Back issues of and single articles published in *New York Folklore Quarterly, New York Folklore,* and *Voices* are available for purchase. Check the tables of contents for availability and titles. To request an article for purchase, contact us at info@nyfolklore.org. Please be aware that some issues are sold out, but most articles are still available.

NEW YORK FOLKLORE
129 Jay Street
Schenectady, NY 12305
518/346-7008
Fax 518/346-6617
Email: info@nyfolklore.org
http://www.nyfolklore.org

Resilience & Nostalgia:

An Ethnography of Armenian Foodways in Western New York

BY EDWARD Y. MILLAR

Foodways are one of the most resilient forms of intergenerational cultural expression in diaspora communities, playing a central role in expressing group identity in historic ethnic communities across the United States—including Niagara Falls, New York. This resiliency is magnified in Rust Belt cities like Niagara Falls, which has been grappling with significant decline and population loss, following its industrial boom in the early-mid-20th century: a population loss that includes many members of its vibrant Armenian community. Through interviews with remaining members of the historic Armenian community of Niagara Falls, New York, food traditions and community events centered around food emerged as the main medium for expressing Armenian cultural heritage and engaging with memories—nostalgia for a community and city that was.

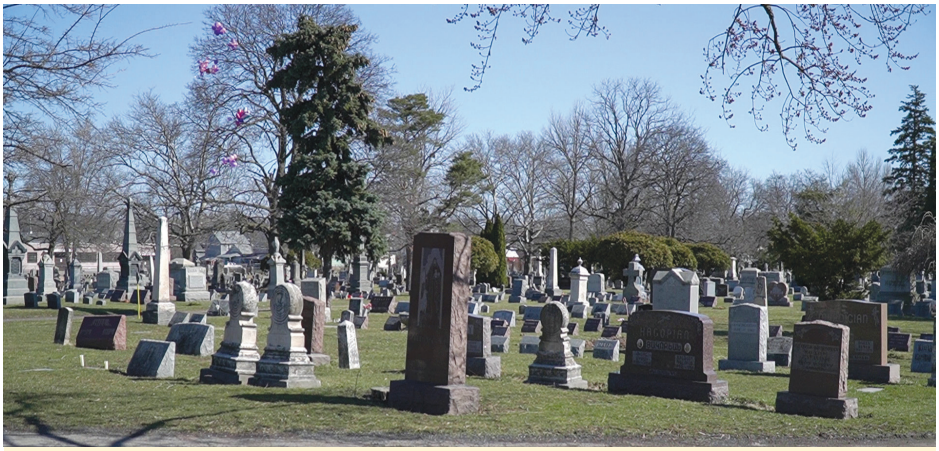
Introduction

"Traditions are built through language, music, food, dancing…and as much of that we can keep going, I think we owe it to the generations that are coming to keep those traditions alive" (Sonya Gregian. Personal interview with the author, 2022).

Smoke rises from red-hot charcoals piled high in a makeshift grill. The savory aroma of *khorovats* (Armenian *shish kabob*) blankets the neighborhood. A fusion of electronic dance music (EDM) and folk music blasts from portable speakers. Crowds file into and spill out of a local hall, carrying plates of *bulgur pilaf*, *dolma, kadayif*, and more. Every summer, this sleepy corner in the city of Niagara Falls, New York, comes alive once more, as people gather to celebrate Armenian culture and feast on Armenian food at St. Hagop Armenian Apostolic Church in July and St. Sarkis Armenian Church in August. These annual community events highlight the resiliency of food traditions in ethnic communities that have gone through significant population loss. More than simply sustenance, food in a diaspora community is a powerful symbol of ethnic identity and belonging (Abbots 2016), which is "charged with emotion and significance for both old and new Americans" (Kalčik 1984). By cooking, consuming, and discussing Armenian food at home, or at these events, community members experience and express feelings of nostalgia: for family, community culture, and a city.

In the summer of 2021, work began on a multi-year fieldwork project called *Survive, Remember, Thrive: Armenian Traditions in Western New York*. This project was organized and led by me, the Curator of Folk Arts of the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University; Armenian community member

Laurice Ghougasian making a batch of paklava from a recipe passed down in her family, while wearing her grandmother's embroidered apron, 2022. Photo courtesy of Gianna Lopez and the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University.



Oakwood Cemetery is home to the graves of over 600 Armenians, including survivors of the Armenian Genocide, 2022. Photo courtesy of Gianna Lopez and the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University.

and museum volunteer Dawn Sakalian; local videographer Gianna Lopez, the Buffalo Documentary Project; and various members of the local Armenian community who assisted with outreach, guidance, and support. *Survive, Remember, Thrive* took place over a two-year period, leading to the creation of a 14-part short-form video series, two film screenings, archiving in a statewide repository, and a 2023 exhibition of the same name. Videos in the series are freely accessible on the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University Youtube channel. This fieldwork project and its produced content sought to help raise awareness and share the story of the Armenian community of Niagara Falls, New York—an often overlooked historic ethnic community in this corner of Western New York.

