Festivals, Function and Context: An Ethnographic Study of Three Festivals at Holden Village

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FESTIVALS, FUNCTION AND CONTEXT:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THREE FESTIVALS AT HOLDEN VILLAGE

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how three festivals function together to meet the Mission Statement goals of Holden Village, an isolated Lutheran renewal center located in the Cascade mountains in Washington State. The Holden Village Mission Statement states that

Holden Village is organized to provide a community for healing, renewal, and refreshment of people through worship, intercession, study, humor, work, recreation, and conversation in a climate of mutual acceptance under the Lordship of Jesus Christ. The purpose of this community is to participate in the renewal for the church and the world by proclaiming the gospel of God’s unconditional love in Jesus Christ; rehabilitating and equipping people for ministry in the world; lifting up a vision of God’s kingdom of peace, justice, and wholeness; and celebrating the unity and the diversity of the church, all humanity, and all creation. (Lutz 1987:16-7)

This ethnographic study provides an initial history of Holden from the days it operated as a copper mine, explains how Holden became a Lutheran renewal center, and explores the different ways the current villagers incorporate the Mission Statement into their everyday lives. After establishing the historical, cultural, and spatial context of Holden Village, I then analyze three festivals in
detail vis-à-vis the Holden Village Mission Statement. To gain a better understanding of the function of these three festivals, and to place them within a broader context, I also provide a detailed description of the daily, weekly, and calendrical events at Holden.

The three festivals analyzed in this thesis are the Fourth of July, Jubilee! Day, and Sun Over Buckskin Day. In my analysis of these three festivals, I rely on my role as a participant/observer in these festivals, journal entries written throughout my various volunteer experiences at Holden, letters I wrote to family and friends, recollections sparked by photographs, conversations with Holden friends and acquaintances, as well as relevant printed sources. The conclusions drawn from my fieldwork indicate that each of these three festivals contribute in some way to meeting the goals of the Holden Village Mission Statement.

After my analysis of the three festivals, I briefly discuss some of the issues and concerns which have occurred at Holden during times of community stress and how the village has responded. My conclusions indicate that despite the problems which can arise at Holden, people leave Holden with a sense of renewal. This sense of renewal is facilitated by the daily, weekly, and calendrical events and festivals at Holden, all of which provide the villagers with the opportunity to celebrate themselves as members of a community.
Chapter One

Introduction

“A festival is more than a festival.” Jean Duvignaud

All cultures set aside certain times and spaces for public celebrations, a time to mark calendrical events, whether they be of a religious, secular, or cultural nature. In fact, according to Richard Hardin, celebrations cannot exist without a community (Hardin 1996:171). After awhile, certain celebrations become associated with certain attire, food, drink, music, performance, and environments. Taken together in a different contextual setting or situation, these elements would be viewed as inappropriate (Turner 1982:12). In the United States, most celebrations focus on people, as opposed to objects and symbols. The objects that are used in celebrations tend to be evanescent and get discarded after one or two uses (Turner and Turner 1982:216).

Symbolically, celebrations represent a time of renewal, a time to recall and celebrate the origins of a community, a time to reassert cultural and national identity and reaffirm common community experiences (Metraux 1976:7). According to G. S. Metraux, there are six main features of celebrations. (1) They are
often based on historical or mythical events which are then re-enacted through allegories and symbols, (2) they are associated with particular elements or objects, (3) they are regularly occurring events which coincide with the seasons, religious holidays, or patriotic or historical anniversaries, (4) they are localized, (5) they occur within well-defined cultural communities, are encouraged by civil authorities, and are sanctioned by a majority of the population, and (6) they maintain the established social order by setting aside a socially sanctified time which allows for the inversion of roles to occur. In other words, people who are not in positions of power can rebel against the power structure during this time without the fear of having to suffer any sort of consequences (Metraux 1976:7-8).

As with other forms of folklore, celebrations serve a function in society. According to William Bascom there are four functions of folklore. The first function is escape; folklore allows people to escape into fantasy from their geographical environment, their biological limitations, as well as the societal repressions they live under. The second function of folklore is that it serves to validate culture through providing justification for society's rituals and institutions. Thirdly, folklore functions as an educational tool and provides cultural rules for people to live by. Finally, folklore functions as a means of maintaining social control through the
application of social pressure to conform to acceptable standards of behavior (Bascom 1954:290-5).

Celebrations offer people an opportunity to escape into a fantasy world for a limited time, an opportunity to rebel against the established societal norms. Celebrations validate society through the process of celebrating society and the institutions of society. This in turn leads to the educational function of celebration as people learn about their society through celebrations. Finally, by allowing people an opportunity to rebel against society in socially acceptable ways, celebrations function as a means of maintaining social control during non-celebrative times.

One difficulty in studying celebration is determining the proper terminology. Scholars have used the words "ritual," "festival," "custom," "ceremony," and "celebration" to refer to special events held within a community. A common denominator among all these events is the fact that they occur at specific times, are framed, are typically public, and are recognized by both the participants and observers as taking place in a "time out of time."

Regardless of the terminology used by scholars, all these events communicate meaning to the participants and observers on a number of different levels. In this thesis, my purpose is to explore the various meanings of three annual festivals held at an isolated
Lutheran retreat center called Holden Village. The three festivals I chose for my analysis are the Fourth of July, Jubilee! Day, and Sun Over Buckskin (S.O.B.) Day. The point of departure for analyzing these festivals is the Holden Village Mission Statement, which states that

Holden Village is organized to provide a community for healing, renewal, and refreshment of people through worship, intercession, study, humor, work, recreation, and conversation in a climate of mutual acceptance under the Lordship of Jesus Christ. The purpose of this community is to participate in the renewal for the church and the world by proclaiming the gospel of God’s unconditional love in Jesus Christ; rehabilitating and equipping people for ministry in the world; lifting up a vision of God’s kingdom of peace, justice, and wholeness; and celebrating the unity and the diversity of the church, all humanity, and all creation. (Lutz 1987:16-7)

Holden Village is located within the Cascade Mountains in central Washington State. The community at Holden is very transient and stratified as it consists of short-term staff, long-term staff, and guests. However, there is a sense of continuity among the villagers due to the fact that a significant percentage of the staff and guests return to Holden on a fairly regular basis. To encourage a sense of community among the stratified layers of villagers, a number of daily, weekly, and yearly events have been established over the years.
In this thesis I will describe each of these different types of events, explore three of them, and attempt to demonstrate how they all communicate the importance of living the Mission Statement to the villagers. In my analysis of these events, I will rely on my role as a participant observer in these events, journal entries written throughout my various volunteer experiences at Holden, letters I wrote to family and friends, recollections sparked by photographs, conversations with Holden friends and acquaintances, as well as relevant printed sources.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of how these three festivals function together within the broader scope of events at Holden, I will discuss the historical, cultural, and spatial context of Holden Village, as well as provide a detailed discussion of the various ways the villagers have incorporated the cultural values of the Mission Statement into the daily life of Holden Village. I will conclude my thesis with a brief discussion of some of the issues and concerns the villagers have encountered during times of community stress.

Fieldwork Experiences

I was first introduced to Holden Village in the summer of 1990, when I went to volunteer for six weeks at the suggestion of a friend. I boarded the Amtrak Empire Builder at 2:00 a.m. on June 28,
in St. Paul, Minnesota, with a mixture of excitement and nervousness. Thirty-six long hours later I emerged from the train in Wenatchee, Washington, where I then boarded a Greyhound bus headed for Chelan, Washington.

In Chelan, I exited the bus at the boat dock and loaded myself and my two overstuffed duffel bags onto the Lady of the Lake for my three-and-a-half hour trip up-lake. Lake Chelan, located in central Washington, is fifty miles long, and is the third deepest lake in the United States. As we made our way up-lake, the surrounding hillsides gradually changed from brown-hued sagebrush to lush pine forests behind which stood craggy, rocky mountain tops. Along the way, the boat crew pointed out mountain goats ambling near the lake, waterfalls, rock slide areas, as well as pictographs most likely engraved in the rock by Wapato Indians.

The Lady of the Lake was crowded with day-trip passengers planning on taking in the sites of Stehekin, a resort town at the top of the lake, backpackers who were dropped off at campgrounds along the lake, and church groups, families, other guests, and volunteers on their way to Holden Village. Sitting in the sun and listening in on the conversations around me, I overheard a number of people asking questions about Holden Village. What sort of place is it? Who goes there? Is it a Bible camp where people just sit around all day and
read the Scripture? What is there to do there? Do people live there all year? How do they survive the isolation? I was also asking myself a number of these same questions.

The Lady of the Lake slowed on the approach to Lucerne and pulled up to the dock. After the passengers disembarked from the boat and moved off the dock, the maverick work crew formed a human chain to unload the luggage and groceries destined for the village. All the outgoing luggage and passengers were driven down to the dock after lunch to board the boat when it returned to Lucerne on its down-lake trip. The passengers boarded the buses after the luggage and groceries were carefully stowed. The bus driver welcomed everybody to Lucerne, took a brief survey of the number of people who had been to Holden before, radioed up to the village that the bus was now departing Lucerne and informed the kitchen of the number of new arrivals to expect for lunch.

The bus made a sharp turn around the A-frame house and started up the switch backs for the twelve-mile drive to the village. Within the first two miles, the bus climbed 2,000 feet in elevation. People who were afraid of heights were encouraged to sit in the aisle seats as there were times when it appeared as if the bus was driving on nothing but thin air as it slowly wound its way up the twelve switch backs. Once the bus passed the two-mile marker it
was a straight shot to the village along a narrow, one-lane road lined with tall pines and evergreens. Approximately two miles from the village I noticed an enormous, orange pile of rock located across the creek on my left. I later found out that this rock pile is called the “tailings.” The tailings, cyanide-laced waste left over from the days when Holden Village operated as a copper mine, cover eighty acres of land and weigh 179 million tons. They are the most noticeable landscape feature and are often used as a visual guide to determine where the village is located when hiking along the Railroad Creek Valley.

Since my first summer at Holden, I have worked at Holden Village as a volunteer for a combined total of thirteen months. When I first volunteered at Holden, I worked for six weeks during the summer of 1990 in the kitchen. After returning to Minnesota for almost two months, I returned to Holden in October, 1990, and remained as a volunteer until the middle of May, 1991. During this period I worked as the fire chief, bookkeeper’s assistant, registrar’s assistant, snack bar queen, and kitchen worker. I returned to volunteer in the kitchen for five-and-a-half weeks in the summer of 1995, and for two months in the summer of 1997, when I also worked in the kitchen.

Prior to my departure to Holden in 1997, I made the decision to
use my experiences from there as the basis for my thesis. When I left Bowling Green, Kentucky, in May, 1997, it was with the understanding from my thesis advisor that I would spend the summer gathering data on various aspects of life at Holden. Upon my return we met to discuss my data and to determine an effective method for presenting in my thesis. Although a majority of the data presented in this thesis is derived from my observations gathered throughout the two months I spent at Holden in the summer of 1997, I have also included observations made during my previous volunteer experiences.
Chapter Two

Literature Review

All cultures set aside specific times and spaces for public celebrations, whether they are sacred, secular, or cultural in nature. Folklorists, anthropologists, and popular culture specialists have studied these celebrations as one method of gaining a better understanding and insight into a culture. However, before one can study a celebration and determine the meaning of that celebration, it is important to have a firm grasp of the various terms that have been applied in scholarly analysis of celebrations. Scholars claim to know a ritual, festival, custom, ceremony, or celebration when they see one, yet it is difficult to find a concrete definition in the literature for any of these terms. The purpose of this literature review is to explore the various necessary components scholars have used in defining these terms, discuss the possible functions of ritual, festival, custom, ceremonies, and celebrations within cultures and communities, and explore the different means established through which ritual, festival, custom, ceremonies, and celebrations can be studied.

The word ritual presents the biggest problem for scholars. It
has been used in reference to many different cultural performances, both within the sacred and secular realms, as well as the private and public spheres of people’s lives (Frese 1993:xv). According to Maurice Bloch, anthropologists view rituals as relatively fixed sequences of behavior. As such, rituals are invariant, unclear, anti-intellectual, and provide little possibility for individual innovation (Bloch 1996:733-4).

Barbara Myerhoff notes that people who are unable to suspend their disbelief become an enemy of ritual. According to Myerhoff, ritual consists of intentional acts or actions practiced by a group of people who utilize a symbol, or symbols in a formal, stylized, repetitive and precise fashion. Rituals are intrinsically paradoxical, and these paradoxes are suggested by the symbols used within the ritual itself. “Rituals are [also] conspicuously physiological” - behavior comes before emotion among ritual participants; people’s bodies are persuaded to respond before their emotions (Myerhoff 1979:199).

The most apparent characteristic of ritual is that it serves as a framing device for a community. “It is a deliberate and artificial demarcation,” and as such, “this framing is a fiction.” (Myerhoff 1979:200) In ritual, a period of time is set aside and remarked upon. The very fact that it is an artifice is denied, and the claim is
asserted that the meaning of the ritual must be discovered, as opposed to the meaning being constructed (Myerhoff 1977:200). In other words, the meaning of a ritual can often be deliberately fabricated by people, although people will deny this fact and will examine the ritual for deeper, hidden meanings.

