "back home," education kits for local school systems, and several television documentaries. Then, of course, there is the management of the programs at the current Festival — the tracking of production schedules, daily and weekly meetings, dealing with contingencies and emergencies, briefing members of Congress, arranging Smithsonian support services, recruiting and training staff.

In addition, because the Festival has developed both a philosophy and process for cultural presentation, we play a major role in advising other organizations on local, state, regional, national, and international levels on their festivals and public events. Within the Smithsonian we are called upon to produce or work with others on Mall events, cooperative projects like presidential inaugural activities, and other presentations.

So how come, if the job is so overwhelming, do I think it is so wonderful? First, because I believe the Festival breaks down barriers. It helps people encounter, engage, and appreciate other people, ideas, values, and styles. This, I think, is crucial work. Second, I like and respect the people with whom I work. When the job stretches me intellectually, spiritually, emotionally, and physically, almost to the breaking point, I know that there will always be



From left, Pete Reiniger, Diana Parker, Worth Long, Bess Hawes, and Tom Vennum discuss Festival production at the 1996 *Working at the Smithsonian* program. Photo by Richard Strauss

someone there to lend a hand, give a hug, pick up trash, commiserate, search for a solution. The Festival attracts extraordinarily gifted, dedicated, caring people, and it is an honor to work with them.

This holds as well for the temporary staff and volunteers. Because Festival programs are culture specific and change each year, we try to recruit people from the cultures presented. Thus about half the temporary staff and volunteers every year are new to the Festival. They must learn to operate in the complex bureaucracy of the Smithsonian, the family atmosphere of the Festival, and perform a challenging job in sometimes stifling heat and under tremendous pressure. Yet they always seem to rise to the occasion. It is a joy to see selfless, almost boundless energy applied to the task of representing American and world cultures in a humane way year after year.

Most importantly, I do the job for the participants themselves. I have had the privilege of knowing many of the great artists of our time. They may not be household names, but they have worked to create beauty in their daily lives. And through the Festival they have shared that beauty joyously and freely with anyone who wishes to learn. As Dewey Balfa, the great Cajun fiddler, said, "I could never afford to get the education the Festival gives for free." Every year is a great learning process. How could I not love this job?

—Diana Parker

ments including contracts and memoranda of understanding are likely to be concluded with national, state, or local governments, and with varied organizations involved in the Festival. These agreements articulate the reasons for a Festival program, the responsibilities of the parties, a project budget, timeline, and mutual expectations.

At the same time, funds have to be raised to support the Festival program. Proposals are developed for foundations, corporations, individuals, and other sources. The Festival has, over its history, developed several “fundraising videos,” as they are called, which have been very effective in communicating to potential sponsors and supporters the nature of the event. We may produce special brochures, fact sheets, lists of sponsor benefits, and other material. The Center and Festival directors, other staff, and key partners make numerous presentations to potential supporters and spend a lot of time soliciting funds. The Festival has not had great success using professional fundraisers, either contractors or Smithsonian specialists; most of the burden has fallen on staff and collaborators. Over the years they have raised more than \$50 million in outside funds for the Festival.

As the Festival program moves from the research phase into a funded production phase, personnel are recruited to fill the scores of temporary Festival jobs. The director develops a production schedule, specifying due dates, tasks, and responsible personnel. Senior staff finalize an operating budget. Necessary financial support is secured.

Coordination

Coordinating a Festival program essentially means translating plans into action. Coordinators are responsible for everything. They are the main link between program curators, researchers, partners, supporters, and the rest of the Festival staff. A coordinator figures out how to get all the components of a program together in the same time and space for the opening of the Festival, how to

Supporting the Festival

Getting the \$2–4 million to produce the Festival year after year is no easy task. Federal appropriations account for only a small part of the Festival’s annual budget and generally pay for basic infrastructure. Parallel to the funding of exhibitions in the museums, most of the funds to support particular programs must be raised from sources outside of the Smithsonian.

These outside funds represent a patchwork quilt of support. Government funds — often through a ministry of culture, sometimes in concert with funds for tourism promotion — support national programs. Nations see participation in the Festival as a good way to inform the American public about their people and traditions

— though sometimes we have to convince these governments that their people, at the grassroots, can better represent their nations’ culture than ambassadors, lobbyists, and advertising agencies.

U.S. state governments have long supported the Festival, often on the occasion of the centennial, sesqui-, or bicentennial of their statehood. State-appropriated funds, discretionary funds from tourism and economic development, and even special funds from commemorative license plates have been used.

Business corporations generally pitch in, either with outright grants or in-kind support of participants, structures, machinery, trucking and shipping. We have received a few \$1 million contributions for the Festival, but more regular are gifts in the \$50,000–150,000 range, though we can always use lesser amounts. Nowadays corporations want advertising or promotional bang for their buck. The Festival has successfully held the line; regulations limiting commercialism on the Mall have helped. So too has our internal code of conduct. We jokingly say, “We can be bought, but we’re not cheap,” meaning we will listen to a lot of proposals, but will not sell out our basic principles nor those of the larger Smithsonian. Increasingly we develop partnerships that help fund activities. So, for example, Sony/Columbia Records may help us document Festival performances in return for a jointly issued music recording.

Unions, associations, foundations, and others, such as the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, have helped fund Festival programs featuring workers, regions, or a particular theme. Our longest-running supporter is The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, which over the years has paid out more than \$1 million in fees to Festival musicians. Hundreds of Friends of the Festival members support concerts and events through their donations.

We depend heavily on in-kind support — as a *Washington Post* Business Week article noted, “It takes a village to produce the Festival.” Many Smithsonian museums and offices, like the Anacostia Museum, the National Zoo, Environmental Management and Safety, International Relations, Horticultural Services, and Travel Services help with the Festival year after year. Other agencies like the U.S. Information Agency help with international programs. The U.S. Department of Agriculture Beltsville Research Station has grown crops and gardens for the Festival since 1968. Our biggest in-kind donations are in labor — that of hundreds of volunteers who each year carry water and lunches, log performances, drive vans, build stages, and otherwise make the Festival possible. Volunteers from the Folklore Society of Greater Washington have helped make Festival participants feel welcome with their hospitality since 1972. Long-term volunteers have donated the equivalent of scores of years of work, and an equal measure of good will.

—Richard Kurin



Festival signs provide information to visitors and also acknowledge sponsors and supporters.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

keep them together for the duration, and how to disaggregate people, things, and services once it's over.

Festival programs usually range from about 50 participants to about 150. For programs with a Washington-area focus, participants can number up to 400. Each program at the Festival has its own coordinator.

Coordinators count. They count the money allotted and the curatorially selected participants to make sure there is enough to pay for them. They draft and count formal

letters of invitation, confirming contact information and usually talking to each person selected for their Festival program. They count reservations for airplane tickets to transport participants and hotel rooms for accommodating them. Coordinators try to arrange for the transport of heavy equipment and program supplies, which have included boats and airplanes, cattle and sheep, hay bales and a trainload of adobe brick, an iceberg from Alaska and tons of bamboo and coconut leaves from India. Coordinators fig-

ure out how many microphones are needed for each musical group in what venue, and how many cooking demonstrations might be done in a particular day. Coordinators develop a daily schedule of performances and demonstrations for their Festival program, supervise other staff, interns, and perhaps 30–50 volunteers a day during the Festival. Coordinators often propose who will do what when, where, and how.

Among the coordinator's tasks is to keep track of production elements involving the design and construction of the Festival program site on the Mall and various expository materials. Coordinators make sure researchers and curators write sign text and articles for publication. They make sure photographs are selected, secured, accounted for, and returned. They play traffic cop for their program, making sure everything gets done on a timely basis and that problems, when they occur, are dealt with expeditiously.

Each program's coordinator is a linchpin of the Festival program staff, headed by the curator. This staff may include program assistants, festival aides, and numerous interns. During the Festival it is this staff that works most closely with participants in realizing the substantive content of the program.

Sign and Program Book Production

Sign texts, photo-text panels, and photo murals often supplement live enactments and descriptions at the Festival. These expository materials provide context for the demonstration, background information about the tradition and traditional practitioners, and material illustrative of artifacts and practices representative of the tradition but not transportable to the Festival. They may also provide information about programmatic themes and the cultural communities represented at the Festival.

The Festival produces a program book — roughly equivalent to an exhibition cata-

Coordinating a Program

Nothing can be assumed, and everything needs to be anticipated. Such is the coordinator's motto.

The program coordinator's role is the realization of curatorial vision through the functional units of Festival production. Coordinators set ideas into motion, turn plans into actions. The coordinator works with

administrative personnel on writing contracts for researchers, writers, and presenters. The coordinator helps develop plans for presentations with the designer, technical director, and participants. The coordinator works with the editor to plan and track program book articles and signs. The coordinator keeps track of participant needs with participant staff, determines volunteer and supply needs with those staffs, and keeps the Festival director apprised of program needs, progress, budget and expenditures. During the Festival, the coordinator ensures a smooth-running program by monitoring participant needs, performance and demonstration areas, overseeing staff and volunteers, monitoring radio communications, maintaining a safe and welcoming site, and dealing with daily contingencies.

It is really the unforeseen and unpredictable factors that add to the challenges of coordinating a program: the cotton plants that were ignored by the cotton farmers because it was too hot and sunny where they were placed; the special transportation permit that had to be obtained from the D.C. government hours before a giant John Deere plow was due to arrive on the Mall because the load was too wide for D.C. streets; trying to locate a crop duster airplane to stay on the Mall for two weeks — during crop dusting season. In the end, with much assistance, a coordinator makes the program work. The better I do my job, the better others can do theirs.

—Arlene Reiniger



Jack Keahy, a crop duster pilot from Columbia, Louisiana, stands by a Grumman AgCat bi-plane used for crop dusting and brought to the Mall for the Mississippi Delta program in 1997. Photo by Marty Kaplan

log — which contains articles by scholars written for a general audience, photographic essays, illustrations, and other materials which elucidate some of the traditions and cultural forms presented at the Festival. Signs and program books are overseen by publications manager/editor Carla Borden, and reviewed by folklorist Peter Seitel, Center and Festival directors, and other staff. Design and art work — accomplished by art director Kenn Shrader, aided by temporary support and production staff — are integrated into the curatorial, editorial, and review process.

These products make use of field

research. Recordings, interviews, and scholarly commentaries help generate sign text; fieldwork photographs provide the images for photo murals and illustrative photo-text panels; descriptions and analysis of traditions given in the research reports provide the basis for commissioned articles for the Festival program book; background and biographical data inform press releases, presenter packets, and planning by participant and housing staff.

The Festival's approach to editing and design of publications and signage is to foreground the voices of the people represented. In design this means using the colors, tones,

and symbolic elements drawn from the culture of the featured communities. The Festival designer examines ethnoaesthetic forms and ideas and seeks to use them in Festival production — rather than elaborating his own style. Similarly, editing the prose of researchers and curators, many from the featured culture, requires a sensitivity to their means of expression.

Signs and articles must convey basic information about the communities and traditions featured; maps, clearly framed introductory material, photographic images are intended to give all visitors an idea of the cultural and physical landscape “back

1998 Wisconsin Festival Program Coordinator's [Partial] Production Schedule

November 1997

20Preliminary budget to program

December

8–9Field work review in Madison, WI

15Table of contents for program book to editor

19Sign list/topic sentences to production manager

January 1998

5Formal program name submitted to director

6Proposed tent, sound, special needs to technical director

12Area and schedule sign text due

13Weekly production meetings begin

16Budget review with administration

20Opening ceremony speakers recommended

20Revised electrical, water, construction needs due

20Program book articles due

February

2Texts submitted for 50 percent of signs

2Photos submitted for brochure/book cover

2Program story ideas for media due

20Time/cost estimates to coordinators

27Publicity photos due

March

6Press conference with governor

9Second 50 percent of signs due

9Concession information due

17Hotel needs to participant staff

20Opening ceremony and luncheon list due

April

2Interior layouts for tents/structures due

7All photos for program book due

10Program presentation plan review

17Participant information submitted

17Revised time/cost estimates/budgets to programs

24Volunteer needs due

28Banner and stage designs submitted

May

1Thank you, information due for program book

5Supply needs and food needs due

6Presenter contracts due

11Final budget review

15Audio, video, photo documentation needs submitted

22ID sign and name tag requests to design

June

5Packets sent to all participants, contractors, staff

20Volunteer orientation

22Participants arrive

23Participant/presenter orientation

24Festival opens

July

6Participants depart

6Striking of Festival site begins, supplies returned

7Ship reusable signs and banners for restaging

12Festival staff evaluation

14Archival duplication of photographs begins

home.” Thus, text should be understandable to an average teenage reader; signs need to meet the accessibility requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act. The Festival has developed a set of alternative ways of laying out signs of different sizes, specifying photograph size and the amount of text. Each program may produce somewhere between 10 and 80 museum-quality photograph content signs for the Festival. In addition, there are various functional signs with general Festival information, directional signs, banners, and stage backdrops.

Building the Festival

Physical design for a program meets individual and group needs of participants and

enables them to communicate effectively. The use of metaphorically meaningful structures and decorative elements consistent with the aesthetic sensibilities of the traditions represented assists this communicative process. Consistency in design, and deliberate use of variation, give a program a unified identity, distinct from others at the Festival, and at the same time communicate and reinforce particular program concepts.

The physical design of the program site on the Mall must of course take into consideration various logistic and budgetary parameters. The range of what has been built or installed on the Mall is large, but it is not without limits. Pete Reiniger, the technical director, must consider site dimensions, the

outdoor environment, the locations of trees, restrictions on digging, limited drainage and electric facilities, crowd flow considerations, fire restrictions, and safety codes in figuring out what may or may not be possible for a program design.

The production crew consists of the technical director, an assistant, several crew chiefs, two or three carpenters, electricians and plumbers, perhaps a dozen exhibit workers, and clerical support. The size of the technical crew, from 18 to 30, depends upon the size of the Festival and the budget. Many of our technical staff come back year after year — often working in theatrical productions in the “off season.” The crew has been quite diverse in background, and is about evenly split in gender. Though it has now become more commonplace on construction sites, many passersby on the Mall were amazed in the 1980s and even into the 1990s to see women driving forklifts, using heavy equipment, and as was the case with assistant technical directors Connie Lane, Beth Curren, and Deb Sullivan, supervising the staff. The crew is augmented by scores of contractors who might construct special structures, trucking companies, suppliers and service providers, and other Smithsonian personnel — like drivers, horticulturalists, trades craftsmen.

Construction is further complicated by the fact that the Festival must be built to stand wear and tear from more than one million visitors and punishing summer thunderstorms, and then taken apart — all within a relatively short time.

The time frame for the set-up of the Festival is about five to six weeks, and for take-down about three weeks. Nothing we do can permanently alter the Mall. The trees and grounds are protected, so structures must be built above ground with minimal foundation work; nothing can be attached to the trees. When we built a Japanese rice paddy in 1986, it had to be built up, above ground, and a giant plastic “baggie” laid out to protect the ground. The water table

Festival Editing

Editing Festival materials for the public — the brochure announcing the event, the program book, and the signs on the Mall — as well as a variety of in-house documents like handbooks for volunteers and participants, takes months of intensive work. The process involves reviewing contents for accuracy and appropriateness, editing for style and clarity, adjusting for length, sometimes translating, and proofreading. Texts go back and forth, back and forth between authors, curators, editors, designers, and directors until they’re in the best shape possible.

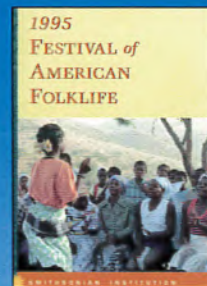
The program book serves as a record of the Festival and a research resource. In the fall before the Festival, curators develop tentative tables of contents that elaborate on what visitors will experience on the Mall, and complement that with discussions of history, geography, and significant traditions that cannot be presented at the Festival. To write articles we consider academic, public, and community scholars, journalists, activists, and culture bearers. Each author, like each Festival participant, has a distinctive voice, and, even with all the changes we may make in the articles, we strive to respect and preserve the individual’s voice. The preparation of the Festival program book that begins in the fall culminates in the annual

ritual of reading blue lines over Memorial Day weekend.

For signs — the equivalent of wall text in a conventional museum exhibition — we have another standard. Because signs, which are generally written by program curators and researchers, are *unsigned*, we give them a uniform tone. We also edit them to be accessible to visitors with different knowledge bases and levels of schooling, those from different language backgrounds, and people with disabilities that affect their reading of the written word. We want the signs to help all visitors appreciate the cultural and Festival context of the activities going on around them. So, to communicate pertinent concepts and information, we try to simplify vocabulary and sentence structure. And since only so many words fit on a sign, we have to be concise too.

Our efforts to make Festival materials accessible extend beyond editing. The brochure, signs, and program book are available in Braille, large-print, and audio-tape versions. We also post portions of these documents on the Web.

—Carla M. Borden



on the Mall is very high, causing drainage problems and precluding certain types of installations. But it is not high enough to create a temporary lake for demonstrating waterway traditions — although in the past the Festival has made use of the Reflecting



The Mall site for the *Thailand* program included festive umbrellas, banners, and hanging decorations.

Photo by Richard Strauss

Pool in front of the Lincoln Memorial for boating demonstrations.

Buildings and signage must not be large enough to obstruct the vista between the Capitol and the Washington Monument. The size of type on large signs acknowledging sponsors is restricted to keep commercialism off the Mall. Use of air space is also regulated. One year, when we released balloons at the climax of an Italian- and Portuguese-American saint's day procession, we had to inform National Airport so that they could alert incoming flights to the potential distraction.

Research documentation can aid technical staff in duplicating or simulating both general settings and particular set-ups on the Mall. Video and sound recordings can help the Festival's technical staff better understand the physical dimensions of an event or performance, its spatial and equipment needs. Fieldwork photographs show building interiors and exteriors, public spaces, and the settings of performance and work. Detailed photographs might feature construction techniques and processes. When

Designing the Festival

The Festival is designed to be interactive. From the size of type on a name badge to banners flying high above the Mall, everything of color and texture is there to attract, entice, inform, or reveal.

The list of annual design projects reads like a lifetime portfolio: advertisements, bilingual flyers, certificates, invitations, passes, tickets, and permits, handbooks, posters, program books, T-shirts, hats, banners, directional, informational, and exhibition signage, stages, interiors, exteriors, and displays. As art director, I don't

create designs. I research culturally derived images and icons that relate directly to a specific program, discuss those with curators, and use them in an appropriate way. Since color, texture, and form all have specific cultural meanings, they can all be applied incorrectly.

The other part of the equation is the aesthetic of the Smithsonian with its high level of quality and sometimes gloss. The Festival dances a thin line between Smithsonian sensibilities and those of the represented cultures. There has to be a balance between dignified institution and "down home." The program book, for example, is a hybrid design of commercial magazine and research publication.

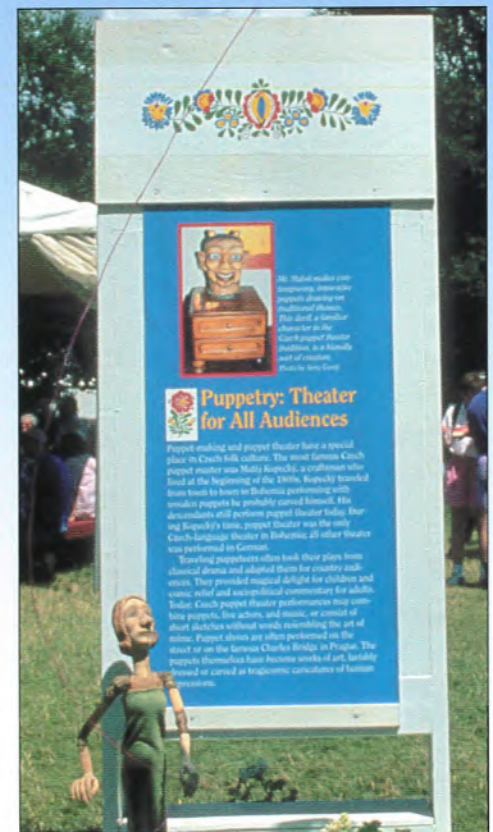
The Festival has to be tied together as an overall event. The "look" has to permeate the Festival but also enhance each program. Not unlike a film or photo essay, the Festival sets a scene — close-ups, middle-distance images, and overall scenics. These different levels of detail are hung out on the Mall, using the monuments, museums, and vast greensward as backdrop for the actions of culture bearers and their interactions with visitors. —*Kenn Shrader*

A sign for the *Czech Republic* program in 1995 incorporates colors, styles, and decorations appropriate to signs in that country.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Colin Blair (left), Diana Lees, and Kenn Shrader install banners along the Mall in preparation for the 1997 Festival. Photo by Eric Conn



Building the Festival



An adobe plaza was constructed for the *New Mexico* program in 1992 and hosted performances such as of the Matachines dance.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley



A bottle tree, as found in the Mississippi Delta, decorates the 1997 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



I divide my job as Festival technical director into three overlapping phases — conceptual, design and procurement, and implementation.

In the conceptual stage I try to figure out curatorial ideas and possible participant needs from fieldwork reviews, discussions with curatorial and research staff, photographs, background literature, and sometimes first-hand field research.

This information is translated into a site plan reflecting the size and location of tents and other structures, electrical and plumbing requirements, sound system design, and other needs. This plan gets refined over and over again as the Festival program shapes up. Some things — like the ability to build culturally appropriate structures on the Mall — depend upon budget. If less money is available, we use tents. Signs, photo murals, and other forms of presentation may also be used in place of more contextualized settings.

Needed items are procured. Construction materials are purchased, technical equipment rented. All plans must be reviewed by Smithsonian engineers, safety, accessibility, and environmental specialists, the National Park Service, D.C. Fire Department, and the Public Health Service.

I also hire a staff of carpenters, electricians, plumbers, sound technicians, exhibit workers, office staff, and others. Contractors set up tents, provide radios and sound equipment, Port-a-Johns, and a variety of other services. I have to keep track of person-hours of labor and contracts to make sure we stay within budget.

Physical set-up on the Mall begins about five or six weeks prior to opening day. An administrative and construction compound is erected so that we have a complete production shop on the grounds and full office communications. We then build structures, run telephone and electrical lines, put in water and waste lines, install signs, set up kitchens and concessions, pick up and unload shipments. We generally have a strongly committed technical staff, many of whom work festivals, theatrical shows, and other events. Some veteran volunteers know their business and give us a hand. With good planning, hard work, decent weather, and a bit of luck, we are ready for opening day.

During the Festival we are continually modifying site and settings to serve participant needs. We open and close the Festival each day, prepare for rain and other conditions, service the concessions, monitor safety and security matters, and keep the Festival running. And by the last day we are beginning to take it apart.

—Pete Reiniger



LEFT Barrels with names and addresses on them are one form of transnational Cape Verdean communication illustrated at the 1995 Festival. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

BELOW The 1994 Bahamas program was designed to evoke a big yard, using the colors and architectural designs of island locales, as well as outdoor cooking ovens. Photo by Stephanie Smith



An interior of a workshop was re-created in the 1992 *New Mexico* program to help set a context for furniture maker Tim Roybal.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley



possible, technical director Pete Reiniger will visit sites with local participants and discuss with them their ideas about construction and design in order to create an appropriate, viable setting for the Festival. Formats which facilitate communication between participants and visitors and which foster a desired level of audience involvement are encouraged, as are physical settings which conform to or at least do not intrude upon the aesthetic sensibilities of the participant. We try to avoid site designs which constrain participants from self-presentation, impose an inappropriate representational aesthetic, and/or undesirably restrict audience access and participation.

Many of the Festival's activities are covered to keep people out of the hot summer sun and protect participants and visitors from rain. A variety of tents are used for large performance areas, crafts, and food areas. We try to make the tents "culturally neutral" — open, airy, and nondescript in themselves, as they are not usually part of

the cultures being featured at the Festival. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett rightly points out, the Festival tends toward a neutral, scholarly, sometimes almost ascetic form of display — rather than a theatricalized one — in order to help convey the serious importance of the tradition. If there is a decorative, display, or design tradition in the culture, we will make it part of the presentation, but the idea is to foreground the culture, not our builders and designers, to foreground the people and their artistry, not physical settings. As Fred Nahwooksy, our previous technical director, said, he helps build culture on the Mall, not buildings.

Presentation

Festival presentations are invented by combining elements from two sets of cultural forms: one from the practices in the "home" context, the other from a repertoire of Festival practices.

The Festival presentational repertoire consists of a variety of formats that have

evolved over the years. These are larger and smaller music and performance stages — both proscenium and in-the-round — narrative or discussion stages, dance floors, craft demonstration and workshop set-ups, demonstration kitchens, garden plots, and open-air spaces — plazas, yards, and procession routes. Sometimes these formats are construed in a simple, abstract way — a stage fronted by a big audience or a small workshop stage used for more intimate performances, discussions, and demonstrations. Other performance areas are constructed to suit the needs of particular cultural themes — e.g., a Caribbean-style big yard, a Mississippi-style home porch, an Indonesian kitchen, a Saramaka meeting house, or a Milwaukee polka dance hall. Still others are constructed to meet presentational needs of a single tradition, like crafts and occupational skills demonstration areas, e.g., a boat-builder's workshop.

Curators, key researchers, and Festival staff give much thought to the structure of



Alina Ubang dances
for the *Indonesia*
program in a
Kalimantan
longhouse section
re-created on the
Mall in 1991.

Photo courtesy
Smithsonian Institution

Presenting Culture

At the Folklife Festival you see many kinds of presentations. Each is designed to make aspects of a community's culture public and comprehensible in a particular way.

Performances staged in big tents for large audiences generally present music and dance linearly, much as in a formal concert hall, except that at apt moments a presenter or facilitator interjects comments and word-pictures about how the performance might be seen, heard, understood, and responded to in its community setting. On smaller stages, more intimate, sometimes less formal events elucidate culture in more digressive, interactive ways: interviews, discussions, demonstration workshops, storytelling sessions.

At yet other locations, craftspeople, cooks, and other workers demonstrate their skills and knowledge. The content, style, and form of their perfor-

mances are shaped by the nature of the work processes, the logistic possibilities of the Festival, and the preferences of curators, researchers, and participants that emerge in the planning process.

The Festival also sometimes reproduces festive events that normally occur in community settings: saint's day celebrations, sporting events imbued with local meaning, rituals, and social gatherings. Logistically the most complex and daring of presentations, they nevertheless almost always succeed because they intensely focus broad communal good will and enact proven strategies for having a meaningful good time in public.

Culture presented at the Festival is made understandable in part by constructing contexts for it. This is done by performers themselves, who artfully guide audiences to experience meaning in unfamiliar cultural terrain. Contextualization is aided by "presenters" who help performers and audiences build bridges of understanding, and by a host of other Festival presentational methods — physical settings, signs, program books, and culturally appropriate decorations. Juxtaposing commentaries, settings, and practices creates and reinforces the understanding of cultures within the Festival space.

Time is the other dimension of understanding at the Festival — not the time that is ordered by schedules or measured by wristwatches, but the time it takes to tell a good story, to prepare a meal, to develop a reasoned argument, to carve a house post, to stitch a quilt. This kind of time is comprised of "structures of care"; it is the culturally defined time we "have" or the time it "takes" or the time we may "lose." At the Festival we are able to stop and pause our "normal" sense of time to experience someone else's time, to say "now" together with that performer as he or she takes the time needed to allow meaning, utility, and pleasure to emerge from a preserved yet ever-emergent, traditional practice. These "good times" that are available at the Festival — shared and contemplated, embodied and recounted — also provide a profound experience and understanding of cultures and do much to explain the Festival's enduring appeal.

—Peter Seitel



Benji Bennington helps present Chinese cook June Tong in a Festival kitchen during the 1989 *Hawai'i* program.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley

Coming from a very low-income community, we tend to see our National Capital as untouchable. The warmth of the people there was an experience I didn't expect. I will be recounting this experience for a long time.

— Cordelia Coronado

New Mexico program, 1992

the presentation itself. What items of repertoire should be presented at the Festival, for how long, involving whom? We try to shape presentation formats to fit the song and instrumental music, dance, storytelling, crafts, cooking, occupational traditions, and sometimes religious rituals that are identified and documented in fieldwork. Some types of cultural expression are problematic and require considerable care in presentation. For example, questions need to be considered about the advisability of staging a community's rituals: are practitioners eager to do it? will it be an ersatz version? are there aspects that will offend public sensibilities and strengthen stereotypes? what should be done in public, and what in private — before or after Festival hours? Other kinds of traditions present problems of time, space, and scale. How do you illustrate a lengthy

craft process or show ice fishing on the Mall in the middle of summer? Often a portion of these traditions can be presented to indicate and help illustrate the whole.

Generally, the length of a performance or demonstration and its degree of elaboration will be determined through pre-Festival dialogue between participants, curators, and researchers in their role as presenters. Presenters, chosen from amongst the local scholars and specialists who conducted the field research, work with participants on their choice of repertoire and styles. The presenter serves as a conduit of curatorial ideas that inform the program, helps participants plan the content and sequence of their performances, and assists as needed in providing information that frames the significance of traditions. During the course of the Festival, the presenter works with the person or group to continually assess and revise the presentation. Usually each program has a daily meeting with the presenters and curator to review presentation. At the Festival, the presenter too becomes a performer, publicly modeling the ways and reasons for showing respect for the performers and their work. This occurs in a variety of ways. A presenter may offer introductory remarks which define the cultural context for a demonstration or performance. A presenter may engage a participant in dialogue as a way of vicariously enabling a large audience to ask questions. Or a presenter may translate for a participant and facilitate interaction and audience participation.

Other Support Operations

Presenters aren't the only staff that support invited participants to the Festival. Festivals typically include some 300–700 participants. Nonlocal participants stay at a hotel, and they often bring members of their families as guests. The hotel becomes an after-hours cultural crossroads, facilitated by social coordinator and long-time volunteer Johari Rashad. Participants often perform with and for each other — a luxury not available



Festival signage, here on the use of rock building, complements a demonstration activity, thus enlarging the context of the presentation. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Fueled by burning hot rocks, a Quaker clambake from Massachusetts is re-created on the Mall in 1989. Photo by Richard Strauss

I wish I could sing at the Festival every day, and sleep at home every night.

—Olga Ivanovna Manichkina, Russian singer, in her diary, 1988

during the day. Another staffer, the Festival housing coordinator, is responsible for room assignments, monitoring billing and extra costs, keeping track of meals, and taking care of people's needs. The housing coordinator is aided by volunteers, and sometimes by cultural liaisons who help folks adjust to the unfamiliar environment and routine.

A participant staff also helps take care of people. A participant coordinator oversees participant assistants — usually one for each program. They are responsible for making travel arrangements for each participant, finding out about and dealing with health care and special needs, reserving the hotel rooms, sending out invitation letters before the Festival and certificates of appreciation afterwards. They send out materials in advance — maps, participant handbooks, permission letters, and other items that give people an idea of what they're getting into when they come to the Festival. They live with participants at the hotel, arrange tours of the city on days off, and otherwise attend to their needs and special requests. At the Festival they help with volunteers in staffing a participant hospitality area — providing drinks, snacks, and a place to rest.

Moving hundreds of people around by bus, van, car, and golf cart, both at the Festival as well as between the Mall and the hotel and around the city, takes drivers, volunteers, contract bus services, and others who work under a logistics coordinator. Getting participants necessary supplies — food for cooking demonstrations, clay for potters, feed for livestock, snacks for people, and thousands of other items — is a supply staff, usually a supply coordinator, an assistant, and a foodways assistant.

There are several other Festival staff units concerned with specific functions.

Sound crew, engineers, and stage managers support the presentation of musical and narrative performances. A documentation staff led by Jeff Place, Stephanie Smith, and Charlie Weber arranges for sound recording, videotaping, and photographing the Festival. This must be done with some care, for often Festival photographs will appear in publications, sound recordings will turn into CDs and videos into a televised documentary. A public relations staff headed by Vicki Moeser composes and mails out press releases, arranges for reporters to conduct interviews, answers media queries, and compiles a publicity report with press clippings and summaries of electronic media coverage after the Festival. A first aid staff of nurses takes care of on-site health needs. Food concessions and Festival sales staffs oversee revenue-generating operations. Special events staff headed by Linda Benner assists with opening ceremonies, receptions, Congressional and VIP visits, and other functions. Administrative staff, headed by Barbara Strickland and anchored by Bill Holmes and Heather MacBride, aided by Bernard Howard, Marni Hoyt, and Ramona and Dale Dowdal, pays the bills, pays the participants, keeps track of costs and income, oversees security functions, monitors contractors and staff, distributes mail, and answers telephones, e-mail, and radio dispatches.

Some 150 volunteers a day serve the Festival — watching participants' possessions on the Mall site, serving as translators, helping nurses in first aid, running a lost and found, logging tapes at sound stages, or counting visitors to compute attendance. Volunteers apply annually for Festival roles and attend a training and orientation session. The Festival has built up a cadre of loyal, committed volunteers, many of whom

return year after year. By 1997, for example, Ruth Meyers had served for 23 years, Joan Paull for 22, Judy Goodrich for 20, Marvin Nakashima for 19. All volunteers receive badges, a handbook, and eventually a certificate for their service. Long-serving volunteers are presented with Smithsonian diamond-chip pins funded by a generous gift from the estate of long-time volunteer Archie Fookson.

Sales

Several types of sales occur at the Festival. Food concessions account for the largest volume. Every year at the Festival, there are three or four food concessions, not counting the permanent concessions contracted by the National Park Service to Guest Services Inc. Each Festival program generally has a food concession featuring the cuisine of the represented culture, cooked in a style and quality acceptable to curators and Festival management. Usually the concessionaire comes from the nation, state, region, or community featured and has a base of operations there. The Festival curates its food concessions, specifying in contracts with concessionaires cooking methods, ingredients, style of preparation, health, safety, and tax regulations, and prices, and then coordinating all of this with the National Park Service. Menus are of necessity simple because of the scale of service. Thousands of people cannot be well served if each has to wade through an extensive menu with scores of choices. Hence, concessionaires typically offer two or three main dishes with a combination of side dishes, two or three snacks, desserts, and beverages. A strong food concession will operate 12–16 points of service and serve about 10,000 meals on a Fourth of July. Chuck's Bar-B-Que from Memphis holds the Festival record for sales, with over \$260,000 in 1996. Other top sellers have been Anita's New Mexican food in 1992, Indian and Japanese food in 1985 and 1986 respectively, Mississippi's Catfish Corner and Willingham's barbeque in 1997,



Festival participants from Cape Verde, New England, and the Czech Republic get to know each other at the hotel in 1995.

Photo courtesy Bruce Gewirz

Participant Care

Suppose you wanted to invite 500 people whom you respect to Washington to spend two weeks with you. And suppose these folks spoke 15 different languages, ate widely varied cuisines, came from every region of the United States and several different countries, adhered to 5 or 6 different religions, ranged in age from 6 to 90, and reflected the full range of physical and emotional needs you would expect in a group this size. And suppose half of the group had never left their home region, flown on a plane, or operated an elevator. Sound like a challenging group to

care for? It's a typical group at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival.

Participants generally do at the Festival what they do at home. They just do it much more publicly, for much larger, unfamiliar audiences. Part of our job is to make sure they feel comfortable doing what they do and that their physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual needs are taken care of. How do we do it?

First, we recruit a staff that mirrors the cultural groups represented at the Festival. We hire people who speak the languages, know the cultures, and are sensitive to

the people participating in the Festival. Our participant staff, housing coordinator, cultural liaisons, and others help give participants knowledge and skills to control their environment. Sometimes it's showing people how to use the Metro or cable television. Other times it's accompanying people to the doctor's office, a grocery store, or museum collection of interest. Our staff is available 24 hours a day to deal with homesickness and health problems.

At the hotel we work with management to provide cooks who make dishes that will appeal to participants. We arrange religious services for participants who desire

them. We often arrange with the local community — a state society, an embassy, a cultural organization — to host a special function. We recruit volunteers who also speak participants' languages and know their cultures. Our social coordinator arranges hotel halls to jam, party, relax, and even commiserate at the end of a hot and busy Festival day. It all adds up to creating a sense of a big family community at the Festival, which is our way of dealing with guests. With the sheer numbers of people, days, and events, arrangements are never perfect — but it is not for lack of trying to be hospitable.

—Diana Parker

Renowned local artist Lillian Spandorf has sketched and painted scenes from the Festival for decades.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



and Iowa's Machine Shed in 1996. Gross food and beverage sales through the four Festival concessions run about \$700,000 in a good year.

The Festival has provided an opportunity for many smaller, family-owned food operations from a variety of cultural groups to serve a broad audience. This has resulted in businesses being developed both back home and in the Washington area. The food concessions have also encouraged a large public to try new cuisines over the years.