Victor Turner contends that everyone, at some point in their life, will experience ritual because no one is exempt from ritual duty (Turner 1977:39). Turner based his studies of ritual on Arnold Van Gennep's stages of ritual passage established in Les Rites de Passage, written in 1909. According to Mathieu Deflem, Van Gennep postulated that ritual occurs within a process of social drama, and is itself processual in form. Van Gennep defined these ritual stages as (1) separation, or the pre-liminal stage when either the person or a group of people going through the ritual process become separated from the established social structure; (2) margin, or liminal stage when the ritual participants are in a state of ambiguity, in the process of going from the old state to a new state; and (3) aggregation, or the post-liminal stage when the ritual participants re-enter the established social structure. However, the ritual participants, because of the ritual they have undergone, now interact within this social structure under different obligations and responsibilities (Deflem 1991:7-8).
In his research, Turner focused on the liminal stage, a period when one is in a time of anti-structure, betwixt and between two points of structure, and what occurs to ritual participants within this liminal period. Victor Turner and Edith Turner applied the term *communitas* to describe the process which the ritual participants undergo during this liminal stage. In *communitas*, people meet each other as equals because all the hierarchical layers that exist within a structural framework have been removed. *Communitas* allows people to experience each other concretely as people no longer bound by the rules and constraints of the established social structure. The interaction between people is much deeper than that which occurs in the casual camaraderie of everyday life (Turner and Turner 1982:206).

Turner further delineates three different distinctions of *communitas*. There is *spontaneous communitas*, an “existential” type “which defies deliberate cognitive and volitional construction.” (Turner 1977:46) *Normative communitas* occurs when people attempt to legislate *spontaneous communitas* through ethical and legal precepts and laws. People who develop a utopian blueprint for societal reform based upon the positive attributes of the *communitas* experience are attempting to formulate *ideological communitas* (Turner 1977:46).
Turner states that *communitas* cannot occur if there is not an outside structural form to support it. People return to this structure revitalized by their *communitas* experience. While people seek out *communitas*, the sense of immediacy and spontaneity brought about through *communitas* cannot be maintained for long. Eventually, *communitas* itself develops a structure of its own because structureless *communitas* will only bond and bind people together momentarily (Turner 1969:153).

In his research on *communitas*, Turner also differentiates between liminal and liminoid phenomenon. According to Turner, liminal phenomena are associated with biological, calendrical, meteorological, or social-structural cycles, or with crisis events that are brought on through unexpected disasters, or internal or external adaptations. While liminal phenomena tend to be collective, liminoid phenomena may be collective, but are not necessarily so. Luminoid phenomena are also not cyclical, but are generated continuously, though usually in times and places separated from work settings (Turner 1977:44-5). A rite of passage, such as a birthday or a bar mitzvah, would be considered a liminal phenomenon while a sports event would be considered a liminoid phenomenon.

Furthermore, liminal phenomena integrated into the social structure are normative and generalized, and share a common
emotional and intellectual meaning among all members of the community. On the other hand, liminoid phenomena develop outside of the social structure, are produced by an individual, or a small group of people, tend to be idiosyncratic, quirky, fragmentary, and experiential. In addition, while liminal phenomena may use inversion, or reversal, of the secular, social structure, liminoid phenomena relies on reversion of the social structure, and is often subversive in portraying alternative utopian models to the established social structure (Turner 1977:44-5).

Regardless of whether or not one is studying liminal or liminoid phenomena, Turner postulates that both have the same basic core underlying them, which is the multi-dimensionality of ritual, and the multi-vocality of the symbols utilized within the ritual. The very fact that ritual consists of a multiplicity of elements allows for a great deal of flexibility, as well as an increased capacity on the part of the participants in their ability to interpret, portray, and master new ideas and concepts. This flexibility also increases ritual’s adaptability to change (Turner 1977:40).

Other scholars have studied the relationship that exists between ritual and everyday life. According to Jon Mitchell, “ritual either involves different forms of action from everyday life, or at least different purposes.” (Mitchell 1996:490) The difference comes
into play when discerning the meaning of the ritual act suggested through the symbols used in the ritual (Mitchell 1996:490).

Elizabeth Evans notes that ritual is by its very definition a structured, formal experience that is in a dialectical interaction with the mundane, spontaneous and uncertain messiness of everyday life. She further explains that ritual can be identified as a public performance that is formal, patterned, and stereotypical (Evans 1996:1122).

Scholarship regarding ritual has typically examined the religious aspects of ritual. Ronald Grimes suggests that ritual actually pervades our lives in areas other than the religious. He notes that ritual is also incorporated within our biogenetic, political, psychosocial, artistic, and economic lives. Grimes states that the usual distinctions made in ritual studies between the sacred and the secular, and between rites of passage and seasonal rites, are insufficient. Instead, he proposes six modes of ritual sensibilities, or embodied attitudes, which may happen during the course of a ritual. These ritual sensibilities are ritualization, or the biological method through which a ritual becomes such; decorum, or rules which govern social conduct; ceremony, which is conducted with the aid of an official; liturgy, or oral symbolic action; magic, which has meaning and works for the people who practice it; and
celebration, or expressive play (Grimes 1982a:36).

Grimes also points out that ritual is not only embedded in social processes but that ritual also serves to process things, actors, spaces, and times. Ritual is also in a state of process; as such it develops and declines. Before determining the essence of a ritual, it is important to examine the three distinguishable types of ritually significant processes. These processes are the social processes which surround the ritual, the work of processing done by a ritual, and the process of change a ritual undergoes (Grimes 1982b:274).

Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff have also examined ritual from a nonreligious stance. Their view is that secular ritual is such an extensive subject that it can include everything ranging from the psychological significance of individual ritualized behavior to collective ceremony (Moore and Myerhoff 1977:4).

These collective ceremonies can perpetuate old traditions, as well as traditionalize new material. According to Moore and Myerhoff, there are six formal properties of collective ceremonies, all of which help further enhance the message of the ceremony. These properties are (1) repetition of content, form, or occasion; (2) acting - ritual is not an essentially spontaneous activity, but it is instead self-consciously acted out; (3) special behavior or
stylization involving actions or symbols that are either extraordinary themselves, or ordinary actions or symbols used in an unusual manner; (4) order - collective ritual is highly structured and has a beginning and an end; (5) evocative presentational style or staging - ceremonial manipulation of symbols to produce a greater commitment by the ritual participants; and (6) the collective dimension, the social meaning of the ritual itself (Moore and Myerhoff 1977:7-8).

In an early study on festivals, Alessandro Falassi noted that the term festival was used in the social sciences to cover a plethora of celebratory events, ranging from the sacred to the profane, from the private to the public. Falassi inferred a definition of festival based upon the current studies in the field (Falassi 1967:2). According to Falassi, a festival is a social occasion that occurs periodically, involves a multiplicity of forms and a succession of coordinated events in which all community members, whether they are defined by linguistic, ethnic, historical, or religious bonds, or world view, participate to a certain extent (Falassi 1967:2).

Falassi also notes that festival behavior consists of four cardinal points. These are reversal, intensification, trespassing, and abstinence. During festivals people participate in something they normally would not; they abstain from something they normally
participate in; they take normally regulated behaviors to the extreme; and they invert the normal patterns of everyday social life (Falassi 1967:3). As Roger Abrahams notes, festivals are moments of high display, even crass materialism. They show the best side, as well as the worst side of people, sometimes simultaneously. During festivals, people overextend themselves; they dress up, wear unaccustomed costumes, and purposely get things out of proportion. People rewrite the rules, turn things over, and gain a sense of power through the wearing of regal robes or beggars' rags (Abrahams 1982:171).

Abrahams also notes that people around the world consistently use the same festival devices in order to create the necessary energy required for a festival. People dance, parade, and use objects and actions that have deep cultural and historical meanings. Elements of the everyday world are torn apart and then pieced back together in a new form. During festivals,

We blow things up (both by enlarging and exploding them) even as we miniaturize them. The contrary impulses of expansion and contraction, of condensation and dispersion, are often invoked simultaneously, for in festivities we may make the most challenging contrasts and contractions, just for fun - though the play is often serious. (Abrahams 1982:165)

Festivals also allow the community to call attention to itself; to
openly display itself. Festivals can be considered community affairs because they require community coordination and preparation. The very topsy-turvyness of festivals also serves to test many basic community notions (Abrahams 1967:181).

While festivals and rituals seem to have a number of similarities, there are also enough differences existing between the two that it is possible to make a distinction between festival and ritual. Festivals and rituals both use cultural objects and actions, intensify time and space, use repetition, transform the participants, and mark stages of life transition; however, the similarities end here.

According to Abrahams, festivals are primarily associated with the activities that take place in our playful and profane domains, while rituals are primarily associated with activities in sacralized spaces. Festivals evoke the spirit of fun and use the language and techniques of play to achieve their purpose of transformation. This transformation is temporary in nature as it lasts only as long as the festival. Rituals evoke the power of the gods to achieve personal and social transformation among participants. These transformations are also then carried into everyday life after the ritual is over (Abrahams 1967:179).

According to Bani Shorter, people have a psychological need for
ritual and they seek out ritual during times of personal transition. While ritual does not necessarily provide a safe passage for this transitional period, it does provide a way of marking this passage. It can provide an initial sense of sanctuary from a fate which is perceived as overwhelming and inevitable. Afterwards, people emerge feeling as though they have been altered in some personally relevant way. The most important aspect of ritual is that it happens naturally; it is not something contrived (Shorter 1996:110).

Festivals occur during times of stability and create disturbance for fun. They tear apart the fabric of the world to “put on” the festival. They open up the social, spatial, and temporal by playing with and redrawing the margins of the community. The key to a festival is having fun and making fun, both of which are achieved through confronting and compounding cultural norms. Rituals, on the other hand, occur during times of crisis and are identified with serious purposes. They help people deal with change by emphasizing harmony and continuity. The transformations which occur in ritual are then put into practice in everyday life (Abrahams 1967:178-9).

According to Abrahams, both festival and ritual times are betwixt and between experiences; they share a sense of space and time that is different from the everyday world. During festival and
ritual, the normal passage of time is stopped and larger life rhythms are then invoked. While rituals are associated with transitional life events, festivals occur during times when nothing important is transpiring (Abrahams 1982:167).

The word custom has also been used in scholarship on ritual. According to Myerhoff, rituals and customs can be distinguished from each other in their utilization of symbols. Rituals have a deeper meaning attached to their activities than do customs. There is more significance in a ritual than just the information being transmitted (Myerhoff 1977:200). Charlotte Seymour-Smith defines custom as “cultural traditions or habitual forms of behaviour within a given social group.” (Seymour-Smith 1986:69) Customary behavior is behavior which is prescribed by a culture. Community members who behave contrary to the required or expected behavior will usually receive some form of punishment, ranging from social disapproval to complete ostracism (Seymour-Smith 1986:69).

Ceremony is another term which has been used interchangeably with ritual. However, according to Seymour-Smith, it is important to recognize the distinction which exists between the two. Ceremony is a performance which is formalized, stylized, usually public, and involves more than one participant and cultural tradition. Ritual studies are broader than ceremonial studies. Ceremonial
studies focus on the social, cultural, and ritual context of stylized performances, whereas ritual studies examine the symbolic and magico-religious aspects of ritual, and may also include the study of ceremony, which often accompanies ritual (Seymour-Smith 1986:35). According to Shorter, the central concern of ceremony is the awarding and preservation of status, while the central concern of ritual is with the transition and transformation process a person experiences while undergoing ritual (Shorter 1996:30).

Moore and Myerhoff make a further distinction between secular ceremony and religious ritual. Although the objectives of secular ceremony and religious ritual are to influence events in this world, and have social and psychological consequences on people, the two use different forms of causality to achieve their objectives. Secular ceremony moves only within this world and is connected with specialized aspects of the social and cultural background of the participants. Religious ritual, on the other hand, attempts to affect this world by the process of moving the other world and is connected to the all-emcompassing universal aspects of life (Moore and Myerhoff 1977:14).

Frank Manning has applied the term celebration to many events which other scholars have called ritual or festival. Manning defines celebration as a text, a communicative event using both play and
ritual. Play allows for the inversion of the social order while ritual confirms and regulates the social order. Play and ritual both complement and contradict each other, and the tension arising between the two gives celebration its power. This paradoxical ambiguity is the basis on which celebration is built. Manning also delineates four central features which constitute celebration. First of all, celebration is performance and involves the dramatic presentation of cultural symbols. In addition, celebration is entertainment; it is done for the pure fun of it. Furthermore, celebration is public; it is enacted in the public arena for all to see. Finally, celebration is participatory as it involves both participants and spectators alike (Manning 1983a:4).

Now that I have presented some of the similarities and differences between ritual, festival, custom, ceremony, and celebration, I will turn my attention to a discussion of the meaning and function of these events. Determining the outcome of a ritual is a difficult question to answer (Moore and Myerhoff 1977:13). Interpreting the meanings can be just as problematic for festival participants as it is for festival observers (Duvignaud 1989:10); however ritual always provides meaning of some sort through the reassertion of connections between people (Evans 1996:1122). While festivals cannot be defined as nonfunctional or useless
(Duvignaud 1976:23), it is also impossible to attribute one fundamental function to all forms of celebration (Isambert 1969:34). However, ritual is recognized to be of extreme value because it helps validate and give meaning to the frustrations that arise from daily living (Shorter 1996:63).

All cultures incorporate celebratory events into their calendrical year, which become the high points for the community. As such, festivals function as a means of allowing communities to harmonize themselves with seasonal changes. According to Abrahams, festivals which re-enact how the natural or social world is arranged are interpreted as rites because of their traditionality. This traditionality makes them learnable, memorable, repeatable, and susceptible to the accumulation of important meanings. These meanings often become translated into messages, or explicitly stated, value-laden lessons (Abrahams 1967:177).

Rituals also allow cultures to effectively deal with potentially destructive elements in society. As Grimes notes, rituals operate as the lifeblood of a culture. Like blood, rituals need to be contained and they need to flow. Otherwise they will come to symbolize death as opposed to life. Rituals help to circulate and process attitudes, beliefs, or practices that have the potential to become immensely destructive if they are spilled into the larger
society and not dealt with. Rituals "float on the surface of crisis and rift." (Grimes 1982b:281) Bloch views ritual as a dramatic commentary on life representing pure and impure elements. It is used to separate the two elements from each other, eliminating the impure to allow the pure to emerge (Bloch 1996:734). Ritual also allows us to enable, protect, and realize mystery (Shorter 1996:111).

According to Pamela Frese, ritual enables people to reinvent and validate their identities as social, sacred, and biological beings. It is a multidimensional cultural performance which allows for the perpetuating, legitimizing, and transformation of society on a number of levels. In addition, "ritualized celebrations function to validate and perpetuate religious beliefs and the social structure, serve to enhance group solidarity, work as a vehicle for social control, and act as a means to dispel conflict between social groups." (Frese 1993:xv)

Ritual is often viewed as a representation of society, and scholars have studied ritual to learn more about the society they are studying. Ritual represents the social structure of a society, acts upon this social structure, and, in turn, is acted upon by the social structure. As such, ritual can lead to continuity and change (Mitchell 1996:493). Moore and Myerhoff contend that ritual can be
interpreted as a means to structure how people think about social life; however, ritual is also much more than that. Not only can it reflect existing social structure and thought; it can also act upon them, reorganize them, or even create them (Moore and Myerhoff 1977:5).

Ray Browne views ritual as a method of understanding cultural behavior because ritual codifies cultural attitudes. Rituals create ideas, and in turn, ideas create rituals. Ritualism draws forth attitudes from deep within the sociology and psychology of people, forms them into codes, and then imposes them on people as sanctioned forms of behavior. These sanctioned forms of behavior sometimes carry mystical overtones, which serve as a means of making the behavior even more acceptable (Browne 1980:1).

Jack Goody provides the voice of dissent regarding the meaning of ritual. Goody contends that ritual actually does not provide more clues to understanding a culture's deeper values. He asserts that because rituals are formalized, and are publicly displayed, there is an element of culture lag involved, and they serve as masks of the "true" self. Therefore, it is more difficult to find the meanings of ritual then in other cultural expressions (Goody 1977:32).

Cultural performances can provide an ideal forum for learning about a community's social, economic, political, and symbolic life.
Cultural performances are about identity; they are organized and presented to the community by members of the community. They are also meant for outsiders to observe and participate in, and to learn about the message of the community through this observation and participation (Farber 1983:33-4). According to Falassi, festivals are ultimately about celebrating community. By observing festivals, people can learn about a community's world view and ideology, its history, social identity, and physical survival. That is what the symbolic meaning and social function of festival is about (Falassi 1967:2). As stated by Manning, celebration ultimately reminds us that human life is less rational, secular, materialistic, and technologically determined than was commonly thought a generation ago; that we continue to cherish myth, rite, identity, community, tradition, cosmos, and many other symbols and sentiments tinctured with the acquired wisdom of the species; that we remain homo ludens, not simply homo sapiens or homo faber; that we delight in fun and laughter, relish mischief and mystery, and are inspired by paradox and ambiguity; above all, that we seek recurrently to appreciate the wonder and beauty of the human experience, and to reward ourselves for bearing with it. (Manning 1983b:ix)

The effects of ritual are difficult to predict and duplicate; the only thing that can be done is to try and personally decode its message and describe it through the use of symbol and metaphor (Shorter 1996:x). As Moore and Myerhoff note, "assessing the
outcome of a ritual, the work it has done, involves questions of
meanings as well as of efficacy. Certainly the reception of a
message cannot be considered unless the message is identified.”
(Moore and Myerhoff 1977:15) Myerhoff further conceives of ritual
as a container, which then becomes part of the message (Moore and
Myerhoff 1977:8). Since ritual occurs within a frame, it functions
within a framework of meta-communication, which is also multi-
directional (Handelman 1977:186).

The role of the folklorist is to determine the framing device
within which celebrations occur, and then to determine the message
the celebration is sending to its participants and observers. In my
later analysis on the three festivals celebrated at Holden Village, I
will use a three-point conceptual framework established by Beverly
Stoeltje. I have chosen to use Stoeltje’s festival framework as the
basis for my festival analysis because the generic features, festival
structures, and symbolic action she discusses are highly applicable
to the festival data I have collected.

In analyzing festivals, Stoeltje examines the generic features,
which include festival communication and the dimensions of
temporal reality (cosmic, historical, and present) that are
expressed; festival structures, such as the time and place, the
opening ceremony, the ritual itself, the drama and contest, the
concluding event, the music and food, the outside performers, and participation; and symbolic actions which are reflected through inversion within the confines of a number of festival structures (Stoeltje 1983:239-43).

Ritual, festival, custom, ceremony, and celebration all play important roles in cultures worldwide. While there are a number of similarities existing among all these events, there are also a number of important differences which can be utilized to differentiate between them. In this literature review this researcher has explored what these similarities and differences are, looked at the meaning and functions these events can have within the social context they are a part of, and presented one methodological approach to study these events. In the remaining chapters of this thesis, I will apply these terms to various events that I experienced and observed at Holden Village and will examine the functions and meanings of these events as they relate to the Holden Village Mission Statement, as well as to the participants and observers of these events.
Chapter Three
Historical, Cultural, and Spatial Context

Situated in a steep mountain valley carved out 10,000 years ago by retreating glaciers is the remains of "Washington state's largest copper, gold, and zinc mine." (Nigel B. Adams, cited in Lutz 1987:21) The Holden mine was in operation from 1937-1957. Operation ceased when the price of copper fell to the point where it was no longer economically feasible to extract the copper from Copper Mountain and ship it out to be processed.

View from the top of Chalet Hill looking towards the mine and the third level of the tailings. Buildings, from left to right, are Lodge 3, Chalet 13, Agape, and Chalet 12.
During the years in which the mine was in operation, the town population of Holden was approximately 600 people, 350 to 400 of whom were employed by the mine. After establishing where the town site was to be located, the mining company built “six 50-person dormitories, 10 family homes and one guest house, a 264-person dining hall, recreation hall, hospital, school, and staff house for single engineers and managers.” (Lutz 1987:27-8)

View from the top of Chalet Hill. Buildings, from left to right, are Chalet 6, Chalet 5, Chalet 4, Chalet 3, and Chalet 14.

A residential area consisting of one hundred small homes was built to the west of the main town site after some of the workers
requested more family housing. This area was known as “Winston Camp” because it was built by the Winston Brothers. All the original town site buildings still remain, except for Chalet Two which burned down in 1969. The Forest Service destroyed the Winston Camp homes in 1962 to decrease potential fire hazard to the area (Lutz 1987). A mile west of the village, just before the entrance to the Wenatchee National Forest, lies a meadow referred to as the ballpark.

Coffee urns left over from when Holden was operated as a copper mine.

When the Holden mine closed in 1957, the Howe Sound Company, which owned the mine, put it up for sale. In June 1957,
Wesley Prieb, the man who is responsible for getting the Howe Sound Company to donate Holden Village to the Lutheran churches, was sitting in Anchorage, Alaska, reading the paper when he came across a notice that the Holden Mine was closing. He wrote the Howe Sound Company requesting information on the property asking price. He also indicated in his letter that he foresaw the property being used as a possible summer church camp or as a retreat center. Prieb received a reply stating that the price of the property was $100,000. Prieb wrote the company again in April 1958, inquiring into the status of the Holden Village property and was informed that the asking price remained the same.
In April 1960, Prieb once again wrote the company and reiterated his idea that Holden would make an ideal place for a summer camp, as a retreat center for the Lutheran church in general, or for a summer camp for the Lutheran Bible Institute (LBI). Prieb was a student at LBI at the time he wrote his last two letters to the Howe Sound Company. Upon the receipt of his last letter, Prieb received a telegram from a company representative asking him to call. When Prieb placed the call he was informed that the Howe Sound Company had decided to give LBI the mine property if they would acknowledge that they had received a gift of $100,000, and that non-Lutherans would also be allowed to visit Holden. The land on which the buildings set belongs to the Forest Service; they were relieved to have the buildings occupied again since they viewed empty buildings as a potential fire hazard.

Initially, LBI was not sure if they wanted the gift of Holden, what they would do with it, and how they would operate it. After forming a task force committee and visiting the site, they decided that Holden would make an ideal site for a retreat center or camp of some sort. Initially, the plan was to develop Holden into a summer camp for youth. However, while the board members from LBI and leaders from the national Lutheran youth groups provided the initial leadership and financial support for Holden, it soon became apparent
that the support and leadership needed to come from a broader base. Soon, representatives from all the national Lutheran organizations were involved in helping make decisions regarding the operation of Holden Village. Currently, the board of trustees, with delegates representing each of the different Lutheran groups, regions of the United States and Canada, as well as a few non-Lutheran friends of Holden, meet annually at Holden and make recommendations to the directors and other committee heads.

Looking across the village green from Chalet 3 towards the Hotel and Dumbbell Mountain. To the left of the kiosk, located in the center, is the Ark. To the right of the kiosk is Lodge 3.

Upon first entering the village there are a few physical
characteristics about the village which are readily apparent. The first is the fact that the village is very isolated from the rest of civilization and is physically dwarfed in size by the surrounding mountains. The Railroad Creek Valley is very narrow and steep and Holden Village rests on the bottom of the valley floor, right next to the creek, and under the shadow of Martins Ridge, Buckskin Mountain, Copper Mountain, and Dumbbell Mountain.

In addition to its physical isolation, Holden is also isolated from the rest of society through the intentional lack of communication devices. There are no telephones at Holden, though there is an emergency line to the sheriff's office in Chelan in case of an emergency. While long-term staff members bring up their TVs and VCRs to watch movies, they are unable to get any TV reception. Chalet members with good stereo systems are able to pick up a few radio stations when the weather allows. During the summer months there is boat service seven days a week, and mail service six days a week, so newspapers are only one day late. During the winter months, November through April, boat service is cut back to five days a week, and mail service to three days a week, which can make the news in the papers 48-72 hours old by the time it reaches the village.

The second noticeable physical characteristic is the tailings,
which were described earlier. Prior to the start of the tailings reclamation project, started by the Forest Service in 1990, orange dust would blow off of the tailings on windy days and cover everything in the village with a fine, granular, orange dust.

While some of the buildings have been remodeled on the inside to better accommodate the current needs of the village, the outer building structures and layout of the village have not changed since the Lutheran church received Holden from the Howe Sound Company. Holden Village is laid out on two streets, Chalet Hill and Main Street, and it looks very much like an American’s idea of a Swiss-Bavarian village of old. The map on page 38 provides a good overview of the village layout, as well as an understanding of how the buildings are used; however there are some buildings that need a little more explanation.

Narnia serves the village in a number of different ways. Dances, small group meetings, and staff appreciation ice cream socials are periodically held here. The artist-in-residence studio and the day care center are located in Narnia during the summer months. From September through May, the village children attend school at Narnia.

During the winter months Lodges 1, 2, 3, 4, Chalets 9, 10, 11, and the Village Center are closed to conserve the village’s energy
output, although the school children hold their gymnasium period in the Village Center. Villagers willing to brave the cold also play volleyball in the Village Center during the winter. In the summer months when the village population exceeds 500 people, the Village Center is used for worship services. Once the village population is back down to 125 people, or fewer, worship is held in the Fireside Room in Koinonia.

During the winter season, Lodge 6, Chalets 1, 3, and Agape house the single volunteers; volunteers with families are housed in the remaining open Chalets, and guests are placed in Koinonia and
the Hotel. In the summer months, volunteer staff are housed in Lodges 1 and 6, and guests are housed in Lodges 2, 3, and 4, as well as Koinonia and the Hotel.

Located directly in front of the Hotel is the loading dock. Here the bus loads and unloads passengers, people sit to enjoy the sun, officials judge the various parades, and the fire brigade meets to receive further instructions should a fire break out in the village. Since Holden is located in such a remote area, the villagers are responsible for their own fire safety. All staff members receive hose house training shortly after their arrival. There are nine hose houses located throughout the village and the surrounding area. A hose house is a miniature chalet-style building which is built over a fire hydrant; axes, shovels, and hoses hang on the inside walls.

The garbology dock is located just outside of the village, down Main Street from Lodges 1 and 6. It is here that paper, plastics, and other recyclables are separated out from the landfill items. In the summer the garbage is sorted by a garbology team six days a week. All volunteers are required to serve on one garbology team per month. Since the population is so much smaller in the winter, garbage is sorted only three days a week.

The Portal Museum is located on the second level of the tailings behind the garage. The museum houses information about
Holden during its mining days. Villagers can also look through all the scrapbooks of former volunteers there. The basketball court and a lot of rusted, broken down equipment are located on the third level of the tailings. Standing on the edge of the third level, overlooking the village, villagers can see approximately five miles up and/or down the Railroad Creek Valley.

Main Street Hose House, located in front of Chalet 5. Chalet 10 can be seen in the background.
Summer and Winter Community

Initially, the programming at Holden was very limited and was restricted to the summer only. The first year in which there was any winter programming at Holden was 1972-73. However, a majority of Holden’s visitors experience the village only during the summer months as eighty percent of the 5,500 annual villagers visit Holden between the months of June and September (Lutz 1987).

In the peak summer months, July and August, the population in the village can reach 500 people a day. Breakfast is always set up as a buffet, and lunch and dinner are served at two settings in order
to feed everyone. At times when the village is filled to over-capacity, staff members have to sleep three to a room, on mattresses in chalet living rooms, or in tents set up in the ballpark. They also have to eat take-out sandwiches from the dining room.

In the winter, the pace of life is much slower than in the summer. There are 70-80 villagers, people who volunteer to spend the winter helping maintain the village in exchange for an opportunity to experience personal growth and renewal. There is a K-12 public school, run by the Lake Chelan School District, with two teachers and anywhere from six to fifteen students. In the month of January, students from St. Olaf College, Gustavus Adolphus College, or Lutheran Bible Institute spend January term at Holden.