Food concessionaires are provided with a basic set-up at the Festival including appliances, tented and floored structures, counters, electrical and plumbing hook-ups, and signage. Ice, propane, radios, and cash registers are provided on a reimbursable basis. Concessionaires rent their own refrigerator trucks, off-site kitchen facilities, and special equipment, and provide serving plates, utensils, cups, and napkins. A percentage of

adjusted gross sales — within the standard range for outdoor events — is remitted to the Smithsonian to help pay for infrastructure and to support the Festival program. Though each concessionaire has its own cooks and service and sales staff, the Festival hires a food concession staff to oversee operations, and the National Park Service assigns public health officers to inspect foods as they are prepared and served.

The Festival also runs a shop located on the Mall-side lawn of the National Museum of American History. This location is necessitated by National Park Service policy on sales. The Festival shop sells the annual Festival program book, poster, T-shirts and caps, Smithsonian Folkways recordings, as well as crafts, books, recordings, and nonperishable food items from the cultures represented at the Festival. Gross sales for a good Festival run about \$200,000.

The Festival shop includes merchandise

made and brought by participants. These items are offered at a minimal mark-up to cover the cost of sales. The idea is to encourage the cultural production of those participants who have something they want to sell — their music recordings, a book they wrote, a craft item they made. Over the years, this operation has provided a substantial incentive for many tradition bearers to continue their art. They also may discover new markets or ways of positioning their work. Having sales in the shop removes the question of commodification from the main Festival presentation, so that, when visitors approach a craftsman on the Mall, they are less inclined to ask “how much does that cost,” and prompted to ask questions more like “how’d you learn to make that,” “why do you do that,” and so on. Signs at crafts demonstration areas indicate that if something is for sale, it can be found at the shop.

For many years, the Festival shop has

Festival Documentation

The Festival and the associated field research that precedes it generate a large body of documentary material — in an average year about 300–400 rolls of film, 600 audio recordings, 200 videotapes, and a few thousand pages of field notes. This documentation of cultural traditions from around the United States and the world resides in the Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives and Collections at the Smithsonian.

Festival documentation in the field is generated by researchers who operate according to standard guidelines. At the Festival, for some two decades we have collaborated with Smithsonian staff photographers to document the Festival in images. Our own videographer, contract crews, volunteers, and interns operate cameras to video-record Festival performances and demonstrations.

Volunteers trained by the Center's archivists record and log audiotapes at every Festival stage and discussion area. During the Festival, the documentation crew can be seen blanketing the Mall site, communicating with each other over the radios looking for those "perfect" Festival shots. We use a separate radio system from the rest of the Festival staff. Since I have to communicate to both that staff and the documentation crew, I am usually weighted down with two radio systems, and sometimes look pretty silly talking into one radio while listening to another.

Documenting the Festival is a challenge. We document in several media and are always thinking of how to use new technologies — mindful of the long-term issues of use and access. We must get release forms signed by participants in order to document their Festival performances. We try to cover as much as possible and sometimes might record a particular song 20 times over a two-week period. But one never knows when something special will happen. We depend upon many volunteers to help with documentation and processing archival material after the Festival. Mark Miller just finished his 15th year, Marilyn Gaston has helped for over a decade.

The archive has a permanent staff of two, a reading room, and a computer database, growing as we digitize material and catalog holdings. Researchers use the archive on an appointment basis. Staff scholars and curators use the archive for publications and exhibitions. Educators and publishers frequently use Festival photographs, videos, and sound recordings for various products. Materials from Festival programs are copied for local archives "back home." And often we supply former participants photographs or audiotapes documenting their Festival appearance. In cases where a participant has passed away, it is always an honor to provide proud relatives with a copy of a photograph or tape — a valuable remembrance of their loved one's contribution to the National Museum.

—Jeff Place



BELOW RIGHT Specialized equipment including sound and video trucks may be used during the Festival to document performances for high-quality media products.

Photo by Richard Strauss

ABOVE Technicians, like Cal Southworth in 1988, adjust sound amplification for performance and also record tapes for archival use. Photo by Jeff Tinsley



been a wood-floored tented structure, about 3,000 square feet in size. Lattice, chicken wire, jewelry cases, bookshelves, bins, tables, clothing racks, and furnishings help display the books, CDs, baskets, pots, weavings, textiles, clothing, wood carvings, and numerous other items sold. Staff consists of a paid sales manager and volunteers, cash register operators, baggers, runners, security people, buyers, and clerks who arrange for merchandise, check it in, monitor sales and payments, and return unsold items.

The shop provides a measure of feedback for craftspeople and musicians. At the height of its operation, about 1,500 people an hour move through the shop. If something is selling, people know. Our own Folkways staff

learn about the perception of our products by talking to potential customers. People from craft-support organizations and buyers from various other stores, chains, and catalogs often visit the shop and the Festival to get ideas about products, prices, and public receptivity.

Managing Operations

In addition to the 300–700 participants and 30–50 presenters, the Festival may host 100–150 guests, have scores of contractors, some 150 employees, most on temporary appointments, and several hundred volunteers. Then there are the visitors to the Festival — tens of thousands at a time, usually over 100,000 on a weekend day and any-

where from 250,000 to 500,000 on the Fourth of July alone. This imposes considerable responsibility on the staff — from finances and safety to program and security.

The management of the Festival and its personnel is vested in a team consisting of the Festival director, the Center director and deputy, the administrative officer, and the technical director. Current incumbents in these positions, Diana Parker, Richard Kurin, Richard Kennedy, Barbara Strickland, and Pete Reiniger, are all “up from the ranks,” having filled other research, curatorial, program, and support staff roles in the course of their careers. Managers help paint structures, carry boxes, move benches, and pick up garbage. They also formulate the overall

Selling Music

I treasure the two weeks each summer when I head down to the Mall to sell our recordings in the Festival shop. Because much of my work with Smithsonian Folkways is done on the telephone and focused on minute details of liner notes, layouts, and deadlines, it is fascinating to go from production insider to retailer dealing with the public.

In 10 days, thousands of visitors come into the shop. They range from casual browsers to Folkways fanatics; all have questions. For some, it's their first encounter with the label. Others have heard about a recording like *Voices of the Civil Rights Movement* and want to know more. Or they may be like the man last summer who saw the *Jean Ritchie and Doc Watson at Folk City* album and said, “Wow. I was at that concert.” In-store play of *Rhythms of Rapture* stops shoppers in their tracks. Brownie McGhee and Sonny Terry recordings sell out every time they play. And every day I watch hundreds of visitors storm the shop looking for a group they just saw on a Festival music stage. Music's power to provoke people's passion is inspiring. I witness it year after year. And for me, watching recordings do their work completes the production process.

—Mary Monseur



The Festival sales shop serves the public and encourages cultural production by participants. Photo by Stephanie Smith





LEFT From left, staffers Barbara Strickland, Kate Rinzler, Ralph Rinzler, and Jeffrey LaRiche with Korean participants during the 1982 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

BELOW Visitors line up for Indian food cooked in ten *tanduri* ovens shipped to the Festival in 1985. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



parameters of the Festival, allocate resources and budgets, hire personnel, oversee fiscal, contractual, programmatic and sponsorship agreements, deal with institutional arrangements, host visitors, and plan future programs. Management develops policies and concrete procedures for implementing them. These include procedures for an emergency, for handling media people who want to obstruct performances while filming, for parking around the Mall, for reimbursement of petty cash expenditures, for replacing lost or stolen items.

The vehicles for managing the Festival consist of employee manuals and guidelines distributed to staff, weekly production meetings for sharing information, production schedules, program budgets, and various arranged program and budget reviews. In addition to a daily Festival production meeting, numerous ad hoc meetings before and

during the Festival occur to handle different aspects of production. During the Festival day, the Festival staff is in constant communication via radio. Managers observe Festival presentations, meet with curators, coordinators, presenters, and participants, monitor operations of support staff, and keep track of various Festival indicators like sales, added costs, attendance.

The Festival has a history; new staff members are socialized into its practices. Many technical, program, and support staff return year after year. The Festival staff has developed a sense of community, which, though sometimes strained, nonetheless aids in the production of the Festival. A whole Festival terminology has evolved over the years: for example, “mushroom” (tool truck), “pargo” (golf cart), “compound” (staging area), “ammo dump” (storage area). There is a rich lore of Festival stories

about staff escapades, misunderstood assignments, and heroic actions. There is a material culture — including the decoration of golf carts and forklifts, and the development of certain fashionware for different types of weather.

Special and Ancillary Educational Activities

In addition to regular daily Festival presentations, a variety of special and ancillary activities usually occur, often in cooperation with other Smithsonian units. The Festival hosts an opening ceremony with speeches by dignitaries representing the featured cultures and organizing institutions. Heads of state, governors, senators, members of Congress, distinguished scholars, and exemplary cultural spokespeople have participated. The Smithsonian secretary hosts a special luncheon following the ceremony to thank sponsors, supporters, and collaborators. Other special receptions, VIP luncheons, and special tours also take place during the Festival.

Teachers groups use the Festival year after year to help develop curriculum units and materials for their classes. Staffers Betty Belanus, Diana Baird N'Diaye, Marjorie Hunt, and Olivia Cadaval have led on-site teacher seminars. Professors from area universities sometimes conduct classes on the Mall during the Festival to examine various kinds of cultural traditions.

Several Festival programs have complemented major exhibitions in the museums. Festival programs on India, New Mexico, Indonesia, and Southern potters, for example, coincided with exhibitions in the National Museum of Natural History, the National Museum of American History, the Sackler Gallery, and the Renwick Gallery. Smaller exhibits on Bahamian folk painter Amos Ferguson, on Ron Barbosa's Cape Verdean photographs, and others have been held in the Smithsonian's International Gallery. The Festival often cosponsors lecture, film, and even performance series with The Smithsonian Associates, the Natural

Members of the Festival technical crew gather together for a group photograph in 1982.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution





ABOVE Senator Ted Kennedy speaks at the opening of the 1988 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Managing the Festival

I'm a gal from the South. I don't have a lot of formal education but do have a lot of common sense. I was proud to work with fellow Native Americans when I started with the Festival in 1975, though I was also scared. But I got a lot of encouragement from Ralph Rinzler and learned that we were one big family working toward a common goal. I love working with people, and I'm not afraid to work from sunup to way past sundown — which is common during the Festival.

I have one of the hardest Festival jobs. I'm responsible for the budgets. Richard Kurin jokingly says it's his job to spend the money and mine to stop him. We butt heads, plan for travel, housing, and other expenses, and hug and dance when we come out okay — which is usually on the last day of the Festival. That's when we jokingly say, "We're not going to jail."

The hardest thing I do is deal with both the federal government and grassroots people. Neither one is made for or understands the needs of the other. I have to talk through the bureaucracy and reassure people that we'll take care of them.

My biggest challenge was in 1988, when I had to get room and board for a large marching band with no notice when their bus broke down late at night. I had to get them back home to Boston for a July 4th parade the next day. Banks and the government were closed. I talked the hotel into trusting me for the payment; the airlines agreed to bill me for airfares — all on my word. Our word, our family feeling, our desire to do well by the people make the Festival what it is.

—Barbara Strickland



Hawaiian constituents greet Senator Daniel Inouye at the opening of the 1989 Festival.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

The people of Kentucky were presented as having a dignified, organic folk tradition that is the result not of naiveté, or a primitive or backward lifestyle, but of intelligent, purposeful, sustained and imaginative coping with the problems and opportunities of a particular region and set of historical circumstances.

—David Whisnant, Evaluation of Kentucky program, 1973

History, American History, African Art, and other museums. Festival subjects, themes, and ideas often emerge as stories in *Smithsonian* magazine, a Smithsonian book or traveling exhibition, or features on Smithsonian radio; sales items might end up in a Smithsonian shop or catalog. Festival images and sounds, captured by Smithsonian photographers and documentary teams, are translated into electronic Web pages on the Internet. Through the efforts of Stephanie Smith, Peter Seitel, and Michael Maloney, the Center maintains a Web site for a virtual Festival including items from Mall presentations and from field research. And many Festival programs are restaged “back home,” prompting the co-planning and design of various Festival elements.

Studies and Evaluations

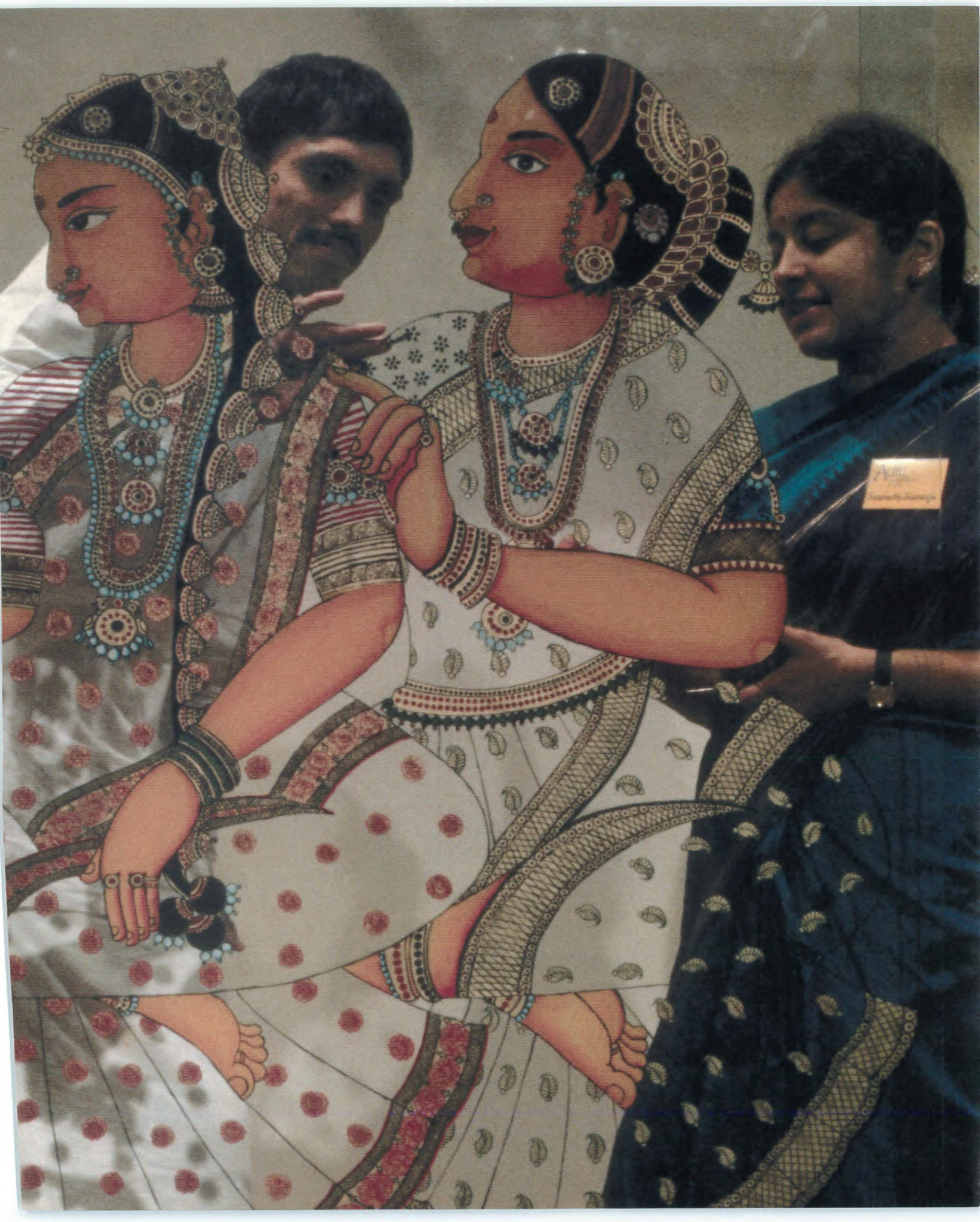
At the end of every Festival, staff members are asked to write evaluations of their performance, programmatic activities, support systems, or other areas of involvement. Oral evaluations are also given. The staff as a whole meets to discuss the Festival’s production and issues substantive and minor. Every year recommendations arise for how the Festival can be improved.

Since its early days, the Festival has encouraged scholars and students of culture to conduct formal studies of its presentations and operations. Formal studies have been undertaken by well-known senior scholars in a variety of disciplines — from anthropology to theatre, folklore to pop culture. Post-graduate students have also examined the Festival’s production or aspects of it. Smithsonian staff too engage in critical, reflective study of their own work.

Aditi, a “living” exhibition in the National Museum of Natural History, accompanied the *Mela!*, a program at the 1985 Festival.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution









Ralph Rinzler joins
Wade and J.E. Mainer
and Steve Ledford for a
string-band music
session at the
1969 Festival.
Photo courtesy
Smithsonian Institution





CHAPTER 6

A Festival History

The marble museums of the Smithsonian Institution are filled with beautiful handworn things made long ago by forgotten American craftsmen. Nostalgic reminders of our folk craft heritage, the museum exhibits are discreetly displayed, precisely labeled, and dead.

But the folk craft tradition has not died. Yesterday it burst into life before the astonished eyes of hundreds of visitors on the Mall.

—Paul Richard, *Washington Post*, 1967

Thanks to S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, thousands of people have been having a ball on the Mall, watching dulcimer-makers, quilters, potters and woodcarvers and listening to music.

—Mary McGrory, *The Evening Star*, 1967

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

A program sponsored by the Smithsonian should reflect the Institution's founding philosophy and current role. Although it has the world's largest collections of American folk artifacts, the Smithsonian, like all museums in our nation, fails to present folk culture fully and accurately. Through the Bureau of American Ethnology, it has pioneered the collection, archiving, analysis and publication of American Indian cultural data, [but] neither the Smithsonian

John Jackson performed at the first Festival in 1967 and at numerous others subsequently.

Photo courtesy
Smithsonian Institution

nor any other research institution has employed the methods of cultural anthropology in an extensive fieldwork program in American folk cultures.

The lack of museum expertise and the absence of adequate field programs in American folklife studies has resulted from a general ignorance of the abundance of our traditional cultures. Related to the collections and based on the philosophy of the Smithsonian, an exposition of the folk aesthetic on the Mall accompanied by a seminar would be provocative.

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

Though it had antecedents elsewhere, the Festival was a specific historical invention at the Smithsonian, offering a particular way of presenting and representing cultural life. Ripley's approval of the Festival makes sense in the Smithsonian museum context in which it is set and against which it is simultaneously juxtaposed.

Culture in the Museum Context

The rapid and extensive growth of natural history museums in the 19th century was largely motivated by the desire to collect things — natural species and cultural artifacts — before they were no longer available. Curators, scholars, and collectors wanted to make sure they had an accurate, or at least comprehensible, record of the life forms, cultural achievements, and historical

events that had occurred on the planet. Bones, stones, baskets, costumes, diaries, and mementos were regarded as the closest things to a living memory of humankind's natural and cultural heritage.

The approach of museums to the preservation of culture is instructive. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many of the world's cultures were disappearing or being changed beyond recognition. The Industrial Revolution, urbanization, colonialism, and a growing globalism in commerce and communication changed societies the world over. The Native cultures of the Americas, Asia, Africa, and Oceania were being destroyed. Languages that took centuries to form no longer had enough people to speak them: some 400 American Indian languages, for example, were lost by the 20th century. Art forms developed over generations could no longer be practiced for lack of materials, knowledge, or occasions for use. Forms of subsistence, of eating, of building homes were discouraged or became economically impossible to realize. Social organizations — clans, tribes, castes, chiefdoms, kingdoms, and other institutions — were superseded by newer forms, often imposed by conquering forces. Ritual practices, beliefs, and specialized systems of knowledge were largely swept aside, belittled, or rendered irrelevant. In short, cultures — deprived of their own materials, knowledge, and purposes — were actively being destroyed, or were dying of disuse.

What should museums do, particularly those of national and international scope, in response to the death and destruction of cultures? In 1880, John Wesley Powell, Smithsonian anthropologist, famous explorer, founding member of the National Geographic Society and the U.S. Geological Survey, wrote to the secretary of the Smithsonian, Spencer Baird:

Rapidly the Indians are being gathered on reservations where their original habits and customs disappear, their languages are being modified or lost. . . . I would respectfully



request that you forward to Congress this statement with an estimate for fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of continuing the ethnologic researches among the North American Indians under the direction of the Smithsonian.

Powell's efforts energized the Bureau of



Frances Densmore records the songs of Mountain Chief in front of the Smithsonian Castle in 1916. Photo courtesy National Anthropological Archives

American Ethnology (founded in 1880), a long-term effort to research and document American Indian lifeways. Powell and other anthropologists and folklorists such as Franz Boas at the American Museum of Natural History and William Wells played key roles in the formation the American Folklore Society (1888–89), the American

Anthropological Association (1898), and other organizations that had as a purpose the study and documentation of cultures before they disappeared entirely. Much of this work fell to museums that mounted expeditions and collection efforts so that future generations might be able to understand and appreciate what had been.

At the turn of the century, in addition to conducting field research and collecting and presenting artifacts, Smithsonian and other anthropologists experimented with living presentations in order to inform large publics about extant cultures. Numerous cultural groups from around the world were gathered in Chicago for the 1893 Columbian

S. Dillon Ripley, led by Lucille Dawson, participates in an honoring ceremony at the 1975 Festival; Rayna Green with Ralph Rinzler follow.

Photo by Reed & Susan Erskine, Lightworks



Exposition, and in St. Louis for the 1904 World's Fair. These expositions presented cultural groups and people as "objects of ethnography." Some people were forced to participate. Groups were "collected" and people "displayed" to illustrate anthropological ideas of "primitive," "evolution," and "progress." The people represented had little role in formulating their own presentations, and sometimes said so. Racism and commercialism in the treatment of people were rampant and beyond scholarly control. Boas, among others, gave up the hope that public anthropology could be conducted in such a manner.

These expositions, which tended to highlight the "progress" of European and American society vis-a-vis "less advanced" or "more primitive" others, confirmed the social evolutionary view prominent in popular discourse of the day. That some cultures faced destruction was not seen as a tragedy by many. Rather, the demise of those cultures was part of a natural process through which more "primitive," less adaptable ways of living were weeded out. For some of these social evolutionists, the progress of mankind as a species depended upon eliminating beliefs and practices seen to be irrational and uneconomical. Museums cast in this evolu-

tionary mode typically arranged artifacts in order, say from the most primitive form of spear to the most complex, from the simplest form of pottery to the most sophisticated. At the pinnacle of this cultural evolution were Europeans and Americans, representing the epitome of civilization — at the height of "moral and material progress." Other peoples and their cultures, both contemporary and historical, were seen as remnants of previous stages of cultural development, representing more savage and barbarous lifeways. Sometimes supposed scenes from these lifeways would be depicted by mannequins arranged in "life groupings" in museum



cases, to give visitors an idea of how it might have been and how some people still lived.

Boas and his student-colleagues — Alfred Kroeber, Elsie Clews Parsons, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Margaret Mead, Zora Neale Hurston, and others — offered a 20th-century alternative to the cultural evolutionary view. They knew what was lost when a culture died. Every culture represents ways of living, ways of seeing the world, and time-proven ways of navigating in it. Every culture defines the world and characteristic ways of representing it: cognitively, through the knowledge, skills, and wisdom it inculcates in its bearers; normatively, through laws and

expectations of how to behave; and aesthetically, through the music, song, verbal arts, and material forms it promotes and values. Every culture provides a code for being human, and for being human in a distinctive way. Unlike genetic codes, cultural codes are learned. And individuals are capable of learning and enacting several different codes. When a culture dies, distinct ways of knowing, of doing, of understanding, and of expressing die. When the society bearing the culture dies, we lose the means by which the culture is enacted and practiced. And while genetic descendants may remain, they live on deprived of their own culture, often marginally associated with a new, most likely imposed one. In short, the death of a culture represents a loss in the human cultural repertoire. This loss extends beyond the present, for we never know how valuable would have been the contribution of that culture to a larger human future.

Operationally, museums could serve to hasten the death of cultures. The quicker cultures died, the more rapidly museums could collect their remains. And if museums actually promoted and participated in the death of cultures, collecting practices could be rationalized to a great degree. Indeed, this strategy was invoked under the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia and resulted in the Central Jewish Museum of Prague. Nazi scientists systematically collected and cataloged the life of the Jewish community as its members were prepared for annihilation. While the materials resulted in a truly *Precious Legacy* (the name of the 1983 Smithsonian exhibition of this museum collection), few could possibly argue that this represented an ethical or culturally appropriate means of professional practice.

The Smithsonian engaged in various efforts over its history to document forms of cultural life before they disappeared. Numerous domestic and international expeditions collected artifacts as evidence of life-ways that could be studied by scholars and made available for public view. Not all data

were artifactual. Powell and others collected examples of language use, soliciting grammars and lists of words. Frances Densmore and Alice LaFleche collected American Indian songs, recording them on a machine invented by Thomas Edison. Most of the Smithsonian's anthropological efforts were directed toward the study of American Indians. While many scholars were empathetic with Indian peoples, their cultures, and histories, there was little use of this knowledge for the benefit of Native communities. Smithsonian scholars saw other scholars and specialists, not American Indians, as their primary constituency.

Up until the 1960s the Smithsonian's approach to non-Native American culture was largely to exhibit technological inventions and items of political and military history. When the U.S. National Museum was organizationally divided in 1969, it became the National Museum of Natural History — containing collections of American Indian artifacts and those of all other non-European peoples — and the National Museum of History and Technology. The holdings and scholarship of this latter museum (which changed its name to the National Museum of American History in 1980) were less developed than in Natural History. While there were artifacts from the colonial era and the 19th century, there was little strategy for collecting, studying, and displaying the cultural heritage of the American people. Little existed of what we now know as social history. Save for some exceptional efforts, the cultural history of African Americans, American Indians, Hispanics, and various American ethnic and regional groups was neglected.

Ripley's Era

In the 1960s, Secretary Ripley was shaking up the Smithsonian. A New England patriot, Ripley was an ornithologist who came to the Institution from Yale's Peabody Museum. But he knew the Smithsonian as a research fellow and had some definite ideas about livening up the place. He saw the

Smithsonian making a far greater contribution to national and international public and intellectual life than did his predecessors. As an important symbolic act, he had the statue of Joseph Henry, the Smithsonian's first secretary, rotated so that it faced not toward the Smithsonian Castle but outward, to the world.

Ripley wanted to rationalize the study of human life. He pointed out to staff, quite candidly, that "defeat has a lot to do with who gets studied." He brought in Sol Tax to plan a National Museum of Man. This new museum would build on the Smithsonian's Department of Anthropology and the Bureau of American Ethnology, as well as other programs. Tax, a professor from the University of Chicago, had a reputation for developing scholarly links around the world — he organized international anthropological meetings and was a founder of the journal *Current Anthropology*. He and his students had developed "action anthropology" as a result of work with the Fox Indians. This brand of anthropology funneled knowledge about culture back into the community for its use and development. Tax and his protégé, Sam Stanley, were concerned not only about museum anthropology but with contemporary cultural phenomena, their study, and the responsibility of scholars.

Various cultural developments occasioned new ways for the Smithsonian to approach the study of culture. In some areas of the world, social change was causing cultural traditions to disappear rapidly. The Smithsonian established the Center for the Study of Urgent Phenomena to conduct rapid research and documentation. Changes in U.S. law resulted in a large and broad new immigration after 1965. Roy Bryce-Laporte was hired to develop a center for the study of immigration. Film allowed for more thorough, continuous documentation of human behavior. Richard Sorenson was asked to develop a Human Film Studies program.

Ripley initially envisioned musical performances on the Mall as a way of enliven-

ing the Smithsonian — reminding him of performances outside the museums of Paris. He would have even countenanced a New England gazebo with summertime performances of band music. In light of some Congressional scoffing at his supposed frivolity, Ripley saw himself as "bringing gaiety to the federal city which officially frowns upon the pleasure principle." Initial ideas about live performances on the Mall developed into more complex proposals and ultimately played back into Ripley's larger program for dealing with human culture in a way he did not originally foresee.

Ripley hired James Morris in 1966 to serve as director of Museum Services and later as the director of a new Division of Performing Arts. Morris had a background in operatic singing and theater production. He was charged with developing a full program of performances on the Mall — sound and light show, readings and concerts, films, live demonstrations, and special exhibitions. Series of evening concerts, barbershop quartet singing, a puppetry theater, a "Rites of Spring" program, "Summer in the Parks," and a 900-seat nylon and steel "Theater-on-the-Mall" flowed from his considerable talent and energy. Morris was also interested in folk presentations. Folk festivals were big in the 1960s, particularly the Newport Folk Festival. They occupied interesting conceptual space in the United States, on the edge of both Americana and the counterculture.

At the Smithsonian, Scott Odell with Archie Green had organized concerts on the terrace of the Museum of History and Technology. Morris had first organized the American Folk Festival in Asheville, North Carolina, in 1963. Many other organizations held folk festivals — the National Folk Festival, Swarthmore College, and the University of Chicago, for example. For the Smithsonian to do something significant on the National Mall with folk culture, it would have to do something unique. It would have to come up with something bigger, more extensive and substantive.



James Morris at the 1973 Festival.
Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Morris had worked with some of the key people involved in the Newport Folk Festival — Alan Lomax and Pete Seeger, among others. Lomax suggested that Morris hire Newport's director of field programs, Ralph Rinzler, to help plan a Smithsonian festival.

Cultural Equity and the Festival As Living Museum

Alan Lomax was a well-known figure in scholarly and entertainment circles not only in the United States but around the world. The son and collaborator of folk song collector John Lomax, Alan had roamed the country and the globe documenting song styles and traditions. He issued numerous recordings, hosted radio shows, sang with Woody Guthrie, composed songs with Lead Belly, served as master of ceremonies of many New York concerts, wrote scholarly and popular books, and served as archivist in the Library of Congress' Archive of Folk Song. He eventually won a Pulitzer Prize for his book, *The Land Where the Blues Began*. He received a Presidential Medal of the Arts, developed the



Bess Lomax Hawes, Alan Lomax, and Ralph Rinzler sing informally at the Library of Congress.

Photo by Carl Fleischhauer

theory of cantometrics, and established the Center for Cultural Equity at Columbia University.

Lomax saw the connection between the survival of folk traditions and their public performance and dissemination. Lomax noted two simultaneous cultural currents in the United States and abroad. On one hand, like his predecessors, he found cultural styles falling into disuse or being destroyed. This was occurring in major cities as migrants or immigrants rejected the cultures of their grandparents. But it was also occurring through acts of genocide, wholesale prejudice and discrimination, and the destruction of ecosystems that supported Native peoples in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Australia. Unlike most of his intellectual forebears, however, Lomax found that, despite all the pronouncements about cultural disappearance or mere vestigial survival, ancient styles of cultural expression had an amazing resiliency. A broad array of human cultures seemed to be doing quite well and even flourishing. Lomax opined that enlightened government policies could help preserve and encourage those cultural forms by utilizing them in the schools, popular entertainment,

and other forums. He hypothesized that some of the factors that hastened the destruction of cultures, such as new technologies, could now aid them. Radio broadcasts, sound recordings, television programs, and films promulgating mass global aesthetics could overwhelm local cultures. But the same means could enhance and promote knowledge and appreciation of those local expressive systems. As Lomax wrote in "An Appeal for Cultural Equity":

Practical men often regard these expressive systems as doomed and valueless. Yet, wherever the principle of cultural equity comes into play, these creative wellsprings begin to flow again. . . . Even in this industrial age, folk traditions can come vigorously back to life, can raise community morale, and give birth to new forms if they have the time and room to grow in their own communities. The work in this field must be done with tender and loving concern for both the folk artists and their heritages. This concern must be knowledgeable, both about the fit of each genre to its local context and about its roots in one or

more of the great stylistic traditions of humankind. We have an overarching goal — the world of manifold civilizations animated by the vision of cultural equity.

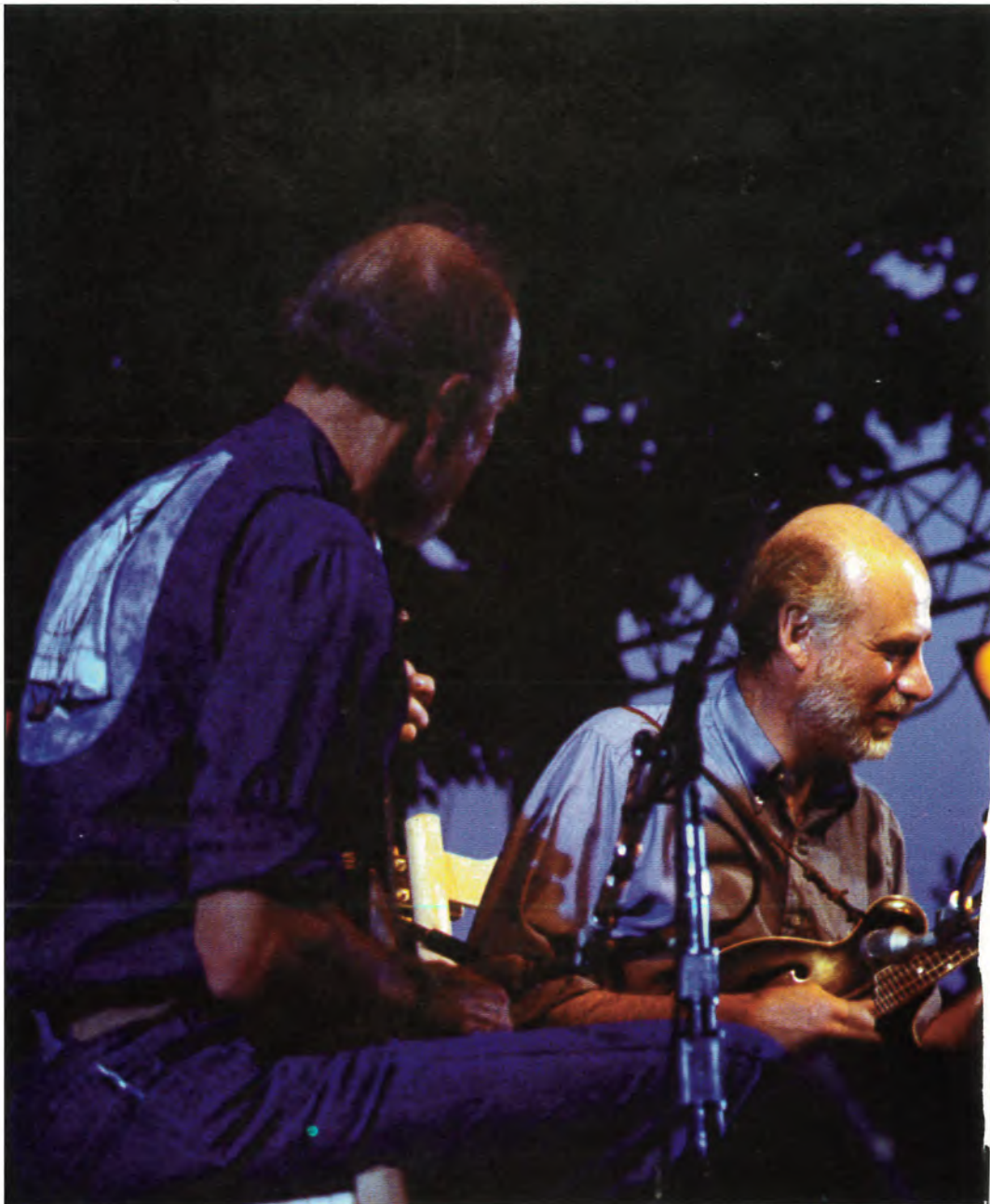
Lomax's intellectual vision was apparent in the Newport Folk Foundation that ran the Newport Folk Festival, and carried over to the Smithsonian Festival though Rinzler.

The Newport Folk Festival evolved from the Newport Jazz Festival. The Jazz Festival was initially an idea of Elaine and Louis Lorillard — the tobacco heirs — to enhance the summer life of Newport's residents. They enlisted jazz impresario George Wein to produce the festival beginning in 1954. After years of successful festivals, Wein, interested in the roots of jazz and in attracting college student fans of popular folk groups like the Kingston Trio, held the first Newport Folk Festival in 1959. Festivals in 1959 and 1960 were thought by people like Pete Seeger to have too many city, professional performers and not enough "folks." The Newport Folk Festival was reorganized in 1963 with a board of directors of a nonprofit foundation including Seeger, Peter Yarrow, Theodore Bikel, Jean Ritchie, and others. Lomax joined



Pete Seeger and Bernice Johnson Reagon combined their interest in folk song with a commitment to civil rights. They remained life-long friends and colleagues of Rinzler's. Photo by Diana Davies

LEFT Pete Seeger, Rinzler, and Arlo Guthrie perform at a special tribute to Woody Guthrie on the Mall in 1982. Photo courtesy Meil Paster



ABOVE Rinzler plays and sings with Hazel Dickens on her porch. Photo courtesy Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives and Collections, Smithsonian Institution

RIGHT Rinzler on a fieldwork trip in 1966. Photo by Robert Yellin



*There was a sense in my mind
that cultural democracy was as
important as any other kind of
democracy.*

—Ralph Rinzler, 1960



ABOVE Rinzler and Peggy Seeger became friends attending folk festivals. Photo courtesy Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives and Collections, Smithsonian Institution

Rinzler sings with the Kossoy sisters, Woody Guthrie, and Oscar Brand in New York in 1959.

Photo by Photo-Sound Assoc., J. Katz, A. Rennert, R. Sullivan

the board in 1964; Rinzler worked on the festivals and joined the board in 1965 as well as becoming head of field research.

The Newport Folk Festival always depended upon ticket sales, and thus the tension between enlisting as performers “big name” entertainment — people like Bob Dylan, Janis Joplin, Buffy Sainte-Marie, Jose Feliciano, Muddy Waters, Richie Havens, Joan Baez, B. B. King, Odetta, Peter, Paul and

Mary — and more traditional performers was always evident. Traditional performers were located through field research. All performers were paid the same amount of money and given a lot of tender loving care by Judy Wein, Toshi Seeger, and others. The Festival was always intended to be educational as well as entertaining and thus included workshop discussion stages in addition to performance stages. Performances were “pre-

sented” with background on the history of a song or song style, sometimes written by Lomax. There were also children’s programs and evening concerts. Recordings with liner notes were produced after the festival on Vanguard and Folkways. Rinzler pioneered crafts demonstrations to complement the musical performances. The Newport Foundation also undertook the support of local organizations around the country from

Our Friend Ralph Rinzler

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

— Arthel “Doc” Watson

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

So sang a Bahamian chorus on the National Mall at a wake held for Ralph a day after his passing on the second day of the 1994 Festival. It seems so incongruous to those who knew Ralph Rinzler to imagine him lying down and resting.

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

Ralph was a beautiful example of a basically



Thai Buddhist monks at the 1994 Festival say prayers for Rinzler, who had died days before.

Photo by Richard Strauss

scholarly person doing an extraordinary show-business job, bringing hundreds of thousands of people to music, food, and crafts they’d never heard before. His miracle was how to get the authenticity in a larger space and still keep it authentic.

— Pete Seeger

Ralph’s mission was personal and professional. He was active in the folk song movement in the 1950s at Swarthmore College with fellow student, folklorist, and lifelong colleague Roger Abrahams. Ralph’s early interests spanned fine arts and mythology, but then Library of Congress field recordings and Folkways’ Harry Smith *Anthology of American Folk Music* captured his attention. He was an excellent musician and learned to play banjo and mandolin. He taught others and became part of a bluegrass group, the Greenbriar Boys. Ralph learned some tunes from Woody Guthrie in Washington Square Park,

organized performances with Pete Seeger, Bob Dylan, Mary Travers, and Bernice Reagon, and worked with Moses Asch and Mike Seeger in producing Folkways records.

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

— David Grisman

Meeting Appalachian musicians Clarence Ashley and Doc Watson in their homes gave Ralph a new perspective. Said Ralph, “I knew the style of the music but had never really connected with the people who played. I knew it as a sound, not as an expression of the thinking, functioning person sitting in front of me. I had no idea what kind of people played this music.”

Ralph managed Doc Watson’s early career

its profits. Organizations like Foxfire received crucial support for their documentation of local community and regional traditions.

Most importantly, Rinzler and others saw the impact of Newport performances on traditional musicians. Cajun fiddler and school bus-driver Dewey Balfa appeared at the 1964 festival at the urging of Rinzler. His family had feared that his old Cajun tunes would be ridiculed by the urbane audience.

Instead Balfa's performance was lauded by the crowd. Balfa came away promising "to take the applause that echoed in my ears back to Louisiana." In the ensuing years, the impact of Balfa's performance at Newport, and later, at the Smithsonian, was impressive. Other Cajun musicians were strongly encouraged by his experience, reviving Cajun music within the community. It also led to the acceptance of Cajun French being taught

and spoken in the schools. Formerly ill regarded, the status of Cajun French and local history became highly valued. Indeed, studies of Cajun culture were instituted at the college level in the region. In recognition of his role in conveying knowledge of Cajun culture to the next generation, Balfa was eventually appointed an adjunct professor at Southwest Louisiana State College.

Another Newport lesson for Rinzler was

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

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

—Henry Glassie

Ralph loved regional crafts, especially pottery. He drove trucks across the South bringing back quilts, pots, and baskets. Ralph thought that people should know about them, that the object was as significant as the performance in representing particular people. He joined with Nancy Sweezy to help financially support craft enterprises, and with Bob Sayers co-authored two books and films on pottery.

Ralph worked with scholars to develop ways of communicating the significance of cultural differences. As the *Washington Post* well noted, Ralph was "a champion of cultural equity long before the winds of multiculturalism first blew." At the Festival he hired Native Americans. He worked with a dedicated group of African Americans in establishing the African Diaspora programs. His work continued as the Smithsonian assistant secretary for public service. He founded the Cultural Education and Wider Audience committees to encourage the broad inclusion of the American people in collections, programs, staff, and audiences. He insisted that a Native American be hired as founding director of

the National Museum of the American Indian.

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

Ralph continued his work on the Festival and Folkways after retiring as assistant secretary. He co-curated *Roots of Rhythm and Blues* at the 1991 Festival and won another Grammy nomination for the resultant recording. Ralph produced a series of oral history/music instruction videos with Pete Seeger, Ralph Stanley, Watson, and Monroe. He produced new albums of Watson, Monroe, and Ashley, and at the time of his death was completing an expanded edition of Harry Smith's *Anthology of American Folk Music*, which in 1998 received two Grammy awards. Ralph received other honors including the Smithsonian Secretary's Gold Medal, and was a *Washingtonian* of the Year in 1976. He served as vice chair of the U.S. National Commission to UNESCO, and on a National Commission task force for music in education.

Ralph and his wife Kate were members of the board of the Highlander Center in Tennessee and strong supporters of movements for civil and human rights. Ralph was, as Bess Hawes noted,

"always aflame with something," often a campaign that had to be organized right then. Ralph made the struggles of traditional artists his own — as Bess explained, Ralph showed people how to vent their individual artistic creativity and still remain true to their tradition, how they might simply and practically make a living. And he wasn't afraid to wade in and give his opinions: He strove with the artists he loved and admired; he argued with them and listened to them with all his being; he totally supported their right to dignified, democratic, conflict-laden choices even when he thought they were wrong.

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

—Roland Freeman

Ralph could dissertate on innumerable subjects from the origin of the bagpipes to the potential of high-definition television. He had ideas upon ideas — several an hour. A few had been created before, some were wacky. But one or two would be innovative, insightful, and strong. And so on any day you might be left with a dozen or so, any one of which could have occupied a lifetime — as indeed they have. It didn't stop during the day, either. Ralph loved to call well into the night, beginning conversations mid-sentence and bursting with energy. Ralph spent so much time on the phone that deaf participants at the Festival one year made up a unique sign for him — the sign for "R" with each hand positioned next to mouth and ear, as if to indicate two telephones and the initials "RR."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 110

the relationship between the festival and the desire for civil rights and justice. The 1963 Newport Festival had a focus on the Civil Rights Movement with performances by the SNCC Freedom Singers. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., had noted that traditional spirituals, sometimes with revised lyrics, helped the movement, giving people "courage and a sense of unity." Pete Seeger, Zilphia Horton, Fred Hamilton, and Guy Carawan had re-composed "We Shall Overcome" from such a spiritual. According to insiders, some of the festival's organizers were opposed to its location in the midst of Newport's spacious mansions and the conspicuous wealth of their owners. According to Judy Collins, they thought "their role as folk singers meant they should be advocates of the people, dedicated to promoting social change by con-

fronting power and wealth as used in showy ways." Newport was a place to make a statement. According to Rinzler, Bob Dylan might very well have composed the words to "The Times They Are A-Changing" while riding down Newport's Bellevue Avenue on the way to a concert that was to feature Fannie Lou Hamer and the Freedom Singers. The eventual carry-over to the Smithsonian's Festival on the National Mall, especially given the March on Washington later that year, was obvious.

Rinzler was also motivated by his own personal experiences prior to Newport — the most important of which came in 1960 and would later inform his Smithsonian role. In the 1950s Rinzler had been learning about folk music from Library of Congress field recordings, attending college folk festivals with Peggy and Mike Seeger and Roger

Abrahams, and working on producing Folkways recordings. He gained from working with Ewan MacColl in England, from discussions with Alan Lomax and Margaret Mead, and listening to Folkways' Harry Smith *Anthology of American Folk Music*. The latter was a crucial document in the history of the folk revival, containing some 84 recordings made from commercial records of Southern, Appalachian, Black, and Cajun musicians in the 1920s and 1930s. These rather raw recordings were annotated with weird yet insightful notes by avant-garde artist-anthropologist Harry Smith. They touched a nerve, and were used for their rough style and lyrical content by Dylan, Baez, Jerry Garcia, and many, many others. Rinzler thought the people and music recorded on the Smith *Anthology* were the

Our Friend Ralph Rinzler

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 109

Ralph had great vision, crossing boundaries of race, class, gender, technology. He was also a bundle of opposites. Ralph donned the dress of the elite, but struggled to make conditions better for hundreds of Smithsonian working men and women who wear a uniform. He loved to drive a horse and buggy on his beloved Naushon Island in Massachusetts, and also to play with the latest digital-electronic calendars and computers.

Ralph passed away during the 1994 Festival. It was in the big music tent on the Mall that Saturday that the Bahamians were presenting their evening Programme. A great storm came up, and a thousand, maybe more, in the audience gathered into the tent. There was a respite for a few moments. Then the heavens broke loose with a sweeping deluge. It was a frightening display of thunder, lightning, and a torrential downpour of rain. Some of the folks from The Bahamas noted how it was God that was talking through the thunder and lightning and that it was not appropriate to perform until He'd finished. Kayla Edwards, the presenter and the deputy director of culture for The Bahamas, explained how some people thought that such

strong storms signified that a great person had died — that the storm was nature's way of making room for a new ascending spirit. She did not know that Ralph had passed away just at that time. As the electricity went down, those in the tent sang "Amazing Grace."

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

A few days later in that same tent we held a memorial service. Clydia and Reeves Nahwooksy provided a Comanche Baptist invocation. Mike Seeger, Guy Carawan, and Bill Monroe played and sang. Bernice Reagon sang, as did the Bahamians. Bess Hawes, Jeffrey LaRiche, Ann Romano, and James Early spoke of his legacy. Pete Seeger, Alan Lomax, Henry Glassie, Roger Abrahams, Rajeev Sethi, and many others sent messages that were read. Lucille Dawson talked about the truly profound effects the Festival's Native American programs had had on Indian education and civil rights. Mike Thomas, who

helped care for Ralph during the last year, spoke for the Smithsonian custodians who always found in him a friend and supporter.

You don't get too many bow-tied Washington officials meriting Baptist Indian prayers, Buddhist shrines, or Bahamian wakes, or having the "Bourgeois Blues" played as the recessional for their memorial service. It is indeed a tribute to Ralph's life that he was so appreciated, in so many different ways, by so many different people. And it's my guess that Ralph had a satisfied chuckle when the *New York Times* erroneously reported in its obituary that he was Black.

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

—Roger Abrahams

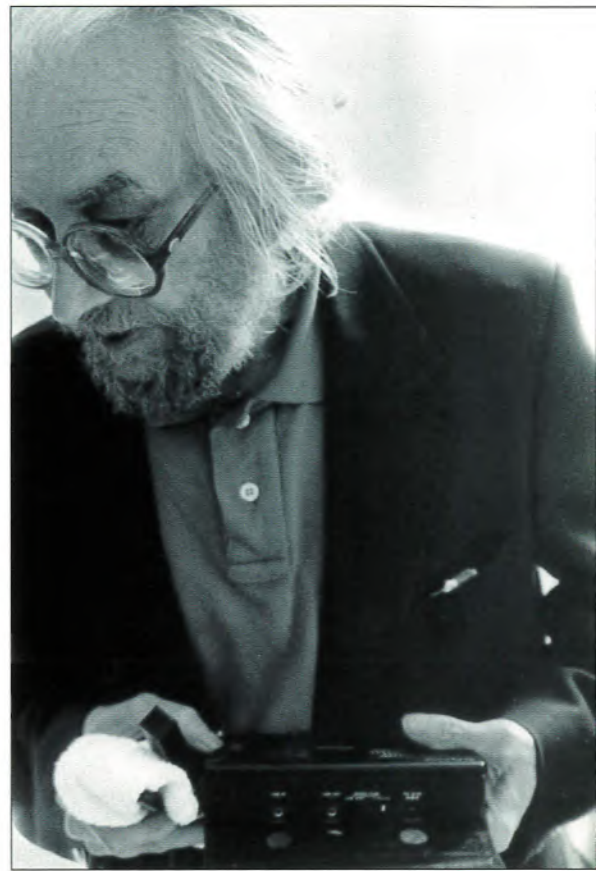
Ralph was a man of multiple talents, of immensely broad experience, and of absolutely startling energies. . . . I hope. . . many of us here will determine that we ourselves can try to help fill the terrible gap his death leaves; it will take a lot of us working all together, but we know a lot more now,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

—Bess Lomax Hawes

—Richard Kurin

stuff of archives and museums — long dead.

On a trip to North Carolina in 1960, Rinzler and Mike Seeger met up with a Tom Ashley who claimed to be none other than Clarence Ashley, whose 1929 recording of the “Coo-Coo Bird” was on the Harry Smith *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 pick-up truck, Rinzler, who’d been playing the banjo, was joined by Watson, who offered a rendition of “Tom Dooley.” Rinzler was struck by Watson’s version, diverging as it did from the Kingston Trio’s popular 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 Grayson family; it was Sheriff Grayson who arrested Dooley. Tom Dooley was not some abstract character



ABOVE LEFT Moses Asch, founder of Folkways Records, published more than a dozen recordings produced by Rinzler. Photo courtesy Moses and Frances Asch Collection, Smithsonian Institution

ABOVE Harry Smith studied with anthropologist Paul Radin and later became part of the Greenwich Village scene in New York. He hung out with Allen Ginsberg, created art and films, produced the *Anthology of American Folk Music* and the first Village Fugs album on Folkways. Photo by Brian Graham

LEFT Doc Watson, Clarence Ashley, and Gaither Carlton in Deep Gap, North Carolina, in 1960. Photo by Eugene Earle





The Monroe Brothers (left), joined by Mike Seeger and Rinzler, perform at the 1969 Festival. From the late 1950s Mike played for the New Lost City Ramblers. Rinzler played with the Greenbriar Boys, a revival bluegrass band. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

made up for the purpose of singing an entertaining song, Rinzler realized, but part and parcel of a community's oral history.

At Doc'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 explained his presence and told the Watsons about the folk revival. They didn't really understand why people would be interested in that kind of music. Doc was earning some money playing rockabilly with an electrified guitar and questioned Rinzler about touring as a country musician. As Rinzler recalled,

I said, the best way to explain this is to say there is this album of records recorded in the twenties and thirties that have 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."

I almost cried. It moved me incredibly. I just loved him. From that whole scene — he was an incredibly gentle person, and tender. And he said that in a way that came from so deep inside of him, and it was so evocative 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.

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 welcomed or valued, but that was imposed; and while the younger generation was reaching for it quickly, and curious and active, 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 context: 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. I'd never understood or realized that I would ever hear that music in context or that it still existed in context. As far as I was concerned it had disappeared from the face of the world, and I was hearing something out of an archive from a period in time and a place that no longer could be reached. Grayson was a person that Gaither had known and Tom Ashley had known. Tom Dooley was related to someone Doc's grandmother had



Dejan's Olympia Brass Band from New Orleans plays at the first Festival in 1967. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

known, and all of this had happened there, and this music was part of their experience.

It represented not only a placing and a framing of sounds that I had found ineffably beautiful and mysterious, but also a sense of a tradition that held families together and people together.

Rinzler came to the Smithsonian on contract in February 1967. He met with Morris and other officials, as well as with anthropologists Bill Sturtevant and Bob Laughlin and historian Scott Odell. For Rinzler, the proposed Festival had a functional connection to the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology, in that it would document a cultural history poorly known or understood by the public and in danger of being lost. But the Festival would present living traditions. The culture Rinzler had found, in Appalachia, in Cajun country, through his Newport work, was alive. It needed help, encouragement, and validation. Rinzler from the beginning thought the Festival could

broaden knowledge and appreciation of and increase support for art forms and practitioners overlooked in a society whose sense of beauty and value is generally driven by the exercise of power and the marketplace. This was very quickly to be articulated as part of 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.

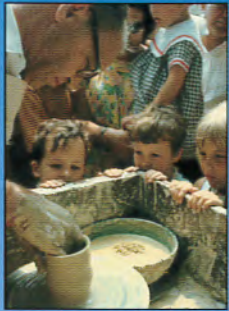
Since its founding in 1967, the Festival has always navigated between the various axes of art (as entertainment), cultural rights (as advocacy), education (as public service), and knowledge (as scholarship). At times during its history, and even within the same year among its programs, presentations and framing have gravitated toward one or another axis. But by and large, the

Festival's form, contexts, purposes, and place have remained the same.

The First Festival

The Festival got off the ground in 1967 under Morris, with Rinzler hired to develop the program. Marion Hope became the project assistant and then Festival coordinator and assistant director. The term "folklife," drawn from Scandinavian usage, was chosen over "folk." Suggested by University of Pennsylvania folklorist Don Yoder, who was also active in the Pennsylvania Folklife Festival, it had a wider, broader reference than "folk." It more easily incorporated crafts, foodways, belief systems, and occupational skills — connoting more a way of life — and also separated the Smithsonian Festival from pop music gatherings associated by some with protests, drug use, and 1960s counterculture. Henry Glassie, a recent Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania who had worked with Rinzler at Newport, was contracted to help plan a major conference coincident with the Festival on folklife

Programs at the Smithsonian



Children at the 1968 Festival watch the hands of Kentucky potter Ernie Cornelison.

Photo by Robert Yellin

1967 PERFORMANCES

(fife and drum, brass, string bands, gospel, shouts, jubilees, spirituals, country, Meskwaki, Puerto Rican music, New Orleans jazz, Cajun music and ballads, blues, polkas, cowboy songs, clogging, Scottish, Russian, Irish, King Eskimo, Galicia dancing, Chinese New Year, pantomime); **CRAFTS** (basket and doll making, carving, needleworking, pottery, blacksmithing, silver-smithing, spinning, weaving)

1968 Texas;

Lummi Indians;

City-Country (blues, bluegrass, jazz, gospel, Cajun dancing, Basque, Indian dancing, ballads); **CRAFTS** (butter churning, sheep shear-

ing, soap, candy, sorghum making, milling)

1969 Pennsylvania;

PERFORMANCES (French songs of New Hampshire, Louisiana, Grand Ole Opry, Turkish, Greek, Afro-Cuban singing and dancing, ballads, string bands, fife and drum, blues, shouts, jubilees, spirituals); **CRAFTS** (sheep shearing, wool processing, corn crafts, Seminole crafts, toy, doll, basket making, blacksmithing, pottery); **Toby Show**



Crowds gather on the Mall for a Festival evening concert in 1969. Photo by Diana Davies

1970 Arkansas;

Southern Plains Indians;

PERFORMANCES

(Spanish, Irish, Scottish bagpipers, country music, bluegrass, Southern blues, sacred harp, Portuguese-American *fado*, Chinese

dragon dancing, Eastern European songs, shouts, spirituals, jubilees, string bands); **CRAFTS** (dairy traditions)

1971 Ohio; Northwest Coast Indians;

Labor (meat cutters, butchers, confectionary workers, glass blowers, bridge, structural, ornamental iron workers); **PERFORMANCES** (work songs, ragtime, rhythm & blues, rock 'n' roll, shouts, jubilees, spirituals, Puerto Rican, Caribbean, Cajun music, blues, old-time

banjo and fiddle music)

1972 Maryland; Southwest Indians;

Labor (ladies garment workers, lithographers, photoengravers, carpenters, joiners, molders and allied workers);

PERFORMANCES

(Chicago blues, old-time country blues, gospel, first annual Fiddlers Convention)

1973 Kentucky; Northern Plains Indians; Working Americans

(plumbers, carpenters, electricians, stone masons, lathers, bricklayers, plasterers, millwrights, operating engineers, pipe fitters, sheet metal workers, steam fitters); **Old Ways in the New World** (Britain, Yugoslavia)

1974 Mississippi; Native Americans

(Creek, Cherokee, Eskimo, Acoma, Athabaskan, Jemez, Laguna, California Indians [Tolowa, Pomo, Hoopa, Yurok, Karok, Luiseno, Maidu, Cahuilla], Basin & Plateau [Paiute, Shoshone, Kaibab, Northern Ute, Ute Mountain, Southern Ute, Nez Perce]);

Working Americans

(graphic artists, radio operators); **Old Ways in the New World** (Sweden, Norway, Finland, Tunisia, Greece); **African Diaspora** (Ghana,

Trinidad & Tobago, Nigeria, Caribbean);

Children's Program; Family Folklore

(evolution of American folk music)

1975 Regional

America (Northern plains, California heartland); **Native Americans** (Iroquois Confederacy); **Working Americans** (railroad, aircraft workers, truckers, seafarers); **Old Ways in the New World** (Germany, Italy, Lebanon, Japan, Mexico); **African Diaspora** (Jamaica, Ghana, Haiti);

Children's Program; Family Folklore

1976 Regional

America (Northeast, Great Lakes, South, Upland South, Heartland, Great West, Pacific Northwest, Pacific Southwest); **Native Americans** (Northeast, Southeast, Southern Plains, Prairie, Northern Plains, Northwest Coast, Southwest, Plateau, Basin, Northern California, Arctic);

Working Americans

(workers who feed us, extract and shape, build, technical and professional skills,

workers who clothe us, workers in communications, arts, and recreation, workers who transport us); **Old Ways in the New World** (Germany, Pakistan, Mexico, South America, Ireland, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Egypt, Greece, Japan, Austria, India, France, Poland, Britain, Portugal, Israel, Romania, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy); **African Diaspora** (Ghana, Jamaica, Haiti, Liberia, Trinidad & Tobago, Nigeria, Brazil, Puerto Rico, Zaire, Suriname, Senegal); **Children's Program; Family Folklore**

1977 Virginia; Native

Americans (Ojibwe, Tolowa, San Juan Pueblo, Navajo, Seneca);

Working Americans

(folklore in your community — Washington, D.C., cab drivers, bartenders, vendors, Capitol building workers);

Energy and Community; Nation of Nations

(Dunham School, Ellis Island, immigrant lore, baseball bat turning, ethnic foods); **CRAFTS** (wood painting, natural fiber crafts)

Folklife Festival

1978 Native American Community (San Juan Pueblo); **Occupational**

neighborhood store owners, stone carvers, street hawkers, cab drivers, Vietnamese community);



Kentucky traditions including horsemanship, farming, music, and crafts were featured at the 1973 Festival. Photo by Jill Durrans

Community (organ builders, sleeping car porters, sharecroppers, stone carvers); **Energy and Community** (oil and coal industry workers); **Ethnic Community** (Ellis Island and American immigration); **Regional Community** (Chesapeake Bay, Smith Island); **Mexican Communities**

1979 Energy and Community (Native American architecture); **Folklore in your Community** (baseball players, citizens-band radio operators, firefighters, gospel singers, market vendors, neigh-

Children's Program; Medicine Show

1980 Old Ways in the New World (Caribbean Americans, Southeast Asian Americans, Finnish Americans); **Energy and Community** (folk housing and energy efficiency, food preservation); **American Talkers** (auctioneers, pitchmen, street criers)

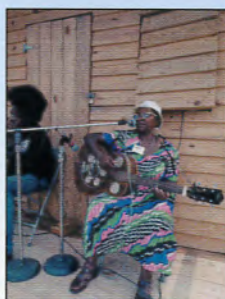
1981 Regional America (Southeastern, Northeastern music and crafts); **Native Americans** (Ojibwe); **Old Ways in the New World** (South Slavic Americans); **Energy and**

Community (adobe architecture); **Children's Program; Folklore of the Deaf; American Tent Show**

1982 Oklahoma; Korea; Children's Program; National Endowment for the Arts — First National Heritage Awards

1983 New Jersey; France; Occupational Culture (flight); **National Endowment for the Arts — Second National Heritage Awards**

1984 Alaska; The Grand Generation: Folklore & Aging; Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia; Traditional Foodways



Flora Moulton performs for the African Diaspora program in 1976. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

1985 Louisiana; India — Mela! An Indian Fair; Cultural Conservation

(Makah and Puerto Rican mask, Seneca basket making, Kmhmu crafts, Appalachian ballads, Cajun, Irish, cowboy music, song, poetry, Mayan marimba, weaving)

1986 Tennessee; Japan; American Trial Lawyers; Cultural Conservation (Cherokee basket making, Hispanic weaving, wood carving, Hmong embroidery, African-American quilting, Italian-American stone carving, Zuni, Southern pottery, rag rug weaving); **20th Anniversary Music Program**

1987 Michigan; Music of Washington; Cultural Conservation: Language (Appalachian, Chinese American, Lao American, Mexican American)

1988 Tradition and Innovation: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts; Musics of the Soviet Union (Russia, Georgia, Uzbekistan,



A Caribbean steel band performs on the Mall at the 1989 Festival as part of a carnival procession. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Azerbaijan, Estonia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Tuva, Yakutsk); **Migration to Washington, D.C.: Making a New Place Home; American Folklore Society Centennial; Festival Music Stage** (bluegrass, Piedmont blues, double dutch jump rope, Cajun, Puerto Rican music, powwow drum)

1989 Hawai'i; France and French-speaking North Americans; The Caribbean (Puerto Rico, Haiti, Jamaica, Cuba); **American Indian Access to Resources** (Yaqui, Washoe, Paiute, Shoshone, Ojibwe, Mandan, Hidatsa)

1990 U.S. Virgin Islands; Senegal; Musics of Struggle (U.S. Civil Rights Movement, Gallaudet Deaf President Now,

Appalachian coal miners, Latino farm workers movement, South Africa anti-apartheid singers, Israeli, Palestinian, Kurds, Irish)

1991 Family Farming in the Heartland; Indonesia: Forest, Field, and Sea; Land and Power in Native American Culture (Alaska [Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian], Arizona [Hopi], Andes [Aymara, Quechua], Mexico [Chiapas Mayan, Oaxaca Zapotec, Ikkood], Ecuador [Canelos Quichua, Shuar, Achuar]); **Roots of Rhythm and Blues: The Robert Johnson Era**

1992 New Mexico; Maroons: Resistance and Creativity (Jamaica, Suriname, French Guiana, Colombia, Mexico, Texas, Ecuador); **Workers at the White House; The Changing Soundscape in Indian Country**

1993 U.S.-Mexico Borderlands; American Social Dance (hip hop, Cambodian, Andean, square dance, hand dancing); **Metro Music; Kids' Stuff**

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

and its goals at the Smithsonian. This effort was helped by a score of inventive thinkers from a range of fields.

The first Festival was held July 1–4 in two tents — one for crafts and one for sales — a music stage, and a performance area on the terrace of the Museum of History and Technology. The Festival included 84 participants — a variety of musicians and craftspeople from across the country: Bessie Jones and the Georgia Sea Island Singers, Moving

Star Hall Singer Janie Hunter and coil basket maker Louise Jones from South Carolina, dulcimer maker Edd Presenell from North Carolina, Dejan's Olympia Brass Band from New Orleans, Navajo sand painter Harry Belone, Acoma Pueblo potter Marie Chino, the Yomo Toro Puerto Rican Band and the Irish Ceilidh Band from New York, cowboy singer Glenn Ohrlin, bluesman John Jackson, Libba Cotten, Russian *glinka* dancers from New Jersey, King Island Eskimo dancers from

Alaska, and country blues singer Fred McDowell, among many others.

The Festival drew a huge crowd and strong press interest. People loved it. And although Ripley did not attend, he was swayed by its success and the reaction of several in Congress. Said Thomas Rees of California,

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, needleworkers, 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.

The Festival dramatically illustrated Ripley's new philosophy of the museum. Senator Thomas McIntyre of New Hampshire noted: "The Smithsonian is becoming much more than a repository for old artifacts. The exhibits are coming out of the display case and the men and women directing the institution are showing that a museum can be vital and creative."

Ripley enjoyed the recognition of the approach, as he wrote in the Smithsonian annual report for 1967 about the Festival:

Within — in the Museum — the tools, the products of craft work, the musical instruments hang suspended in cases, caught in beautifully petrified isolation. Without, for the space of a few hours they came alive in the hands of specialists from all over America.... It was a moving spectacle and one that underscored the principle that a museum, to be a museum in the best sense of the word, must live and breathe both within and without.

Programs at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival



The Lao-American community worked with the Smithsonian to organize a traditional rocket festival on the Mall in 1987. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

CONTINUED FROM
PREVIOUS PAGE

1994 Masters of Tradition: National Heritage Awardees; The Bahamas; Thailand; Culture and Development

(Ecuador [Centros Shuar-Achuar, Radio Latacunga, Cacha Federation], Peru, [Taqiile], Haiti [Comité Artisanal], Bolivia [ASUR, Tiwanaku, Beni, CIMCA, El Ceibo], Brazil [APAEB], Guatemala [CDRO], Panama [Kuna, Darién], Chile [Mapuche], Mexico [ISMAM])

1995 Cape Verdean Connection; Russian Roots/American Branches (Molokans, Old Believers);



Mocko jumbi stilt dancers and carnival troupes join in a Virgin Islands tramp down the Mall at the 1990 Festival.

Photo by Dane Penland

Heartbeat: Voices of First Nations Women; Czech Republic; First Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert (Pete Seeger, Cephas & Wiggins)

1996 Iowa; American South; Working at the Smithsonian (researchers, educators, buildings and grounds); **Second Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert** (Hazel Dickens Tribute)

1997 The Mississippi Delta; African Immigrant Folklife; Sacred Sounds (South African, Old Regular Baptist, New York Puerto Rican sacred rap, Japanese Hawaiian Shinto, African-American sacred song, Israeli Jewish, Muslim Palestinian songs of Jerusalem); **Third Ralph Rinzler**



Italian- and Portuguese-American societies from the Boston area re-create a feast of the saints procession for the 1988 Festival.

Photo by Dane Penland

Memorial Concert (Revival of Southern string music)

1998 Wisconsin; Río Grande/Río Bravo Basin; The Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania; Pahiyas: A Philippine Harvest; Fourth Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert (Klezmer); **Folkways 50th Anniversary Concerts**

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

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

The Festival and conference project was viewed in 1967 as part of a larger strategy to study, present, and conserve traditional grassroots cultures. The last session of the conference was devoted to planning for a National (or American) Folklore Institute. The Institute would sponsor intensive scholarly fieldwork on American folk cultures, stimulate and preserve folk traditions through economic and educational assistance, produce an annual festival, encourage regional festivals and seminars, publish scholarly monographs and seminar proceedings as well as more popular works, produce documentary films, maintain an archive, compile resource guides for folk culture, dis-



Community Involvement

A major goal of the Folklife Festival has always been to amplify the voices of grassroots and traditional culture bearers. The involvement of community cultural experts behind the scenes in the production of programs in which they are represented is as important as their participation during the Festival itself. Such was the case with the 1997 program *African Immigrant Folklife in Washington, D.C.: Building and Bridging Communities*. More than 450 participants from over 30 countries of birth worked together in a program to represent some 40 distinct communities in the local area.

The program reflected a three-year partnership between Smithsonian staff, cultural organizers, traditional artists, educators, and community scholars. This group — constituted as the African Immigrant Folklife Study Group — collectively and individually researched, conceptualized, and interpreted community life and events. They examined how their own communities creatively used and adapted skills, knowledge, and ideas from home to build and maintain a sense of shared identity in the United States, and at the same time how they forged cultural links with their Washington-area neighbors.

Some of this work was done by African immigrants trained in ethnography and related work. In other cases, people worked in new dis-

ciplines, or conducted cultural research for the first time.

For the *African Immigrant Folklife* program, the 1997 Festival hosts the installation of the Asanteman Kuo of Washington, D.C. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

ciplines, or conducted cultural research for the first time.

The group together engaged in professional skills development sessions where Smithsonian staff were challenged to apply methods of research and analysis to African immigrant life. The African Immigrant Folklife Study Group met on almost a weekly basis over the course of three years to share empirical findings and discuss more general conclusions.

This participatory style of research and curation led to the use of various concepts, such as “suitcase economy” and “vertical village” that seemed especially well suited to African immigrant life. Research results were also manifested during the Festival itself with presentations on music, commerce, foodways, ceremonial life, and discussions of cultural transmission and immigrant lore. We also created a virtual Festival Web site featuring an African immigrant naming ceremony.

As a result of these efforts, participatory studies and representations of African immigrant culture have been launched by other organizations in New York, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

—Diana Baird N'Diaye

If Abraham Lincoln could have been reincarnated last week as he sat within the walls of the Lincoln Memorial overlooking the [Festival on the] Mall, he would have been proud of his Kentucky birth.

Cyrene Dear, *Gleaner-Journal*
Henderson, Kentucky, 1973

seminate educational materials to schools, advise other government agencies on cultural conditions related to their programs, and develop proposals for a national folk performance company and a national folklife museum. Looking back more than three decades later, while not all of the suggestions developed in the 1967 American Folklife Conference have been realized, most of them have indeed come to pass.

It is difficult to summarize all the milestones, all the accomplishments of the Festival. Key benchmarks merely signal its scope and contributions to scholarship, museology, government policies, and the life of cultural communities themselves.

Community Involvement and Staffing

The Festival was intended to help present and interpret in a direct, public way the sometimes overlooked artistic creations of America's diverse, grassroots cultural com-



LEFT Roland Freeman (left) and Worth Long have worked on Festival-related programs for almost three decades.

Photo © Roland Freeman

RIGHT Governor Lamar Alexander tours the 1986 Festival featuring the traditions of his state, Tennessee, and meets fiddler Howard Armstrong.

Photo courtesy

Smithsonian Institution

munities. Through Rinzler and his connections to Bernice Johnson Reagon, Harry Belafonte, Pete Seeger, and Guy Carawan the Festival linked the struggle for civil rights and the idea of cultural democracy. The Festival was a means whereby many Americans could tell their story and exhibit their aesthetics, their knowledge, their skill, and their wisdom to the rest of the nation. Crucial to this process was the involvement of community members, not only as performers but also as audience and as curatorial and professional staff.

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

The desire for civic involvement was very strong. In 1968, the Festival was the first big

public event after the civil unrest in Washington that had followed the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Portions of the 1968 Festival were held at the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum. The Festival marked the coming together in public of people from diverse backgrounds at a time when many had questioned the strength of the social fabric. Alan Lomax, presenting the Festival's final concert to a huge crowd, captured the sentiment:

This is the Festival of the common man. This is the Festival of the democratic art. This is the art the American people have made out of their experience. In affairs like this we realize our strength. We realize how beautiful we are. Black is beautiful. Appalachia is beautiful and even old, tired, Washington sometimes is beautiful when the American people gather to sing and fall in love with each other again.

Festival staff got involved in the singing at the Poor People's March encampment later that summer and documented the event. An African Diaspora Advisory Group was formed in 1971 to develop programs on African-derived traditions, foster community involvement, and engage scholars in finding solutions to questions of cultural representation.



The desire to make the Festival relevant to a diverse public was sometimes manifested through special programs — for example, a 1973 program on gospel featuring Thomas A. Dorsey. The effort to diversify scholarly and community participation was very wide ranging. In the late 1960s Clydia Nahwooksy was hired to establish the Festival's American Indian Awareness program. Over the years, the Festival played an important role in bringing scholars and cultural thinkers to the Smithsonian from previously unrepresented or under-represented communities. Many, such as Reagon, James Early, Manuel Melendez, Lucille Dawson, John Franklin, Alicia González, Rayna Green, Olivia Cadaval, Fred Nahwooksy, Linley Logan, and Camila Bryce-Laporte, have held positions of increasing responsibility and scope within the Smithsonian and beyond.

The Festival provided an opportunity to develop networks of minority scholars. Roland Freeman, a documentary photogra-

pher, and Worth Long, a civil rights community organizer, teamed up in 1974 to survey and document the folklife of Mississippi's Black communities for the Festival. This led to their collaboration on numerous Smithsonian and non-Smithsonian projects over the years.

The Festival has long attempted to provide research, training, and presentational experience to members of diverse communities. This has served two purposes. On one hand the Festival has helped enhance community self-documentation and presentation. On the other, the discourses of the Festival, the Smithsonian, and a broad public have been enriched by the perspectives of professional and lay scholars on their own community's cultures and on broader issues of social and cultural history.

This ongoing commitment to cultural dialogue has sometimes taken the form of a Summer Folklore Institute, first organized in 1989 by Betty Belanus. Hundreds of lay

scholars work in communities across the United States documenting, preserving, and presenting their community's traditions without benefit of professional training, institutional networks, or adequate resources. Institutes organized around the Festival have exposed fellows to techniques and methods used within the field and provided a means whereby community scholars could meet one another as well as academic and museum scholars and interested public officials whose help they might draw upon. The Festival has provided a fertile field for illustrating and examining questions of cultural documentation and presentation.