This difference between winter and summer community also leads to a sense of stratification among villagers. Several long-term staff members who have spent the previous winter at Holden have mentioned that they start to view the village as “theirs” and at times resent the guests and short-term volunteers who arrive during the summer. Short-term staff feel isolated from the long-term staff members and have a tendency to form their own social groups. Some of this isolation may stem from the fact that the short-term staff are housed in buildings from those of the long-term staff. Also, the long-term staff have spent a winter living together as a
small community and have already developed close, personal ties with people; thus there is not a great need to become acquainted with the short-term staff.

The guests also add another dynamic to this whole equation. The staff are at Holden to serve the guests, in exchange for an opportunity to spend time at Holden at an affordable rate. The village is an extremely transient one, and after a while it is much easier to sit in the dining room during meals at the "staff" end with people one knows already rather than venture down to the other end and mingle with the guests. Invariably, there is one summer staff
meeting dedicated to a talk on the importance of interacting with the guests. Having heard this lecture at least five times, I am not sure if there are any easy remedies to the situation.

A variety of people visit Holden as guests. These include hikers who are passing through the village on their way somewhere else, people who come to Holden every summer, former volunteers who are there with their families, people who have come with their church group, youth group, for a family reunion, or even for a wedding. Some are first-time guests who heard about Holden from a friend who had visited Holden previously, or from an announcement in their church bulletin. Guests stay at Holden anywhere from one night to a week. Holden also has a special sabbatical rate for people, mainly pastors, who are working on research and who want to spend more than a week at Holden. Most people spend their sabbatical at Holden during the winter months when the village is less crowded and the atmosphere is more conducive to quiet study time.

An annual snowfall of 250 inches also has a direct impact on the winter community with snow removal and avalanche warnings almost a daily occurrence. There have been some winters when the snowfall has topped 500 inches, and the village has been unable to meet the boat for a week, since the villagers clear the avalanches
off the road. Once the roads become snow covered, villagers are transported back and forth to the boat on bombardiers, giant ladybug shaped vehicles which run on snow treads. Walking around the village can also be treacherous. If you slip off the snow-packed pathway your leg can “post hole” in a snow bank as high as your hip.

Recreation also differs in the summer and winter months. Even before the snow melts in the spring, people are out hiking and backpacking along the trails. Trails range in difficulty from easy to strenuous. There is even a wheelchair-accessible trail leading out of the village. Sightings of bears, cougars, deer, marmots, birds, and other wildlife are often reported when the hikers return to the village. Depending on the amount of winter snowfall, it is possible to hike in mid- to late June and still run into significant patches of snow.

There are plenty of recreational offerings during the winter months for outdoor enthusiasts. Holden does not follow daylight savings time during the winter months in order to give villagers an opportunity to spend more time after work enjoying the outdoors. After a quick change of clothes, many villagers will strap on cross-country skis or snowshoes on their front porches and head out on the trails. Other options include sledding, snow boarding, inner-tubing down chalet hill, or telemark skiing in areas not prone to avalanches.
While the arts and craft room, loom room, lapidary shop, and pot shop are open all year round, most staff members find that they have more time for creative pursuits during the less hectic winter months. In addition, there are a number of books available for perusal in the library and resource center, as well as taped sessions to listen to from the tape ministry library.

In addition to all the above activities, there is a program coordinator who schedules weekly sessions, forums, discussions, and concerts or dances. Depending on the talent available in the
village, a play might be rehearsed for a future performance. People can also be found hanging out in living rooms or porches in informal discussion groups, or just spending quality time by themselves in their room.

During the summer months, the ratio of guests to volunteer staff members is 60/40. Revenue from registration fees, bookstore, snack bar, pool hall, and Tape Ministry account for only eighty-five percent of the operating costs of Holden. The free labor provided by the large number of volunteers subsidizes the rates charged to guests.

Volunteers come to Holden anywhere from two weeks to three years. Short-term volunteers are provided with free room and board, and free parking at Field's Point. Long-term volunteers are provided with health insurance, and can request a stipend after submitting a form stating their estimated monthly expenses to the business manager and directors. The business manager, operations manager, and directors all receive a salary, plus all the other benefits afforded the volunteers.

The volunteers provide all the services necessary to operate a small town. Since Holden is so isolated, it must take care of its own sewage system, electricity, water supply, garbage supply, transportation and road maintenance, fire protection, building
maintenance, health services, post office, bookstore, pool hall and snack bar management, as well as the four-hundred car parking facility located down-lake at Field's Point. In addition, volunteers also work in laundry, housekeeping, kitchen/dining room, arts and crafts, tape ministry, lawns and gardens, child care, computer assistance, and the print shop.

Volunteers are required to work 36 hours per week, attend the weekly Wednesday night staff meeting, participate on an assigned dish team once a week, a garbology team once a month, and attend
Vespers every night. During the summer months the staff meeting is only an hour long and covers the weekly hellos and goodbyes of incoming and departing volunteers and teaching staff members, as well as announcements necessary for community life. During the winter, community meetings can run as long as three hours as issues are discussed, hashed over, and decisions made by the community members.

Honorary kitchen staff filleting halibut for dinner.

The demographics of the staff and guests of Holden reflect the demographics of the Lutheran church in general, and the white,
middle-class church in specific. Half of the villagers come from Washington state. Three-fourths of the rest come from Minnesota, Oregon, and California. During the summer, there is a higher percentage of villagers from Minnesota and the surrounding Midwestern states. All in all, ninety-five percent of the village population comes from a total of ten states: Washington, Minnesota, Oregon, California, Montana, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin (Lutz 1987).
Chapter Four

The Mission Statement in Relation to Everyday Life

Holden Village is an intentional community, meaning that the people who live there at any given moment strive to live up to the mandates established in the Holden Village Mission Statement, which states that

Holden Village is organized to provide a community for healing, renewal, and refreshment of people through worship, intercession, study, humor, work, recreation, and conversation in a climate of mutual acceptance under the Lordship of Jesus Christ. The purpose of this community is to participate in the renewal for the church and the world by proclaiming the gospel of God's unconditional love in Jesus Christ; rehabilitating and equipping people for ministry in the world; lifting up a vision of God's kingdom of peace, justice, and wholeness; and celebrating the unity and the diversity of the church, all humanity, and all creation. (Lutz 1987:16-7)

A significant number of the people who come to Holden bring with them some kind of hurt, whether it be emotional hurt from a recent divorce, physical pain from a diagnosis of terminal cancer, or the need to just spend some time working on a personal transition issue. Whatever the reason people have for coming to Holden, many people have mentioned that they feel renewed after spending time at
there. This renewal is encouraged by an environment that allows for people to spend time working on their issues, an acceptance by other people that validates the hurt people are going through, and by the supportive, challenging atmosphere developed by people who care for one another. Holden represents a spiritual sense of place for many of the people who visit Holden time and time again.

Due to the fact that Holden Village is a Christian renewal center, concerted efforts are made to proclaim the ministry of God and Jesus Christ daily. At the start of every meal there is a prayer of thanksgiving offered. After breakfast, a three to five minute Matins is given, the purpose of which is to provide villagers with a Bible passage or some other piece of wisdom to contemplate during the day. In the evening, after all the work has been completed for the day, the whole community gathers for Vespers. The twenty- to thirty-minute service is designed to remind the community of the reason for Holden’s existence and to celebrate the grace of Jesus Christ and the power of God. Every Sunday evening the Eucharist service is held to administer the sacraments to the village members, and to allow prayers of intercession to be offered.

Special programming efforts are made to reflect the diversity which exists in the Lutheran church. Some of the special programs Holden has sponsored over the years include the following: Gay,
Lesbian, and Bisexual Week with sessions focusing on how the church can respond to the concerns of this population; Rainbow on the Mountaintop, designed to attract Lutherans of color to Holden; and Deaf and Hard of Hearing Week, a week during which announcements and Vespers are conducted in sign language in a concerted effort to include this population in the programming at Holden, as well as to demonstrate to hearing villagers some of the concerns facing people who are deaf and hard of hearing.

Holden provides an atmosphere conducive to private study time. There are a reading room and library available. In the summer, there are plenty of quiet places to retreat to just a short hike from the village. Holden also has a resource center where people can look up information regarding various social justice causes. The resource librarian is also responsible for bringing the attention of the villagers to some of these causes. Periodically throughout the year, this person will organize letter-writing campaigns on a particular interest or concern. In 1991, during the first Gulf War, villagers sent letters to President Bush protesting his actions in the Gulf.

The kitchen is another work area concerned about social justice issues. The Holden kitchen crew makes as much of its food as possible from scratch. The wheat flour is ground from wheat
berries and then made into the daily bread. The vegetables are chopped by hand with very little help from mechanical kitchen tools. The food services manager attempts to order as much food as possible from local growers, or distributors who do not exploit their laborers. Holden also serves meals from ingredients low on the food chain, so a majority of the diet consists of whole grains, legumes, pasta, beans, rice, fruit, and vegetables. Meat is served for Sunday dinner, and Wednesday and Saturday night buffets. The leftovers are then used in other dishes served during the week.

Holden Village has a reduce, reuse, and recycle mentality, and every effort is made to create as little waste as possible. Food waste is taken up to the second level of the tailings and placed in compost bins. The lawn and garden crew then use the compost in the greenhouse and the flower beds located throughout the village. Paper products are burned in the incinerator, and the recyclables and landfill are placed in old buses located next to the incinerator. Once these buses are full, they are emptied out and the material in them shipped down Lake Chelan by barge and disposed of.

There is a room in the basement of the Hotel called Potty Patrol because all the bathroom cleaning supplies are stored there. This area is also where people put their old clothing and shoes they no longer want. Other villagers make frequent trips to Potty Patrol
to search through the offerings in the hopes of finding something that they can wear or use. Once a year, Potty Patrol is cleaned out and the best items are cleaned up and sent to a shelter in Wenatchee, Washington.

Since Holden is so isolated, the village must rely upon the talents of the villagers and the natural resources available to handle any needs facing the village. Holden has constructed a conversion dam near the third level of the tailings. This conversion dam supplies all the electrical power for the village and is fed by glacier run-off. During the winter months there are restrictions on what and when electrical equipment can be used in the village as a means to minimize the electrical supply usage and avoid a power outage. However, in spite of these precautions, power outages are still a frequent occurrence during the winter, as well as in the early summer months when the village population and electrical power demand grow faster than the electrical power supply.

Any necessary remodeling or construction is done by the villagers themselves. At times it seems as though the only requirement for a job position is the willingness on the part of the person to learn how to do the job. There is an extensive community of Holden volunteers who spend a few weeks at a time throughout the year volunteering their time and special talents when a special
Humor is an important part of the Holden Village Mission Statement and is not to be taken lightly. In fact, it is referred to fondly by villagers as “Holden Hilarity.” Villagers recognize the importance of not taking themselves, or events, too seriously and to try and find the humor in as much as possible. While examples of Holden Hilarity abound in the daily events at Holden, this hilarity is framed in the event within which the hilarity occurs. The participants and observers recognize the fact that there is an appropriate and inappropriate time for Holden Hilarity. People who have tried to use Holden Hilarity during inappropriate times have received verbal and nonverbal messages from others that their behavior is ill-timed and inadvisable.

A lot of the humor is self-referential humor and is difficult to explain to people who have never experienced Holden. People use the daily occurrences at Holden as the basis for Holden Hilarity. A lot of the situations which arise at Holden would not necessarily occur in the “outside world.” Holden Hilarity is often used by villagers as a coping mechanism during these situations. For example, during the summer of 1997, the sewage system was drained, an event which happens every two years. During this time, no one can take a shower.
for 24 hours, and port-a-potties are brought in so people can take care of their basic needs. The evening of the day on which this all started we had a special guest announced at Vespers, Bishop Sanitarious, otherwise known as Harry the Plumber. Harry came into Vespers wearing a red robe and bishop’s hat, carrying a staff. After making his way to the microphone, he was asked if he had any words of wisdom to help the villagers make it through this time of trial and tribulation. Holding his staff aloft, Harry proclaimed, “No Crappe Diem.”

In January, 1991, there was a lice breakout in the village and nearly half of the villagers became infected. Due to the fact that this outbreak occurred in the winter, the nurse had to wait three days before she could get treatment supplies sent up on the boat. During this period there were many lice jokes told during meal times, much to the chagrin of the villagers who were infected. This outbreak was later commemorated in song during one of the Sunday Night Talent Shows. A group of villagers, calling themselves “Strawberry Yogurt,” rapped a song they had written titled “Lice, Lice Baby” -- a parody of the popular rap group “Vanilla Ice” and their song “Ice, Ice Baby.”

While people at Holden take the Mission Statement of Holden seriously, they do not take themselves too seriously. One of the
important aspects of renewal is learning to laugh, to enjoy life again, and to use humor as a coping mechanism during times of adversity. Holden Hilarity helps many people achieve these goals.

In addition to the unplanned humorous occasions which occur at Holden, there are a number of daily, weekly, and calendrical events that the program coordinator helps plan and organize for the villagers. These events reflect the Mission Statement of Holden and serve as another means of integrating the Mission Statement into the lives of the villagers. The following list provides a descriptive overview of these daily, weekly, and calendrical events.

Daily Events

The daily events at Holden provide villagers with various opportunities for casual conversation, recreation, and formal worship. All these daily events, except for hacky sack, occur at specific times and places and are announced by the ringing of the bell, which is also described below. Haky sack is not a scheduled event on the daily calendar posted on the kiosk, but it is usually only played during break times and in the afternoon after the work day is completed.

Coffee Break -- Coffee Break occurs everyday, except Sunday, from 10:00 to 10:30 am. Coffee break is a great time to meet people informally, meet with a group to rehearse for an upcoming event, or
to just take a break from working and grab a bite to eat and something to drink. Coffee break is also one last time for friends to get together before someone goes on the “big out” -- leaves the village. It is also a time to serendipitously run into someone that you met years ago at Holden and to catch up on all the news.