Program Book

At the 1968 Festival, a program book accompanied Festival presentations. Noted scholars from a variety of disciplines addressed general issues of folklore and folklife and the specific traditions illustrated in the Festival in a writing style accessible to public audiences. Richard Dorson, then at the University of California at Berkeley, wrote an article "What is Folklore," where he asserted that "folklore is the culture of the people. It is the hidden, submerged culture lying in the shadow of the official civilization about which historians write." Whereas Don Yoder recognized the folk cultural underpinnings of everyday life for ordinary Americans, Malcolm Watkins, head of the Smithsonian's Division of Civil History, expressed his disagreement with the others and the Festival, writing in the program book: "Today, true folklife and folk expressions, fragile and flickering in a few belated cultural pockets, are like stubs of candles guttering in the breeze."

In 1970 the Festival program book began to include diverse ways of addressing cultural traditions. In addition to articles by scholars, it featured documentary photographs, recipes, statements by and interviews with craftspeople and musicians. Over the years, the program book has included seminal and informative articles on traditions and issues presented by Festival pro-

Hawai'i, 1989 — The Other Side of the Island

In the summer of 1989, a visitor to the Folklife Festival on the Mall was admiring the intricate combination of flowers for the adornment of heads, necks, and hearts. She commented with an expression both quizzical and delighted, "I've been to Hawai'i many times — but I never saw this. I must have been on the other side of the Island."

That comment crystallizes the ability of the Smithsonian Festival to bring to a national audience the cultural traditions that fill the crevices of our nation's cultural treasure chest. For the state of Hawai'i, an island chain stretching across 500 miles of ocean, the Festival provided an opportunity for self-reflection and self-discovery.

Hawai'i is a state in which no one cultural group is the majority. People of native Hawaiian, Japanese, Okinawan, Chinese, Korean, Philippine, Puerto Rican, Portuguese, and European descent have intermingled for over six generations, rendering one of the most intercultural populations in the country. In spite of the high level of intermarriage and the emergence of shared cultural traditions, many customs are rooted in the soil of a particular island or even in particular districts.

As Hawai'i became a tourist destination in the 1950s, local people responded with ingenuity and practicality, developing an image of culture in the islands for public consumption. As in other communities facing similar circumstances, some traditions burrowed into the nooks and crannies of small communities and private life.

The Smithsonian experience helped us to explore those private recesses of the islands. Enough trust was established to enable people to share their traditions in a venue that was both respectful and fun. The Festival experience has, for most of us, continued to build and blossom. The interpretive expertise and treatment both personal and professional that our tradition bearers received has set a standard for local organizations to follow. Two Festival restagings



Ah Wan Goo from Kaua'i prepares a *kalua* pig to be cooked in an *imu* pit on the Mall.
Photo by Laurie Minor



Members of Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha from Lana'i dance at the Festival. Photo by Laurie Minor

occurred, an official one on Oahu and another organized solely by participants in North Kohala. Two documentary television films were produced. Three Smithsonian Folkways recordings and a book on traditional hula were published. The State Foundation for Culture and the Arts published a major, comprehensive audio recordings series on traditional Hawaiian music. Several Festival participants have been honored with National Heritage Fellowships from the National Endowment for the Arts.

For Hawai'i, the Festival lives in the hearts and memories of those who participated and saw the other side of the Island. That vision has contributed to a cultural renaissance beneficial to all Hawaiians.

—Lynn Martin, *State Folklorist*
Hawai'i State Foundation for Culture & the Arts

grams. The contents of the Festival program books provide a compendium of multidisciplinary and multivocal cultural scholarship, with articles on regional American traditions, American Indians, the cultures of African Americans and of diasporic communities, on ethnicity, community musics, verbal arts, material culture, vernacular architecture, foodways, community celebrations, occupational folklife, children's folklore, the folklore of the elderly, the cultures of other countries, issues of cultural policy, and biographical profiles of important musicians.

Several articles have focused on institutional practice and reflected on the production of the Festival itself — the ideas used to develop programmatic themes, to decide on who is to be represented, how, and why. Program books are sold to the general public every year and used in university classrooms for teaching about cultural traditions. Many states and locales have reprinted articles for use in their schools.

Featured State and Region

First in 1968 and then in ensuing years, the Festival adopted and in some cases developed innovative categories for understanding and presenting folklife traditions. In 1968 the Festival began its ongoing concern with the regional cultures of America with a distinct "featured state" program about Texas. Rinzler had devised the idea of state programming at Newport but was not able to

New Mexico, 1992

The smell of fresh tortillas and horno bread, dry dust kicked up between booths, *muralista* paintings, Pueblo dances, adobes and dark, warm mud oozing through children's hands, a cold beer at the cantina, Antonia's accordion pumping out *corridos*, the Apache Mountain Spirit dance, *charreada* horsemanship skills, sheep shearing and rug weaving, all of these and many more experiences somehow transcended the reality of the Mall in Washington, D.C. The New Mexican plaza recreated on the Mall so felt like a plaza fiesta in New Mexico, as did the unusually dry weather during the summer of 1992, that the 100 or so New Mexican folk artists often felt they were back home in the high deserts of New Mexico talking to the *turistas*.

The Smithsonian's recognition of an important national treasure in New Mexican folk art with its long history made us feel proud to be included as

implement it. He enlisted Texan Mack McCormick, whom he knew from Newport, to help put the program together, received supporting funds through the Institute of Texan Cultures, and built upon a program at the HemisFair. The Festival program included basket makers, a saddle maker and blacksmith, oven builders, a Czech dance band, a Tiqua Indian group, *corrido* singers, a *mariachi* band, Lightnin' Hopkins, storytellers, and a variety of cooks. The program illustrated that regional culture often crosses ethnic communities and provides a particular cultural identity and aesthetic style. At the same time, regions generally host considerable cultural variation and diversity.

State programs in the early years of the Festival on Texas (1968), Pennsylvania (1969), Arkansas (1970), Ohio (1971), Maryland (1972), Kentucky (1973), and Mississippi (1974) were followed by regional

part of America's cultural heritage — even though statehood was achieved only in 1910. The Festival dissipated a myth that only three cultures exist in New Mexico, as African-American gospel singers, Czech sausage makers, and others participated in this multicultural event. The Festival also brought together New Mexicans who rarely, if ever, see each other due to immense geographic and sometimes social distances between communities. The same occurred with encounters between New Mexicans and other Festival folks, the Maroons, and even White House workers. The evening jam sessions back at the hotel were awe inspiring, as we witnessed a Jamaican youth dance to *mariachi* music, Caribbean drumming, Native American flute playing and the country violin.

New Mexico followed up the Festival on the Mall with festivals the following year — a large-scale version in Las Cruces and a smaller one in Espanola. For

programs for the bicentennial years of 1975 and 1976. Staff and academic experts spent a great deal of effort in delineating American cultural regions. State and regional programs resumed after the bicentennial.

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

It is with joy that we bring what is special about Hawai'i to you, which is the spirit of aloha. Because we are more than wonderful weather, or beautiful beaches or powerful volcanoes. We are a people. We are people from many different backgrounds, and yet one, in the middle of God's Pacific. Based on our native Hawai-



many, it was a family reunion. *La politica* or New Mexican politics hampered efforts to continue the festivals on an annual basis. But the Festival did bring many folk artists a level of recognition — even by our own institutions — that they might not have gained otherwise. At least two colleges began to accept exemplary tradition bearers as faculty — even without formal degrees — recognizing that they had knowledge to pass on to the next generation. For many, the Festival transformed our lives, and we will never be the same.

— José Griego y Maestas, Dean
Northern New Mexico Community College

New Mexicans of varied backgrounds join in an ecumenical way to bless the adobe church constructed for the Festival in 1992.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley

ian heritage, which bonds us together in a spirit of love and pride, and built upon by those who came later for a better life, reaching out so that their children's future would be secure. All of this is here for you to enjoy. To you, from the community of communities, to the nation of nations, we bring our spirit of aloha. State and regional programs at the Festival have also been important in generating lasting relationships with national agencies like the Folk and Traditional Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts, and with a variety of state and local agencies.

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

This is a national Festival, but not just for Washington, D.C. My Congressional colleagues and I are very much aware of the impact this Fes-

Iowa: Community Style, 1996

There is an overwhelming sense of pride in what was accomplished through our partnership with the Smithsonian. The magnitude and impact of the national Festival is hard to capture — it was incredible. Certainly for the participants it was a life-changing experience. For an entire state, it provided an opportunity to mobilize around a common cause. We showcased who we are to the nation and the world — as well as back home. It may be years before the full impact of the program is realized.

In celebrating its sesquicentennial of statehood in 1996, the Iowa Sesquicentennial Commission, with the Iowa Arts Council and Iowa Department of Economic Development/Division of Tourism, joined with the Smithsonian to mount a program at the Festival, and reproduce it back home in Des Moines on the grounds of the State Capitol.

We worked closely with the Smithsonian staff developing timelines, budgets, curatorial ideas, and ancillary educational products. State-wide community research began in January 1995 with the hiring of a folklife coordinator, Rachele Saltzman, through a partnership with the Iowa Arts Council and the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Smithsonian's assignment of Catherine Kerst — on loan from the Library of Congress — as curator. Research conducted over a year by some 60 fieldworkers captured a snapshot in time of Iowa's contemporary grassroots community culture. The research allowed us to develop the Festival as well as additional materials and programs.

The Festival program was outstanding. I think we surprised a lot of people who never thought of Iowa as culturally rich. On the Mall we illustrated the crafts traditions of the Amanas, American Indians, and various ethnic groups, and presented a variety of family music-making groups from polka, country/gospel, and old-time to town bands and the blues. We demonstrated auctioneering, showed the importance of girls' basketball as communal ritual, and showcased a variety of occupational skills — from farming and equipment manufacturing to riverboat captaining and commercial fish-

ing. We had magical moments with an evening devoted to community radio. Visitors watched corn grow before their eyes, operated \$140,000 farm equipment, jumped in hay bales, voted in mock caucuses, and ate tons of Iowa chops.

There were scores of stories on television and radio, and literally hundreds of newspaper articles about the program, generating an estimated \$9–12 million in public relations impact. Due to the Festival, its restaging, and other Sesquicentennial events, tourism in the state increased 13 percent, yielding approximately \$34 million in benefits. Yet, however impressive, these figures pale in comparison to the value of the program for Iowans individually and collectively. As we shared our lives with others on the Mall, we found out about ourselves. The Festival was an experience of self-discovery that truly touched our hearts. We realized that we had something to offer our neighbors and fellow citizens. We could be justifiably proud of the ideas, values, sense of community, home, and work that formed our experience.

This pride was brought back to Iowa from the Mall through the Festival restaging, through the media, through columns in small-town newspapers, and in hundreds of discussions by participants around the state. The Iowa Folklife Festival drew more than 85,000 to the State Capitol grounds. As a result of the two festivals, Iowa Public Television produced and broadcast a documentary, *Iowa Folks and Folklife*. Smithsonian Folkways produced *Iowa State Fare: Music from the Heartland*. Together, we all produced and distributed *Iowa Folklife — Our People, Communities, and Traditions*. These multimedia learning guides were distributed to every junior and senior high school and to every senior citizen center in the state. A full-time Iowa state folklorist position was restored to continue the work.

The Festival provided a most appropriate way of celebrating our 150th anniversary. It is also clear that the activities and the valuable lessons we learned will touch our lives for generations to come.

—J. Scott Raecker, Executive Director
Iowa Sesquicentennial Commission

tival has had on our own states and regions. For example, my state, Oregon, has had two successful folklife festivals as a result of the Festival here. A young woman who did the fieldwork for the 1976 Bicentennial Festival returned home to Oregon to direct a north coast festival in Astoria in 1977 and a central Oregon festival this year. The festival demonstrated the breadth of folkways in just one state, from loggers and fishermen on the coast to buckaroos and smoke jumpers in the rugged central part of the state. These regional festivals demonstrate that the cultural traditions brought out by the Smithsonian are worthy of respect, celebration, and scholarship on the home turf.

Ohio, featured at the 1971 Festival, established the idea of remounting the Smithsonian program “back home,” doing so at the Ohio State Fair later that year and for several years thereafter. With Ohio partners, plans were also developed for a documentary film, educational materials, and programs at local universities — including expanded course offerings and an Afro-American Oral History Center at Ohio State University. Since then, other states have remounted a Festival program back home — Oklahoma in 1982, Michigan every year since being on the Mall in 1987, Massachusetts in 1988, Hawai'i in 1990 and 1994, the U.S. Virgin Islands in 1991 and 1996, New Mexico in 1993, Iowa in 1996, Mississippi in 1998, Wisconsin in 1998. They have also used the Festival to develop their own ongoing programs for the study, presentation, and conservation of local cultures. In some cases, this has resulted in cultural heritage legislation.

Native American Programs

The 1970 Festival included a program focused on Native American cultures. Rinzler found the presentation of individual Indian musicians at Newport an ineffective means of conveying the place of traditional music



A Navajo weaver demonstrates her art at the 1969 Festival.
 Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

within Native cultures. While the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology had long collected and documented evidence of previous lifeways, the Festival attempted to complement this with the rich dance, craft, foodways, and ritual traditions of contemporary Indian peoples. But given the government's history with Native people, these presentations had to be done with considerable scholarly and moral care. American Indian cultural activist and Festival staffer Clydia Nahwooksy worked closely with members of American Indian tribes to document and present traditions on the Mall. Collaboration in planning the Festival, in training community people, and having American Indians speak



LEFT Victoria Ann Ackley, an Ojibwe Indian from Wisconsin, demonstrates wild rice processing techniques at the 1989 Festival.
 Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Indian youngsters from Seneca and Iroquois communities play lacrosse on the Mall during the 1989 Festival.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley

directly to the public marked the development of these programs over the years.

Since 1970, representatives from more than 130 Native American tribes have illustrated their cultures at the Festival. Cultural spokespeople have included Vine Deloria, Russell Means, Oren Lyons, Suzan Harjo, and LaDonna Harris, among many others. Survey programs in the mid-1970s were followed with thematic presentations that grew out of discussions with a Native American Advisory Group chaired by anthropologist Alfonso Ortiz. In 1978, 1979, and 1980, American Indians demonstrated the uses of vernacular architecture, the skills and knowledge needed for its construction and its ecological soundness. In 1989 an American Indian program examined the access to natural resources necessary for the continuity of tribal cultures; that year's program was accompanied by the publication of Thomas Vennum's influential *Wild Rice and the Ojibway People*. He subsequently authored *American Indian Lacrosse: Little Brother of War*.

Later American Indian programs examined uses and knowledge of the land among Native American groups from Alaska and the U.S. Southwest, Mexico, the Andes, and the



Jennifer Kreisberg of Ulali performs at the 1995 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Ecuadoran rainforest. In a continuation of the dialogue begun through the Festival model, Native American Festival participants have worked with staff and curators of the Smithsonian's new National Museum of the American Indian to help shape its initial exhibits and programs. American Indians, working with curators Rayna Green and Howard Bass in the National Museum of American History, developed a Festival program in 1995, titled *Heartbeat: Voices of First Nations Women*. Participants on the

Mall included among others the Zuni Olla Maidens, Six Nations' Women Singers, the Kiowa Singers, the Crying Woman Singers from Fort Belknap, the Wabunoag Singers, Betty Mae Jumper, Ulali, and Sharon Burch. The larger effort to understand musical traditions and creativity in Native communities also resulted in Smithsonian Folkways Recordings and performance programs in the museum.

Working Americans

The 1971 Festival marked the beginning of another series of programs, one concerned with the occupational folklife of working Americans. Though the National Folk Festival had done some occupational presentations early on, with coal mining, for example, work traditions rarely were publicly presented as expressive culture prior to the Smithsonian's Festival. Occupational folklife consists of the skills, knowledge, and lore people develop as members of occupational groups or communities. Folklorist Archie Green was instrumental in defining, researching, and presenting occupational programs at the 1971 Festival. Participants included workers from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North

America, the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union, the Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada, and the International Association of Bridge, Structural, and Ornamental Iron Workers. In addition to demonstrations including the construction of a steel skeleton structure on the Mall, Green led discussion workshops. There were performances of labor songs by Joe Glazer, Utah Phillips, and the Teatro Chicano de Austin. One reporter described the program as “hard hats and hard songs of union dues and blues.” In 1971, during a summer of great national division, young people visiting the Festival and harboring stereotypes of people in hard hats had the opportunity to meet, talk with, and reach a greater understanding of construction and other workers. While the Festival concentrated on “blue-collar” and unionized occupations, it considered the full scope of the working world early on. For example, in 1972, demonstrations of clothing fabrication by members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union included the participation of some of New York’s leading fashion designers.

Since the early 1970s, Festival programs have illustrated the folklife of machinists, carpenters and joiners, cowboys, farmers, stone carvers, railroad workers, Pullman car porters, seafarers, fishermen, oil and gas workers, side-show barkers, auctioneers, truck and taxi drivers, bartenders, tailors, firefighters, doctors, trial lawyers, grocers, baseball players, White House workers, and Smithsonian scientists, educators, gardeners, and building tradesmen. Folklorists Peter Seitel, Jack Santino, Steve Zeitlin, Bob McCarl, Marjorie Hunt, and Betty Belanus have been instrumental in devising these presentations.

Some occupational groups and organizations, such as the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center and the American Trial Lawyers Association, have used their Festival experience in self-presentation, in turning work skills into performance, to study and inter-



Arabbers like Sonny Diggs and Paul Kelly who bring fresh fruit to Baltimore neighborhoods have participated in the Festival since 1972.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

After Watergate, it's nice to see someone give plumbers a good name.

—Union leader George Meany, visiting the Festival and trying his hand at pipefitting skills, 1973

A construction worker actually talked with me like I was a human being today.

—Unidentified female Festival visitor quoted in the *Washington Post*, 1973

There are as many kinds of hard hats as there are kinds of people.

—Philip Voss, 1973



pret their occupational culture. Festival programs have also resulted in longer-term research studies such as Sam Schrager's book on trial lawyers, and Robert McCarl's *D.C. Firefighters* for the Smithsonian Folklife Studies series, as well as documentary films such as Jack Santino's *Miles of Smiles* on Pullman car porters, and Marjorie Hunt's films *The Stone Carvers* (with Paul Wagner) and *Workers at the White House*.

Folklife Legislation

The 1971 Festival was the setting for what Oklahoma Senator Fred Harris called "a folk hearing down on the Mall." Senator Harris, co-sponsor of the American Folklife Foundation Act, felt that "American cultures have not been viewed with the pride they warrant; too often, they have been scorned as the lifestyle of an uncultured lower class. Nothing American was allowed to bear the label 'culture.' We had no national policy of appreciation and support for America's folklife."

The legislation was proposed as an effort to invest in the culture of America's common man. The bill, according to Harris, says that the country fiddler need not feel uncultured simply because his fiddle does not produce a concert tone; it says that the pottery of Jugtown, North Carolina, and the sandpainting of the southwestern Indians are artistic treasures in the same sense

ABOVE RIGHT
Construction workers build a steel skeleton structure on the Mall at the 1971 Festival.
Photo courtesy
Smithsonian Institution

RIGHT Visitors check out Alaskan mine panning and washing techniques at the 1984 Festival.
Photo courtesy
Smithsonian Institution





LEFT Airline safety workers demonstrate the use of evacuation slides at the 1975 Festival. Photo by Reed & Susan Erskine, Lightworks

BELOW Trial lawyers argue cases at the 1986 Festival. Among those participating in the program: Michael Tigar, Gerry Spence, Jo Ann Harris, James Brosnahan.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Flight attendants demonstrate their worklore at the 1983 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



as those from the dynasties of China; it says that the Black bluesmen along the Brazos Valley in Texas are recognized as pure artists and welcome as a national treasure; it says that the American Indian philosopher has something urgently important for America today and that society wants

to hear him as well as the ancient Greeks; it says that the total lifestyles of Swedish Americans in Milwaukee, of Polish Americans in Chicago and of Italian Americans in Boston have brought a perspective and a contribution to this country that has ennobled us as a society; and it says that the bluegrass band has developed a music with a complexity and richness that will grow and that will

endure always as a living monument to American musical genius. In short, the bill says that there is a vast cultural treasure in America's common man, and that our society will be a better one if we focus on that treasure and build on it.

The bill defined folklife and called for the establishment of an American Folklife Foundation that would give grants, loans, and scholarships to groups and individuals

Family Farming, 1991

In the early 1990s the Festival tried to show that family farms, heavily hit by economic crisis, were part of the American cultural landscape. Ideas about stewardship and responsibility, hard work and teamwork were embedded in an economic venture. We tried to show how a range of families from nine states in the Midwest were trying to continue their way of life and livelihood.

The *Family Farming in the Heartland* program was fun, once all the details were worked out. Because of funding uncertainties, we didn't really start putting it together until very late. But it turned out to be one of the most organized programs I curated. I still have the notebooks on my shelf to prove it. That isn't to say I didn't spend a number of sleepless nights worrying about things like where we were going to get a live milk cow from, or how we'd find enough different colors of corn for the Mitchell Corn Palace demonstration. But, thanks to Barbara Lau, who really co-curated the program, and Doris Dietrick, who had "apprenticed" under master supply coordinator Sallie Bodie, everything fell into place.

The program had its hard edges. We put up a wall of forms in front of the U.S. Department of Agriculture showing the public the scores of forms farmers had to file in order to do their work. We set up a home office with computer so visitors could see how farmer skills extended to accessing the latest commodity quotes and how local decisions were based on a global market. A farm radio program questioned youth about whether they saw themselves continuing the family tradition.

The program was also a very warm, friendly one. We had demonstrations of home crafts, farm community music, a display of mailboxes and whirligigs. My favorite area was the foodways demonstration area. No surprise, I love to eat. But the other reason was our two stellar volunteers Virginia McCauley and Beverly Simons, who have done such a wonderful job organizing and operating foodways for this and other Festival programs. I was five months pregnant with my daughter Mary Elinor, so Virginia and

Beverly were clucking over me and always feeding me something. The fare was great — homemade Czech sausage, cookies made with chicken fat, scalloped corn, Indiana chicken and dumplings, Swedish pancakes with lingonberries. I would have gained 20 pounds had I not been running around the Festival site all day.

My favorite day was July 1. We had dubbed it "Baking Day," and the point was to have every cook in the program make a pie for a contest. At day's end, Verlene Looker, Iowa radio broadcaster and pie-contest judge extraordinaire, would declare a winner. By four o'clock we had our entries: a fruit cobbler from Betty Cerny (Illinois), a vinegar pie from Marian Day (Indiana), Jeannie Gustad's (South Dakota) sour cream raisin pie, Eleanor Arnold's (Indiana) cream pie and hickory nut pie, a strawberry pie from Kelly Borman (Missouri), and from the only man in the group, Tyrone Hill's (Michigan) sweet potato pie. The race was on.

We originally had planned to have Verlene present the session as she judged the pies, but the impracticality of this soon became obvious — how can you talk with your mouth full of pie? So I stepped in. Verlene tasted, I announced. Judging for all the appropriate criteria — texture, color, taste, and so on — became high drama. The audience was at the edge of their seats. With all these marvelous pies to choose from the surprise winner was Tyrone, the man from Michigan. He was overjoyed.

Of course the participants and staff had to eat the pies — a great sacrifice and part of our Festival duties.

—Betty Belanus



Corn muralists Dale Rippentrop, Cal Shultz, and Dean Strand, who decorate the Mitchell Corn Palace in South Dakota, demonstrate their work on the Mall. Photo by Dane Penland

to organize folklife festivals, exhibits, and workshops, to support research, scholarship, and training, to establish archives, material and documentary collections, and to develop and to disseminate educational materials relating to folklife. It was modeled on a bill (S1591) first proposed by Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough in March 1969 and co-sponsored by Senator William Fulbright. That bill was drafted by Jim Hightower, the senator's aide, who had been inspired by the 1967 conference and the initial Festivals, and who had consulted with Rinzler, Sol Tax, Sam Stanley, and others. Hearings had been held in 1970 on that bill. Richard Dorson, then at Indiana University, encouraged support of folklore research by scholars, but spoke against festivals, community projects, and the applied folklore thrust of the Smithsonian program. Alan Lomax, Archie Green, Theodore Bikel, Don Yoder, Roger Abrahams, and Henry Glassie disagreed with Dorson and spoke to the need for a program that combined scholarship with popular education, public programs with community and civic development.

Sen. Harris and Rep. Thompson of New Jersey, the sponsor of the companion bill in the House of Representatives, chaired the public "folk hearing" on the Mall at the Festival. The hearing was different than most. As a nationwide Associated Press story noted, "It may have been the first congressional hearing at which some members of the audience ate corn on the cob." Festival participants Dewey Balfa, Barbara Farnet,

and Rosetta Ruyle, American Indians from the Northwest Coast, Florence Reece, a coal-mining wife and singer, building tradesman Phil Ricos, and others testified at the hearing as did Mike Seeger, Archie Green, folklorist Francis Utely, and Clydia Nahwooksy.

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

Old Ways in the New World

While the emphasis of the Festival was on American folk traditions, staff folklorists and others had interests in the root traditions from which many American traditions had derived. In 1973 the Festival initiated the first of a series of annual programs on “Old Ways in the New World.” These programs sought to research and present the ways in which traditional practices of community and ethnic identity, brought from the “old world,” were preserved and transformed there, as well as in the American context. The connection between an American immigrant group, whether newly arrived or long settled, and its root population has continued to be important in Festival research and programming.

Old Ways in the New World programs from 1973 through 1976 examined cognate traditions in the United States and Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Tunisia, Greece, Germany, Italy, Lebanon, Japan, India, Pakistan, and Mexico, among others. Old Ways programs involved cultural exemplars from some 40 nations in all. These programs generally reunited American communities with tradition bearers from the “home” country. The impact of these reunions on performing artists, craftspeople,

Workers at the White House, 1992

In 1992, the Smithsonian commemorated the 200th anniversary of the White House with a Festival program on the occupational culture of White House workers. The desire for a program came from the White House Historical Association and White House curator Rex Scouten. The idea of concentrating on the lore of workers came out of the Festival’s experience. We decided to focus on retired workers from the White House residence staff — the butlers, maids, chefs, carpenters, doormen, florists — and the stories they had to tell. This would provide the unofficial, hidden history and culture of a central, national institution.

Our first step was to conduct fieldwork, in the White House and in the homes of the workers. Rewardingly, I found a close-knit community of workers with a rich trove of stories, traditions, skills, and techniques shaped by their unique work environment. “It was just like a big family, a real big family,” said Lillian Parks, a 96-year-old former maid and seamstress describing the White House staff. Lillian’s memory reached back to the Taft White House where she, as a young girl, regularly joined her mother, Maggie Rogers, a maid. The experience of many White House workers — Alonzo Fields, Preston Bruce, Gene Allen, the Ficklin brothers — spanned generations, and 15 presidential administrations!

The work-related oral culture of the White House workers included stories about teaching and learning, teamwork, specific tasks and responsibilities. Stories abounded about relationships with first families, about qualities of loyalty, discretion, and adaptability, and performance of skill at the highest level. Anecdotes about near-mishaps and most embarrassing moments were numerous, as were accounts of triumphs over difficult situations. A common thread was the theme of service to the nation and pride in work. Said former maitre d’ Alonzo Fields, “I’m a public servant just like the president.”

At the Festival 40 former workers shared their stories and skills with the public. Two outstanding, seasoned Festival presenters, Worth Long and Tim Lloyd, helped moderate narrative



Former White House Chef Henry Haller demonstrates presidential cooking and tells tales about memorable state dinners. Photo by Richard Strauss

sessions. We elicited much storytelling and story swapping. During one memorable session Lillian and Alonzo started trading Winston Churchill stories, each one topping the other, until they had the entire audience laughing and cheering. Other Festival events included cooking by White House chefs, floral and calligraphic work, and stone restoration work on the building.

The Festival was like a family reunion of sorts for participating White House workers. It was a chance to see old friends, share their memories and experiences with others, and relive a cherished world of their national service. For Festival visitors, it was a chance to glimpse the White House in human terms — as a home and workplace — through the experiences and perspectives of the men and women who worked there.

The Festival program was audio- and videotaped and now forms an important collection in the Smithsonian’s Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives and Collections. We made a video documentary narrated by David McCullough which aired on PBS. We also produced a traveling exhibition on White House workers with the White House Historical Association and the National Archives. The exhibition toured to presidential libraries around the nation, and was also mounted at the White House Visitors’ Center in Washington.

—Marjorie Hunt

Festival visitors join in a *kolo* dance in the *Tribute to Tamburashi* program in 1973, which included the first international participation, by Yugoslavia, in "Old Ways." Photo by Susan Erskine, Lightworks



and musicians was sometimes profound.

Mick Maloney, a native of Limerick, Ireland, had come to Philadelphia to work on a folklore Ph.D. in 1973. He recalls:

The Smithsonian had one component of the Festival called Old Ways in the New World. I was hired to do the Irish-American part of it, and it was that research, going around the country for a few months, seeing what was there, that really opened all the doors to me and enabled me to find out what a wealth of Irish music there was in America. That was a pivotal event because it brought musicians from Ireland into contact with musicians from America. It was a major coming together for the scene here in America.

The Old Ways in the New World programs provided a means for the American public to approach cultures and peoples usually far removed from them, and to recognize the linkages to their own culture. Old Ways pro-

grams developed concurrently with public and academic interests in ethnicity. Urban cultural centers developed programs to examine the efficacy and applicability of the "melting pot" metaphor for American society. A number of Festival fieldworkers, staffers, and presenters, among them Ethel Raim, Martin Koenig, Shirley Cherkasky, Roger Welsch, Miiko Toelken, Carla Borden, Jeffrey LaRiche, and Susan Kalčík, have played key roles in a variety of organizations ranging from the National Museum of American History to the Ethnic Folk Arts Center, from The Smithsonian Associates to the U.S. Holocaust Museum, in an effort to understand the formation and persistence of ethnic culture in the United States.

The Old Ways programs also occasioned internal debates. Americans argued with international colleagues and each other over the status of national and amateur "folkloric" troupes often suggested and sometimes accepted, sometimes rejected for presentation. Such intellectual arguments among

Smithsonian staffers and researchers extended to debates over the "folk" and "traditional" status of American artists and musicians.

Combined with the African Diaspora programs, the Old Ways in the New World focus was to evolve into programs concerned with immigrant culture, featured nations, and issues of transnational identity.

African Diaspora

A similar impulse for cultural connection informed the African Diaspora program was first conceived in 1970 and produced at the 1974 Festival. The African Diaspora program was first proposed by Gerald Davis and developed in collaboration with the African Diaspora Advisory Group, which included Bernice Johnson Reagon, A. B. Spellman, Kathryn Morgan, James Early, and others. It was a ground-breaking attempt to make a statement about the continuity of African cultural forms in the many places in which African peoples live. It built upon scholarly debates over the nature and extent of the dif-

Maroon Communities in America: Creativity and Resistance, 1992

The 1992 Festival featured a program on Maroon culture, an important chapter in the history of the Americas largely unknown to the American public. The Maroons, in a profound way, connect African, Native American, and European cultural currents.

Contemporary Maroons are the descendants of African-American communities formed as a result of their ancestors' resistance to slavery from the 16th century onward. This desire to regain and defend freedom led to Maroon communities in Jamaica, Suriname, French Guiana, Colombia, Mexico, and the United States. Each Maroon society developed distinct and resilient patterns of self-government, language, military strategy, architecture, foodways, sacred knowledge, and artistic expression. The founders of these societies were strongly African in their cultural orientation, though they borrowed from available Native American and European forms. This cultural legacy is still evident.

Maroons today fight against formidable odds for the survival of their communities, identities, languages, and resources — often for their very land. The Festival program brought together scores of Maroons, leaders, and spokespeople from Ecuador, from Mooretown and Accompany in Jamaica, the Saramaka of Suriname, the Aluku of French Guiana, Black Seminoles from Texas and Nacimiento, Mexico, and the Palenqueros from



Palenqueros, Maroons from Colombia, lead visitors in a dance at the 1992 Festival. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

Colombia. Jesse Jackson, John Hope Franklin, Katherine Dunham, and others joined Maroons in discussions of their cultural history. Thousands of visitors for the first time learned how Maroons sought freedom in the New World, hundreds of years before the anticolonial independence movements. They also learned how African culture was used to pursue freedom, self-help, and adaptation in trying economic and ecological circumstances. Equally important, Maroon leaders for the first time ever met with each other to share their histories, their cultures, and their present-day concerns. Other meetings have followed those at the Festival.

—Diana Baird N'Diaye

fusion of African culture raised by Melville Herskovits, and called upon the work of Roger Abrahams, Robert Faris Thompson, John Swed, and Roy Bryce-Laporte as well as new research directed by Davis and the advisory group.

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

African Diaspora programs in 1975 and 1976 continued to look at commonalities of

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

The African Diaspora as a concept continued in programs through the 1980s and 1990s, emerging as a theme in the U.S.

Virgin Islands program in 1990 and the *African Immigrant Folklife* program in 1995 and 1997.

The U.S. Bicentennial

In sheer size and public impact, the 1976 Festival for the U.S. Bicentennial was formidable. The Festival was held over a 12-week period on a 50-acre site straddling the Reflecting Pool between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument — a site the Festival had occupied since 1973 due to the construction of the Metro line on the Mall. The 1976 Festival involved the participation of every region of the United States, 38 foreign governments, scores of American Indian tribes, and many labor organizations — some 5,000 participants in all. Its budget was over \$7 million. American Airlines and General Foods donated \$1 million each. Some 4.5 million people attended the Festival. Despite what might have been expected, the Festival avoided massive state spectacle and

Politics is politics. But people are people.

—Winthrop Rockefeller,
Governor of Arkansas, 1970

All those people interested in honoring America might consider hustling themselves down to the Mall [for the Festival].

—Carl Bernstein, *Washington Post*, 1970

This is the greatest Festival in the country. It's not the music or the crafts or the demonstrations. It's the people. It's people talking about what their lives are all about.

—Utah Phillips, Singer and Festival participant, 1973

The Festival holds forth as a patchwork of Americana to celebrate the diversity of U.S. culture and give those who come a chance to rediscover the varied roots of the American heritage.

—*Time*, 1975

retained its intimate presentational modes — relatively small performance stages, narrative workshops, accessible crafts and foodways demonstration areas, children's participation areas, and the like. In conceiving of the Bicentennial Festival, James Morris noted in 1973,

We wanted a presentation that would put people in touch with the roots of their own culture. If we can bring this about, it would make the Bicentennial the most personal celebration in history.

The Bicentennial Festival illustrated in the strongest terms the living nature of folk culture throughout the United States and the world. Rather than dying in the Industrial Revolution or having been smothered by the influence of mass culture, community-based, grassroots cultural traditions were still practiced, still meaningful in the contemporary

lives of Americans and other people of the world.

For the public, the Bicentennial Festival represented a coming together of a diverse nation and a divided world. In the early 1970s, the Festival became a symbol of national reconciliation in the wake of great divisions and national scandals. National reporters had repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that the Festival brought together people with different, diverging interests. "It was a day when hippie met hill-billy, Indian met white man," wrote Tom Shales in the *Washington Post* about a Festival day in 1972. Rallies in the nation's capital to honor America and those to protest government actions often brought conflicting crowds to the Festival. But it was at the Festival that, as Martin Weil reported, divergent views mingled happily.



ABOVE A Ghanaian stiltwalker at the 1976 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



LEFT The African Diaspora marketplace makes creative use of African textiles. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Wearers of 'love it or leave it' buttons and bearers of the peace sym-

bol met without friction as they enjoyed the sights, sounds and smells representing aspects of the American past for which both groups feel affinity. It's good to see the peace workers and Nixonites unite.

Wrote Henry Allen,

You would think Norman Rockwell had painted the whole happy scene. It was that kind of day and that kind of folk, and it was that kind of Festival.

The Bicentennial Festival was an immense undertaking and illustrated the collaboration of the Smithsonian with literally thousands of national and international scholars, community spokespeople, and cultural exemplars involved in the documentation,

presentation, transmission, and conservation of cultural traditions. The planning began in the early 1970s and enabled an unprecedented process of establishing cultural networks, training students, and providing opportunities for diverse peoples to interpret and present their traditions.

In addition to Regional America, Working Americans, Old Ways, and African Diaspora programs the Bicentennial Festival represented the flowering of children's programs and a *Family Folklore* program. The former, spearheaded by Kate Rinzler and involving stalwarts Bessie Jones and Stu Jamieson, concentrated on the folklife that children themselves created. Children taught other children playground games, rhymes, double dutch jump rope, toy making and other traditions. The *Family Folklore* program established with the leadership of Steve Zeitlin and Holly Cutting-Baker collected family stories and tales on the Mall, generating a unique American documentary collection at the Smithsonian. This resulted in a publication, *Family Folklore: Tales from the Smithsonian Collection*, and a Smithsonian Institution traveling exhibition that toured the nation for the next two decades and was eventually donated to the Wapello County Historical Society Museum in Ottumwa, Iowa, at the opening ceremony of the 1996 Festival.

The Bicentennial also saw the flowering of a touring program, originally begun in 1973, in which groups at the Festival would tour the United States. Scores of groups in the African Diaspora and Old Ways in the New World programs gave about 200 performances in 50 cities and towns, in concert halls, local school classrooms, parks, and shopping malls. Through these touring programs the Smithsonian put tens of thousands of people across America in touch with traditional domestic and foreign cultures. While these tours are no longer formally done, they served as a model for taking grassroots performance to local people for other organizations and for other of the Smithsonian's own special programs.



Bess Hawes (left) tours the 1976 Festival with Margaret Mead, Ralph Rinzler, and Wilton Dillon.
Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



A constructed church on the Mall provided space for performances of sacred traditions at the 1976 Festival.
Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Festival Reappraisal: To Continue or Not

As early as 1974 managers within the Smithsonian had wondered what to do after the Bicentennial Festival. Alternatives were to continue the Festival in its shorter, less

grandiose pre-Bicentennial form, conduct a series of mini-Festivals on the Mall as well as in different parts of the United States, turn the event into the Smithsonian Summer Festival expanding from folklife and traditional culture to other, more popular artistic forms, and

Thinking Back a Bit: The U.S. Bicentennial Festival

Historians will eventually look in wonder, I think, at the far-reaching effects of the 1976 Festival. In a way, it did what all festivals do. But this Festival was so big, and it involved so many people, that its sheer size affected in major ways the steady progression of work that had already been going on for decades in support of the arts and culture of all the world's people. Almost every person I know who is active today in the area of public folklore participated at least in some small fashion in the 1976 Festival.

By now it is impossible to determine just what ideas, whose energies, which programs grew out of that extraordinary summer, but when I left in 1977 to develop the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts, I know I approached my job with an unpurchasable wealth of experience. Fifteen years later, with the establishment of state folk cultural programs in almost every state and territory, the National Heritage Fellowships, the funding of nation-spanning folk arts tours and radio series, feature films, inner-city multicultural festivals, artists' conferences, and hundreds of other ingenious ways to further the varied arts of the varied American people — the program has an honorable history and a future of enormous potential. In its continual attempts to be consistent, clear, fair minded, focused, and forward moving, we have always depended heavily upon the experiences of the many artists in this business; and the summer of 1976 brought together an unprecedented number of artists from whom to learn.

One afternoon at the 1976 Festival I heard that a young Scotswoman was going to do a ballad program on the main stage. I knew her primary Festival role was to work in the Children's Area teaching her extensive repertoire of British traditional singing games. But I heard she sang a great many truly unusual British and Scottish ballads. It occurred to me that the prospect of occupying the big, bare main stage for an hour all by herself might be a

bit daunting, so I dropped by for a chat backstage before she went on. She said something that seemed to sum up one of the most remarkable features of that never-to-be-forgotten summer. She said to me, "You know, I came here with my little pack of Scots songs on my back, and then the next day when I walked up and down the Mall listening to the glorious African drums and the gorgeous religious choruses and the incredible string bands and all the music that's here from all around the world, I thought, why will anybody want to listen to the little old tunes that are all I know? And I felt really frightened, and I almost wished I hadn't come. But do you know, every time I actually sing them, I just know deep down that they really are — they really absolutely are — the prettiest of anything."

She walked out on the huge stage all alone, and her clear voice rang out with confidence, and indeed, I had to think that perhaps the very song that she was singing at that moment could truly be the prettiest of all.

Somehow, everybody always felt that way, all summer long. Every singer, musician, storyteller, crafts worker, participating in every one of the 12 weeks of that so-little-heralded Festival thrilled to the excitement and glory of the vast differences displayed all around them. And everybody was also thrilled to have it quietly and unostentatiously established for themselves, for all time, deep down inside, how equally (if not indeed more equally) wonderful their own particular art was. This has since become for me a test for the success of any multicultural presentation. If everyone (privately) truly thinks theirs was the greatest while everybody else's was perfectly wonderful too, then we shall have together made the kind of a festival — and the kind of small world too — that we all dream can one day prevail.

—Bess Lomax Hawes
Former Director, Folk Arts Program
National Endowment for the Arts
And former Festival deputy director



ABOVE The *Family Folklore* program displays family albums, collects oral histories and stories from Festival visitors, and offers guidance for family self-study.
Photo by Reed & Susan Erskine, Lightworks



RIGHT Visitors to the 1974 Festival make their way across the Reflecting Pool.
Photo by Reed & Susan Erskine, Lightworks



By any standards the Festival is a great success. Americans need to know one another and to comprehend the many cultures that make up our nation. This cultural diversity can be a source of strength rather than weakness. Right now, the program of the U.S. bicentennial celebration is up in the air. The President has before him the usual pompous, commission-like proposals. He should scrap most of this bureaucratic boondoggling in favor of a nationwide Festival, the type of thing that for five short days in Washington started to bring us together again.

—Kevin Phillips, Reporter, 1971



LEFT Children play and devise all sorts of creations in a giant sandbox at the 1974 Festival. Photo by Reed & Susan Erskine, Lightworks

BELOW Children participate in jump rope and double dutch activities at the 1988 Festival. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



What is more alive than a potter at a wheel, a weaver at a loom, or an iron worker at a forge?

Joan Mondale, Opening ceremony, 1977

finally to discontinue the Festival entirely and go about the business of curating the research and Festival documentation, turning it into scholarly and educational products.

From its inception director and producer roles were split between Rinzler and Morris, although they both had suggestions about the full range of Festival matters. Rinzler dealt primarily with program, research, and presentation, Morris with funding, internal and external politics, administration, and production. The two men had talent and savvy and grudging respect for each other despite differences of taste and philosophical orientation. Morris had more of a theatrical, art world bent, with a broad interest in American and world culture that encompassed jazz, classical music, and other performing arts. He was interested in the development of policy and institutions that recognized and supported American artistry as a valid and distinct contribution to human cultural achievement. Rinzler was more ethnographically and research oriented: he loved root music, country crafts, and explications of traditional culture. He was a preservationist, actively implementing and supporting strategies to aid localized, grassroots, artistic forms of culture.

Plans for Smithsonian participation in the 1974 Spokane World's Fair caused a major rift between Morris and Rinzler. Groups from the Festival had participated in the arts festival for the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City. The Festival, in collaboration with the U.S. government, produced the program for Man and His World, the U.S. pavilion at the 1971 Montreal Expo. The Spokane proposal was to produce a six-month folklife festival for the World's Fair. Fair organizers

would pay for the research, development, and production costs. This would assure funding for a regional program that, Morris reasoned, could then be brought to the Mall. Rinzler questioned the ability of the staff to handle a complicated event 3,000 miles away while doing the Festival on the Mall. Rinzler also raised moral objections to the project. According to folklorist Barre Toelken and his wife Miiko, ethnic groups who would be participating in the festival were engaged in disputes with fair organizers over destruction of their neighborhoods and exploitation of their land by the fair. Senior Smithsonian officials became involved, and the battle lines were drawn. As in other disputes between Morris and Rinzler, senior managers tended to support Morris; Ripley tended, in the end, to support Rinzler.

In the wake of the Bicentennial Festival, this rift became unbridgeable. A public petition and incoming mail called for the Smithsonian to continue the Festival. Initial plans were for Rinzler to become head of a new, unnamed folklife unit that would process the documentary materials developed by the Festival and produce scholarly and educational materials. Morris and the Division of Performing Arts would continue to produce the Festival. Ripley created a Folklife Advisory Committee to decide on future plans for the Festival's content.

This arrangement became untenable for a variety of reasons. There was considerable acrimony and confusion over what to do. In fall 1976, the Smithsonian announced plans for a broader Smithsonian Summer Festival for 1977. Rinzler tendered his resignation. Members of Congress got involved. The advisory committee met, chaired by Smithsonian American Studies head Wilcomb Washburn.

In addition to Rinzler and Morris, the committee included Bob Byington and Bernice Johnson Reagan from the Festival/Division of Performing Arts staff. Other Smithsonian staff — historians Richard Ahlborn and Scott Odell, anthropologists William Fitzhugh and Robert Laughlin, and crafts curator Lloyd Herman — also served. Two members of the Smithsonian Council, an institutional academic advisory group — folklorists Abrahams and Dorson — also served. Martin Williams, a jazz specialist, resigned from the committee, protesting its narrow construction of American culture. The committee had a research, curatorial, and educational bent. It decided that the emphasis on traditional culture should continue, but that the Festival should be moved to the fall, with more input from and programming with the museums. The plan was for Rinzler, incorporated into Washburn's office, to continue as director, and for Morris's operation to continue production.

Given the timing of this decision, it was difficult to produce the 1977 Festival. Other Smithsonian departments pitched in. Joe Wilson and the National Council for the Traditional Arts played a key role in helping produce the Virginia program. Festivals from 1977 through 1980 reverted to a smaller, shorter pre-Bicentennial form. They lasted only one week during late September or early October. Programs were held both outdoors between 14th and 15th streets at the Washington Monument grounds and in the museums, in many cases integrated with exhibitions. But in the end crowds were smaller, the Festival was too diffuse, the weather uncommonly bad. The relationship between offices did not survive. The Division of Performing Arts pulled out of production. An independent Office of Folklife Programs was created in 1977, with Ralph Rinzler as the head. The Division of Performing Arts continued its other programs until 1982, when it was dissolved. Its functions and personnel continued in other units such as the Smithsonian Institution Press, the Museum of American History, and the Resident Associates.

Celebration

In late 1977 one of the Smithsonian's top administrators made the following pitch to Ralph Rinzler. In effect he said: since Ralph was so insistent that folklife is a museum discipline, then why not produce a real museum exhibition, one inside the Smithsonian walls that would show on an Institution-wide scale the relevancy of the collections to folklife.

Ralph did not blink. Through consultations he decided that the theme of "celebrations" would suit. The folklife unit could convincingly profile as the Institutional expert on the subject: our very practice depended on understanding the cultural importance of celebrations, on devising ways to research them, and on developing methods for constructing and reconstructing them at the annual Festival.

Research, planning, and production of the exhibition were more challenging. Access to objects in storage and in their loan for display at the Smithsonian's own Renwick Gallery was often astoundingly difficult to negotiate. This eased significantly when Ralph was able to bring Victor Turner in as guest curator. His pres-

The Office of Folklife Programs

Rinzler, now with a permanent staff, was able to approach the larger task set out by the initial American Folklife Conference of extending beyond the Festival to more thorough, broad-ranging, and varied means of documenting, studying, presenting, and disseminating educational materials on folk cultural traditions.

Staff discussions and those within the advisory group, as well as among long-standing supporters like Henry Glassie and Archie Green, produced the suggestion to initiate a Smithsonian Folklife Studies series. This series would parallel scholarly series in anthropology and other areas of Smithsonian interest. It would include documentary studies on American and worldwide folk traditions in the form of scholarly monographs and ethnographic films.

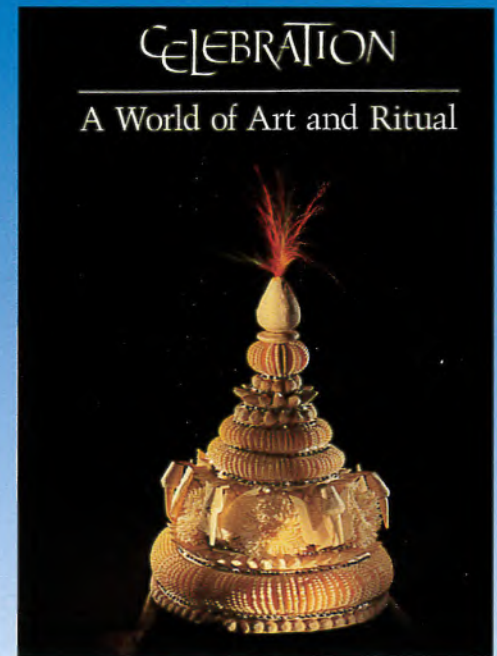
ence, as the anthropologist whose approach to ritual created the dominant intellectual paradigm for two generations of scholars, opened some doors.

Celebration gathered more than 600 objects from around the Smithsonian, surely the largest pan-Institutional undertaking of this sort. They were arranged in "constellations" whenever possible to evoke, not their "thingness," but the ritual activities, cultural ideas, and historical situations of the people who made and used them. As part of the exhibition, local groups were invited to hold celebrations in the grand Victorian salon on the Renwick's second floor. During the course of the 18-month-long exhibition it was a treat to find blues parties and Day of the Dead celebrations in such plush surroundings.

The installation was stunning, produced to high art museum standards. Abundant use of video and sound and the carefully crafted labels evoked both universals and particulars of human celebration. The exhibition and performances were augmented by education guides, the publication of a scholarly collection of essays, and a

Monographs and films such as *The Meaders Family: North Georgia Potters*, *Tule Technology: Northern Paiute Uses of Marsh Resources in Western Nevada*, *The Ojibwa Dance Drum* and *The Korean Onggi Potter*, *The District of Columbia Firefighters Project*, and *Working Americans*, among others, were the result.

Greater attention was paid to curatorial collaboration with Smithsonian museums in mounting exhibitions related to folk culture. In 1977, folklorist Susan Kalčik cooperated with the National Museum of History and Technology, which had acquired a classroom from the Dunham School in Cleveland. Kalčik located retired teachers from the school who offered their oral histories at the Festival. Writing in the *Torch*, the Smithsonian's in-house newspaper, staffer Linda St. Thomas noted that adding people makes the museum exhibits "super-authentic."



guide book to Washington-area celebrations.

Ralph saw the curve ball pitched by the Smithsonian administration and blasted it into the bleachers. In the wake of *Celebration*, Ralph was promoted to assistant secretary to pursue his visionary agendas. —Peter Seitel

Exhibits of folk art incorporating objects, photographs, song and spoken word recordings, and sales were held in the history museum and then toured by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service. An exhibit of pottery from the southeastern United States in the Museum of American History encouraged living practitioners to work with the museum to help document and interpret its collection. Consultations between practitioners and museum curators have become a regular Festival feature.

The Office of Folklife Programs produced several traveling exhibitions that grew out of Festival programs including *Southeastern Pottery*, *The Grand Generation*, which presents the folklife of the elderly, and *Stand by Me: African American Expressive Culture in Philadelphia*. In 1982–83 the Office collaborated with the Renwick Gallery to mount *Celebration*, an exhibition of ob-

jects related to human ritual behavior curated by leading scholar Victor Turner. The exhibition was a benchmark in several respects. It demonstrated the relationship between folklife activities and the museum collections. Producing the exhibition entailed the unprecedented coordination of artifacts from across the Smithsonian's disparate museums. *Celebration* also included performances, demonstrations, and rituals offered by numerous cultural communities. The exhibition resulted in a catalog and

three books, a film, and consequences for museum practice.

Lessons learned from *Celebration* well served the Office of Folklife Programs. The reputation of the Office, its ability to produce a high-quality exhibition, and to involve living presentations provided the groundwork for *Aditi: A Celebration of Life*, produced in 1985 in the National Museum of Natural History for the Festival of India. This exhibition, first mounted in India and then in London, piqued the interest of Rinzler and

Smithsonian assistant secretary Charles Blitzer. Bringing it to the Smithsonian in an elaborate form required a mammoth effort fulfilled by the Office. The exhibition, curated by Rajeev Sethi, involved thousands of historical and contemporary Indian crafts, some 40 folk artists, and a stunning installation. *Aditi* proved to be one of the Smithsonian's most ambitious and successful exhibitions. It gained national and international attention, set high standards for museologists in design, content, and programming,



Dudley Connell, Tom Adams, and the Johnson Mountain Boys perform in a house of culture outside of Moscow. Photo by Nick Spitzer

Performances on the Mall include a portion of a Russian wedding, here being enacted by a group from Podseredneye. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

Post-Cold War Folklore

In 1988 there was still a USSR, and the Festival included a program *Musics of the Soviet Union*. It represented *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the cultural arena and started a lively discussion with the Soviets over the relationship between grassroots people's culture and the state.

The Soviet Ministry of Culture supported local, regional, and national folkloric ensembles. Though based on historical research, the publicly presented folklore was largely theatrical—staged, choreographed entertainment. As one ministry official said, "Our people are not ready for the real thing." The real thing meant ethnic, linguistic, and religious traditions that defined the fracture lines of post-Soviet republics. Lacking a ministry, and taking a "bottom-up" view of culture, we wanted the real thing.

Negotiation over the program touched off Soviet scholarly and bureaucratic debate, care-

fully finessed by our curator, ethnomusicologist Margarita Mazo, a Russian-Jewish émigré on loan from the Wilson Center. We ended up with a mix of people — from practiced urban amateurs to an ensemble of peasant women from Podseredne, a village in which Mazo conducted extended research. Visitors to the Festival heard Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Ukrainian, Georgian, and other musics from nine Soviet republics. The message of an incredibly culturally diverse nation came through.

The program was intriguing. I remember presenter Ted Levin instructing an audience on how to imitate Tuvan throat singer Genadi Chash. A dueling jaw's harp session featured Siberian shaman Alexeev and Mike Seeger. Russians danced with Greeks from Massachusetts and joined an Italian-American saint's day procession.

A Russian woman, Olga Manichkina, kept a diary that was later published. "I wish I could sing

at the Festival every day, and sleep at home every night," she wrote. The program generated our first new Smithsonian Folkways recording. One cut, a Lithuanian lullaby by Vernonica Pavilionke, was used in a Disney movie, *Fern Gully*. It took us years to deliver her royalty payment — the equivalent of a year's salary.

Research in Russia and the Ukraine grew from the Festival, as did four more Folkways recordings and another program in 1995 on Russian-American connections. We also reciprocated, sending Hawaiian dancers, Cajun musicians, the Johnson Mountain Boys, Allison Krauss, Sweet Honey in the Rock, Los Pleneros de la 21, and other groups to Moscow and Kiev, where they played in concert halls, in housing projects, on the streets, and in the factories, bringing folks familiar with American pop music an alternative view of our own musical culture.

—Richard Kurin

and served to connect museum display with issues of cultural survival.

In 1979 the Office of Folklife Programs produced a symposium, "Folk Medicine: Herbalists, Curers and Healers," based on its work, in collaboration with the National Museum of History and Technology. Other symposia followed, organized with Smithsonian units and other national and international organizations, and ranged from those on popular culture and traditional puppetry to those in 1989–91 for the Columbus Quincentenary on Native American agriculture and the relationship of commerce and industry to expressive culture, to one with the Wilson Center on "What Works" for traditional craftspeople seeking broader markets.

The Festival had always generated some educational materials and media products. Some two dozen documentary films have been produced about the Festival and its particular programs over the years in different regions of the country and abroad. Focused attention on documentaries in the 1980s resulted in *Miles of Smiles* by Jack Santino and *The Stone Carvers*, a documentary about Italian-American stone carvers working at the National Cathedral, by staff folklorist Marjorie Hunt and film maker Paul Wagner that won Academy and Emmy awards in 1985. In the 1980s Radio Smithsonian featured programs generated from the Festival and other research projects; *Smithsonian World* featured the Festival in its television segments. While a record album produced from music performed at the Festival was released in 1970, large-scale record production did not begin until the acquisition of Folkways Records in 1987. More elaborate multimedia productions and comprehensive educational materials in number did not develop until the 1990s.

The Office of Folklife Programs gave Rinzler a base to rationalize operations and think out broader strategies for cultural representation. In 1982, when Rinzler became the Smithsonian's assistant secretary for public service, Peter Seitel, the senior folklorist

and former Princeton professor with a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, took on the role of Office director. Diana Parker, who had worked with Sam Stanley and with other Smithsonian operations and who had coordi-

nated Festival programs since the mid-1970s, became associate director, and then director of the Festival in 1985. In 1988 Richard Kurin, a cultural anthropologist with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago who had coor-

Indonesia, 1991

Organizers of every Festival program claim that representing the cultural diversity of their region is nearly impossible.

Representing the cultures of Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country and possibly the most ethnically varied, was a daunting task. Fortunately, the folklife program was part of a larger Festival of Indonesia in 1991 that included major museum exhibits in the National Museum of Natural History, the Sackler Gallery, and others, as well as performance and lecture series. The Festival did not have to carry the whole weight of representing Indonesian culture. With our collaborators in Indonesia we developed a program, *Forest, Field and Sea*, and looked at cultural traditions in three provinces not represented in the larger Indonesian festival.

Some in Indonesia worried that our presentation would not offer the American public a polished, "proper," tourist view of the culture. East Javanese participants were regarded as somewhat "back country," and the folks from Kalimantan as "exotic." But, with the proper preparation and presentation, we assured Indonesian officials that local people would do very well, be respected, and be the best teachers of their cultures.

For the participants, none of whom had been out of the country and some of whom had not even been to Jakarta, it was important to create a space on the Mall that would both suggest home to them and also show sensitivity to and respect for their traditions. For the artists from East Java, a *pendopo* or local community hall was constructed and appropriately decorated. We shipped in a traditional boat shed for maritime participants from South Sulawesi. And we constructed a section of a long house, leaving it to people from upriver East Kalimantan to finish it off with painting, thatching, and varied



Indonesian programs for children on the Mall reduced the cultural distance between participants and visitors. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

performances and demonstrations. Knowledgeable Indonesian and American presenters helped both participants and visitors feel at ease and convey information. A children's area worked extremely well as parents entrusted their kids to learn from Indonesians. Participants saw the success of their efforts. So too did officials, who after the Folklife Festival lost their skittishness about sending such groups to other international forums to represent the nation as a whole.

An enduring aspect of the program was a series of recordings on Smithsonian Folkways. With a generous Ford Foundation grant, Philip Yampolsky led research, documentation, and training efforts with the Indonesian Musicological Society. Scholarly collaboration and student training produced a wonderful archival collection of local musics and a 20-volume anthology of Indonesian music. Folkways released the series individually with notes in English. In Indonesia, the notes are in the national language, so they can be used in the schools to teach kids about the musical culture of their country. These recordings form a lasting legacy for generations to come.

—Richard Kennedy

The Bahamas, 1994

Dian Dean with the Bahamian Embassy in Washington didn't think Americans knew much about her country, save as a tourist destination. A teacher, she thought there was more to say about The Bahamas than sun, sea, and sand, and the Festival might be a good way of saying it. Timothy Donaldson, then ambassador, was concerned about the cultural and historical legacy Bahamians would leave their children. The Festival might invigorate efforts to educate this generation of Bahamians and the next about their important heritage. Others in The Bahamas — Gail Saunders at the National Archives, Kayla Edwards in the Ministry of Culture, Angela Claire in the Ministry of Tourism, and ultimately the prime minister — agreed. But was there a living Bahamian culture to show and hand down?

Research teams composed of Bahamian academic and lay scholars, public officials, teachers, students, and others fanned out across the archipelago. They heard the music of church choirs, the secular music of the *goombay* bands, and they learned the quadrille steps from master dancers. They found and interviewed basket weavers, quilters, boat builders, storytellers, and cooks from all the islands. They found rope still being made from sisal, rake and scrape bands using saws as instruments, and church processions. While some traditions like sponge songs had died out with the industry, much of the traditional culture was alive in homes, Nassau neighborhoods, and in the Family Islands. Most Bahamians were surprised by the range and vitality of their own culture.

Our Bahamian colleagues gathered all the Festival participants in Nassau for sold-out send-off performances before they came to Washington. On the Mall, we recreated a setting of the Lovely Zion Baptist Church on Cat Island, a music club in Andros, and house styles found in traditional "big yards." So effective were these that one Bahamian participant remarked that, when she looked out from the demonstration kitchen, she felt as if she were home.

At the Festival Amos Ferguson painted and



Festival visitors join Bahamians "rushin" around the pews as occurs in local churches on Cat Island.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Amos Ferguson demonstrates his style of Bahamian inspirational folk painting to Festival visitors of all ages. Photo by Beth Laakso

had an exhibit in the S. Dillon Ripley Center. Women and men made straw baskets, bush teas, and other crafts. Participants built boats, joined in anthem singing, calypso, and ring games. Daily Junkanoo rush-outs and costume making climaxed with a Fourth of July parade with more than 100 dancers and musicians from all of the major, usually competing Junkanoo groups. Bahamians back home watched on the "Today" show, other broadcasts, and later, a documentary film. *Bahamas: Islands of Song*, a Smithsonian Folkways recording, now plays on the radio. With support from private donors, we worked with local teachers and the Ministry of Education to produce a multimedia education kit, *Our Bahamian Heritage*, for every school in The Bahamas, so the next generation could share in the benefits of the research, the Festival, and the culture of those who came before. Currently, plans are to develop a festival park so that cultural presentations can be done continually for the benefit of Bahamian youth as well as for tourists who hope to gain a deeper, broader vision of the country, its culture, and its people.

—John W. Franklin

dinated the Office's India programs, became acting director and then director of the Office of Folklife Programs. It changed its name to the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies in 1992.

National Programs

In 1978 the Festival began "featured country" programs with the participation of Mexico and Mexican Americans. Country programs included Korea, India, Japan, France, the Soviet Union, Senegal, Indonesia, Thailand, The Bahamas, and the Czech Republic. These were more elaborate, research based, and collaborative than most of the Old Ways programs. Whereas the emphasis in the Old Ways programs was on the relationship of Old World and New World forms, the country programs provided Festival visitors with an opportunity to see artistic and cultural expressions of other nations on their own terms. National programs have attempted to show grassroots, nontheatricalized expressive forms that are rarely glimpsed through mass media and tourism. These programs provide opportunities for close collaborative ties between American and international scholars and sometimes even influence cultural policies. For example, the 1985 Festival program, *Mela! An Indian Fair*, was accomplished with the strong collaboration of Indian folklorists, community activists, designers, and local communities who were struggling to maintain their artistic traditions. This program, conceptually and aesthetically organized by Indian principles and sensibilities, provided a powerful cultural representation, which not only gave visitors a sense of Indian cultures but also influenced policies and practices aimed at broadening human cultural rights in India.

Immigrant and Transnational Programs

The Native American, Old Ways in the New World, and African Diaspora programs highlighted the need to broaden presentation of American cultural history, to include groups who had been overlooked, ill-regarded, or invisible.

In the post-Bicentennial years, the Festival began to look at new immigrant groups reaching American shores as a result of the 1965 immigration act and the war in Southeast Asia. Presentations of these groups at the Festival coincided with the Smithsonian's establishment of a Research Institute

on Immigration and Ethnic Studies, and developed into several joint programs.

Programmatic interest in newly immigrant communities and their interactions continued in the research work carried out by staff folklorists in the 1980s. Olivia Cadaval studied the expressive culture and formation of identity among Salvadoran and Latino communities in Washington, D.C. Another researcher, Frank Proshan, worked on the recovery and conservation of Kmhmu verbal art in collaboration with elders and lay scholars in a community widely dispersed geographically throughout the United States. Another project joined teams of American

and Soviet researchers in fieldwork on Bukharin Jewish communities in Uzbekistan and in Queens, New York; on Old Believers in southern Russia and in Oregon and California; on Ukrainians in the Soviet Union and U.S. cities.

The 1990 Festival featured a program on Senegal involving the participation of Senegalese and Senegalese Americans. Joined with the U.S. Virgin Islands at the Festival, participants, scholars, and officials "rediscovered" many cultural commonalities — in storytelling, *mocko jumbi*, music, narrative, foodways, and adornment traditions. At the Festival, the Senegalese minister of culture

U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, 1993

In 1992, negotiations over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) brought increasing attention to the U.S.-Mexico border. Discussions focused on the potentially wide-ranging impacts on international relations, labor, the economy, and the environment. Research during this time on a Festival program in 1993 concentrated on the people who lived along the border and asked, "Is there a border culture?"

We worked with El Colegio de la Frontera researchers and U.S. scholars and local specialists to document and present the culture of the border. Teams worked in varied locations from Tijuana, Baja California, and San Ysidro, California, on the Pacific coast to Matamoros, Tamaulipas and Brownsville, Texas, on the Gulf of Mexico. We found that borderlands culture was neither homogenous nor merely the marginal outpost of two mainstream cultures with respective heartlands a thousand miles away. For Native peoples, the border is a line that arbitrarily divided their land. For many Mexicans, the making of the border changed their very nationality. For others, the border provided a region of refuge and freedom, allowing for both lawlessness and opportunities. For all, the border not only divides, but also brings cultures together. It is a site of intensive interaction between people from different countries, cultures, and backgrounds. Border culture invites people to contin-



The *Borderlands* program site conveyed some of the symbols of the region.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley

ually define their identity and take on multiple identities. As Enrique Lamadrid, a professor at the University of New Mexico and project researcher, said, "The border is inside us. We negotiate our identity as border people every time we open our mouths." On the border, a person may decide to speak English, or Spanish, or a combination Spanglish.

Along the border, interaction usually flows across the border line. At the Festival, people from different border regions met and learned from each other. Encounters between the South Texas Layton brothers, Black Seminoles, Mexicali Chinese, Tijuana Mixtecos, and Arizona Yaquis resulted in sharing stories and perspectives. Mural makers from both countries illustrated the common symbols of street art. The cultural symbiosis of borderland music, craft traditions, and storytelling was examined. Migrant workers and



Muralist Carlo Callejo from El Paso creates images of the borderland at the 1993 Festival.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley

an INS border patrol agent joined in to discussions of border crossings. On the Mall, the site itself reflected the idea of borderland with fences, mock-immigration and cash exchange posts, and directional signage. The border had come to Washington. —Olivia Cadaval



ABOVE Dancers from South Sulawesi perform a fire ritual at the 1991 Festival. Their dance releases energy gathered back home. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



RIGHT At the 1990 Festival, Senegalese braiders demonstrate a variety of hairstyles from home. The Festival helped to inspire an explosion of hairbraiding enterprises in the Washington, D.C., area. Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Culture and Development, 1994

The *Culture and Development* program was a cooperative Festival project with the Inter-American Foundation and a variety of grassroots organizations from Latin America and the Caribbean. Our common premise was that local culture was a resource for sustainable economic development.

We researched the relationship between local culture and economic development efforts, and ways to present them on the Mall. As curator, I had to learn about the organizations, their constituencies, their projects and philosophies. We worked together to examine and publicly represent the ways in which traditional forms of knowledge, forms of social organization, and particular traditions could generate income for community people.

The Festival was an eye-opener for many international development workers, community developers and advocates. At the Festival, visitors could see how the Casa de la Mujer Mapuche — a women's weaving cooperative — used traditional weaving designs and techniques for their combination mini-museum and retail store. A Haitian group used iron-work and design skills to make sculptures that sold in international markets. A Bolivian group used traditional performances to attract cultural tourism and make viable a whole local industry. A coffee cooperative from Chiapas showed how local family organization was vital to the support of its export industry. Shuar Indians showed the relationship between traditional language use and radio broadcasts, as a means of education in the Amazon rain forest. And Kuna Indians illustrated the importance of indigenous mapping techniques for holding onto their land.

At the Festival, participants from 16 organizations across the hemi-



Artisans from different community groups in Bolivia, Chile, and Peru join with Guatemalans during the 1994 Festival. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

sphere learned from each other. They strategized during a two-day, internal *congreso* after the Festival. Two years later, they joined up again in a festival of culture and development in Quito, Ecuador, in order to demonstrate to the government and citizenry the importance of local culture and its potential support of economic development efforts.

—Olivia Cadaval

and the governor of the U.S. Virgin Islands announced plans for a bilateral cultural exchange program. Staff folklorists Diana Baird N'Diaye and Olivia Cadaval with help from Gil Sprauve, Gene Emanuel, Lois Haskell-Habeytes, and others developed education kits for the school systems in the Virgin Islands and in Senegal, so that children could have access to their cultural heritage, spanning, as it does, oceans, continents, and centuries. This work continues with staffer John Franklin and the development of a West Africa Research Center in Senegal to promote continuing studies of the linkages between African and African American populations.

The Festival and the Atlanta Olympics

The 1996 Centennial Olympic Games were described by Atlanta organizers as "the world's largest peacetime gathering" with over 100 countries represented. Since 1912, every modern Olympic Games has included a cultural component. Atlanta chose an ambitious multiyear program that culminated in a huge Olympic Arts Festival during the Games.

We at the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG) wanted to produce a large, free, public festival. It was natural to form a partnership with the Smithsonian Festival, and to collaborate with the Southern Arts Federation, an Atlanta-based regional arts organization. We developed the idea for a festival, *Southern Crossroads*, to highlight regional culture. The Smithsonian's festival experience and reputation proved essential in planning the program and convincing officials and sponsors of its value.

The festival would provide a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for millions of visitors from around the world to learn that much of American culture, particularly musical forms like gospel, blues, country, rhythm and blues, jazz, and rock 'n' roll, was rooted in the South. They would also learn that Southern culture arose from the creative synthesis of African, European, and Native traditions. In addition to musical performances we planned for cooking

In some cases, the transcultural linkage is quite self-conscious and deeply embedded in the culture of the community. A 1995 Festival program on Cape Verdean culture made this explicit. As many Cape Verdeans live in New England as live in the Cape Verde Islands. The history of the community is one of continual cultural flows over several hundred years. "Old ways" are found in both American and Cape Verdean contexts, as are newer elaborations of tradition. The "diaspora" is a two-way movement of people, music, and ideas. Another transcultural program was produced in 1992 on Maroon cultures of North America. With leaders and participants from these free African communities in the

demonstrations, narrative sessions, crafts and work demonstrations. We also developed plans to mount a similar program on the Mall for the Smithsonian Festival earlier in the summer, thus wisely sharing research, signage, design, staff, and other resources.

Unfortunately plans for *Southern Crossroads* had to be scaled back dramatically. The new Centennial Park needed corporate financing and was sold off to sponsors for commercial purposes — pushing the festival, the only free public event, to the periphery of the park and reducing its size and scope.

Ultimately *Southern Crossroads* filled three stages in the park, a marketplace, and a crafts demonstration area. ACOG head Billy Payne, Smithsonian secretary Michael Heyman, and Georgia governor Zell Miller opened the festival. They were joined by processions of American Indian and African-American singers and a bluegrass band. Visitors from all walks of life joined in various expressions of Southern arts and music over 17 days. Overcoming many obstacles, Southern musicians and artists found a place at the heart of the Atlanta Olympic Games, and in the hearts of many visitors as well.

—Leslie Gordon, Producer
Humanities and Special Programs
Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games

New World coming from Jamaica, Suriname, French Guiana, Colombia, Mexico, and Texas, the program provided a means of instituting community-to-community ties among those sharing a similar historical experience of forging a culture and identity in opposition to colonial powers and slavery.

Other programs in this mode have looked at multicultural environments of social interaction. A 1988 program, *Migration to Washington, D.C.: Making a New Place Home*, brought local African-American, Chinese, Oromo, Amhara, Salvadoran, and other immigrant communities together to examine cultural adaptation and exchanges in an urban environment. A 1993 program on the U.S.-Mexico borderlands examined similar phenomena in the socially and ecologically varied border zone. And a 1997 program on recent African immigrants illustrated the development of African and American identities in the nation's capital.

Thematic Programs

The Festival had long been conceived as promoting cultural pluralism, continuity, and equity and contributing to the formation of cultural policy in a democratic mode that values self-expression, self-reliance, and local community.

Ideas of cultural conservation motivated several programs beginning in the late 1970s. In 1973 Smithsonian secretary Ripley declared, "We are a conservation organization, and it seems to us that conservation extends to human cultural practices." Festival programs examined community efforts to preserve and extend their cultural traditions in such activities as vernacular architecture, food procurement, and ritual life.

In 1985 a *Cultural Conservation* program at the Festival examined how institutional practices and pressures threatened Mayan Indian, Puerto Rican, Cajun, Kmhmu, and other communities, and how local and sometimes national and international efforts worked to assist their cultural

Sacred Sounds, 1997

Sacred Sounds: Belief & Society was an emotionally moving and spiritually stirring success for participants and audiences from diverse cultural backgrounds. Watching a teary-eyed Old Regular Baptist Appalachian choir humbly express their reserve about participating in the Festival and give thanks for a week-long public embrace of their songs and testimony was especially moving. But so too was greeting members of Brothers Inc. 4 Da Lord, a hip hop group from New York City, as they returned with their families to see the Festival as visitors after having performed the previous week. Equally engaging was listening to the jubilant religious song, dance, and prayer of the South African International Christian Church, the serene sounds of Israeli Sephardic Jewish cantors, and the mesmerizing song of Palestinian Muslims from Jerusalem.

Because of the cancellation of another program, *Sacred Sounds* had to be put together quickly, yet still maintain the integrity of collaboration between researchers, tradition bearers, and the Smithsonian. An additional pressure



Natal'77, an *isicathamiya* cappella group from Durban, South Africa, participated in the 1997 Festival.

Photo by Terri Whitlock

was how to tactfully include the “edutainment” factor necessary to sustain visitor interest and avoid didactic, boring presentations. We relied on a legacy of 32 years of practice to tap into numerous grassroots community and collegial contacts. And we used fax, phone, e-mail, and extensive, direct, multilingual, religiously textured conversations to synthesize a program. At the Festival, *Sacred Sounds* respected and privileged the voices, views, and sensibilities of tradition bearers and foregrounded people-centered education through open, substantive discussions. It also initiated new relationships and understandings among those who participated.