Hacky Sack -- Hacky sack, the game in which people stand around in a circle and hit a small, rice-filled ball to each other, is played on a regular basis on the cement walkway behind the Hotel. The game is usually played by staff members, though some guests have been known to join in on some occasions. The hacky sack circle frequently consists of kitchen workers and dish team members on break. There have been a few hacky sack games which have continued long after the bell for Vespers has rung.

The Bell -- The bell hangs outside by the Ark and is rung five minutes before any event starts, and right before a meal is served. During the summer it seems like the bell is constantly being rung to announce sessions, bus arrivals and departures, meals, meetings, and worship services. The greatly increased bell ringing is different from the winter months when the bell may be rung only five to ten times a day, as opposed to the forty to fifty times per day during the summer. The children in the village like to line up by the bell and ring it when it is time.
Hellos and Goodbyes -- Announcing the daily arrivals and departures is the responsibility of the registrar. During the winter months, these are announced at dinner. In the summer, they are announced right before Vespers. Everyone claps to welcome the new villagers to the village. The Holden Prayer is recited for the villagers departing:

Lord God, you have called your servants to ventures of which we cannot see the ending, by paths as yet untrodden, through perils unknown. Give us faith to go out with good courage, not knowing where we go, but only that your hand is leading us, and your love supporting us, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Bus Departure -- Another important part of saying goodbye is going to the bus to see people off. This time is usually filled with a lot of picture taking, which somehow never seemed to get done during a person’s stay at the village. Some work areas will have a special goodbye ceremony for a staff member who is leaving the village after having worked in that area for a long time. During the summer of 1990, the kitchen crew had such a ceremony. Five minutes before the bus was to leave, everyone in the kitchen would tuck their aprons in, grab a large kitchen utensil, and head down to the bus where they would hold a “dubbing” ceremony. This ceremony consisted of knighting the person who was departing with the giant whisk, and then laying hands on the person to pray for a safe journey.
Since Holden is a community that is constantly in flux, with people arriving and departing every day, after a while it becomes difficult to go down to the bus and say goodbye to yet another friend. There are a number of long-term staff members who choose not to say goodbye to anyone at the bus because it gets to be so hard to be constantly saying goodbye and then turning around and working on starting another friendship with someone who has just arrived. There are times when long-term staff members retreat from the whole process, regroup, and then come back and start interacting with people again.

Matins -- Matins is the morning reflection time. People sign up to present Matins, which is usually a three- to five-minute reading, talk, or observation which the person wants to share with the rest of the village. Matins takes place in the dining hall right after the breakfast announcements are read.

Vespers -- Vespers is the one time every day when everyone in the village gathers as a community to worship and to focus on what it means to be a Christian. During the summer, Vespers is held in the Village Center, the only place in the village large enough to hold everyone. There are also regularly scheduled weekly Vespers during the summer: outdoor vespers; children's vespers, when the children of Narnia lead the service; theme vespers, which is a service put
together by a committee formed during the previous winter community and which focuses on a certain theme determined by the winter community; a healing vespers; and Vespers '86, a longtime favorite of a number of villagers. Vespers '86 was written by Marty Haugen, a 1985-86 winter staff member, who is employed as a sacred songwriter. During the winter, community members sign up for vespers. The only regularly scheduled weekly vespers services are the healing service and Vespers '86.

Weekly Events

In addition to the daily events at Holden, there are some events that occur on a weekly basis. These events allow the community members an opportunity to discuss some of the concerns facing the community, to inform people of upcoming activities, and to reflect on how the Holden community can make an impact on some of the social justice issues facing society as a whole.

Community/staff meeting -- Every Wednesday evening the volunteer staff gathers in the Koinonia Fireside Room for the community/staff meeting. In the summer, these meetings are called staff meetings and are very short and to the point. They last only an hour, and Vespers is scheduled afterwards to insure that the meeting does not run over. The order of business includes announcing all the new staff arrivals. Each person announced then
gets a chance to answer the mandatory four Holden questions: Where are you from? What area are you working in? How long are you here for? What do you do in the outside world? In staff meetings, the staff coordinators also come up with a question of the week which all the new arrivals also need to answer. Questions which have been asked in the past include: “What’s your favorite kind of ice cream?” “Who was your favorite author as a child?” “If you could be a pizza topping, what kind would you be and why?” The idea behind these questions is to find out some interesting, but not necessarily pertinent, piece of information about the new staff member.

After hellos are said, the staff coordinators announce all the staff members who are leaving within the next week. The departers are then offered an opportunity to say anything about their time at Holden if they so desire. The final portion of the staff meeting is announcements. During the summer of 1990, this time always started with everyone singing, “Announcements, announcements, announcements. A terrible death to die, a terrible death to die, a terrible death to be talked to death, a terrible death to die,” sung to the tune of “Spam, spam, spam, spam.” Announcement time is the opportunity staff members have to inform all the other volunteers about important information which they need to know as members of the Holden volunteer community.
Staff meetings in the winter are very different from summer meetings. For one thing, they are called community meetings, they take place after Vespers, and they can sometimes last for three hours. In community meetings, hellos and goodbyes to staff members are also said, and announcements are made; however, a majority of the meeting time is devoted to discussing pertinent community issues.

During the winter of 1990-91, the major community issue was whether or not we should allow sugar to remain on the tables. The main issues involved with this community concern was the treatment of sugar cane farmers, the subsidization of sugar by the government, as well as the concern of living the life of plenty when others in the world did not have as much on their tables. The concerns brought forth at community meetings reflect the particular concerns of the village members living at Holden at a particular time.

Community and staff meetings are great places to work on crafts. Many a sweater has been knit, a weaving completed, or a piece of needlework crafted during a meeting. It makes the meetings go by faster and appear more productive, because even if the issue at hand is not resolved, at least a couple more rows had been added on to something.
Hunger Awareness Meal -- The idea behind the Hunger Awareness Meal is to make villagers aware of the fact that there are people in the world who do not have enough to eat. The money that is saved from serving a simple meal of potatoes or rice is then donated to various different social justice agencies which work towards eradicating hunger. In the summer, the Hunger Awareness Meal is Thursday lunch. In the winter, it is served during Thursday dinner in conjunction with Vespers.

Calendrical Events

The calendrical events at Holden are quite rich in diversity and creativity, and run the gamut from the sacred to the secular. Some of these events are holiday celebrations, and some are Holden specific celebrations. The major characteristic of all these celebrations is the fact that they all utilize the language of fun and play.

Birthdays -- The entire community recognizes birthdays by singing to the celebrant at lunch. The celebrant is also given the opportunity to determine the style he/she wants the community to use when singing the birthday song. Some examples of requests for 1997 include: impersonating Elvis, batting eyelashes, singing under water with fish lips, and in a round. After the song has been sung, a great cacophony of noise fills the dining hall as a majority of the
people present pound on the table, or hit their glasses with an eating utensil. The kitchen staff also gets into the spirit by playing accompaniment on the silver serving counter with rubber spatulas. In addition, friends will usually try and do something special with the celebrant after the work day is finished.

Holidays -- There are a number of holidays that occur throughout the year. The Holden community does its best to recognize and celebrate the major holidays. The following is a descriptive listing of the holidays I observed and the information I remember regarding the observations.

New Years Eve -- On New Years Eve in 1990, I followed my usual tradition and stayed up and read a book. However, a majority of the villagers met at midnight and partook in the traditional Scottish New Years Eve haggis dish prepared by a villager who grew up in Scotland.

Easter -- As Holden Village is a Christian renewal center dedicated to celebrating the life of Christ, Easter is a special time. During Easter week, 1991, we celebrated with a Seder meal, a Good Friday service, as well as an Easter Vigil.

July Fourth -- The Fourth of July is celebrated in a rather unique fashion at Holden. It involves a parade down Main Street, a fire-fighting demonstration by the fire brigade, and indoor
fireworks at night.

Halloween -- Each winter community determines how it wants to celebrate Halloween. In 1990, a committee created and designed a haunted house in one of the empty chalets for the rest of the villagers to walk through the evening of Halloween.

Thanksgiving -- Thanksgiving at Holden is centered around food. Like the other special winter holidays (Christmas, New Years Day, and Easter), Thanksgiving is a two-meal day, with a brunch served at 9:45 a.m., dinner served at 4:15 p.m., and a special dessert served after Vespers. The kitchen staff goes all out to make holiday meals special by serving food which is only on the menu at certain times of the year. The villagers always show their appreciation to the kitchen staff by applauding the kitchen staff after the meal.

Christmas -- Christmas is a joyous time at Holden. Christmas starts with Saint Lucia Day on December 13, when everyone in the village is personally awakened by Saint Lucia, who wishes them a good morning and offers them a cardamom roll. During the winter of 1990, we also celebrated Las Posadas. Las Posadas is a Mexican-American tradition which takes place during the nine nights prior to Christmas Eve and re-enacts the search of Mary and Joseph for a place to stay (Santino 1994:203-4). At Holden, Las Posadas was celebrated for one night the week prior to Christmas. During this
celebration, a group of people dressed up as if they were vendors in a Mexican marketplace trying to sell items to Mary, Joseph, and the rest of the villagers who passed through the market area looking for a place to stay.

Shortly before Christmas, the Koinonia Fireside room is decorated with pine swags and a tree set up and decorated. After the tree has been decorated, people gather around the piano and sing carols. Finding a tree to reach the ceiling of a two-story room is not too difficult considering the fact that Holden is situated in the middle of a forest. However, the tree to be cut down must be marked prior to the first significant snowfall at least six feet off of the ground to account for possible snow accumulation.

Other holidays and commemorative events are formally recognized within the context of Matins or Vespers. In addition to the holidays celebrated at Holden, there are a number of other festivals and events which are also celebrated throughout the year, some of which are unique to Holden.

Winter Carnival -- During the month of January, Holden hosts an interim class from either St. Olaf College, Gustavus Adolphus College, or Lutheran Bible Institute. The winter carnival also coincides with this time. The carnival starts out with a parade down Main Street, which is then followed with proclamations by the
King and Queen to let the fun begin. Teams are formed to play a number of relay races, for example, Pass the Snowball, Snowball Fire Alarm Target Practice, One Legged Skiing, as well as numerous other unique games which can be played outside.

Sun Over Buckskin (S. O. B.) Day — S. O. B. day occurs sometime around the middle of February. It celebrates the fact that the sun can now be viewed over the top of Buckskin Mountain from Main Street, and that spring will be only a few short months away. S. O. B. Day is celebrated with an outdoor lunch on the loading dock. Everyone dresses up in their most Hawaiian looking summer outfit, or their swimming suit, which are usually worn over long johns.

Transition Week -- Transition Week occurs near the beginning of April and is a time for the winter community to affirm for themselves what they learned about themselves that winter, to affirm for others what they appreciate about the other person, to put closure on the winter, and to prepare for the summer which is quickly approaching.

In April, 1991, we had a community fun day down at Lucerne. We rode the bombardiers down to the six-mile marker on the road where we transferred to buses for the rest of the trip to the lake. We spent the whole day down at the boat dock in Lucerne hiking, hanging out, and grilling. Another meaningful activity that week
was the warm fuzzy sheets. These were sheets of paper, one per community member, upon which people wrote things that they appreciated about that person. These were then distributed to everyone during that week's Sunday evening entertainment.

Midsummer Festival -- The midsummer festival occurs on June 21, and is usually marked by an outdoor buffet and a Holden rendition of a portion of William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer's Night Dream*.

Jubilee! Day -- This festival occurs on the fiftieth teaching day of the summer and is based on an Old Testament tradition which states that every fifty years slaves are to be set free, people are to return to their family property, debts are to be forgiven, crops cannot be grown, and the year is to be kept holy. At Holden, Jubilee! Day is celebrated with a land reclamation project and an auction to raise money for a specific cause determined by the Jubilee! Day planning committee.

First Day of School -- The first day of school is a special day at Holden, as it is for a number of people elsewhere. On the first day of school, staff members dress up in their favorite school clothes from the Holden prop room and wait outside their chalet or lodge for the bus to pick them up and take them to Narnia with the school-aged villagers.

Homecoming -- Shortly after the first day of school,
Homecoming is celebrated. The Holden band is formed to lead the parade down Main Street, and a special meal is prepared by the kitchen staff.

F. O. G. Potluck -- In order for people at Holden to receive communion, there needed to be an established congregation at Holden. The Fullness of God congregation (known by its shorthand abbreviation of F. O. G.) was organized in 1972, to meet this need. In the tradition of all good Lutherans everywhere, F. O. G. holds an annual potluck dinner, usually held in the fall in the Creekside Room in Koinonia. All the traditional potluck dishes are served, the favorites being the Tater Tot Hot Dish and the Green Bean Casserole. After the meal, the Ladies Auxiliary gives their annual report. The evening's entertainment is provided by the Sweet Adelines.

Collation -- Collation actually occurs twice a year, in October and April. This time is used by the community to gather for a week around the tables in the Creekside Room for the rather tedious job of collating the fall and spring mailings.

Winter Community Traditions

The winter community has some regularly scheduled events to allow people time to spend with others, with themselves, and to celebrate the gifts that people bring to the village.

Take-out Dinners -- Since all the meals at Holden are eaten
communally in the dining room, take-out dinners were established to enable people to have a regularly scheduled family meal together away from the rest of the community. Single community members also use this meal, scheduled once a week during the winter months, as a chance to eat with friends in a quieter, less hurried atmosphere.

Sundays -- Sunday is the day of rest at Holden, unless you work in the kitchen or another work area that cannot afford to take a day off. Sunday starts off with a Matins service at 9:15 a.m. for those who choose to participate. Brunch is at 9:45 a.m. and the meal includes lots of fresh fruit, a cereal/fruited yogurt bar, as well as a special sweet bread made the day before. While everyone else enjoys their day, the kitchen crew is busy preparing the evening meal, which is served at 4:15 p.m. Sunday dinner is one of the few times when meat is served at a meal. The main course is accompanied by bread, vegetables, potatoes, and a salad. People view the meal as a special one, and many will dress up for the occasion. During the summer, Sunday dinner is served at noon, with a light supper served 5:00 and 6:15 p.m.