—James Early

survival. Cultural conservation programs continued in following years to examine the role of local social institutions, the maintenance of language, and the use of natural resources in preserving and sustaining cultural communities.

Another program, in 1994, *Culture and Development*, was curated by Olivia Cadaval and Kevin Healy and cosponsored with the Inter-American Foundation. It examined case studies in the Americas of how communities had used local cultural resources for economic development purposes.

Other thematic programs have looked at topics such as contemporary urban life and folk culture — for example, a 1984 program on Philadelphia, and a proposed program on Jerusalem. Others have looked at a genre across cultures — for example, *Musics of Struggle* in 1990 featured the SNCC Freedom Singers, Teatro Campesino, coal miners, students from Gallaudet’s Deaf President Now movement, Israelis, Palestinians, Andean Indians, and Irish and Kurdish singers demonstrating the topical songs, rhythms, and chants that rallied and sustained communities in times of conflict.

American Social Dance, a 1993 program, joined square dancers from southwestern Virginia with hip hoppers from Washington, Cambodian immigrant dancers with Seneca social dancers, and other groups in an examination of dance and its social contexts. *Sacred Sounds* in 1997 brought together ritual traditions from around the United States and the world to illustrate and explore the spiritual aspects of

The Rinzler Memorial Concert Series

The concerts were started in 1995 to honor Ralph’s memory. The first concert featured musicians close to Ralph and his work at the Smithsonian, at the Newport Festival, and in the Civil Rights Movement — Pete Seeger, Ed Cabbell, Mike Seeger, John Cephas, and Phil Wiggins.

Ralph was joined by gifted documenters in doing fieldwork, issuing recordings, presenting concerts, and acting as interlocutors between traditional artists and the public. These colleagues, many of them exceptional musicians, collectively sparked numerous revivals. The concert series has honored colleagues and like-minded advocates, and the revitalized traditions they have enhanced. The 1996 concert honored Hazel Dickens, who performed with Ralph in the 1960s and appeared at the Festival. A West Virginia coal miner’s daughter, Hazel wrote ballads and labor songs and pioneered female

bluegrass lead singing on Folkways and Rounder records. Concert performers included Hazel, Alice Gerrard, Laurie Lewis, Lynn Morris, James King, Kate Brislin and Jody Stecker, Ginny Hawker and Kay Justice, and Dudley Connell.

The 1997 concert, curated by Mike Seeger, celebrated the revival of Southern string band music and community dance. It featured performances by the New Lost City Ramblers, Wade and Julia Mainer, The Red Mules, the Horse Flies, Fat City, Bruce Molsky, and Paul Brown. It was a reunion for the Ramblers; Folkways released their first new album in years — *There Ain’t No Way Out* — which was later nominated for a Grammy Award. The 1998 concert is curated by Henry Sapoznik and celebrates the klezmer tradition and its revival in the United States. Support from The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, the Ruth Mott Fund, and Friends of the Festival helps fund the concerts.

—Kate Rinzler

their music. An annual Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert chooses themes for extended evening programs.

Extending Cultural Education

In 1987 the Office of Folklife Programs acquired Folkways Records from the family of Moses Asch. Folkways — a long-established company with a 50-year archive and catalog of 2,200 titles spanning U.S. and world musics, verbal art, spoken word, and historical and scientific documentary recordings — took root at the Smithsonian under the care of anthropologist/ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger. To help pay for the acquisition, Rinzler devised the idea of approaching popular musicians to record for a benefit album and donate their royalties to the Smithsonian. The album would highlight their contemporary versions of songs sung by Woody Guthrie and Huddie “Lead Belly” Ledbetter — two musicians central to Folkways’ history and catalog. Rinzler used ties to Bob Dylan and to Harold Leventhal, Guthrie’s and Pete Seeger’s manager, to interest Columbia Records and a host of other performers. Dylan, Seeger, Bruce Springsteen, Emmylou Harris, U2, Little Richard, Arlo Guthrie, Willie Nelson, Taj Mahal, Brian Wilson, John Cougar Mellancamp, and Sweet Honey in the Rock participated. The effort, *Folkways: A Vision Shared*, generated considerable sales and won a Grammy Award. It also led to a companion music-cultural history video by Jim Brown on Guthrie and Lead Belly, nominated for an Ace award, a release of original recordings from the archives, and educational materials produced with the Music Educators National Conference.

Smithsonian Folkways keeps every title in the original Folkways catalog in print and is stabilizing the archive. By the end of 1997, Smithsonian Folkways had produced some 200 new products. Scores of old titles were remastered and re-released, mainly on CD but also on cassette. New albums and series



The Washington, D.C., hand-dancing tradition was explored in a 1993 Festival program.

Photo by Richard Strauss

were researched and produced, some based on or associated with the Festival, like *Musics of the Soviet Union*, *Iowa State Fare*, *Bahamas: Islands of Song*, *Puerto Rico in Washington*, *Cuba in Washington*, *Heartbeat*, *Hispanic Music of New Mexico*, *Old Regular Baptists*, *Borderlands*, *Deep Polka*, and so on. These projects often followed the Festival format of collaboration with local scholars and institutions. A 1991 program on the *Roots of Rhythm and Blues* featuring Robert Jr. Lockwood, Johnny Shines, and Delta blues musicians was recorded on the Festival site and later released as a joint recording with Columbia/Sony Records. Coproduced with curators Ralph Rinzler, Worth Long, and Barry Lee Pearson, it was nominated for a Grammy Award.

The acquisition and operation of Folkways has also enabled the production of other multimedia materials growing from the Folkways collection, Festival research and documentation, and other sources as well. In 1989 JVC, with Smithsonian Folkways, released

a 30-volume *Anthology of World Music and Dance* with videotapes and accompanying texts. This has been followed with a better, more specialized video-booklet series on the Americas, Europe, and Africa. Additionally, holdings from the collection emerged as an 80-volume *Music of the World* series in Japanese, each volume consisting of liner notes and a CD. Folkways also collaborated with Broderbund in providing the musical data base for the CD-ROM version of its best-selling computer game, *Where in the World is Carmen Sandiego?* Microsoft’s CD-ROM best-selling digital encyclopedia, *Encarta*, contains scores of Folkways cuts, as does Microsoft’s *Musical Instruments*, America Online’s *The Quest!*, and several other products.

After the Folkways acquisition, Rinzler and archivist Jeff Place updated some of the earlier Doc Watson, Clarence Ashley, and Bill Monroe recordings that Rinzler had done on Folkways, adding cuts and fleshing out liner notes. Appropriately, Rinzler had begun to work on the reissue of the classic Harry

Smith *Anthology of American Folk Music* in the period before his death. The *Anthology* was finally released in 1997 under the leadership of Amy Horowitz, Folkways' assistant director. In its revised version it included six

CDs instead of LPs with sound enhanced and skillfully re-engineered by Pete Reiniger, a new booklet with articles by Greil Marcus, Neil Rosenberg, and a comprehensive discography by Jeff Place — in addition to a re-

print of the Harry Smith booklet and an enhanced CD with Web site connections on the life of the compiler. The attractively packaged boxed set received unprecedented publicity — including more than 100 newspaper and magazine feature articles — critical praise, sold 30,000 copies at \$80 retail in four months, and won two Grammy awards.

The success of Folkways has provided an impetus for the production of other cultural educational materials. The education kit on the Virgin Islands, developed out of the 1990 Festival program, was followed by kits growing out of other Festival programs: *Our Babamian Heritage*, *Land in Native American Cultures, Borders and Identity*, *Iowa Folklife: Our People, Communities, and Traditions*. These kits, or multimedia learning guides, offer lesson plans for teachers and often videos, CDs, and other illustrative material. Their production has built on Festival research and documentation, as well as on the network of people and institutions marshaled to produce a Festival program. The Bahamas kit taught us the importance of collaborating with classroom teachers in the development of the materials. The borderlands kit demonstrated the usefulness of follow-up, training sessions, and community programming relating to its use. The Iowa kit demonstrated the value of coordinating different funders, organizations, scholars, and educators in developing multimedia materials for some 1,200 schools and senior citizen centers across the state.

Folkways' success has helped generate other educational media products from the Festival. Videos on American Indian powwow, White House workers, Jerusalem, and other topics have taken advantage of the production and distribution avenues opened by Folkways.

Smithsonian Folkways

How, I wondered when I was pondering whether to accept a job as its curator, would Folkways Records survive at the Smithsonian? How would an idiosyncratic vision realized through a commercial record company by a workaholic embedded in the New York avant-garde make the transition to a large, bureaucratic, nonprofit institution in the nation's capital? Two possible scenarios seemed quite real: a quiet resting place for a collection much appreciated by a small and diminishing group of specialists who would age with the tapes until both were gone, or a staid future dominated by the dead hand of committee-run and cautious decisions bolstered by memos and endless meetings and heavily footnoted releases of consecrated classics. It seemed about as possible to maintain the keen edge, cultural and political vision, scope, and contemporary relevance of Folkways as to keep a bird at the Smithsonian — they are stuffed or caged, and have lost the ability of free flight.

Institutions survive because they serve constituencies and needs, and are tied to various networks of interest. In running Folkways as an archive and collection, a self-supporting educational tool, and public service, we have paid attention to the needs of artists, consumers, fans, distributors, scholars, and collaborators. We have also developed strong teamwork within the Folkways and Center staff. That staff is motivated by a philosophy and ethics that produce the Festival and have made it special within the Smithsonian.

We have been trying to figure out the best ways for Folkways to survive and flourish at the Smithsonian. This is forever changing as markets, technologies, and institutional constraints change. That we have persevered and grown is due to a dedicated staff, courageous granting agencies, helpful business partners, devoted



The JVC/Smithsonian *Anthology of World Music and Dance* is one of several audio and video resources used for teaching about world cultures.

Photo by Kenn Shrader

artists, creative producers, hundreds of thousands of record buyers, and our status as a Smithsonian collection. Trying to do more than we are able to do within given financial and human resources is a strategy probably initiated by Ralph Rinzler and certainly embodied in the Folklife Festival; culture is kept alive by involving living people and enduring communities in their Smithsonian representations.

Does Folkways fly at the Smithsonian? Consider that the first project we did when Folkways came to the Smithsonian in 1987 was a Festival recording called *Musics of the Soviet Union*. Inconceivable at the time, the Soviet Union no longer exists. But Folkways since then has issued over 200 items, won Grammy awards and nominations, produced and co-produced numerous digital projects, has a full-fledged Web presence, been integrated into numerous exhibitions, and is now distributed around the world. I think Folkways flies, but if you really want to know, listen for yourself.

—Anthony Seeger



A Carnegie Hall concert on May 1, 1998, marked the 50th anniversary of Folkways Recordings. Participating artists included the Mahogany Brass Band, Norman Dixon's Untouchable Secondliners, Los Pleneros de la 21,

Ralph Stanley, Theodore Bikel, Pete Seeger, Lucinda Williams, Ella Jenkins, the New Lost City Ramblers, the Freedom Singers, Dar Williams, Mickey Hart, Ulali, Bernice and Toshi Reagon, and Ossie Davis. Photo by Jeff Tinsley

Cultural Representation

The range of scholarly, museum, educational, and public service activities undertaken by the Center, the Festival, and Folkways confirms the vision of the first Festival and planning conference back in 1967.

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

The Festival, as an educational form of public cultural representation, offers a widely recognized model. The Festival model includes a research base, a community-engaged curatorship, creative presentation, a respect for the dignity of those represented and the intelligence of visitors. Dorothy Height, the former head of the National

Since the Smithsonian acquisition of Folkways Records, the company's legacy has again been made readily available, through what must be one of the most imaginative and intelligently handled cultural preservation projects ever undertaken.

—Atlantic Monthly, 1995

Council of Negro Women, saw this when she toured the Festival in 1986 and decided to mount the *Black Family Reunion*. Leslie Gordon, humanities producer for the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, saw this in deciding to produce a festival of the American South for the Olympics.

In the 1990s the Smithsonian Festival staff was involved in advising on and co-producing numerous Festival-like events that sought to represent people's culture to a broad audience. On the international front, this has involved consultations with officials, scholars, and producers from many nations. In the United States, it has involved co-production roles with folklife festivals in Las

Cruces, New Mexico, Honolulu, Hawai'i, Des Moines, Iowa, Madison, Wisconsin, and Greenville, Mississippi, and programs on regional and American culture for the Olympics and the presidential inaugurations. Staff continually consult with various city arts festivals, theme park operators, and even scientific organizations on how to represent the culture of people and their work.





STAIKANI
PAGODA
DA CHINA MEXICANA

HORACIOS
STUDIO

lacos de puerco
lacos de Res en trozos a la plancha
Quezadillas estilo cameroo
Queso fundido
Chuleta de Res a la plancha
Queso con chorizo
Papas asadas
todo con cebollitas picadas

BODAS
15 AÑOS
BAPTIZOS
GRADUACION
FOTOS
SEGURANTE
3 HORAS
PRIMERA
COMUNION

LA DE MICHOACAN

ANT LOS NORTEÑOS

A dance party at the
1993 Festival
features the music
and signage
of the U.S.-Mexico
border.
Photo courtesy
Smithsonian Institution

The Festival Never Ends

The video begins with elderly and lanky farmers from the U.S. Midwest, plucking their stringed instruments in a way that suggests the strangeness of their music. Next on the screen women from Iowa puff on brass trumpets; the camera angle and sound mix again suggest the exotic quality of their performance. Next come images of monumental Washington seen not so much as landmarks, but as evidence of the presence in Washington of visitors from Chiapas, Mexico — the subjects of the video. A story of the 1991 Festival unfolds through the eyes of a video crew that accompanied a delegation of Mayan Indians from the Mexican province of Chiapas.

The video premiered in an auditorium in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, the capital of Chiapas, prior to its national telecast on Mexican television. The auditorium was overflowing with hundreds of people — the Chiapanecos who had participated in the Festival, their relatives, government officials, scholars, and local citizens. It was December, six months after the Festival on the Mall in Washington had featured, among other programs, *Land and Power in Native American Culture*, with people from Chiapas. Festival staff had written evaluations and had reviewed the press coverage and our own video documentation. Now we were seeing how others had seen the Festival, how members of the participants' communities had construed and represented their participation to folks back home.

Also exhibited in that auditorium was a journal written by a Mayan storyteller, Xun Gallo, in his native Tzotzil, published with a Spanish translation and illustrations. The journal, entitled *Mis ojos vieron, mi corazón lo sabe* (My eyes saw, my heart knows), was a wonderful, serious, poetic, and humorous account of his visit to Washington and

The aim of this Festival is not to make America proud of its folklore or to put on an affair that will please Washington and the Smithsonian, but to provide support for the big river of oral tradition which is now being dissipated and corrupted all over the planet. We cannot foresee what we would do if we did not have this river of pure creativity always revivifying our culture, but life would be a very sorry thing if it dried up. The Festival beats a big drum for folklore on a national level, but it is doubtful whether this is of much use to the separate traditions and to their carriers — for these traditions are local and their carriers depend upon local audiences. In my mind then, the most important thing that the Festival can do is aid and strengthen the singers.

—Alan Lomax, 1975





Many of those who participated in the *Mela!* and *Aditi* programs in 1985 for the Festival of India came from the shanty-town squatter settlement of Shadipur. Photo courtesy Rajeev Sethi

India, 1985 — *Aditi and Mela!*

Some people think they were the best exhibitions ever at the Smithsonian. *Aditi* was a living exhibition mounted in the National Museum of Natural History. The *Mela!*, or Indian Fair, was, conceptually, the last segment of the exhibition, and was held on a three-acre site on the Mall as part the 1985 Festival. *Aditi* was organized in terms of the life cycle, included some 2,000 or so contemporary and ancient artifacts and art works as well as more than 40 Indian craftspeople, musicians, magicians, jugglers, balladeers and painters in an exhibition superbly designed by motivating force Rajeev Sethi. The lines to get in on weekends were two and three hours long. Jackie Kennedy Onassis came. So did Nancy Reagan and Rajiv Gandhi, George Schultz, many of the Indian cabinet, Ravi Shankar, designers, and school kids.

The Festival *Mela!* program included a functioning bazaar, acrobats, potters, kite makers, musicians, a brahmin priest, dancers, icon makers, garland makers, and others one might find at a rural Indian fair. As with *Aditi*, most of the artisans and musicians, the magicians and street performers were incredibly poor. Many lived in Shadipur, a squatter settlement in Delhi. The exhibition and Festival programs were consciously chosen vehicles to prove their worth and value to Indian society.

By any measure *Aditi* and the *Mela!* were an overwhelming success. Some 1,500,000 people came to the Festival. The programs were publicized and reviewed on each television network and in major national newspapers and magazines. Daily classes for children thrilled parents. Scholarly and critical assessments were solid in their praise. The book/catalog sold some 70,000 copies and earned strong reviews. A documentary film won several awards. Education kits derived from the exhibition were distributed to schools across the country. Indian artisans, musicians, and scholars benefited from millions of dollars in sales of crafts, recordings, and books.

Indian grocery stores in the area experienced



a boom. But more substantively, Indian-American teenagers and volunteers crossed lines of class, wealth, language, and caste to help the artisans and musicians during their Washington stay. Sons and daughters of doctors and engineers carried water for poor potters and street performers.

Aditi took over the museum in a refreshing and loving way. I remember the *bahrupiya*, impersonators at the *Mela!* who would dress up and act like the monkey god Hanuman. They went into the Metro system one day. Authorities knew to call the Festival — “We think these must be yours,” they told us. And no amount of coaxing and cajoling could keep the monkey men out of the trees on the Mall, taunting me and the Park Police, who did not appreciate their using national branches as part of their performance routine. And how, in the history of the nation’s capital, do we ever account for the burning of 40-foot-high bamboo and paper statues of Ravana and his evil cohorts on the Mall — with a squadron of D.C. fire trucks standing by

real. They were connected to real life, to real people. Heroes and celebrities in America, hailed by their government officials as their nation’s greatest ambassadors, performers were granted rights to practice their art without being hassled or treated as beggars. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi promised them rights to land, so they could build homes on a permanent basis, and develop an artists’ village. Here they would work, teach, and entertain Indian school children and foreign visitors, earning their living and giving something back in return. Despite changes in the law and approval from the city development authority, the allotment of funds and grant of land, that promise is still unfulfilled.

Aditi and Mela! showed the wonderful way in which people poor in wealth yet rich in culture could use their art to educate, entertain, and engage a broad public, and support themselves. Seduced by the possibility of what museums can do, I gave up my university teaching job and joined the Smithsonian staff.

Indian *bahrupiya* on the Mall performed their roles for staff and visitors alike.

Photo by
Daphne Shuttleworth

Maura Moynihan secured a promise from Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to aid Shadipur artists and musicians.

along the drives to make sure the museums did not go up in smoke?

Aditi and Mela! made everything about museuming

—Richard Kurin

participation in the Festival. He had discussed his work with the audience, academic scholars, and Smithsonian program curator Olivia Cadaval before the video began. He and others spoke of the importance of the Festival in reaffirming cultural identity and raising consciousness about cultural issues that cross ethnic, national, and international boundaries.

This theme was echoed in the video doc-

umentary that proceeds from the exoticized Midwest family farmers to the Chiapas group, and from them to ever-widening circles of inclusiveness. First the other Indian groups at the 1991 Festival, from Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, are included in the Chiapaneco Indian world. Then Alaskan groups, the Hopi, and Ecuadoran Shuar are included. The video treatment embraces Indonesians — Javanese, Dayak from

Kalimantan, and people from Sulawesi, also at the Festival — and finds they too are Indians of a sort. Then bluesmen from the Mississippi Delta are brought into the fold. Yes, they too are Indian. Finally, by video's end, the formerly strange family farmers reappear and are included — they are also Indian; they too are humans with culture and value.

A few days later, James Early, Olivia

Jackie Kennedy Onassis joins curator Rajeev Sethi (seated center) with *Aditi* participants and guests at a lunchtime break during the exhibition.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution



Cadaval, and I were in a small Chiapan pueblo visiting a family. One of the daughters, an excellent weaver, had been inspired by other weavers at the Festival, especially by the economically successful and well-organized Peruvian weavers. She was now determined to start a weaving cooperative with other village women.

This experience in Chiapas is a reminder that the Festival does not end on the Mall in Washington when visitors go home and the staff packs up the tents. The Festival has always been designed to have an impact beyond its public education function with visitors. The Festival frequently plays a cat-

alytic role for tradition bearers, scholars, officials, and others to think about the practice, continuity, viability, and creativity of grassroots culture. It extends "back home," certainly in the minds of participants, but often also in the institutions and policies of communities whose members have come to see and be seen. And the Festival, though ephemeral, leaves documentary trails, images, ideas, and experiences which live beyond the ten days or so on the Mall.

James Morris once said that "the Festival is like an iceberg," meaning there is a lot that goes on that the public does not see out on the Mall. The dissemination, in time and

space, of the Festival — its research, its products, its spirit — is broad, and often outstrips the ability of staff to keep fully engaged with its numerous developments. Nonetheless, we feel a commitment to those who have worked with us to create the Festival, and in many cases we continue our cooperative efforts.

Institutional Impacts Back Home

Often, the Festival has an institutional impact in other jurisdictions mediated by collaborating organizations and individuals. Consider the examples of India, Michigan, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

The 1985 India program was a very clear attempt to illustrate the beauty and worth of Indian folk artists who were persecuted under the law and denigrated by the cultural policy of the government. The artists of Shadipur, a ramshackle Delhi squatters' slum, well remember their experience on the Mall and their stunning effect on the American public. As a direct result of their Festival participation, laws curtailing their artistic practice were changed, and they gained organizational strength and civic recognition. They also gained land for housing and a cultural complex that can serve both Indians and tourist audiences and keep them gainfully and creatively employed. Unfortunately, a battle over control of the land and serious public allegations of corruption have stalled the development of the performance and housing complex.

Michigan, featured on the Mall for its 150th anniversary in 1987, used its experience strategically in a different way to develop a large, continuing program in folklife and cultural heritage. This included the remounting of the Festival program on the grounds of the Michigan State University in East Lansing as part of a larger Michigan festival, which has continued annually since 1987. Programs of research and documentation in the state's folk traditions got a boost, and the university allotted additional, state-

Beyond Michigan on the Mall

The development and inclusion of a Michigan program at the Smithsonian's Folklife Festival in 1987 had far-reaching, strategic effects. In 1983 planning began for the 1987 celebration of Michigan's sesquicentennial anniversary of statehood. The then three-member staff of the Michigan Traditional Arts program at the Michigan State University Museum believed this would be an ideal time for presentation of Michigan's living traditional culture to national and statewide audiences. Our staff also believed that Michigan participation in the Smithsonian Festival would provide added endorsement of and credibility for future in-state folklife research and presentation, including the creation of a major, ongoing state folklife festival. We were convinced that attention given to Michigan on the Mall would help expand the base of in-state institutional support and recognition, which would in turn enable us to be more effective in traditional arts advocacy, program and policy development, fundraising, and collections development. We also believed Festival field work could be used as the basis for future exhibition, education, and research projects.

Though challenging, the program on the Mall was itself, as a presentation, quite successful. A book — *Michigan on the Mall* — and a number of articles and scholarly presentations document this. In August 1987 we restaged the

Smithsonian Festival program as the Festival of Michigan Folklife on the campus of the Michigan State University as the centerpiece of the first annual Michigan Festival.

We now produce the Michigan Folklife Festival annually. Planning for festival research and interpretive themes reflects staff expertise and interests, research-in-progress by colleagues, disciplinary concerns and issues, responses to community needs, and fiscal and technical realities. Where possible, other Michigan Traditional Arts Programs such as the 4-H/FOLKPATTERNS Project, the Apprenticeship Program, the Michigan Heritage Awards program, and the Michigan Quilt Project have regularly been incorporated into festival research or presentation plans.

The recreation of the *Michigan* program and the subsequent development of the annual festival have enabled us to fulfill many of our original goals. In particular, the festival has provided a critical mechanism to attract stable university, city, state, and federal funding support for core staff. The staff itself has expanded to eight full- and part-time professionals. This growth, fiscal stability, and continuity has enabled the Michigan Traditional Arts Program to be more effective in its work.

— C. Kurt Dewhurst & Marsha MacDowell
Michigan State University

There is almost nothing more convincing than real Iowans telling their own stories about what makes our life here so special.

—Chuck Offenburger, *Des Moines Register*, 1996



The Iowa education kit consists of a guide for teachers developed in collaboration with curriculum specialists and educators, a resource directory of folk artists in the state produced by the Iowa Arts Council, a guide for senior citizen centers, a Folkways CD, a program book from the restaged Festival program held in Des Moines, and two videos produced with Iowa Public Television. Photo by Kenn Shrader

funded positions to support the effort. The staff at the Michigan State University attained enough size and expertise to undertake more interesting exhibitions in concert with other institutions. Educational materials for the public schools were developed out of the research. Training opportunities for students were another by-product. In this case, Michigan's example helped Smithsonian Festival staff rethink strategies of linking the Festival to other programmatic, educational, and public activities.

While it grew out of very different circumstances, a similar variation developed with the U.S. Virgin Islands, whose cultural

traditions were featured at the 1990 Festival. As a direct result of that successful research, organizational, and presentational effort, the U.S.V.I. undertook several initiatives to examine the present state and possibilities of local cultural resources. Joining with the newly formed and locally based Friends of Virgin Islands Culture, we helped in the production of the first Virgin Islands Folklife Festival in 1991. This festival reassured residents and especially young people of the power of locally produced cultural representations. Half the population of the territory — some 50,000 people — attended. The Festival became an arena and an idiom for dis-

cussing issues of local culture. Also participating in the festival were Senegalese artists and the SNCC Freedom Singers, who had been featured along with the U.S.V.I. on the Mall at the Smithsonian's 1990 Festival. They offered local audiences an important comparative perspective on their own culture. The poignancy of the historical passage from West Africa to the Caribbean to the U.S. mainland was apparent to many, and was underscored when Senegalese storyteller Bigue N'Doye, joyful in her reunion with Virgin Islanders, spoke as if among family:

I am happy to be here in this land. Let me tell you why I walk without my shoes. It is so I can feel the land upon which my [captured] grandfathers walked.

For many, as in the Virgin Islands, the Festival is no mere show or passing entertainment, no mere canvas for the musings of folklorists or cultural marketeers. It was and has been a means of raising public consciousness about cultural issues and the society's future. The effort to remount the Festival on St. Croix was preceded by a cultural conference, "Go Back and Fetch It," held on St. Thomas. The conference brought together disparate groups of people and interests — government officials, scholars, community spokespeople, tradition bearers, educators, business leaders, members of the tourism industry, and others. They examined strategies for conserving Virgin Islands culture and for using it to revitalize education, and promote sustainable economic development and environmental preservation. In addition Smithsonian Festival staff collaborated with the Virgin Islands Department of Education and the Humanities Council to develop a curriculum unit on local and comparative culture, so that students will have a better access to their own traditions, their own history, and the means for interpreting and representing them.

Most dramatically, the Festival program on the Mall in Washington furthered debate and discussion within the Virgin Islands

My participation in the Festival came at a very difficult time in my life. I felt needed.

—Preston Bruce, *Workers at the White House* program, 1992

The U.S.V.I.: Stress-Free Recovery

When the Smithsonian announced its plans to invite the Virgin Islands to the Mall, it was as though a cultural rescue line was cast in our direction. The Virgin Islands had been castigated and disparaged in the U.S. media in the aftermath of Hurricane Hugo. There was coverage, hour after hour on television and daily in the newspapers, about everything negative you could imagine about your home — “machete-wielding rampaging Blacks,” discussions of airlifting Americans off the islands, and so on.

No! The Virgin Islands would show the world we are one people with a proud and vibrant culture. After all, it was this folklife that, in the hours and days after Hugo, kicked in, unheralded, like a standby cultural generator to sustain us. The old coalpot, bush tea, dumbbread baked through almost forgotten techniques, were all called into service. We told stories to each other, and calmed our children. It was our deepest folk traditions that hauled us through those terrifying times when power, water, television, and usual amenities were out.

The Smithsonian recruited a cadre of competent and sensitive cultural specialists. Spirits soared as specialists and culture bearers from the three islands set aside differences to do the research and jointly devise the program. The result was superb. People mixed and mingled and were educated about who we are. Many danced as they'd never danced before to the music of our bands, and as the sun set at the Mall each of those warm summer days, their voices were heard blasting the lyrics of our calypso “Ah ain' goin' home!”

Virgin Islanders returned home with a sense of cultural empowerment and entitlement that carried over into public policy in con-



Leona Watson engages Miss Etta in an impromptu interview at the 1991 Virgin Islands Folklife Festival on St. Croix. Photo by Joan Wolbier

crete ways. We remounted the festival on St. Croix the following year and invited the Senegalese with whom we shared the Mall at the Smithsonian Festival.

In 1996, fast on the heels of another cyclonic attack — this time by Hurricane Marilyn — we mounted another festival and conference. This time performers and scholars traveled from West African and Caribbean nations to participate in “Folklife as Narrative.” It was our way of telling our story. The Discovery Channel covered our work and broadcast it worldwide. We had nothing of the malicious and destructive coverage that evolved from Hurricane Hugo. Instead, with the Smithsonian’s cooperation, we have found ways to re-energize our culture locally and embellish our image abroad.

—Gilbert Sprauve, Professor
University of the Virgin Islands

about public policies relating to cultural issues. The intellectual engagement of the Smithsonian Center’s staff, Festival participants, and associated scholars with each other and with government officials and policy makers was a serious, sometimes contentious one — with strong debate and public commentary about how to address salient cultural issues in the Virgin Islands. In 1991 the U.S. Virgin Islands Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was passed by the 19th Legislature and signed by Governor Alexander Farrelly. This law, a direct outgrowth of the Festival, established a cultural institute dedicated to the research, documentation, preservation, and presentation of local culture. And though this Institute has faltered and not yet lived up to its promise, its spirit has been taken up by Gil Sprauve, Gene Emanuel, and others in the Virgin Islands. They successfully staged another festival on the campus of the University of the Virgin Islands in 1996, have trained students in research and documenta-

tion, and actively engaged teachers in cultural education. They have also continued debates about Virgin Islands cultural issues on the radio, and in various public forums, including electoral referenda.

Evolution of Professional Practice

In the 1990s, the Center and the Festival increased the strategic use of research materials and organizational arrangements, so that the Festival could reach large audiences after its completion on the Mall though educational products. *Iowa Folklife: People, Communities, and Traditions* exemplified this. The Iowa kit consisted of a guide for teachers developed in collaboration with curriculum specialists and educators, a resource directory of folk artists in the state produced by the Iowa Arts Council, a guide for senior citizen centers, a Folkways CD — *Iowa State Fare* — with liner notes on musical traditions in the state, a program book of readings from the restaged Festival program held in Des Moines, and two videos produced with Iowa Public Television, one a documentary on the Mall and home festivals, and a second one of documentary profiles of tradition bearers and community events. In all, the kit represented the coordination of several agencies — local, state, and federal — and individual artists, musicians, teachers, and scholars to put together a comprehensive view of the state's grassroots culture. With support from the Iowa Sesquicentennial Commission and a private donor, Pioneer Hi-Bred International, Inc., the kit was distributed to some 1,200 schools and senior citizen centers in the state.

Other key projects have included *Crossroads: Southern Routes* and a World Wide Web presence. *Crossroads* was a partnership with Microsoft for which the Center provided the curatorial and archival expertise and Microsoft the design and technical expertise. The result was an enhanced CD that operates as an audio CD, a CD-ROM, and a Website companion. *Crossroads* includes a musical survey of the South in

Jerusalem

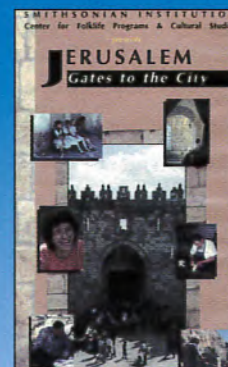
Jerusalem as a Festival program on the National Mall? Parallel Israeli and Palestinian fieldwork teams winding their way through Jerusalem's ancient stone alleyways and modern apartment complexes in search of contemporary cultural expression?

Such was the challenge when, in 1992–93, with the unprecedented approval of local officials and representatives, we worked with some 20 Israeli and Palestinian researchers to survey the cultural expressions of the city, interview over a hundred musicians, storytellers, craftspeople, folk healers, ritual specialists, and others, and map out a viable program and presentation for the Festival.

Difficulties abounded. How to present the cultural traditions of a disputed territory? How to present and question realities and mythologies? How to bring the tastes and tones, the light, stones, and hills of Jerusalem to the flat, grassy, monumental Mall? We could only hint at

recordings, quick-time video of various Southern musicians, oral history interviews, and digital photographic images drawn from the Festival and archives. A cultural map, song texts, translations, glossaries, and timelines were also included on the disk. *Crossroads* was produced for the 1996 Festival and for the *Southern Crossroads* program at the Olympics, and earned media and technical kudos as the best product of its kind ever produced. The Web pages attracted thousands of teachers and offered lesson plans linked to the disk.

The Festival, Folkways, and the Center rapidly built up a Web presence. Festival programs on the Mall turned into a virtual Festival, with a Hawaiian luau, African naming ceremony, and U.S.-Mexican borderlands program. Folkways recordings were digitized and put on the Web. Newsletters and other informational items were added. The Internet helped extend the life of the Festival beyond the Mall, the use of research and col-



the sensation, geography, and emotional pull of the city. On a most profound level, how to suggest rather than enact religious ceremonies so meaningful to so many? And on the profane end, how to

pay for the program and arrange its logistics?

It may not be surprising that the Jerusalem program was not realized at that time — a disappointment to those who boldly crossed boundaries to work on a project of considerable risk. However, several projects did result. We were able to document in interviews, audio-tape, and photographic images an important aspect of people's lives. We have been able to produce a video documentary, *Jerusalem: Gates to the City*, and are currently completing a book.

—Amy Horowitz

lections beyond the Smithsonian.

New forms of professional practice are in the mid- and late 1990s coupled with more focused attempts to analyze them and close the gap between academic and public scholarship. Increasingly, staff and scholars have been studying the Festival, Folkways, and related efforts. With Emory University and support from the Rockefeller Foundation, fellows examine the issues of exhibiting and representing culture in public forums. Books by staff on particular case studies and general professional practice contribute to shaping theories of culture and its representation. Tony Seeger, for example, edited an issue of *Cultural Survival* dealing with traditional music. Diana N'Diaye completed a doctoral dissertation on the process of developing the Festival program on African immigrants. Diana Parker and other staff discussed the rationale for folklife festivals at the 1997 meetings of the American Folklore Society. Richard Kurin published *Reflections of a*

Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian, analyzing Festival programs among others. It is likely that the Center will continue to develop both a theoretical discourse as well as concrete educational programs with community scholars and with university departments to upgrade the ability of practitioners to understand, present, and conserve community cultural life and heritage.

An unfinished agenda from 1967 still resonates today. It would be a mistake to think that the promulgation of global mass culture will inevitably wipe out all forms of tradition-generated, community-held, creatively performed grassroots culture. Not all

culture is or will be produced in Hollywood, Paris, Nashville, or on Madison Avenue. Local folks, people in families, communities, regions, and occupations continue to make culture. Increasingly, concerns at local, regional, and even unofficial transnational levels about culture are shaping the quality of provincial and national governments as well as international organizations. More research must be done on the contexts within which local forms of grassroots culture do survive, and indeed may flourish. If we think cultural diversity is worth conserving, then the time is ripe to examine how economic development strategies can encourage the

continuity of local culture; how local cultural practices and knowledge can support environmental preservation; how local communities can participate in the shaping of the images used, too often by others, to represent them; how the wisdom, knowledge, and aesthetics of diverse cultures can directly, and through innovative media, be brought into classrooms and other forums of public education; and how cultural concerns and sensibilities, attitudes, and beliefs can shape public policy.

The Center, through the Festival, Folkways, cultural education, and cultural policy programs, will continue this work. The Festival will continue to tap into the great streams of tradition and creativity which, though threatened, still abound in the United States and throughout the world. It will continue to heed, honor, and celebrate remarkable people who, in exemplary ways, carry with them lessons learned by word of mouth over generations, so that the next generation can call upon those lessons when shaping new creations. The Festival will continue to encourage practitioners to practice, scholars to research, and the public to learn.

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

A Lasting Moment in People's Lives

Margaret Mead was right about the Festival; it does offer a moment of human enjoyment, engagement, discovery, and sometimes inspi-

South Africa: Freedom and Festivals Are a Constant Struggle

Some Festival programs are a long time in the making. The program development process may itself be more significant than the public events that take place on the Mall. A proposed South Africa program, scheduled for 1999, has been a steady thought for me and my colleagues.

The late Gerald Davis, Bernice Johnson Reagon, and I were all centrally involved in the development and production of African Diaspora programs at the Festival, climaxing with the 1976 Bicentennial. Since South Africa was then under the White-supremacy rule of apartheid, we could not collaborate with Black South Africans at that time. South Africa could not participate in a truly benchmark cultural representation of the African Diaspora that stretched from various parts of Africa to the Caribbean, Latin America, and the United States. But the cultural spirits and values of Black South Africans were acknowledged through libation ceremonies led by the elders of the Diaspora communities each day for weeks during that summer's Festival.

With the democratic defeat of apartheid the opportunity arose to fulfill a project idea dating back a quarter of a century. Indeed, South African officials visited Festival staff and the Mall on the very day Nelson Mandela took the oath of

office as president of the new South Africa.

We began a collaboration with the South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology under the rubric of the Culture and Community-Building Reciprocal Learning Program. Through mutual professional exchanges and engagement, the Smithsonian and South African colleagues and institutions sought to examine the ways in which culture could better be tied to local-level community needs, better integrated with economic justice and the development of civil society. South African community groups and representatives have participated in and analyzed the Festival; several have worked with and studied a number of Smithsonian units and operations. Key Smithsonian staff including Lonnie Bunch, Steve Newsome, and Rex Ellis have participated in meetings of South African organizations. Festival director Diana Parker has advised on the development of the Robben Island prison site as cultural/education center.

The Festival and the processes and philosophy embedded in it have provided an opportune way to think about the cultural, civic, and economic development of South Africa as a democratic, diverse, "rainbow" nation. In 1999, but one of the results will be a program designed to foster individual and community control over the interpretation and marketing of their aesthetic and intellectual properties.

—James Early

ration. Various groups have “found” a sense of community at the Festival, with people from their culture as well as those from others. Massachusetts participants — including organizers, curators, presenters, participants, and staff — felt joined by what was termed “a love fest” on the Mall and gathered for subsequent reunions. A “family reunion” was how many New Mexicans described their re-gathering in Las Cruces a year after the Smithsonian Festival for the local restaging. Native people from Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Mexico found they had much to learn from each other about cultural survival and growth. Their *congreso* after the Festival led

to a gathering again in Quito two years later to assert their cultural rights and economic development strategies. Unbeknownst to them, they influenced Festival of India collaborator Rajeev Sethi, who had visited their *Culture and Development* program on the Mall, and applied its ideas to a festival and conference in India and to his design for a pavilion at the year 2000 World Expo in Hanover, Germany.

The Festival generally implicates and accentuates ideas about community and personal identity, cultural values and policies held by those who participate. Participation in the Festival can be informed by the diverse

concerns of tradition bearers, scholars, officials, and others. The Festival may provide memorable means to worthy, just, even humane ends. Diana Parker recounts an incident:

It had been a long, hot day at the Festival. The participants were back at the hotel relaxing over after-dinner conversation. An older Indonesian woman from Kalimantan (Borneo) was conversing with a man from North Dakota — a participant in the *Family Farming* program — with the help of a translator. The older woman was delighted to learn



Brahmin Anand Mohan of New York conducts and explains a *puja* ceremony and Pichammal Nagarajan makes a *kolam* at the 1985 Festival. Photo by Kim Nielsen

that the man knew about growing food — she also grew crops. An animated exchange ensued about the vagaries of weather, pesky insects, good years, bad years, and other topics of universal concern to farmers.

Finally the woman shyly asked the question she had wanted to ask from the beginning. “Why are you always in that chair with wheels?”

The man spoke about the accident that had taken his legs.

Her response moved her new friend to tears. “You are so lucky,” she said. “All of us lose something of ourselves in life. I know many people who have lost pieces of their soul.

You have only lost your legs.”

To be sure, not all the impacts of the Festival are serious, profound, or even praiseworthy. But many of them are. And they are part of larger efforts of individuals and communities to culturally persevere. The Festival, as my colleagues say, “never ends.” Mined, transformed, and analyzed, the Festival continues to be a rich, multipurpose vehicle for researching, representing, expressing, and making culture. And though it may be guided by Smithsonian staff and fueled by federal, trust, and private dollars, there are many diverse individuals, communities, artists, scholars, officials, and others who build, shape, repair, and improve on it and give it a life of its own.

That life might provide a means of summoning and valuing their past. Eleanor Parsons Arnold, a participant in the 1991 Festival, wrote us:

Our most important story of the Festival is a sad but happy one. We were invited to attend representing Indiana in the *Family Farming* program — my husband and I, our son, John, and his wife Leslie. The rest of the family was encouraged to come with us, and they did — in full force. Our two other daughters and family, our brother-in-law and wife and even the couple we call our other children (no blood relation, just love). We made times in our busy lives for a special time of being together and reaffirming our family values in a special way. When you present a way of life to others, you necessarily reevaluate yourself. We did evaluate it and found this time together to be one of the nicest experiences we had ever had. Six weeks later, our son was dead in a tractor accident, leaving a wife and four small children. Our loving family circle was broken, our future plans now uncertain, and we had experienced a loss which could never be replaced. In this sad time we realized that we must emphasize the positive things in our life, and one of the happy recollections we turned to again and again was the coincidence which had had us all assembled together in Washington just before the tragedy. There were many very positive experiences which came from our being at the Festival, and every member of our family has their own special memory, but we are collectively grateful for the healing and happy memory it made for us in the time which followed.

And the Festival may open the past to a new, unforeseen future. In conducting fieldwork for the 1985 Festival, I visited and interviewed Pichammal Nagarajan, a housewife in Rockville, Maryland. Mrs. Nagarajan daily drew painted patterns called *kolams* at her home. The *kolams* are thought to invite Hindu deities into the home to protect members of the family from ill fortune. There are innumerable patterns for *kolam* drawing, all based upon mathematical principles. It takes much skill to draw precise, efficacious *kolams*. Made of simple rice paste, the *kolams* are ephemeral — they are walked on and wear away over the course of a day or so. Mrs. Nagarajan drew these *kolams* on the walkway leading to the house, in her driveway, and even in her dining room — converted into a shrine for religious use.

Mrs. Nagarajan's daughter Vijaya, then in her early twenties, didn't quite understand her mother's passion. She hadn't thought that much about the *kolams*, and was even somewhat embarrassed by them, exuding as they did from her house into the suburban neighborhood. Good spirited and proficient in English as she was, Vijaya volunteered to help her mother at the Festival on the Mall. It was a turning point in her life, as she noted:

I grew up moving back and forth between India and America, knowing and feeling two maps to live and think by. Until that summer of 1985 it had never occurred to me that I could actually make my struggles to understand and comprehend India my lifetime work. I see the rest of my life as going back and forth between India and America, presenting, studying, understanding.

Vijaya subsequently went on to graduate school to study Indian art at the University of California, Berkeley. She traveled to India several times, studied with learned experts — and even her mom — and completed her doctoral dissertation on the meaning of *kolams*.

Reflections on the Festival and the Mississippi Delta Interdenominational Mass Choir

The Mississippi Folklife Festival was held May 1–4, 1998, in downtown Greenville, on the levee of the river. It included almost all of the participants and programs featured at the Smithsonian's 1997 Festival on the National Mall, and then some.

On Friday, thousands of children from around the state pulled up in scores of school buses to learn about the history and culture of the Delta from their tradition-bearing neighbors. On Saturday, families came. Billboards on the highway proclaimed "From the Delta to the Smithsonian and Back Home." Visitors ate home-cooked barbecue, listened to the blues, watched cooking demonstrations, and heard discussions of crop dusting, catfish raising, quilting, and other topics amidst the home porches, tents, bottle trees, and jumping mules that decorated the festival grounds. The Festival mobilized all sorts of people and groups within the broad Delta community. The diversity was there to see — Mr. and Mrs. Chow speaking of several generations of Chinese-American residency in the Delta, Italian Americans, from the local club, showing people how to play bocce-ball, Chamber of Commerce volunteers, fraternity and sorority steppers doing competitive routines, elderly river men telling their tall tales. The festival provided an idyllic moment in the Delta, capped by an interdenominational mass

choir performance on Sunday in the sacred music tent.

Who would have thought that it could have worked out so well? Apparently many Mississippi Delta singers shared the common vision that an interdenominational mass choir at the Mississippi Folklife Festival did not have to be just a dream; it could indeed be a reality.

When I spoke to people in the weeks before the festival about my idea, most said, "Yes, I'd love to participate. Count me in."

When I said that no rehearsals would be held, others were reluctant to participate. When no music was sent to prospective singers, even the most optimistic were apprehensive. When recruiting, I wanted to ensure diversity among participants — geographically, denominationally, racially, and with reference to gender.

Some people promised to participate, but might have been afraid, shy, nervous, or embarrassed. Who knows? A percussionist who promised to accompany the group never showed up. Another group was stuck in traffic. We waited for them before starting the concert.

About 200 people, Black and White and of various ethnicities, came from all over the region. Students came from Mississippi Valley State University. Others came from churches in Greenwood, Itta Bena, Indianola, Lyons, Shaw, Cleveland, Ruleville, Moorhead, Mound Bayou,

Inverness, Arcola, Benoit, Hollandale, Drew, Clarksdale, Leland, and Rosedale. Many came from the First Baptist Church in Greenville and the American Red Cross Chorus. All of the singers were enthusiastic, energetic, soulful, and compassionate. They sang so beautifully, one would have thought many rehearsals had been held. They sang chants, anthems, hymns, spirituals, and traditional and contemporary gospels. Works were led by Caucasian and African-American soloists, including the Greenville chief of police. Special renditions were presented by Reverend Myles of Lyons and Sister Caesar of Monroe, Louisiana, both of whom participated in the Smithsonian Festival.

The audience laughed with the choir as we worked out logistics. People sang along and responded as appropriate. And many were teary-eyed in the realization of a common, heartfelt humanity expressing itself under a great big tent out by the Delta levee.

Complete strangers continue to talk to me about the impact of that concert on their lives. They want to know when the choir will sing again. They want to know if they may participate, and how. The Festival concert created a community, a community to which all can belong, and which, I'd like to hope, people can sing in every day. Surely the Mississippi Delta Interdenominational Mass Choir will sing again and again.

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Appendices

Appendix A.

Exhibitions, Major Performance Programs, and Festival Restagings

[SI denotes Smithsonian Institution, F denotes Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies or Office of Folklife Programs, or Festival of American Folklife, Division of Performing Arts.]

"A Festival of American Folklife," a performance program produced by SIF for Man and His World, the United States Pavilion at the World Expo, with the U.S. Department of Commerce and Discover America Travel Organization, Montreal, June 11 – September 6, 1971.

"A Festival of American Folklife," a performance program produced by SIF for the International Folklore Festival, coordinated by Ted Levin, Moscow, August 11 – 17, 1988.

Aditi: A Celebration of Life, an exhibition produced by SIF in cooperation with the National Museum of Natural History and mounted in the Evans Gallery, curated by Rajeev Sethi, Washington, D.C., June 4 – July 28, 1985.

The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts, an exhibition in the National Museum of History and Technology with craft demonstrations organized by SIF, October 15 – December 30, 1979.

American Folk and Jazz Company performances program produced by SIF at the Olympic Cultural Festival, the Olympic Games, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of State, Mexico City, and later St. Louis, 1968.

"American Folklife," a performance program produced by SIF in cooperation with the National Council for the Traditional Arts, for the International Folklore Festival, Kiev, May 24 – 29, 1990.

The American Folklife Company performances produced by SIF with the Touring Performance Service, SI, on tour to venues across the United States, 1970–74.

"America's Reunion on the Mall," produced by the Clinton-Gore Presidential Inaugural Committee and Festival Productions in cooperation with SIF, on the National Mall, Washington, D.C., January 17 – 18, 1993.

Babamian Visions: The Art of Amos Ferguson, an exhibition produced by SIF in cooperation with the International Center in the S. Dillon Ripley Center, Washington, D.C., July 1 – 10, 1994.

Cape Verdean Images, an exhibition of the photographs of Ron Barboza produced by SIF in the S. Dillon Ripley Center, June 15 – July 10, 1995.

Celebration: A World of Art and Ritual, an exhibition organized by SIF in cooperation with and mounted in the Renwick Gallery, curated by Victor Turner, Washington, D.C., March 17, 1982 – July 11, 1983.

"Encuentro Intercultural de la Identidad al Desarrollo Pluricultural," a festival produced by the Government of Ecuador with the cooperation of SIF and the Inter-American Foundation in Quito, Ecuador, March 14 – 17, 1996.

Family Folklore, a traveling exhibition produced by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service in cooperation with SIF, curated by Amy Kotkin Warner, and toured to Cocoa (Fla.), Alexandria (La.), Columbus, Montgomery, Omaha, Sherman, Rancho Cucamong (Calif.), Bakersfield, Hallsville (Tex.), Boca Raton, Philadelphia, Los Alamos, Hood River (Ore.), Belmont (Mass.), Chattanooga, Seattle, Tampa, Rogers (Ark.), Odessa, Williamsport, Altoona, Lexington, Wauconda (Ill.), Albuquerque, Hastings (Nebr.), Wichita, Indianapolis, Smackover (Ark.), Syracuse, Jersey City, West Chicago, King City (Calif.), Yuba City, Merced, Willits (Calif.), Eureka, Ridgecrest (Calif.), Chico, Auburn (N.Y.), Shawnee (Kan.), Miami, Bettendorf, Logan, Farmington (N. Mex.), Tifton (Ga.), Longmont (Col.), Beckley (W. Va.), University Park (Penn.), Oxford (Miss.), Evanston, Southfield, Dothan (Ala.), Dayton, Sioux Falls, Boston, Saipan, Henderson (Nev.), Roseburg (Ore.), Eau Claire, Tallahassee, Streamwood (Ill.), Berea, Sioux City, Chesterfield (Mo.), Lincoln, Upper Arlington (Oh.), Raleigh, Elmhurst (Ill.), Shreveport, Hartsville (S.C.), St. Leonard (Md.), St. Paul, Holyoke, Pocattello, Victoria (Tex.), Portland, Greensboro, Brooklandville (Md.), Albany, Piney Flats (Tenn.), Moorhead (Minn.), Lexington (Ky.), Skokie, Wapakoneta, Nanuet (N.Y.), Livingston (Ala.), Tulsa, 1986–96.

Festival of Iowa Folklife, produced by the Iowa Sesquicentennial Commission in cooperation with SIF, on the State Capitol Grounds, directed by J. Scott Raecker, curated by Rachelle H. Saltzman and Catherine Hiebert Kerst, Des Moines, August 22 – 25, 1996.

Festival of Massachusetts Folklife, produced by the Massachusetts Arts Council in cooperation with SIF, in Holyoke State Park, curated by Dillon Bustin and Betty Belanus Holyoke, September 29 – October 2, 1988.

Festival of Michigan Folklife, produced by the Michigan State University in cooperation with SIF, on the campus, curated by Kurt Dewhurst, Marsha MacDowell, and Yvonne Lockwood, East Lansing, August 21–30, 1987.

Folklife Hawai'i, a Festival, produced by the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts in cooperation with SIF, curated by Lynn Martin, Honolulu, October 18 – 21, 1990.

The Grand Generation, a traveling exhibition organized by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service in cooperation with SIF, curated by Marjorie Hunt, and toured to Ft. Lauderdale, Oakridge, Richmond, Logan, Potsdam, Irving, Honolulu, Youngstown, Louisville, East Lansing, Colorado Springs, Fullerton, Pierre, Des Moines, New York City, 1987–91.

Maroons: Creativity and Resistance, a traveling exhibition organized by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service in cooperation with SIF, curated by Diana Baird N'Diaye and Kenneth Bilby, and scheduled to tour the United States beginning in 1999.

Mississippi Folklife Festival, produced by the Greenville Festival Committee in cooperation with the SIF, directed by Perry Smith and Louise Longren, Greenville, May 1 – 4, 1998.

New Mexico Folklife Festival, produced by the New Mexico State University in Young Park in cooperation with SIF, curated by Andrew Wiget and José Griego, Las Cruces, October 21 – 24, 1993.

New Ties: African Immigrant

Community Folklife in Metropolitan Washington, D.C., an exhibition of photographs by Roland Freeman, curated by Diana Baird N'Diaye, 1995.

On Tour Program, tour of folk artists from Yugoslavia to six U.S. cities, 1974.

On Tour Program, tour of folk artists from Germany, Ghana, Haiti, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Lebanon, and Mexico to Anaheim, Atlanta, Baltimore, Benton Harbor, Boston, Buffalo, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, East St. Louis, El Paso, Galveston, Grand Junction, Hempstead, Hettiger, Honolulu, Houston, Grand Island, Indianapolis, Juarez, Lincoln, Los Angeles, Louisville, Milwaukee, Montgomery, New Orleans, New Rochelle, Oakland, Ogden, Omaha, Peoria, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Seabrook, Westchester County, White Plains, Wichita, Summer 1975.

On Tour Program, tour of folk artists from Austria, Brazil, Denmark, Egypt, France, Finland, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Haiti, Hungary, India, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Senegal, Sweden, Suriname, Switzerland, Trinidad & Tobago, Yugoslavia, and Zaire to Albany (Ga.), Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Calumet, Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Dayton, Denver, Detroit, East St. Louis, Edwardsville, El Paso, Evansville, Fall River, Ft. Dodge, Ft. Worth, Galveston, Grand Junction, Hereford (Ariz.), Houston, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Louisville, Marietta, Memphis, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New Orleans, New York, Oakland, Oklahoma City, Peoria, Philadelphia, Phoenix, Seattle, Spartansburg, Springfield (Mass.), Syracuse, Summer 1976.

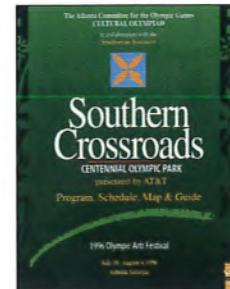
"Smithsonian Institution 150th Anniversary Birthday Party on the Mall," produced by SIF, curated by Richard Kurin, Diana Parker, Richard Kennedy, Karen Spellman, et al., Washington, D.C., August 10 – 11, 1996.

Southeastern Pottery, an exhibition in the National Museum of Natural History, curated by Nancy Sweezy, and toured around the United States by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, June 27 – August 18, 1984.

"Southern Crossroads," produced by the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games with SIF with the cooperation of the Southern Arts Council, in Centennial Olympic Park, directed by Leslie Gordon, curated by George Holt, Diana Parker, and Peggy Bulger, Atlanta, July 18 – August 4, 1996.

Stand By Me: African American Expressive Culture in Philadelphia, an exhibition produced by SIF in the Afro-American Historical and Cultural Museum of Philadelphia, curated by Roland Freeman, October 20, 1989 – March 31, 1990.

Tirarlo a la Calle (Taking to the Streets), *Viewing the Latino*



Community Through the Festival, an exhibition produced by the Institute for Contemporary Culture in cooperation with SIF, curated by Olivia Cadaval and Virginia Cassiano, and mounted at the Martin Luther King Memorial Library, Washington, D.C., 1989–90.

Treasures from the Smithsonian at the Royal Scottish Museum, with performances organized by the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Public Service Ralph Rinzler with the cooperation of the Smithsonian museums and SIF, Edinburgh, August 11 – November 5, 1984.

U.S. Virgin Islands Folklife Festival, produced by The Friends of the Virgin Islands Institute of Culture in collaboration with SIF, on Estate Love, directed by Lois Hassell-Habteyes, St. Croix, October 31 – November 4, 1991.

U.S. Virgin Islands Folklife Festival, produced by the Virgin Islands Cultural Heritage Institute on the grounds of the University of the Virgin Islands and in collaboration with SIF, directed by Gene Emanuel and Gilbert Sprauve, St. Thomas, August 7 – 11, 1996.



Stand By Me: African American Expressive Culture In Philadelphia

Wade in the Water, a traveling exhibition organized by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service in cooperation with the National Museum of American History and SIF/Folkways, curated by Bernice Johnson Reagon, and toured to Cleveland, Miami, Dallas, Wilberforce, Washington, Memphis, Philadelphia, Birmingham, Los Angeles, Bowling Green, December 1996 – May 1998.

Woody Guthrie, a traveling exhibition organized by the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service in cooperation with SIF and the Woody Guthrie Archives, curated by Nora Guthrie and Jeff Place, scheduled to tour the United States beginning in 1999.

Workers at the White House, produced by SIF in cooperation with the White House Historical Association and the National Archives, curated by Marjorie Hunt, on tour to the Ford, Truman, Eisenhower, Carter, and Reagan Presidential Libraries, the White House, and White House Visitors Center, 1994–98.

Appendix B. Conferences, Symposia, Lectures, Course Series, Concerts, Demonstrations, and Public Programs

"American Folk Culture," Smithsonian Associates course taught by SIF staff, 1968.

"American Folklife Conference," hosted by SIF, organized by Ralph Rinzler and Henry Glassie, July 1967.

American Warriors Kickoff, produced by SIF in collaboration with the National Museum of the American Indian and Rykodisc, on the National Mall, organized by Thomas Vennum, May 30, 1997.

"Anjam," an American music festival at the Kennedy Center produced by Festival Productions, with artisan demonstrations organized by SIF, May 23 – 25, 1998.

"Bringing Folklore into the Classroom: A Multicultural Learning Experience," a summer seminar for teachers, organized by SIF in cooperation with the Smithsonian Office of Education, taught by Betty Belanus, Olivia Cadaval, Marjorie Hunt, Diana N'Diaye, 1995–98.

Buckaroos in Paradise: Cowboy Life in Northern Nevada, an exhibition in the National Museum of History and Technology, with craft demonstrations organized by SIF, October 1, 1980 – March 15, 1981.

"Festival of American Folklife," Smithsonian Associates course, taught by SIF staff, 1989–93.

Field School, Río Grande/Río Bravo Folklife Research, organized by Cynthia Vidaurri and Olivia Cadaval in cooperation with the University of Texas-Pan American, University of Texas-El Paso, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, and Colorado College, May and July, 1997.

Film Series at the Festival, organized by SIF, organized with the National Museum of History and Technology and the National Museum of Natural History, 1978.

Film Series at the Festival, organized by SIF, in the National Museum of Natural History, 1985.

Films at the Festival, organized by SIF, in the Renwick Gallery, 1977.

"Folk Medicine: Herbalists, Curers and Healers," a symposium organized by SIF, in the National Museum of History and Technology, September 27 – 30, 1979.

"Folk Music in the Roosevelt in White House," a musical program produced by SIF in the National Museum of American History, organized by Alan Lomax and Ralph Rinzler, January 31, 1982.

"Folklife in the Museum," a performance and demonstration program organized by SIF, in the National Museum of History and Technology, September 27 – 30, 1979.

Folklife presentation projects, in Reno, Nevada, on Cinco de Mayo celebrations; in Elko on traditional crafts; in Fallon on Holy Ghost Festa; and in Ely on multiethnic presentations, organized by SIF, 1979.

Folkways: A Vision Shared premiere, a video and demonstration by Mickey Hart, produced by SIF, in the IMAX Theater, National Air and Space Museum, 1988.

"Folkways at 50," an anniversary concert produced by SIF/Folkways, at Carnegie Hall, directed by Amy Horowitz, New York, May 1, 1998.

Inaugural concerts, produced by SIF in cooperation with the Carter Presidential Inaugural Committee in the National Museum of American History, January 1977.

Inaugural concerts, produced by SIF in cooperation with the Reagan Presidential Inaugural Committee in the National Air and Space Museum, January 17 – 18, 1981.

"Introduction to Folklore and Folklife in the Modern World," George Washington University courses taught by SIF staff Jack Santino and Steven Zeitlin, 1978.

Inua Revealed: The Spirit World of the Bering Sea Eskimo, an exhibition organized by the Department of Anthropology in the National Museum of Natural History with performances and demonstrations produced by SIF, June 18 – 22, 1982.

Jamaican Nyabingi musical program produced by SIF in collaboration with the Department of Anthropology, organized by Jake Homiak, S. Dillon Ripley Center, 1989.

"Journey: Films about African Emigrants," organized by SIF in cooperation with the National Museum of African Art, S. Dillon Ripley Center, July 1, 1995.

"Katherine Dunham Speaks," a lecture-discussion program produced by the Anacostia Museum in cooperation with SIF, July 1992.

"Khmer Classical Ballet," a musical program produced by SIF and the National Council of Traditional Arts in the National Museum of Natural History, February 13, 1982.

"Libba Cotten in Concert," a musical program produced by SIF and the Folklore Society of Greater Washington in the National Museum of Natural History, January 8, 1983.

"Living Resources in Museums," a workshop offered by the Office of Museum Programs, organized by Robert Byington, SIF, September 29 – October 4, 1979.

"New Directions in the Collection, Preservation, and Dissemination of Music and Dance," a symposium organized by SIF with the Library of Congress American Folklife Center and the Ford Foundation, 1993.

Paniola O Hawaii'i: Cowboys of the Far West, a national film premiere sponsored by SIF in the National Museum of Natural History, organized by James Early, September 9, 1997.

"Revelations of Tradition: Harry Smith's *Anthology of American Folk Music* and Its Legacy," two concerts at Wolf Trap and a symposium in the National Museum of American History, produced by SIF/Folkways in collaboration with Wolf Trap, the Folk Alliance, the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum, the Folklore Society of Greater Washington, the Harry Smith Archives, the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, and WETA-FM, October 24 – 25, 1997.

"Seeds of Commerce," a Quincentenary symposium produced by SIF with Casa del Caribe, organized by Alicia González and Heliana Portes de Roux, Santiago de Cuba, 1989.

"Seeds of Industry: Transformations of Indigenous Technology," a Quincentenary symposium produced by SIF with Centro de Investigacion y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Secretaria de Educacion Publica, and Instituto Nacional Indigenista, organized by Olivia Cadaval and Celia Heil, Oaxtepec, Mexico, 1990.

"Seeds of the Past," a Quincentenary symposium produced by SIF with Cornell University, organized by Alicia González and José Barriero, Washington, D.C., 1989.

Seminar for music teachers, organized by Marie McCarthy, University of Maryland, in cooperation with SIF, at the Festival, 1995.

"South Africa Today: Life in a Divided Society," a 10-part lecture series produced by SIF with the Department of Anthropology for the Smithsonian Associates, organized by Ivan Karp, Diana Parker, and Peter Seitel, 1988.

Summer Folklore Institute for Community Scholars, organized by Betty Belanus, SIF, Summer 1989–90.

"Talleres de la Frontera," performances and workshops organized by SIF staff Olivia Cadaval, Emily Botein, and Cynthia Vidaurri for teachers and students in Nogales, Laredo, San Diego, El Paso, Ciudad Juárez, 1995–96.

"Traditional Puppetry," a performance and touring program produced at the Festival and touring the United States, organized by SIF, 1980.

Webfoots and Bunchgrassers: Folk Art of the Oregon Country, an exhibition at the Renwick Gallery with crafts demonstrations organized by SIF, October 3, 1980 – February 1, 1981.

"What Works," a symposium produced by SIF with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., 1989.

Appendix C.

Bibliography of Related Books, Book Chapters, Journal Articles, and Catalogs

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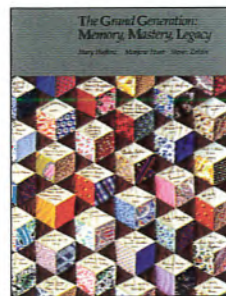
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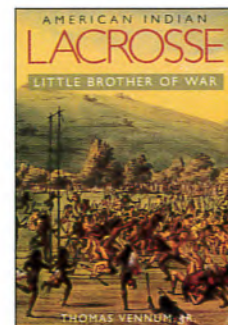
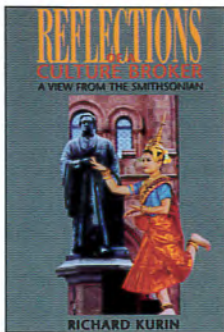
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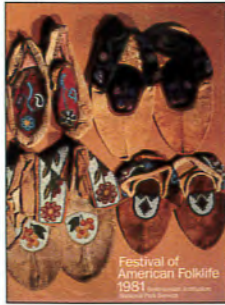
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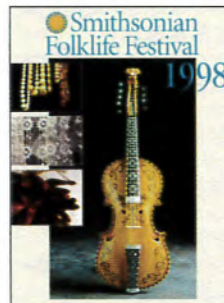
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- Wilson, Charles Emily, "Texas Seminole Scouts," 1992, 80.
- Wilson, Joseph T., "Country Music in Tennessee: From Hollow to Honky Tonk," 1986, 46.
- Wisdom, Keith G., "Ecstasy in Junkanoo, A Public Celebration of Freedom," 1994, 76.
- Wolfram, Walt, "American English: A Diverse Tongue," 1987, 27.
- "Working Americans," 1974, 40; "Working Americans," 1975, 5.
- Worl, Rosita, "Clans and Corporations: Society and Land of the Tlingit Indians," 1991, 91.
- Wright, Colonel M. L., "The Accompong Town Maroons: Past and Present," 1992, 74.
- Wright, John, "Traditional Dance in France," 1983, 24.
- Yamaji, Kozo, "Japanese Village Farm Life," 1986, 17.
- Yocum, Margaret, "Ellis Island and American Immigration," 1978, 19; "The Dunham School Exhibit," 1978, 27.
- Yoder, Don, "Folklore and Folklife," 1968, 9; "Come, Butter, Come," 1970, 31.
- Žantovská, Kristina, "Culture and Art on the Road to Democracy," 1995, 52.
- Zeitlin, Steven, "Good Stories from Hard Times," 1978, 23; "The American Talkers Program," 1980, 35; "American Talkers: The Pitchman," 1980, 36; "American Talkers: The Auctioneer," 1980, 39.
- Zeitlin, Steven, and Amy Kotkin, "The Folklore in Us All," 1977, 37.
- Zorn, Elayne, "Taquile, Peru: Model Tourism," 1994, 22.
- Zug, Charles G., "Southern Pottery Tradition in a Changing Economic Environment," 1986, 74.



Appendix E. Selected Smithsonian Folkways and Other Festival-Related Recordings

[Listed by title. SF denotes Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.]

- Anthology of American Folk Music.* Harry Smith (original), Amy Horowitz, Jeff Place, Pete Reiniger, et al., SF 40090, 1997 (1952).
- The Babamas: Islands of Song.* Pete Reiniger, Gail Saunders, Kayla Olubumni Lockhart Edwards, SF 40405, 1997.
- Bill Monroe and Doc Watson: Live Duet Recordings 1963–1980, Volume 2.* Ralph Rinzler and Matt Walters, SF 40064, 1993.
- Bill Monroe and the Bluegrass Boys: Live Recordings 1956–1969, Volume 1.* Ralph Rinzler, SF 40063, 1993.
- Borderlands: From Conjunto to Chicken Scratch: Music of the Rio Grande Valley of Texas and Southern Arizona.* Cathy Ragland, Manuel Pena, James Griffith, and Américo Paredes, SF 40418, 1993.
- Bukbara: Musical Crossroads of Asia.* Ted Levin and Otanazar Matyukubov, SF 40050, 1991.
- Crossroads: Southern Routes.* Kip Lornell, Anthony Seeger, and Arni Adler, in cooperation with Microsoft Corporation, SF 40080, 1996.
- Cuba in Washington.* Rene Lopez, SF 40461, 1997.
- Deep Polka, Dance Music from Wisconsin.* Richard March, SF 40088, 1998.

- Doc Watson and Clarence Ashley, Two Original Folkways Recordings, 1960–1962.* Ralph Rinzler, Matt Walters, Jeff Place, SF 40029, 1994 (1961).
- The Doc Watson Family.* Ralph Rinzler, Jeff Place, Mike Seeger, SF 40012, 1990 (1963).
- Drums of Defiance.* Kenneth Bilby, SF 40412, 1992 (1981).
- Festival of American Folklife.* Ralph Rinzler, SI 100, 1974.
- Folkways: A Vision Shared, A Tribute to Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly.* Don DeVito, Joe McEwen, Harold Leventhal, Ralph Rinzler, Columbia Records, OC 44034, 1988.
- Hawaiian Drum Chants: Sounds of Power in Time.* Elizabeth Tatar, SF 40015, 1989.
- Hazel Dickens and Alice Gerrard: Pioneering Women of Bluegrass.* Peter Siegel, Bill Vernon, Neil Rosenberg, Alice Gerrard, and Hazel Dickens, SF 40065, 1996.
- Heartbeat: Voices of First Nations Women.* Rayna Green and Howard Bass, in cooperation with the National Museum of American History, SF 40415, 1995.
- Heartbeat 2: More Voices of First Nations Women.* Rayna Green and Howard Bass, in cooperation with the National Museum of American History, SF 40455, 1998.
- Iowa State Fare: Music from the Heartland.* Pete Reiniger, Gregory Hansen, Dave Moore, Cynthia Schmidt, SF 40083, 1996.
- Music of Indonesia, Volume 1–16.* Philip Yampolsky, in collaboration with the Indonesian Society for the Performing Arts, SF 40055–SF 40057, SF 40420–SF 40432, 1991–98.
- Music of New Mexico: Hispanic Traditions.* Howard Bass and James Leger, in cooperation with the National Museum of American History, SF 40409, 1992.
- Music of New Mexico: Indian Traditions.* Howard Bass and Edward Wapp Wahpeconiah, in cooperation with the National Museum of American History, SF 40408, 1992.
- Musics of Hawai'i.* Anthony Seeger, Edmund O'Reilly, Richard Kennedy, Ricardo Trimillos, and Lynn Martin, SF 40016, 1989.
- Musics of the Soviet Union.* Margarita Mazo, Ted Levin, Stuard Detmer, SF 40002, 1988.
- The New Lost City Ramblers: There Ain't No Way Out.* SF 40098, 1997.
- Old Believers: Songs of the Nekrasov Cossacks.* Margarita Mazo and Olga Velichkina, SF 40462, 1995.
- Puerto Rican Music in Hawai'i: Kachi-Kachi Sound.* Ted Solis, SF 40014, 1989.
- Puerto Rico in Washington.* Rene Lopez, Pete Reiniger, Jorge Perez-Rolon, SF 40460, 1996.
- Roots of Rhythm and Blues: A Tribute to the Robert Johnson Era.* Don DeVito, Worth Long, Barry Lee Pearson, and Ralph Rinzler, Folkways and Columbia Records 48584, 1992.
- Royal Court Music of Thailand.* M.R. Chakrarat Chitrabongs, SF 40413, 1994.
- Sbashaqam: Music of the Bukharan Jewish Ensemble.* Ted Levin, Ethel Raim, Martin Koenig, SF 40054, 1991.



- Songs of the Old Regular Baptists: Lined-out Hymnody from Southeastern Kentucky,* sung by members of the Indian Bottom Association. Elwood Cornett, John Wallhausser, and Jeff Todd Titon, SF 40106, 1997.
- Sweet Miss Coffy: Live in Washington at the 31st Smithsonian Festival,* 1997.
- Tuva: Voices from the Center of Asia.* Eduard Alekseev, Zoya Kirgiz, and Ted Levin, SF 40017, 1990.
- Wade in the Water, Volume 1–4.* Bernice Johnson Reagon, SF 40072–SF 40075.
- World Music of Struggle.* Worth Long, Ralph Rinzler, Don DeVito, Folkways and Columbia Records 47850, 1991.
- Zippy Frazier and Children: Live at the Festival,* 1994.



Appendix F Related Films, Videos, Television, Radio Programs, and World Wide Web Pages

[SFS denotes Smithsonian Folklife Studies Films; SI denotes other Smithsonian release.]