The Eucharist is celebrated at 7:00 p.m. on Sundays, after the workday is over, so that everybody may be present. After Eucharist, during the winter, everyone heads back up to the dining hall where dessert is served. There is always entertainment to accompany the
dessert. The village never seems to lack for talent, and people are willing to share their gifts of music or drama with the rest of the village when the need arises. One evening in the winter of 1990, we had a talentless talent night, which was organized by the villagers who did not possess any form of musical or dramatic talent, but who still wanted to perform for their fellow community members.

Solitude/Stop Days -- Solitude and Stop Days are scheduled alternatively every three weeks during the winter. These are days when all work areas take the day off, and people prepare their own meals. Solitude days are set aside for people to spend quietly by themselves and to reflect on what they are learning at Holden and where they are headed after they leave Holden. Stop days are set aside as a day off work and are a chance for people to just enjoy the day.

Giveaways -- Giveaways are scheduled throughout the year by departing long-term staff members, and are an opportunity for that staff member to give items away to other community members which they do not want to take out of the village with them, or throw away. Giveaways are also a time of closure, a way to mark a person's departure from Holden, a time to celebrate the gifts that the departing community member brought to the village, and to say a more personal goodbye than can be said at the community meeting.
At Holden, one never really says goodbye as people take the friendships and community of Holden with them when they leave. A number of people return regularly to Holden and continuously encounter people they have met there on former occasions. When people leave Holden, they call it “The Big Out.” There is a saying at Holden: “There are those who enrich Holden by coming up on the bus and there are those who enrich Holden by going down on the bus.” It is everyone’s hope to be considered a part of the first group.

The Holden Village Mission Statement provides guidelines for the villagers to live by. These guidelines are reflected in the recycling program, the food philosophy, and the programming calendar at Holden. The recycling program and food philosophy at Holden are a result of study group individuals who examined different ways Holden could implement programs that demonstrate Holden’s care for the creation to villagers with the hopes that people take some of the ideas and implement them into their own lives back home. The programming calendar at Holden provides villagers with plenty of opportunities for personal renewal and healing, whether it be through fun activities, discussion panels, or informal conversations during coffee break.
Chapter Five
An Ethnographic Study of Three Festivals

In the following analysis of three festivals at Holden Village, I will be using a three-point conceptual framework established by Beverly Stoeltje. In the course of examining the data I collected on the July Fourth, Jubilee! Day, and Sun Over Buckskin Day festivals, I found Stoeltje's three-point approach to be the most applicable. When analyzing festivals, Stoeltje examines the generic features, the festival structure, and the symbolic actions of the festival itself to help determine the meaning of the festival for the festival participants (Stoeltje 1983:239-43).

The generic features of a festival are the socio-aesthetic forms used as communication devices. These include the smells, noise, food, costumes, action, and rhythm of the festival. Generic features also refer to the dialectical process of tradition and change within the festival itself over time. Festival structure refers to the various organizational elements of a festival that can be broken down and studied further. The symbolic action of a festival comprise the activities wherein structures are manipulated through ritual and ceremony and themes are enacted through drama, dance,
contests, and feasts. This symbolic action occurs during a liminal period, a time when the normal behavioral environment is set in a time and space different from everyday life (Stoeltje 1983:239-43).

Since rituals and festivals are embedded in social processes, help people process information, and are themselves in a state of process (Grimes 1982b:274), I will include information on the history of each festival, how they have changed over the years, in addition to my detailed description of each festival.

Roger Abrahams notes that festivals use fun and the language of play to achieve their purpose of transformation; however, this transformation is only temporary and is over when the festival concludes. Since festivals use fun and play as their main techniques in the transformation process, festivals are usually associated with activities that take place within playful and secular domains, whereas rituals are mainly associated with activities which occur in sacralized spaces (Abrahams 1967:179).

The annual F. O. G. potluck can be viewed as a festival that parodies traditional Lutheran potluck dinners. The abbreviation for the Fullness of God congregation, F. O. G., refers to the sentiment expressed by some people regarding sermons - they make them feel as if they are entering a fog. This parody is further extended to the food served at the potluck, as well as to the announcements made by
the Ladies Auxiliary. The F. O. G. potluck occurs in a time and space separate from Vespers and uses the language of fun and play throughout the event. Vespers is an example of a ritual event as it occurs during a sacred time and space and does not involve the language of play and fun. Villagers regard Vespers as a sacred time and do not parody it in skits during other festival occasions.

Frank Manning considers festivals to be texts, communicative events which use the inherent tension between play and ritual to achieve power. Play allows for the social order to be inverted, while ritual regulates and confirms the social order. According to Manning, there are four central features to festivals: performance; entertainment; public display; and involvement of spectators and participants (Manning 1983a:4).

Winter carnival at Holden is an example of a festival. A time is set aside during the work day for the carnival. Spectators and participants are involved to varying degrees in the parade and games. All the events occur in the public arena. Entertainment is provided through the games themselves, as well as in the proclamations which are read at the start of the festival. In addition, there are costumes, noise, food, drama, and contests, all of which can then be examined in further detail to determine what each is communicating about the meaning of the festival to the festival participants.
According to Sally Moore and Barbara Myerhoff, there are six formal properties of festivals that can help enhance the message of the festival. These properties are repetition; acting; special behavior involving actions or symbols; ordered with a beginning and an end; ceremonial manipulation of symbols; and the social meaning of the festival itself (Moore and Myerhoff 1977:7-8).

I will now turn my attention to describing the three Holden Village festivals in which I played the role of participant observer. Since festivals occur within a structured framework, I will describe each festival by its sequential order of events, paying particular attention to the festivals' generic features, festival structure, and the elements of play, social inversion, social process. After each festival description, I will provide an analysis of how that particular festival adheres to the festival requirements described earlier. I will then conclude the chapter with a discussion of how each of these festivals, though quite different from each other, contributes to the overall fulfillment of the Holden Village Mission Statement goals.

July Fourth

I have been at Holden for three celebrations of the Fourth of July, and while there are a number of similarities between each of those celebrations, there have been some changes that have also
occurred over the years. The years I celebrated the Fourth of July at Holden were 1990, 1995, and 1997, although the summer of 1997 was the only date on which I did not have to work the Fourth of July festival and was able to attend a majority of the events. In the following description, I will discuss those activities that were scheduled in 1997 and will note any differences from previous July Fourth celebrations.

7:30 -- History hike. In 1997 a hike was scheduled for early morning risers. In the past, this time has also had an early morning meditation walk, a Bible study, a Fun Run, and a Flag Ceremony. The hike leader walked people around the village and mine area and discussed the history of Holden in its mining days, and how Holden came to be a Lutheran renewal center.

8:30 -- Bible Study. There is a always a Bible study, or a text study scheduled for every morning at Holden, except Sundays. On regular days in the summer, there are two Bible studies scheduled, one for the staff at 7:45 a.m. and one for everybody at 9:00 a.m.

9:45 -- Brunch buffet. A cereal bar was set up in the dining hall at 7:00 for early risers, but the main brunch buffet was not until 9:45. The buffet was set up outside behind the Hotel. Staff members, and other hungry people who had no desire to spend a great deal of time waiting in line, started sitting on the rock wall near
the buffet tables twenty minutes before the bell was scheduled to ring to announce that brunch was now served.

Villagers lining up beside Lodge 1 for the July Fourth brunch.

The menu for the brunch in 1997 was Texas-style French toast, fresh fruit, cereal, fruited yogurt, juice, and coffee. The weather had finally warmed up enough that people were able to sit outside, though they had to be careful that the village chipmunks and ground squirrels did not help themselves to a portion of their breakfast.

10:30 -- Opening Proclamations. The alpine horn was blown to gather the villagers to the Ark to listen to the opening
proclamations which were read by Lady Liberty and Miss Minnesota 1997. Lady Liberty was adorned in an ill-fitting piece of red lingerie worn over a navy blue turtleneck, and sported a green foam Statue of Liberty crown on her head. Miss Minnesota was wearing a black minister’s robe, over which was draped a banner proclaiming him Miss Minnesota 1997. Lady Liberty performed a rendition of “Give Us Your Tired, Your Poor,” only she made it pertinent to Holden by incorporating a number of Holden references, such as give us your Lutherans from so far away, and give us your lentil loaf which gives us gas.

The Alpine Horn is blown to start the July Fourth festivities.
Since Holden has so many visitors from Minnesota during the summer months, it is very rare that a day will go by without some reference being made to Minnesota; hence, having a male Miss Minnesota on July Fourth is in keeping with the tradition of Holden Hilarity. Miss Minnesota adapted Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address for his proclamation, and following the style of Lady Liberty, made numerous references to the food served at Holden and what that food does to one's digestive system.

Lady Liberty delivering her speech on the Ark.

Both the proclamations read by Lady Liberty and Miss Minnesota were done in grand style, with broad sweeping arm
Miss Minnesota delivering her speech on the Ark.

Prompter instructing the audience to applaud Miss Minnesota's speech.
gestures, high drama in the tone of voice, and superfluous, flowery, ornate words one normally hears in a proclamation. Miss Minnesota was also accompanied by a prompter, who stood behind her holding up signs to direct the audience to applaud, boo, hiss, or cheer.

Villagers sitting on the deck around the Ark listening to the Proclamations.

11:00 -- Fun Run. The Fun Run is a long-standing tradition at Holden on the Fourth of July, though the time of the run varies from year to year. There is usually a "kids division" and an "adults division." Some years they both depart at the same time; other years the departure time is separated by fifteen minutes. All of the
Fun Run participants line up at the loading dock and tell the timer their estimate of the time they think it will take them to complete the run. The person who is closest to his/her guess wins the race. The race is a two-mile race and the runners run from the loading dock to the ten-mile bridge and back again. The winner is always announced at Vespers that evening.

During the Fun Run in 1997, there was also an American Music Appreciation discussion scheduled in the Fireside Room. This was the third lecture, in a series of music lectures on the same topic, held that week. In addition, work areas used this time period to put the last-minute touches on their parade floats.

11:30 -- Face painting on the green. While this event was a scheduled one, I did not see anybody painting faces on the village green as I was walking around snapping pictures of the village. However, shortly before the parade started there were a number of children running around with painted clown faces, so this activity may have taken place somewhere else and I just did not hear of the change.

12:30 -- Parade. Traditionally, the parade starts sometime between 12:30 and 1:00 to coincide with the bus arrival. That was not the case in 1997 because both the Lady of the Lake and the Lady Express were experiencing engine trouble the weekend of July Fourth
and were running an hour or more behind schedule. After delaying the parade for as long as possible, it finally started about an hour later than planned.

The parade route is Main Street and anybody who wants to be in the parade is welcome. This year the parade participants lined up on the road past the garbo dock, paraded down Main Street, and finished up at the volleyball court outside of Narnia. Unlike other years in the past, the parade did not make two trips down Main Street. Everybody who is not in the parade finds a place to sit to watch the parade pass by. Chairs are brought out onto the loading dock for honored dignitaries and judges to sit and view the parade in comfort.

Before the parade officially begins, the Secret Service Security Unit finds their places along the parade route. The SSSU is made up of Miners (the high-school-aged villagers) wearing black shirts with the words security printed on them, blue jeans, and ear phones. They parade down Main Street in formation, turn and face the loading dock, greet the judges with the Wesley Prieb “Ah Yes” arm wave, turn and go to their places to insure that the parade route is secure. The “Ah Yes” hand wave starts with your right hand placed on your right knee, or thigh. Upon hearing a joke, you slowly bend your right elbow, raise your hand to your right shoulder, bend backwards at a fifteen degree angle, and say “Ah yes.” This gesture
is known as the Wesley Prieb arm wave because of the fact that he
performs this gesture after every joke he tells. People who have
listened to Prieb tell his bad Norwegian jokes for any length of time
start to use this gesture to indicate to someone that a joke they
just told is a bad joke and does not deserve laughter as a response.

The parade is lead by Wesley Prieb, the Grand Marshall. Not
only is the Fourth of July a celebration of the nation's independence;
it is also a celebration of Prieb, who is now in his seventies, the
person responsible for getting Holden donated to the Lutheran church
in the first place. In recognition of this fact, Prieb always leads the
parade garbed in a long, purple robe. Unfortunately, in 1997, Prieb
fell right in front of the loading dock, but was quickly helped to his
feet when it was determined that he had not been hurt. Prieb is
accompanied by a few bodyguards, members of the SSSU, to insure
his safety.

Next in line is the Holden marching band. The Holden marching
band is rather unique in that it never consists of the same people
twice, it needs only a half hour to rehearse, and absolutely no talent
is required to be a member. In fact, the less musical talent people
have, the better band members they are. There is a collection of
instruments that have been in the village for years - some of them
even work, but for the most part, people create their own musical
instrument to play. During the summer of 1997, Holden was building a new garage to replace the temporary garage that had been erected back in the 1970's. As their demonstration for the judges, the band enacted the building of the garage. They even had pieces of sheet metal with which to complete the roof.

After the marching band come all the walking float entries. The parade always ends with the mavericks and loggers driving the big mechanical vehicles down Main Street. The highlight of the 1997 parade was the new cement truck, which had only recently arrived on the barge and was needed to lay the new floor of the garage. The work crews get quite creative when designing their floats. They raid the Holden prop room, Potty Patrol, craft room, and laundry room for items to use. All the floats are designed to reflect some part of the work involved in the work area which created the float.

The summer of 1997, the parade had the following float entries: the craft room women dressed in yarn and fabric; a bear chasing Hike Haus workers; the laundry queen being pulled in a cart by the housekeepers who sang a song about cleaning toilets; the lawn and garden crew driving their little cart and watering the road with watering cans; the “waitri” (politically correct term to indicate table server) staff setting and clearing a table in cadence; the kitchen crew Lentil Loaf Precision Drill Team; the fire fighting
brigade; the mavericks tossing wood in formation; the plumber dressed as a rather elegant woman and sitting on a toilet; the computer programmer dressed as a mad scientist and throwing sugar-free candy at the crowd; the bookstore workers wearing clothes available for sale in the bookstore -- with the prices included; a group of clowns; and a family reunion group wearing matching t-shirts stating that they could be reached at http://www.holden.village.com. Of the three Fourth of July parades I have seen, or been a part of at Holden, this one was by far the best, and there were a number of comments made to that effect by numerous people who spend a majority of their July Fourth holidays at Holden.

After the parade is finished, the fire chief sets up everything for the fire fighting demonstration event, held in the area between Koinonia and the Village Center. The fire chief attaches a rope to the second story porch railing of both buildings. Hanging in the middle of this rope are two buckets joined to each other at the bottom. There are two fire fighting teams, made up of three trained fire-fighters each. The goal for each team is to aim the fire hose at the buckets and move the buckets to the opposite porch railing. Given the fact that this demonstration does not occur over level ground, the teams switch sides after each win to help even out the
chances. The team who wins two out of three times is then declared the winner, though in 1997 the fire-fighters decided that it should be the best three out of five chances.

Most of the village children can be found hanging on the porches so that they can get wet by the spray. For safety reasons, the demonstration must be halted a number of times to remind the children that they need to move back from the railings. While I have never seen the demonstration stopped because of this behavior, every year the fire chief and one of the directors threaten to stop the demonstration if the children do not move back from the railings. The underlying objective of this whole demonstration is to help alleviate any unspoken fears of fire which the villagers may have by showing them that there are fire-fighters who have received some training and have some knowledge of how to handle a fire hose.

2:00 -- Crafts and snack bar on the village green. Since the parade started late, the crafts and snack bar were set up on the village green while the fire demonstration was going on. The crafts vary every year according to the talents and interests of the craft room volunteers. One event that always occurs, though, is the making of paper boats for the boat regatta scheduled for later in the afternoon.

People line up around the Ark for their ice cream cones, the
flavor choices for the day being chocolate, vanilla, and strawberry. Most people go for the flavor that has melted the least since the ice cream is outside rather than in a freezer. People now have to pay for their cones, though at one time they were free on the Fourth of July.

The staff person in charge of the resource room usually sets up a table in the village green so people can write their congress representative about social justice concerns. Other events that have also occurred during this time period have been volleyball games, high altitude basketball games on the basketball court located on third level, as well as relays and games geared for all ages.

3:30 -- Boat Regatta. The boat regatta takes place at the river sauna pool. The paper boats, which people made during the craft time on the village green out of recycled newspapers, are released near the hydro building. The miniature boats ride the mini-rapids of the stream to the river sauna pool. They calmly float across the pool to the far side where they exit and float their way down to Railroad Creek.

4:15 -- Dinner Buffet. The dinner buffet is an outdoor buffet, and once again, the hunger factor kicks in to determine just how soon the line starts to form. The menu for July Fourth includes hamburgers, hot dogs, veggie burgers, coleslaw, condiments, corn on
the cob, and watermelon. It took twelve people forty-five minutes to shuck five hundred ears of corn. After dinner, there is a watermelon seed spitting contest held on the road behind the Hotel and Lodge 1.

5:30 -- Drama on the Ark. In 1997, the play *Ulysses* (written by a villager) was performed -- or actually, the cast was in costume and read their parts. The director had been working with the cast in rehearsals held throughout the week prior. During other years, there have been discussion forums, volleyball games, and talent shows
scheduled for this time.

7:00 -- Vespers. In 1997, the July Fourth homily was a rather depressing one. The person who gave it talked about mine fields in third-world countries.

7:30 -- Fireworks and Variety Show. The fireworks are at the beginning of the variety show. Since Holden is located in a national forest, fire danger is always a concern. Over the years, Holden has developed a rather unique way of having a fireworks demonstration. They have also gotten more elaborate over the years I have viewed them. Everyone is reminded throughout the day that they need to bring a flashlight to Vespers that evening. Throughout the day there are many conversations about the fireworks. Veterans of the fireworks tell first-timers that they are in for a real treat.

For the fireworks, everyone stays inside the Village Center, the lights are turned out, and the flashlights are shown upwards and flashed across the ceiling, which has been painted with a rather colorful mural depicted the four seasons at Holden. In 1990, three staff members provided the appropriate firecracker noises over the sound system. By 1995, the tape ministry department had put together a slide show of pictures of fireworks, and the 1812 Overture was played over the sound system. In 1997, a guest brought up a box full of bubble wrap which was passed around to a
majority of the people present, who then popped away to their hearts’ content. In all three years, the audience provided all the proper oohs and aahs normally heard at any fireworks display.

After all of this excitement, it is time for the annual talent show, which is always started by Wesley Prieb. Prieb has a list of bad Norwegian jokes he has compiled over the years. He and one of the directors start out the talent show by reading these jokes out loud to each other. Having seen this three times now, I can assure you that these jokes have not changed over the years, but the audience laughs at all the appropriate places. Prieb then does his enactment of the “Dead and Dying Soldier,” a traditional camp skit. For this skit, Prieb plays the parts of both the dead and dying soldier and Florence Nightingale.

In this skit, Florence Nightingale is trying to convince the dead and dying soldier to tell her his name so that she may write his mother that her son is dying. Every time Florence Nightingale asks the soldier to tell her his name, he replies with an adamant “No.” After going back and forth with this request and response for a couple of times, Florence Nightingale asks the dead and dying soldier why he won’t tell her his name so that she may tell his mother, and he replies, “Because she already knows it.”

For this skit, Prieb has put together an extensive prop box that
includes costumes for both of his characters, as well as a bed pan. Invariably, Prieb falls off of the bench during one of his costume changes, but this never seems to phase him - he just keeps going right on with the joke. When Prieb has finished with his joke, there is plenty of laughter from the audience, as well as a collective sigh of relief that we all made it through the skit one more time unscathed. The rest of the talent show consists of people, some with talent and some without, performing various acts.

The July Fourth festival follows a long established structured framework. While there have been a few changes in the day’s activities over the years, the basic festival framework has remained essentially constant. The July Fourth festival follows the formal properties of festivals noted earlier by Moore and Myerhoff. It has a defined beginning and ending. The element of acting is illustrated in the opening proclamations, the parade, the play Ulysses, and the talent show.

The social meaning of the festival demonstrates Abrahams usage of fun and play. The overall goal of the July Fourth festival is to celebrate America’s Independence Day. A latent function of the July Fourth festival is that it serves as a vehicle through which villagers can celebrate themselves and the uniqueness of the situations that arise at Holden, done through the processes of
inversion and parody. The opening proclamations set the tone for the rest of the day. Lady Liberty parodies the Statue of Liberty through wearing ill-fitting clothes, a foam Statue of Liberty crown on her head, and reciting a rewritten version of the “Give Us Your Tired, Your Poor” manifesto making reference to specific Holden themes.

Miss Minnesota is a parody on a number of different levels. Since she is really a he, Miss Minnesota parodies beauty pageants, which are usually reserved for women only. Instead of wearing a skimpy evening dress, Miss Minnesota wears a minister’s robe, which refers to the large number of ministers who visit Holden. By having Miss Minnesota recite a proclamation parodying Abraham Lincoln’s “Gettysburg Address” instead of a representative from another state, the festival planners are making reference to the high percentage of Minnesotans who visit Holden during the summer.

While Wes Prieb is celebrated as the instrumental person in acquiring Holden for the Lutheran churches, the July Fourth festival is a day set aside for sanctioned inversion of traditional values and roles. The Fourth of July provides a time and space when people at Holden can publicly make fun of Prieb, his extremely bad jokes, and his mannerisms without being viewed as having committed some social faux pas. Prieb also expects this good-natured ribbing to happen, and provides opportunities, such as the parade and talent
show, when it can occur.

The parade can be viewed as a parody of other July Fourth parades which have elaborately designed floats. All the materials for the Holden parade floats come from whatever is available at Holden. People raid the prop room for costumes, put together costumes from sheets and yard blankets available from the laundry, make banners and signs with crayons and markers from Narnia, design creative costumes and float ensembles from cardboard boxes and paint, and use supplies from the arts and crafts room to enhance their costumes. All of this creative costuming can be seen as another example of how people at Holden reduce, reuse, and recycle material and other items.

July Fourth at Holden Village utilizes Manning’s four festival features of performance, entertainment, public display, and participation, to achieve Abrahams requirement of temporary transformation through the use of fun and play. The next festival I will describe, Jubilee! Day, uses these same four festival features to achieve a completely different goal.

Jubilee! Day

Jubilee! Day was started in 1996, as a replacement for Christmas in July. In past years Holden celebrated Christmas in July because so few people were able to spend Christmas at Holden.
However, with the increase in winter programming, that is no longer the case.

Jubilee! Day is based upon the law of the Year of Jubilee as described in Leviticus 25:8-55. The Laws of Leviticus are the religious, moral, and civil laws God revealed to Moses upon Mount Sinai. According to the Old Testament, the Year of Jubilee occurs every fifty years. During this year, everyone is to return to their family property, slaves are to be set free, crops cannot be grown, debts are to be forgiven, and the year is to be kept holy, the Sabbath of Sabbaths. People are also not to take advantage of each other in property dealings. If a neighbor is poor and unable to support himself, people are to help him by not charging him interest on money they lend him or selling him food for a profit. They also cannot own him as a slave, but must treat him as a hired worker.

At Holden, Jubilee! Day is celebrated on the fiftieth day of the summer programming schedule, which in 1997 fell on July 23. Jubilee! Day is an essential workday for staff members; however, guests are encouraged to volunteer in certain work areas to symbolically release a worker to allow them to enjoy the Jubilee experience.

The following is a description of the day’s activities.

7:00 -- Cereal Bar, especially for children. Jubilee! Day is only
a two-meal day, so in order to stave off hunger, and cranky children, a cereal bar is set up in the morning.

8:00 -- Eucharist. Eucharist was celebrated in the middle of the week in recognition of the Biblical importance of Jubilee! Day, as well as a means of starting off Jubilee! Day with an opportunity for staff and guests to ponder how they can incorporate the ideas of Jubilee! Day into their everyday lives.

9:00 -- Bible Study. Bible study is held every morning but Sunday at Holden, and Jubilee! Day was no exception to this rule.

9:30 - 1 -- Costume shop open for people to find Jubilee! outfits to wear. The costume shop is located in the Village Center and has clothes available for people of all sizes to create their own unique outfit to wear to an event. People dress up in clown suits, mismatched pant suits, and old prom dresses. Some will also put on an extravagant hat to complete their ensemble. Others wear scarves, gypsy harem pants, or long-flowing skirts. The costume shop is opened periodically throughout the year to allow people to dress up for festivals and other special occasions.

9:45 -- Outdoor Brunch. Brunch was set up in the same way as the Fourth of July with an exception -- instead of having Texas-Style French Toast, we had cinnamon rolls.

10:30 -- Sounding of the Jubilee! Horn. Jubilee! Proclamation.
The alpine horn was blown to start off Jubilee! Day; a Proclamation was then read that explained Jubilee! Day and symbolically released all of the volunteers from work for the day.

10:45 - 1 -- Villagers’ Land Restoration Project. Letters of Forgiveness and Release. The Letters of Forgiveness and Release table was set up on the patio area around the Ark and was organized by the Resource Center staff member. The idea behind the Letters of Forgiveness and Release is to provide people an opportunity to write someone a letter forgiving them of some wrong they have committed in the past and releasing them from further suffering for this wrong.

In 1997, volunteers restored the land around Chalet 2, which burned to the ground in 1968. Although crews cleared the land of the charred debris of Chalet 2, the site was not restored at all. In 1997, the Jubilee! committee decided to restore the land and to create a garden within the walls of the old foundation for meditation or conversation. When completed, the garden will include “flowers and grass on a terraced hillside, wooden benches, shady resting spots, a stone-lined walkway, and (possibly) a fountain.” (Jubilee Work Project kiosk flyer) In 1996, the land restoration project was to rebuild the rock wall in front of Lodge 4, which had been removed when the underground diesel tank in front of Lodge 4 was removed in 1995.
10:45 - 12:45 -- Crafts on the lawn. The crafts for Jubilee! Day were organized by the staff from the arts and crafts room and the intergenerational coordinator. One of the activities was the making of button bracelets.

1:00 - 2:00 -- Snack Bar behind the Hotel. As was the case on the Fourth of July, single scoop cones were the only option available on Jubilee!, and the only flavors to choose from were chocolate, vanilla, and strawberry, or the one that was the least melted.

1:00 -- Auction with entertainment breaks, located at the Ark. The two main events which happen on Jubilee! Day are the Land Reclamation Project and the Auction. Staff and guests donate items for the auction. The money raised from the auction goes to help people in need. In 1996, the auction raised $2,250, which was used to buy several hectares of land for four families in Nicaragua. In 1997, the auction raised $4,000, which was given to a village in Kenya.

In 1997, there were several high money items auctioned off. These included a $10 bottle of Corona beer, a $5 can of coke, a $400 professional oil portrait done at a Holden setting, a week for two on a sailboat in the Mexican Mediterranean, a gourmet seven-course Chinese dinner for eight, and several people sold nights in their homes as part of a bed and breakfast plan. Other items included
moonlight serenades, craft projects, haircuts, massages, morning coffee delivery service, and a reserved spot in the Snack Bar line after Vespers.

Throughout the auction, some quite interesting bidding wars took place. The oil portrait setting reached $250 before all but one person dropped out. The auctioneer said "Going once, going twice," when all of a sudden the woman who had bid $250 raised her bid to $300. She raised her own bid two more times then closed it out at $400. The bidding for the week cruise on the Mexican Mediterranean went back and forth between three people until it finally sold for $800.