- Aditi: A Celebration of Life,* Kate Rinzler and Phyllis Ward, SI, 1986.
- "African Immigrant Naming Ceremony," a virtual Festival page, www.si.edu/folklife, 1996.
- "America's Many Voices: Language and Cultural Conservation," Nicholas Spitzer, Radio Smithsonian, 1987.
- Al Laskiainen in Palo, Everyone Is a Finn,* SFS, 1984. Distributed by Pennsylvania State University.
- "Back in the U.S.S.R.," Nicholas Spitzer, Radio Smithsonian, 1988.
- "Blacks, Whites, and Blues: Cultural Crossover in American Folk Music," Nicholas Spitzer, Radio Smithsonian, 1986.
- "Borderlands," a virtual Festival page, www.si.edu/folklife, 1996.
- Celebrating Hawaii's Cultures,* Heather Juniroa, Juniroa Productions, 1990. [Televised broadcast in Hawaii.]
- Celebrations: The World of Victor and Edith Turner,* Paul Wagner, SI, 1987.
- Chiapas en el Festival de Culturas Tradicionales Americas,* Chiapas Television, Mexico, 1992. [Televised national broadcast in Mexico.]
- "The Children of Folkways," Nicholas Spitzer, Radio Smithsonian, 1988.
- Doc Watson, Guitar Instruction,* Ralph Rinzler and Happy Traum. Homespun Tapes and Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 1992.
- The Drummaker,* Thomas Vennum, Jr., and Michael Herter, SFS, 1978. Distributed by Pennsylvania State University.
- The Festival,* Hawai'i Public Television, 1990. [Televised broadcast in Hawai'i.]
- Festival of American Folklife,* Paul Wagner, SI, 1982.
- "The Festival of American Folklife, Part I & Part II," Radio Smithsonian, 1972.
- Folklife Festival,* SI, 1975.
- Folkways: A Vision Shared,* Jim Brown, Ginger Productions, 1988. [Televised national broadcast on Showtime.]
- "Folkways Records," Nicholas Spitzer, Radio Smithsonian, 1988.
- Free Show Tonite,* Steve Zeitlin and Paul Wagner, in cooperation with the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1983. Distributed by Benchmark Films.
- "From Homeland to New Home: The Culture of Migration," Nicholas Spitzer, Radio Smithsonian, 1987.
- Good Fire, Bad Night,* Robert McCarl, SFS.
- Harmonize: Folklore in the Lives of Five Families,* 1976. Distributed by the Center for Southern Folklore.
- "Hawaiian Luau," a virtual Festival page, www.si.edu/folklife, 1996.
- Home Movie: An American Folk Art,* Steven Zeitlin and Ernst Stan, 1975. Distributed by the Center for Southern Folklore.
- Hossay: A Muslim Rite of Trinidad,* Jim Bishop, Frank Korom, Guha Shankar, 1998. Distributed by Documentary Educational Resources.
- Iowa Folks and Folklife,* Iowa Public Television, 1996. [Televised broadcast in Iowa.]
- Jerusalem: Gates to the City,* Amy Horowitz and David Shoenbach, 1996. Distributed by Smithsonian Folkways.
- Jugtown: Pottery Tradition in Change,* Ralph Rinzler, Nancy Sweezy, Paul Wagner, SFS, 1983. Distributed by Pennsylvania State University.
- Kathpulli: The Art of Rajasthani Puppeteers,* Nazir Ali Jairazbhoy and Guha Shankar, SFS, 1988. Distributed by Pennsylvania State University.
- The Korean Onggi Potter,* Robert Sayers and Ralph Rinzler, SFS, 1992. Distributed by Pennsylvania State University.
- The Meaders Family: North Georgia Potters,* Ralph Rinzler, SFS, 1978. Distributed by Pennsylvania State University.
- Mermaids, Frog Legs and Filets,* Paul Wagner, Steven Zeitlin, and Jack Santino, 1980. Distributed by Pennsylvania State University.
- Miles of Smiles: Years of Struggle,* Paul Wagner and Jack Santino, 1981. Distributed by Benchmark Films. [Televised broadcast in Washington, New York, etc.]
- "Music as a Symbol: The 20th Anniversary of the Festival of American Folklife, Parts 1 and 2," Nicholas Spitzer, Radio Smithsonian, 1986.
- Open Market Vendors,* Jack Santino and Steven Zeitlin, 1979.
- Our Bahamian Heritage,* ZNS-TV, 1994. [Televised national broadcast in The Bahamas.]
- Pete Seeger, Guitar Instruction,* Ralph Rinzler and Happy Traum, Homespun Tapes and Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 1992.
- Ralph Rinzler: A Celebration of Life,* 1997.
- Smithsonian Folklife Festival,* Charles Webber, SI, 1998.
- Smithsonian Folklife Festival, www.si.edu/folklife, 1996.
- The Stone Carvers,* Marjorie Hunt and Paul Wagner, in cooperation with the National Endowment for the Arts, the D.C. Communities Humanities Council, and the Morris and Gwendolyn Cafritz Foundation, 1984. [Televised in national broadcasts.]
- Talking Feet,* Mike Seeger, SI, 1989.
- Tule Technology: Northern Paiute Uses of Marsh Resources in Western Nevada,* Catherine Fowler, SFS, 1981.

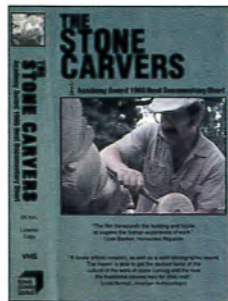
The U.S. Virgin Islands at the Festival, Eddie Donahue, USVI Public Television, 1991. [Televised broadcast in USVI.]

Wisconsin Powwow, Naamikaaged: Dancer for the People, Thomas Vennum, Jr., 1986.

Distributed by Smithsonian Folkways.

Workers at the White House, Marjorie Hunt, SI, in cooperation with the White House Historical Association, 1994. Distributed by Smithsonian Folkways. [Televised broadcast in Washington, D.C.]

"World Music in the American Capital," Nicholas Spitzer, Radio Smithsonian, 1987.



Appendix G. Education Kits, Guides, and Informational Booklets

[CELG denotes a cultural educational multimedia learning guide in print and/or available from educational distributors; CGVS denotes children's games, video series, and accompanying teachers' manuals, ed. Kate Rinzler and available only archivally; EB denotes an educational booklet, all published by the Smithsonian Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies (Office of Folklife Programs) unless otherwise noted.]

Adobe: Pueblo and Hispanic Folk Traditions of the Southwest, Peter Nabokov, SI, 1981.

Borders and Identities, Betty Belanus, Olivia Cadaval and Cynthia Vidaurre, et al., CELG, 1995.

"Children's Activity Book, New Mexico," Vivien T.Y. Chen, EB, 1992.

"Children's Games and a Folktale from African Tradition," Paul Ofori-Ansah, CGVS, 1979.

"Children's Games and Cultural Activities from Chinese Tradition," Mary Scherbatskoy, CGVS, 1979.

"Children's Games from Afro-American Tradition (All Things Shall Be Remembered)," CGVS, n.d.

"Children's Games from British Tradition," Alison McMorland, CGVS, 1979.

Cultural Conservation Through Representation: Festival of India Folklife Exhibitions at the Smithsonian Institution, Richard Kurin, SI, 1991.

"Cultural Reporter," Betty Belanus, Tom Snyder Productions, 1995.

Directory of African-American Folklorists, Jacquelin C. Peters, SI, 1990.

"Family Folklore," Holly Cutting-Baker, Sandra Gross, Amy Kotkin, and Steven Zeitlin, EB, 1976.

Family Folklore: Interviewing Guide and Questionnaire, Holly Cutting-Baker and Amy Kotkin, SI, 1995.

Folk Music in the Roosevelt White House, SI, 1982.

"Folklore and Folklife: Teachers Manual," John Ball, EB, 1979.

"Folklore in the Classroom: Workbook for Indiana Teachers," Betty Belanus. Indiana Historical Bureau, 1985.

"The Grand Generation: Interviewing Guide and Questionnaire,"

Marjorie Hunt with Mary Hufford and Steven Zeitlin, Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1988.

India Education Kit, Kate Rinzler with Manjula Kumar, Laura McKie, Richard Kurin, Mark Kenoyer, Nita Kumar, et al., CELG, 1986.

"Italian Games: Bocce and Morra," Chris Bartholomew, EB, 1975.

Iowa Folklife: Our People, Communities, and Traditions, Richard Kurin and Arlene Reiniger, with Greg Hanson, Catherine H. Kerst, et al., CELG, 1997.

"Jump Clap & Sing," Jean Alexander, EB, 1974.

Land and Native American Cultures, Olivia Cadaval et al., CELG, 1996.

Learning About Folklife: The U.S. Virgin Islands and Senegal, Betty Belanus, Olivia Cadaval and Diana N'Diaye, with Gilbert Sprauve, et al., CELG, 1993.

"Mississippi Delta Student Workbook," Martha Weissinger. Greenville: Mississippi Folklife Festival, 1998.

"New Mexico Folklife Festival Student Workbook," Terry Alvarez. Las Cruces: New Mexico Heritage Center, New Mexico State University, 1993.

Our Bahamian Heritage, Emily Botein, et al., CELG, 1985.

"Playparties from Anglo-American Tradition," Stu Jamieson, CGVS, 1982.

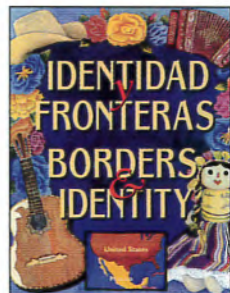
Puppetry at the Smithsonian, Jeffrey LaRiche, SI, 1980.

Ring Like Silver, Shine Like Gold: Folklore in the Labor Press, Peter Seitel, SI, 1976.

Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, Richard Kurin, SI, 1998 [1995].

"Songs of Working Americans," Susan N. Donahue and Marce Pollan, EB, 1975.

"Wade in the Water, An Education Guide for Teachers," 1992.



Appendix H. Festival Cookbooks

[FCB denotes a Festival cookbook produced and published by the Festival in Washington, D.C. Most are available only archivally.]

"Austrian Recipes," FCB, n.d.

"Belgian Recipes," FCB, n.d.

"Callaloo, Creole, and Carnival—Cooking of the Caribbean," Joan Nathan, FCB, 1979.

"Caribbean Kitchenry: Cultural Encounters in the New World," Phyllis Agnelli Lesansky, FCB, 1989.

"Cornish, English, Scottish & Welsh Recipes," Eleanor M. Genovese, Saint Andrew's Society of Washington, D.C., and Jane Edwards, FCB, n.d.

"Danish Recipes," Marie Portier, FCB, n.d.

"Egyptian Recipes," Soad Mansour, Layla Risk, and Suzy Gindi, FCB, n.d.

"Festival of American Folklife Cookbook," James Deutsch, FCB, 1991.

"Festival of American Folklife Cookbook," James Deutsch, FCB, 1992.

"Festival of American Folklife Cookbook," Gretchen Gayle Ellsworth, FCB, 1994.

"Festival of American Folklife Cookbook," Gretchen Gayle Ellsworth and Molly McGehee, FCB, 1995.

"Finnish Recipes," FCB, n.d.

"German Recipes," FCB, n.d.

"Greek Recipes," Ladies Philoptochos Society of Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church, Washington, D.C., FCB, n.d.

"Hmong, Khmer, and Lao Cooking," Susan Kalčik and Sue Manos, FCB, 1980.

"Icelandic Recipes," Mrs. Ingebjorg Scheving, FCB, n.d.

"Italian Recipes," Ladies of the Lord Baltimore Lodge Order Sons of Italy in America, FCB, n.d.

"Japanese Recipes," FCB, n.d.

"Jewish Recipes," Chaua Weissler and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, FCB, n.d.

Kirlin, Katherine S., and Thomas M. Kirlin, *Smithsonian Folklife Cookbook*. SIP, 1991.

"Making A New Place Home: Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Foodways Recipes," Phyllis Agnelli Lesansky, FCB, 1988.

"Mexican Recipes," FCB, n.d.

"Mexican-American Cookery," Ada Peña, Belia Ceja, Lupe Aguirre, Marie Ortega of the League of United Latin American Citizens, FCB, n.d.

"Norwegian Recipes," Grace Lyman and Lilleba Kloster, FCB, n.d.

"Pakistani Recipes," Sara Naqvi, FCB, n.d.

"Panamanian Recipes," Dorothea Bryce, Matilde Springer, Ema D'Acres, Alejandra Sarmiento, FCB, n.d.

"Portuguese Recipes," Odilia Botelho, Paul Raposa, Leonor Vasconcelos, Wanda Borges, Iracena Amarelo, FCB, n.d.

"Regional Recipes: the Northeast," Cheryl Widell, FCB, n.d.

"Regional Recipes: the Pacific Northwest," Cheryl Widell, FCB, n.d.

"Regional Recipes: the Southwest," Cheryl Widell, FCB, n.d.

"Regional Recipes: the Great West," Cheryl Widell, FCB, n.d.

"Regional Recipes: the Great Lakes," Cheryl Widell, FCB, n.d.

"Romanian Recipes," FCB, n.d.

"South Slavic Cooking: Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian,, Slovenian," Susan Kalčik and Sue Manos, FCB, 1981.

"Spanish Recipes," Felipe Iglesias, FCB, n.d.

"Swedish Recipes," FCB, n.d.

"Swiss Recipes," FCB, n.d.

"U.S. Recipes," Agnes Louise Horn and Murval Aletha Porch, FCB, n.d.

"Vietnamese Cooking," Joan Nathan, FCB, 1979.

"Vivre Pour Manger: Cajun and Acadian Cooking," Barry Ancelet and Kathy James, FCB, 1993.

"West African Recipes," Dinah Ameley Ayensu, FCB, 1975.

"West Indian Recipes," Earl and Dianna Bishop, FCB, n.d.

"Yugoslavian Recipes," FCB, n.d.

Appendix I. Selected Substantive Newspaper and Magazine Articles and Columns

[SIM denotes *Smithsonian* magazine, WP denotes the *Washington Post*, WS denotes the *Washington Star*, NYT denotes the *New York Times*, WT denotes the *Washington Times*.]

Bernstein, Carl, "Music on the Mall," WP, July 1970.

Conroy, Sarah Booth, "American Folk Life Festival: A Hand for Handiwork," WP, July 4, 1971; "Plain Folks and Fancy Crafts," WP, 21 June 1981.

Dear, Cyrene, "Abraham Lincoln Would Have Enjoyed American Folk Festival," *Gleaner-Journal*, Henderson, Kentucky, 5 July 1973.

De Ware Tijd, "Met Marrons door Washington: Een Opmerkelijke Wandeling," 24 September 1992.

Dubivsky, Barbara, "Some Fresh Air for the Nation's Attic," NYT, 9 April 1967.

"Folk Shindigs: A Celebration of National Heritage," *U.S. News & World Report*, 23 August 1982.

"Folklife Festival: Celebrating American Culture," WP, 30 June 1974.

Forgey, Benjamin, "Nightmare on Elm Trees," WP, 3 July 1993; "The Festival of American Folklife, Enlivening the Mall," WP, 3 July 1994.

Greenberg, Sandy, "A Celebration of Diversity," *Topic*, USIS, August 1990.

Harrington, Richard, "Melting Pot on Mall," WP, 25 June 1982; "The Man Who Brought America To the Mall," WP, 4 July 1994.

Hendrickson, Paul, "The Ways of America: A Great and Fine Sense of Serendipity," WP, 6 October 1978.

Heyman, I. Michael, "Smithsonian Perspectives: the Festival of American Folklife," SIM, August 1995; "Smithsonian Perspectives," SIM, November 1996.

Jacobson, Aileen, "At the Folklife Festival: Hard Hats and Hard Songs of Union Dues and Blues," WP, 3 July 1971.

Jha, Raj Kamal, "From Senegal to St. Croix," WP, 28 June 1990.

Jordan, Gerald B, "Philadelphians Break Out Beat of Urban America," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 29 June 1984.

Kessler, Pamela, "Some Far-Flung Folks on the Mall," WP, 25 June 1982.

Kneece, Jack, "Combing a Nation for its Folklore," WS, 27 June 1971.

Lee, Wayne, "Just Simple, Honest People Doing What they Love to Do," WT, 30 June 1983.

Leonard, John, "An Open Air Attic of Our Origins," NYT, 1976.

Lindeman, Kathryn, "Investigating the Richness of America's Traditional Culture," *Smithsonian Institution Research Reports*, Spring 1983.

McGehee, Larry, "Folk Festival a Celebration of People and their Cultures," *Chronicle-Independent*, Camden, S.C., 1 August 1994.

McGrath, Anne, "The Real Thing," *Destinations*, September 1993.

McGrory, Mary, "Folk Festival Attracts the Folks," WS, 4 July 1967.

Martin, Judith, "Folkfest," WP, 1970.

Mead, Margaret, "Our 200th Birthday: What We Have to Celebrate," *Redbook*, July 1975.

Melchior Jr., Ariel, "Our Living History," *Daily News of the Virgin Islands*, 2 July 1990.

Mercer, Marsha, "In Celebration of American Folk Life," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 2 July 1989.

Morris, Linda Lowe, "Cultures Meet Over a Steaming Pot," *The Sun*, Baltimore, 25 July 1990.

Norman, Michael, "In Washington, a Garden of Jersey Delights," NYT, 25 June 1983.

O'Brien, Tom, "Country Folk and the City," WP, 3 July 1970.

Offenburger, Chuck, "Iowans' Talents on Display in U.S. Capital," *Des Moines Register*, 29 June 1996.

Outerbridge, Laura, "Not an Ordinary Folk Festival," WT, 7 July 1994.

Park, Edwards, "Secretary S. Dillon Ripley Retires after Twenty Years of Innovation," SIM, September 1984.

Phillips, Kevin P, "President Should Consider Festival of U.S. Folklife and History for '76," King Features Syndicate, Inc., 1970.

Pirtle, Caleb III, "In Search of America," *Southern Living*, July 1971.

"Plunkin' and Fiddlin' on the Great Mall," *Time*, 7 July 1975.

Podesta, Jane Sims, "Ralph Rinzler: Daddy of the Folklife Festival," WT, 23 June 1983.

Pousner, Howard, "Smithsonian Fest is a Popular Place to Learn," *The Atlanta Journal/The Atlanta Constitution*, 7 July 1994; "Smithsonian Folklife Festival is a Model for '96 Olympiad," *The Atlanta Journal/The Atlanta Constitution*, 17 July 1994.

Ringle, Ken, "Of Lawyers and Other Folk: Even Barristers Join the Blend at the Smithsonian's Festival of Diversity," WP, 25 June 1986.

Rinzler, Ralph, and Peter Seitel, "Cajun Fiddles, Hindustani Veenas and Dulcimers," SIM, 1977.

Ripley, S. Dillon, "The View from the Castle, Folklife Festivals Do Remind Us of Our Roots," SIM, September 1980, "The View from the Castle, Our Folklife Festival Was Begun to Point the Way to Others," SIM, 1977.

Roncal, Rafael, "Un Festival que conjuga educación y diversión," *El Pregonero*, 14 July 1994.

Sandal, Venu, "India's Traditional Folk Artists Fight for a Place in the Future," SIM, 1985.

Sanders, Don, "Establishment of American Folklife Foundation Sought," Associated Press, 3 July 1971.

Schaden, Herman, "Festival of Folklore will Make the Mall Ring," WS, 14 May 1967; "Everybody's Festival Coming Back to Mall," WS, 30 June 1968.

Shales, Tom, "In Mud, with Folk," WP, 1 July 1972.

"Smithsonian Opens Annual Festival to Help Preserve America's Vanishing Folk Culture," NYT, 2 July 1970.

Sugarman, Carole, "Odd Couple Celebrates on the Mall," WP, 22 June 1983.

Terrell, Angela, "The African Diaspora," WP, 12 July 1974.

Vest, Jason, "Multicultural Pearl," WP, 2 July 1993.

Webb, Jo Ann, "Building the Festival from the Mall Up," *The Torch*, Smithsonian, July 1990.

Weil, Martin, "Divergent Views Mingle Happily at Folklife Festival," WP, 4 July 1970.

Weintraub, Boris, "Future of Folklife Festivals," *The Star and News*, 15 July 1973; "To Folk Festival," *Washington Star-News*, 12 July 1974; "A Festival's Return (and Questions)," WS, 7 September 1977; "Festival's a Lot More than Folk," WS, 5 October 1978; "Folk Life Festival Makes Pitch with Medicine Man Show," WS, 4 October 1979; "A Festival to Celebrate Ways of Life," WS, 6 October 1980; "Folk Festival: Back Under Summer Skies," WS, 23 June 1981; "Folklife Festival: Celebrating America," WS, 25 June 1981.

West, Hollie, "American Folklife Foundation Endorsed," WP, May 19, 1970.

Zito, Tom, "Their Passions, Genius, Creativity," WP, June 24, 1973.

Appendix J. Articles in Smithsonian Talk Story Newsletter



[*Smithsonian Talk Story* (previously *Smithsonian Folklife News: Cultural Conversations from the Office of Folklife Programs*). Eds. Betty J. Belanus, Frank Proschan, Heather Bester, Carla M. Borden. SI, 1990-98.]

Almeida, Raymond, "Cape Verdeans in 1995," 4 (1993).

Bass, Howard, "Heartbeat: Voices of First Nations Women," 8 (1995).

Belanus, Betty, "Folklore Summer Institute to Continue in 1990," 1 (1990); "Folklore Summer Institute: Year Two," 2 (1991); "Focus on Education," 5 (1994); "Center Education News," 6 (1994); "Education Update," 7 (1995); "Education Update," 8 (1995); "Working at the Smithsonian," 9 (1996).

_____, and Emily Botein, "Borderlands Educational Kit," 5 (1994).

_____, and Diana Baird N'Diaye, "African Immigrant Folklife," 11 (1997); "African Immigrant Folklife," 12 (1997).

Botein, Emily, "Working at the Smithsonian," 10 (1996).

_____, and Olivia Cadaval, "Reports from the Border," 12 (1997).

_____, and Cynthia Vidaurri, "Talleres de la Frontera: Workshops on the Border," 10 (1996).

Cabral, Ana Maria, "Festival Perspective," 11 (1991).

Cadaval, Olivia, "Quincentenary Program," 1 (1990); "Quincentenary Activities," 2 (1991); "The Festival Never Ends," 3 (1992); "Folklife Educational Kits," 4 (1993); "Talleres de la Frontera: The 1993 Borderlands Program Returns to the Border," 7 (1995); "New Educational Materials for 1996," 9 (1996); "The Festival Continues . . . Intercultural Encounter," 10 (1996); "Latino Community Cultural Heritage Center," 13 (1998).

_____, and Kevin Healy, "Culture and Development," 5 (1994).

Caplan, Amy, Karen Amanda Lenhart, and Karen Megla, "Interns Experience the 1994 Festival: Bahamas Program," 6 (1994).

Chen, Vivien, "Celebration of the Chinese New Year," 3 (1992).

Clinton, Bill and Hillary, and Al and Tipper Gore, "America's Reunion on the Mall," 4 (1993).

Coimbra, Luiz, "From Amazonia to U.S.A.," 4 (1994).

Cole, Suzanna, Erica Hovani, and Amy Ferro, "Interns Experience the 1994 Festival: Culture and Development Program," 6 (1994).

Early, James, "Center Sponsors Film Premiere," 11 (1997); "Sacred Sounds: Belief & Society," 11 (1997); "Sacred Sounds: Belief & Society," 12 (1997); "Culture and Community-Building: South Africa Exchange," 12 (1997); "Premiere of Paniolo O Hawai'i: Cowboys of the Far West," 12 (1997).

"The Festival and the Elms on the Mall," 4 (1993).

"The Festival Continues," 13 (1998).

Franklin, John W., "The Bahamas Festival Program Back Home," 6 (1994).

Freeman, Roland, "The Festival Continues . . . The Continuous Thread," 11 (1997).

Green, Rayna, "Music of First Nations Women," 7 (1995).

Guthrie, Tom, "Wisconsin," 13 (1998).

Horowitz, Amy, "The Czech Republic Program," 7 (1995); "The Czech Republic Program," 8 (1995); "Jerusalem Program: Gates to the City," 9 (1996); "Smithsonian Folkways and the Smithsonian Without Walls," 10 (1996); "Smithsonian Folkways Recordings," 11 (1997); "A Banner Season for Smithsonian Folkways," 12 (1997); "Folkways at 50," 13 (1998).

Hunt, Marjorie, "Workers at the White House: A Traveling Exhibition and Video," 4 (1993); "Masters of Traditional Arts," 6 (1994).

Jackson, Philippa, "Smithsonian and Olympics to Feature the American South," 9 (1996); "The American South," 10 (1996).

James-Duguid, Charlene, "For Folklife Friends and Crafts Lovers," 7 (1995).

Kennedy, Richard, "Soviet-American Folklife Exchange Program," 3 (1992); "Thailand," 5 (1994); "The National Mall Becomes the Sanam Luang for Thai Americans," 6 (1994); "Celebrations of the Manas Epic in Kyrgyzstan," 7 (1995); "Russian Roots, American Branches: Music in Two Worlds," 7 (1995); "Russian Roots, American Branches: Music in Two Worlds," 8 (1995); "Hawai'i Continues to Talk Story with the Smithsonian," 9 (1996); "Pahiyas: A Philippine Harvest," 13 (1998).

Kerst, Catherine Hiebert, "Company's Coming," 8 (1995); "Iowa on the Mall, and Back Home," 9 (1996); "Iowa from the Heart," 10 (1996).

Kurin, Richard, "Director's Talk Story," 1–13 (1990–98); "An Inaugural Festival," 4 (1993); "Counting One Million 1995 Festival Visitors," 8 (1995); "Friends of the Festival Survey Results," 10 (1996).

Maloney, Mike, Peter Seitel, and Stephanie Smith, "Web News," 11 (1997).

N'Diaye, Diana, "Senegal at the 1990 Festival of American Folklife," 2 (1991); "African Immigrant Project," 3 (1992); "African Immigrant Project Update," 4 (1993); "African Immigrant Project Update," 5 (1994); "From Project to Festival Program: African Newcomer Communities in Metropolitan Washington, D.C.," 6 (1994); "Building a Home Away from Home," 7 (1995); "The African Immigrant Folklife Study Project at the 1995 Festival," 8 (1995); "AIFS Update," 13 (1998).

_____, and Kenneth Bilby, "Maroons Gather in Washington, D.C.," 4 (1993).

"Open Letter from the Folklore Summer Institute Class of 1990," 2 (1991).

Parker, Diana, "Festival of American Folklife 1989–90," 1 (1990); "The 25th Festival," 3 (1992); "The Festival of American Folklife," 4 (1993); "The New Mexico Folklife Festival," 5 (1994); "1994 Festival of American Folklife," 6 (1994); "Notes from the Festival Director," 7 (1995); "Future Festivals," 9 (1996); "The 1997 Festival of American Folklife," 11 (1997); "1997 Festival in Review," 12 (1997); "Friends of the Festival," 12 (1997).

Peters, Jacqui, "Musics of Struggle," 2 (1991).

Place, Jeff, "OFP Archive," 1 (1990); "New, Improved Folklife/Folkways Archives," 4 (1993).

"Ralph Rinzler 1934–1994," 6 (1994).

Reiniger, Arlene, "The Mississippi Delta," 12 (1997); "The Festival Continues . . . Iowa Folklife," 12 (1997).

Rinzler, Kate, "Third Annual Friends of the Festival Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert," 11 (1997); "The Fourth Annual Friends of the Festival Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert," 13 (1998).

Seeger, Anthony, "Folkways Update," 1 (1990); "Folkways Recordings," 3 (1992); "A Busy Year for Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings," 4 (1993); "Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings," 5 (1994); "What Is the Folkways Collection," 7 (1995); "1995 Smithsonian/Folkways Releases," 8 (1995); "More Folkways News," 13 (1998).

Seitel, Peter, "Notes from a Visit to Tanzania," 7 (1995); "The Cape Verdean Connection," 8 (1995); "Second Folklife Festival in the U.S. Virgin Islands," 10 (1996).

_____, and Ray Almeida, "The Cape Verdean Connection," 7 (1995).

Shankar, Guha, "Smithsonian Folklife Studies Series: Progress Report," 2 (1991).

Signell, Karl with Stephanie Smith, "Smithsonian Folklife and Folkways Online," 9 (1996).

Smith, Stephanie, "The Center on the Web," 10 (1996).



Spitzer, Nicholas, "Folklife on Radio Smithsonian," 1 (1990); "Folklife on the Radio . . . and in the Concert Hall," 2 (1991).

"Statement of Educational Mission," 7 (1995).

Stromberg, Kerry, "The Baltic Nations: Estonia, Latvia & Lithuania," 13 (1998).

Taylor, Lori, "Recent Folkways Compilations," 2 (1991).

Vennum, Thomas, "Indian Treaty Rights and Cultural Conservation," 1 (1990); "Wisconsin Video Project Nears Completion," 8 (1995); "Indian Veteran Album Released," 12 (1997); "Birchbark Canoe Technology Filmed," 13 (1998).

_____, and Guha Shankar, "Smithsonian Folklife Studies Series: Muharram," 3 (1992).

Vidaurri, Cynthia, "Folklife Field Research Series," 12 (1997).

_____, and Olivia Cadaval, "La Cuenca del Río Bravo," 11 (1997); "Rio Grande/Rio Bravo Basin Program Extended," 13 (1998).

Walters, Matt, "Folkways Update," 6 (1994).

Appendix K.
Speakers at the Festival Opening and Other Ceremonial Occasions (Partial Listing)

[Speakers' titles are those for the role in which they were invited, and given as of the last time they spoke at the Festival. The speeches are on tape archived at the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies.]

Adams, Robert McC., Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, 1988–92; 1994.

Akaka, Daniel, U.S. Representative from Hawai'i, 1989.

Alexander, Lamar, Governor of Tennessee, 1986.

Armstrong, Bob, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, 1993.

Arnett, G. Ray, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, 1982.

Arnold, Eleanor, Author and farmer, 1991.

Babcock, Jeffrey, Director, Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, Cultural Olympiad, 1996.

Barry, Marion, Mayor of the District of Columbia, 1988.

Benoit, Pierre François, Ambassador of Haiti, 1989.

Bingaman, Jeff, U.S. Senator from New Mexico, 1992.

Blanchard, Jim, Governor of Michigan, 1987.

Blanco, Kathleen, Lt. Governor of Louisiana, 1997.

Blitzer, Charles, Assistant Secretary for History and Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1977.

Boggs, Lindy, U.S. Representative from Louisiana and Smithsonian Regent, 1985.

Boland, Edward P., U.S. Representative from Massachusetts and Smithsonian Regent, 1988.

Boren, David, U.S. Senator from Oklahoma, 1982.

Bradley, Bill, U.S. Senator from New Jersey, 1983.

Branstad, Terry, Governor of Iowa, 1996.

Breedon, Robert, President, White House Historical Association, 1992.

Brennan, Peter, Secretary of Labor, 1973.

Brown, Marilyn Tyler, Associate Superintendent, D.C. Public Schools, 1993.

Brown, Ruth, Grammy and Tony award-winning rhythm & blues performer, 1991.

- Chavez, Mr., Assistant Secretary of Commerce, 1977.
- Clark, Jeannine Smith, Smithsonian Regent, 1988–93.
- Cochran, Thad, U.S. Senator from Mississippi and Smithsonian Regent, 1996–97.
- Coleman, Ronald, U.S. Representative from Texas and Chair, Border Caucus, 1993.
- Conte, Silvio, U.S. Representative from Massachusetts and Smithsonian Regent, 1988.
- Cooper, Peggy, Cultural activist, 1979.
- Crespo-Velasco, Jorge, Ambassador of Bolivia, 1994.
- Domenici, Pete, U.S. Senator from New Mexico, 1992.
- Donaldson, Timothy, Ambassador of The Bahamas, 1994.
- Dorsey, Thomas A., Gospel composer, 1973.
- Dunham, Katherine, Dancer, choreographer, anthropologist, 1990.
- Early, James, Assistant Secretary for Cultural and Educational Programs, Smithsonian Institution, 1990–96.
- Edwards, Edwin, Governor of Louisiana, 1985.
- Evelyn, Doug, Deputy Director, National Museum of the American Indian, 1992.
- Farrelly, Alexander, Governor of the U.S. Virgin Islands, 1990.
- Fishman, Joshua, Professor, Yeshiva University, 1987.
- Ford, Wendell, Governor of Kentucky, 1973.
- Fordice, Pat, First Lady of Mississippi, 1997.
- Frank, Barney, U.S. Representative from Massachusetts, 1995.
- Franklin, John Hope, James B. Duke Emeritus Professor of History, Duke University, 1992.
- Fulbright, J. William, U.S. Senator from Arkansas, 1970.
- Fuster, Jaime, U.S. Delegate from Puerto Rico, 1988.
- Gavin, Dennis P., Deputy Director, National Park Service, 1988.
- Gandhi, Rajiv, Prime Minister of India, 1985.
- Gilligan, John, Governor of Ohio, 1971.
- Grassley, Charles, U.S. Senator from Iowa, 1996.
- Guerra, Stella, Assistant Secretary for Territorial Affairs, U.S. Department of Interior, 1990.
- Gumucio, Mariano Baptista, Minister of Education and Culture, Bolivia, 1991.
- Harjo, Suzan, Executive Director, National Congress of American Indians, 1989.
- Harkin, Tom, U.S. Senator from Iowa, 1991; 1996.
- Harris, Fred, U.S. Representative from Oklahoma, 1971.
- Hatfield, Mark, U.S. Senator from Oregon, 1978.
- Hawes, Bess Lomax, Director, Folk Arts, National Endowment for the Arts, 1982; 1984.
- Hawley, Ann, Executive Director, Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities, 1988.
- Heyman, I. Michael, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, 1995–97.
- Hodsoll, Frank, Chairman, National Endowment for the Arts, 1983.
- Huddleston, Walter, U.S. Senator from Kentucky, 1973.
- Inouye, Daniel, U.S. Senator from Hawai'i, 1989.
- Jabbour, Alan, President, American Folklore Society, 1988.
- Jackson, Jesse Rev., Senator, District of Columbia, 1992.
- Jayakar, Pupul, Chair, Festival of India, 1985.
- Johnson, Keith, Ambassador of Jamaica, 1989.
- Ka, Ibra Deguene, Ambassador of Senegal, 1990.
- Ka, Moustapha, Minister of Culture and Communications, Senegal, 1990.
- Kean, Thomas, Governor of New Jersey, 1983.
- Kennedy, Edward, U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, 1988.
- King, Bruce, Governor of New Mexico, 1992.
- Kirkpatrick, Rev., 1968.
- Kriegsman, Sali Ann, Director, Dance Program, National Endowment for the Arts, 1993.
- Kurin, Richard, Director, Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution, 1993–97.
- Levin, Carl, U.S. Senator from Michigan, 1987.
- Lew, Byong Hion, Ambassador of Korea, 1982.
- Lomax, Alan, Folklorist, 1968.
- Lugo, Ron de, U.S. Delegate from the U.S. Virgin Islands, 1990.
- Lujan, Manuel, Secretary of the Interior, 1992.
- Lyons, Oren, Tribal elder, Onondaga Nation, 1989.
- McClellan, John L., U.S. Senator from Arkansas, 1970.
- Madigan, Edward, Secretary of Agriculture, 1991.
- Mandel, Marvin, Governor of Maryland, 1972.
- Margerie, Emmanuel de, Ambassador of France, 1989.
- Mathias, Senator Charles McC., Chair, American Committee on the French Revolution and Smithsonian Regent, 1989.
- Matsunaga, Nobuo, Ambassador of Japan, 1986.
- Matsunaga, Spark, U.S. Senator from Hawai'i, 1989.
- Mayberry-Lewis, David, Professor, Harvard University, and founder, *Cultural Survival*, 1986.
- Meany, George, President, AFL-CIO, 1973.
- Mondale, Joan, Wife of the Vice President of the United States, 1977.
- Montaño, Jorge, Ambassador of Mexico, 1993.
- Monteiro, Antonio Mascarenhas, President, Cape Verde, 1995.
- Morris, Jim, 1969–76.
- Murkowski, Frank, Senator from Alaska, 1984.
- Nedzi, Lucien, U.S. Congressman from Michigan, 1979.
- Newman, Constance Berry, Under Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, 1993.
- Nickles, Donald, U.S. Senator from Oklahoma, 1982.
- Quayle, Dan, Vice President of the United States, 1991.
- Parker, Diana, Director, Festival of American Folklife, Smithsonian Institution, 1995–97.
- Ramley, Abdul Rachman, Ambassador of Indonesia, 1991.
- Ray, Gov. Robert, Chair, Iowa Sesquicentennial Commission, 1996.
- Reagon, Bernice Johnson, Curator Emeritus, National Museum of American History, 1997.
- Reagon, Cordell, Founder, SNCC Freedom Singers, 1990.
- Rinzler, Ralph, Assistant Secretary, Smithsonian Institution, 1969–89.
- Ripley, S. Dillon, Secretary Emeritus, Smithsonian Institution, and Chairman, Festival of Indonesia, 1969–85; 1991.
- Rodino, Peter, U.S. Representative from New Jersey, 1977.
- Saiki, Pat, U.S. Representative from Hawai'i, 1989.
- Sasser, James, U.S. Senator from Tennessee and Smithsonian Regent, 1986.
- Shafer, Raymond, Governor of Pennsylvania, 1969.
- Sheffield, Bill, Governor of Alaska, 1984.
- Simon, Paul, U.S. Senator from Illinois, 1991.
- Stanton, Robert, Director, National Park Service, National Capital Region, 1990.
- Stephenson, Linda, Director, Olympic Programs, Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, 1996.
- Symonette, Brent, Minister of Tourism, The Bahamas, 1994.
- Thompson, Frank, U.S. Representative from New Jersey, 1978.
- Xuto, Manaspas, Ambassador of Thailand, 1994.
- Walden, Omie, Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of Energy, 1979.
- Warren, Dave, Deputy Director, National Museum of the American Indian, 1991.
- Waihee, John, Governor of Hawai'i, 1989.
- Wrye, Ronald, Deputy Director, National Park Service, National Capital Region, 1989.
- Young, Don, U.S. Representative from Alaska, 1984.
- Žantovský, Michael, Ambassador of the Czech Republic, 1995.
- Zozayong, Yoon Yeol Soo, Director, Emileh Museum, Korea, 1982.

The Author

Richard Kurin — *Director, Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, received his Ph.D. in cultural anthropology from the University of Chicago. A former Fulbright fellow, he has taught at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, and is the author of numerous scholarly works including Reflections of a Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian. He first worked for the Festival in 1976, and in 1996 received the Smithsonian Secretary's Gold Medal for Exceptional Service.*

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ISBN 0-9665520-0-8



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