Throughout the auction, there were entertainment acts also scheduled. The people who were auctioning off their musical talent used this opportunity to promote their musical ability and to encourage people to donate more money for their talent to the auction. Wes Prieb also told really bad jokes until he had raised $100 to stop telling jokes.

4:15 — Outdoor Buffet Feast. The menu for Jubilee! Day consisted of grilled salmon and halibut, salad, fresh fruit, vegetables, and dessert.

6:00 — Friends of God: Jubilee Saints. This discussion was held in the Koinonia Fireside room and was a round table discussion
on people who could be regarded as Jubilee Saints due to their actions in their personal and professional lives.

7:00 -- Staff meeting. This meeting was only half an hour long and consisted of hellos and goodbyes. I do not recall anyone complaining about the shortened time period for the meeting.

7:30 -- Vespers. The topic for Vespers centered around Jubilee! as a way to put closure on the day we had just celebrated.

The goals of Jubilee! Day are to provide a symbolic work release day for Holden volunteers, work on a land reclamation project to show that people at Holden are good stewards of God’s creation, and to raise money for a community in another country in order that they might be better equipped to meet their basic living needs. Jubilee! Day reflects the serious values of the Holden Village Mission Statement, and while entertainment is used throughout the auction, it is used as an enjoyable means to a serious ends -- the raising of money to extend Holden’s ministry into the world beyond the boundaries of Holden Village. In contrast to July Fourth, the entertainment during the Jubilee! Day auction is not achieved through parodying the overarching central values of peace, justice, and wholeness which the ministry of Holden strives to achieve daily.

While Jubilee! Day meets the festival requirements established
by Abrahams, Manning, and Moore and Myerhoff, it utilizes a festival structure of fun and entertainment to frame the event, as well as to communicate the serious underlying values of the festival to the festival participants. The first two festivals I have described here, July Fourth and Jubilee! Day, occur during the summer and are two contrasting ways of demonstrating the importance of integrating the values stated in the Holden Village Mission Statement into the daily life of the larger Holden community. The third festival I will analyze here occurs during the winter and can be viewed as a rite of spring and a celebration of renewal and rebirth.

Sun Over Buckskin Day

Sun Over Buckskin Day (S. O. B. Day) -- Sun Over Buckskin Day occurs sometime around the middle of February, and has been described as Holden’s answer to Groundhog’s Day. Sun Over Buckskin Day celebrates the fact that the sun can now be viewed over the top of Buckskin Mountain from Main Street. Because Holden is situated deep within the bowl between two steep mountains, the sun is blocked by the mountain peaks during the winter months. To take advantage of the limited sunlight hours, the village does not set clocks back an hour in the fall but instead stays on Holden Savings Time. This schedule is kept in order to give staff members time to enjoy the outdoors after a long day at work.
On Sun Over Buckskin Day, villagers dress up in summer clothes, usually with long johns on underneath, set up a picnic lunch outside on the loading dock, and take a few hours off from work to give thanks that spring is soon around the corner.

In the winter of 1991, a new twist was added to Sun Over Buckskin Day: the mock wedding of Billy Ray Bob and Wendy. Bill, from Georgia, and given the nickname of Billy Ray Bob, had proposed to Wendy one night after tasting a cheesecake she had made. The villagers spared no part of the wedding ceremony. The night before the grand event there was a wedding shower for the bride and a stag party for the groom. The stag party was crashed by the shower party when a group of women decided to decorate a box as a cake, put someone in it to pop out, sing “I Want To Be Loved By You” to Bill, and plant a kiss on his cheek.

The next day the bridal party decorated two sleds for the couple to ride away in. After everyone took pictures of the wedding party, complete with the father shouldering a shotgun, the ceremony began with a very bad rendition of Ava Maria, sung by myself. Because Bill worked as the village plumber, he presented Wendy with a piece of piping for a wedding ring. After the village pastor announced that Bill could kiss his awfully wedded wife, the happy couple went into the dining hall where they cut the cake.
Sun Over Buckskin Day can be analyzed on a deeper level as a festival which reflects the renewal of life expressed through the coming of spring and relates to cosmic cycles. Wedding ceremonies and rites of spring are both celebrations of hope, renewal, and rebirth. The symbols used in the Sun Over Buckskin Day festival - wedding cake, summer clothes - reflect this theme of renewal. While on the one hand Sun Over Buckskin Day can be viewed as a reflection of spring and rebirth, it also parodies this theme.

The wedding ceremony is a mock ceremony. People were assigned roles to play: the angry father with a shotgun, the happy grandparents, the wedding party, and the wedding guests. During the wedding ceremony there was a poorly sung rendition of "Ava Maria," a beautiful song when performed correctly. After the exchange of rings, the minister informed the groom that he could now kiss his awfully wedded wife. Even the name of the festival, Sun Over Buckskin Day, is a parody of the acronym S.O.B., which usually is used to circumvent politely the vernacular phrase "son of a bitch," something quite different and less innocent than Sun Over Buckskin.

While all three of these festivals focus on certain parts of the Mission Statement, viewed as a combined unit they meet a majority of the goals of the Holden Village Mission Statement. The July Fourth and Jubilee! Day festivals are much more structured than the
Sun Over Buckskin festival. Part of the reason for this structure is the fact that there are more activities on July Fourth and Jubilee! Day which need to be planned and there are more people who participate in these activities. The Sun Over Buckskin festival involves a small group of people who have spent the previous five months working on establishing a sense of community among themselves and who determine for themselves how they want to celebrate the day.

July Fourth and Jubilee! Day are planned by a committee which puts together a schedule of activities for the day and solicits involvement from the villagers with the help of numerous announcements the two weeks prior to the festival day. The scheduled events differ very little from the previous year’s events, and people have come to expect certain events to occur from year to year. While people make fun of Prieb’s “Dead and Dying Soldier” skit, they also realize that the Talent Show would not be complete without it. Sun Over Buckskin is a much more fluid festival than the other two. The only event which is regularly scheduled is a lunch-time meal outside on the loading dock with people dressed up in their summer clothes. Anything else occurring during this day is strictly up to the winter community members.

The Fourth of July and Sun Over Buckskin festivals are full of
images of humor, play, recreation, and inversion and fulfill the less serious sections of the Mission Statement. However, this is not to say that humor and fun are taken lightly at Holden. In fact, villagers are quite serious about the importance of humor and play and the role that both of these have in promoting renewal and healing among villagers. The July Fourth activities are designed to enable all the villagers to participate, but it is really a day of festivities when the volunteer staff entertains the guests. Sun Over Buckskin is solely a winter community celebration. It is a day for the winter community to celebrate the mid-point of the winter, to acknowledge how far they have come as a winter community, and to celebrate the fact that spring is only a few short months away.

The main function of Jubilee! Day is to remind the villagers that Holden is part of a larger world and that there are responsibilities which villagers need to meet as members of a global society. Through a Lands Reclamation Project and an auction designed to raise money to send outside of the village, Jubilee! Day meets the Mission Statement goals of celebrating the unity and diversity of humanity, the church, and all creation, as well as lifting up a vision of a world of peace, wholeness, and justice.

All three of these festivals, July Fourth, Jubilee! Day, and Sun Over Buckskin help remind us that life is less rational than often
thought and that as people we continue to cherish community, tradition, and identity. In addition, festivals ultimately show us “that we delight in fun and laughter, relish mischief and mystery, and are inspired by paradox and ambiguity... [and] that we seek recurrently to appreciate the wonder and beauty of the human experience, and to reward ourselves for bearing with it.” (Manning 1983b:ix)

Ultimately, according to Alessandro Falassi, festivals are about celebrating community. The symbolic meaning and social function of festivals reveal a community's world view and ideology, its history, social identity, and physical survival (Falassi 1967:2). My purpose in this thesis has been to show how one community, Holden Village, celebrates itself, reveals its values and world views through its festivals and incorporates the goals of its Mission Statement into the context of everyday life at Holden.

The Holden community, however, is a human community and should not be idealized as a perfect community. Like all communities, the villagers at Holden experience times of stress, times when the community is challenged by various issues and concerns, and it is difficult to meet the goals of the Mission Statement. The concluding chapter of this thesis will provide a brief overview of how villagers have responded during these times.
Chapter Six
Responses to Community Stress

Holden Village is a small, isolated Lutheran renewal center, and as such, it has a Mission Statement to live by. In this thesis, I have attempted to show that the villagers are successful in meeting the goals of the Mission Statement through planned daily, weekly, and calendrical events and festivals, the recycling and food preparation philosophies, volunteerism, and occasions which promote Holden Hilarity. Given the analysis in the previous chapters of the various ways in which villagers strive to meet the goals of the Holden Village Mission Statement, no discussion of Holden would be complete without a brief exploration of issues and concerns which have occurred at Holden during times of community stress.

Festivals have been described as occasions which take place during a “time out of time.” (Falassi 1967) Holden Village could be described as a “place out of time” because of its isolated location, remote access, and lack of communication devices deemed necessary for survival in the outside world. People come to Holden to “get away from it all” by escaping the demands of everyday life in the “real world.” However, Holden is not a utopian community, and there
have been occasions when the community has had to face challenging situations and make some decisions regarding some fairly serious issues.

While Holden Village promotes itself as a Christian renewal center, and the people who come to Holden leave with some sense of personal and spiritual renewal, there are some people who come to Holden with bigger problems than Holden can manage. Since Holden is such an isolated community, community members need to be able to confront people when their behavior becomes counter-productive to community life. People have been asked to leave Holden due to alcohol or drug problems, as well as inappropriate sexual behavior. Others have left voluntarily after coming to the realization that their personal goals were in conflict with helping the community attain its goals.

Community and staff meetings are designed to help facilitate an open dialogue between community members so that problems and concerns do not become bigger issues than are necessary. Staff members also make a concerted effort to avoid involving or informing the guests about the nature of the problems facing the volunteer staff. There are times, however, when staff concerns have become so serious that they have affected the morale of the staff; guests have noticed and offered prayers of intercession for the
staff during Eucharist. This happened frequently during the summer of 1997.

The winter community of 1996-7 had a difficult winter. There was a record snowfall of five hundred inches; seventeen avalanches covered the road for a week and people were unable to come into or leave the village; a water pipe broke and it took two days of having no water before the operations manager and his crew were able to dig through ten feet of snow and find the source of the break. In addition, one of the high school students suffered from manic-depression and committed suicide in April; another staff member was charged with eleven counts of sexual assault of one degree or another; and a couple who had been together for a number of years broke up and one of them left the village. In actuality, the winter of 1996-7 was a very unusual one as most winter communities do not experience problems quite to that extent.

Problems can either help a community grow stronger or tear it apart. In the summer of 1997, it was my experience that some of the problems the kitchen staff faced over the winter of 1996-7 affected how they interacted with each other, as well as with the summer volunteers. As a result, my experience in the kitchen in 1997 was very different from my previous experiences. I found that there was a weakened sense of community among the kitchen staff,
and it was less enjoyable working there compared to other summers.

I have worked in the kitchen for three different July Fourth celebrations, and each has been different. A lot of that difference is a reflection of the sense of community among the kitchen crew itself. In comparing all three of my experiences, I would have to say that the kitchen crew the summer of 1990 was the best. There was a real sense of camaraderie among the kitchen crew that summer, which was also reflected in the departure day kitchen dubbing ceremony held for each kitchen worker at the bus. Even though I can no longer remember what our float entry was for that year, I do remember that we met as a kitchen staff one evening after Vespers to brainstorm ideas and to put the float together.

The same occurred during the summer of 1995. While the kitchen crew wasn’t as cohesive as a whole compared to the kitchen crew of 1990, we all got along well and had fun putting together our chicken soup float entry. We all dressed up as various chicken soup ingredients and rode in the back of a truck. Every now and then the truck would stop and one of the cooks would stir us with a giant spoon.

In 1997, there was a fair amount of animosity between some of the head cooks, as well as some of the kitchen workers themselves. We did not have a float planning meeting at all. In fact,
I learned what the kitchen parade entry was to be by reading a note on the scam board. (Scam stands for “speaking cooperatively about meals” and is really just a giant to-do list of all the projects that need to be completed during that shift.) The day before the Fourth of July, one of the lead cooks asked me if I was going to be in the parade. While the Lentil Loaf Precision Drill Team was actually quite good, I did not feel any sense of ownership about the float at all, and was quite glad that I had the excuse of needing to photograph the parade as my reason for not participating.

The 1997 July Fourth kitchen float entry was not the first holiday I have seen affected by tension among staff members. The idea of celebrating and recognizing Halloween as a holiday at Holden was a highly controversial issue at Holden during the winter of 1990. The village basically divided itself in half between the villagers who wanted to celebrate it and the villagers who felt that Halloween should not be recognized at a Christian retreat center. I was a member of the group who wanted to recognize Halloween and helped spearhead the haunted house that was staged in one of the empty chalets. A number of villagers paraded through the haunted house and seemingly enjoyed themselves, but the haunted house was a topic of discussion at a couple of community meetings as people used the public forum offered within those meetings to work out
their feelings of anger towards other members who did not side with them on the Halloween issue.

Overall, though, despite the problems and concerns that come up in the day-to-day life at Holden Village, the community members do manage to achieve the Holden Village Mission Statement goals. People still visit Holden year after year for the sense of renewal they find there. Part of this sense of renewal is achieved through the daily, weekly, and calendrical events and festivals which are organized by the community members for community members. These festivals occur in a “time out of time,” and a “place out of time” and achieve their various goals through the use of social inversion, role inversion, parody, drama, food, costumes, and the language of fun. They provide an opportunity for the villagers of Holden to celebrate themselves as members of a community, which is the ultimate function of festivals.
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