A City That Was

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the city of Niagara Falls, New York, was a major destination not only for tourists visiting Niagara Falls, but also for those looking for work. Powered by cheap hydroelectric power from Niagara Falls, major companies established numerous factories, plants, and mills in the city. These included the Shredded Wheat Company (later known as Nabisco), the Hooker Chemical Company (later known as the Occidental Chemical Corporation), and over 200 others (Kowsky and Wachadlo 2007). As an industrial boom town, the city became an attractive destination for many new ethnic communities immigrating to North America (Kratts 2017). Aside from significant immigration from Southern Italy, another immigrant community would make its mark on the city: the Armenians.

The Armenian community of Niagara Falls, New York, formed in the shadow of the massacres and forced displacements that took place during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, culminating in the 1915 Armenian Genocide. Nancy Gamboian, of the Gamboian family in Niagara Falls, conducted oral history research in her family and in the community. She found that many families in the area came from the same few villages in Van Province in what is now Eastern Türkiye. Many members of the community resettled in the United States through Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and other Middle Eastern countries. The local chapter of the Armenian Relief Society—named "Lucia" after one of its founders, Lucia Safarian (née Mardirosian)—was founded around this period to help provide support to the displaced community (Armenian Relief Society Lucia Chapter Directory 2010).

East Falls and its neighboring streets became home to the highest concentrations of Armenians in the city, leading to the construction of two Armenian churches—St. Sarkis Armenian Church and St. Hagop Armenian Apostolic Church—and a community center. As longtime community member Robert "Butch" Kazeangin, Jr. stated, "the churches came to be built there, because that's where we were" (Personal interview with the author, 2022). Official population estimates of the Armenian community at its peak in the mid-20th century are unknown. However, a 2010 directory published by the local Armenian Relief Society Lucia Chapter lists over 250 families with roots and connections to the Niagara Falls community, throughout the area and nationally. Further estimates can be made by walking around Oakwood Cemetery, the main cemetery for the city, where over 600 Armenians are buried.

At its peak, Armenian community members worked in a variety of industries and owned a wide number of businesses and properties throughout the city. These included Avdoian Bros. Grocery, owned by Arthur (Arzroon), John (Ohanes), and Arsen Avdoian; the Quality Restaurant coffee shop and the Manhattan Restaurant, owned by the Kazeangin family; The Main, The Park, The Club, and The Greens restaurants, owned by the Ghougasian family; the Mooradian Rug Company, run by the Mooradian and Petrosian families; Louis' Restaurant, later run by Leo Dardarian and Friedman; a local hostel that provided temporary housing for Armenians, owned by Altoon and John Mooradian; and many more.

Local families, like the Ghougasian, Sarkissian, Jamgochian, Tatoyan, Mooradian, Toorigian, Koshian, Aloian, Ohanessian, Hanesian, Ishkanian, Choolokian, and more, became major figures in the Niagara Falls community. Major national figures from the local community included the Rev. Vasken Tatoyan (1931–1992), the first American-born Armenian priest; the Hon. Jacqueline Koshian (1930–2003), the first female City Court judge and later, New York State Supreme Court Justice; opera singer Lillian Garabedian (1935–1965); and Nerses Krikorian (1921–2018), a chemist and intelligence officer at Los Alamos National Laboratory. At its peak, the community was of a significant enough size and renown that it hosted the national 1957 Armenian Youth Federation Olympic Games in Niagara Falls, New York.

Historic photo of the 25th wedding anniversary of Butch Kazeangin Jr.'s grandparents in Niagara Falls, featuring a number of prominent local Armenian families, including the Dardarian, Ghougasian, Kazarian, Koshian, Hanesian, and Tatoyan families. Photo courtesy of Robert "Butch" Kazeangin, Jr., and the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University.

Interviews with community members, whose families lived through the community's—and the city's—heyday, often centered around contrasts—not only between the present and past community sizes, but also of the city itself. These oral histories are extremely important to understanding the community, because the current physical neighborhood is a shadow of what it once was—much of the built heritage of the Armenian community and the wider East Falls Street neighborhood simply no longer exists. Restaurants owned by community members, grocers, stores, cafés, and more, which once provided gathering places for the community, are no longer there. Except for St. Sarkis Armenian Church and St. Hagop Armenian Apostolic Church, there is little remaining of the historic East Falls Street neighborhood and the historic Armenian community, which had called it home for decades.

With the economic downturn of Niagara Falls and the wider Buffalo–Niagara region in the late 20th century, the once burgeoning Armenian population in the city shrunk dramatically. A series of short-sighted and devastating urban renewal projects, from the

Robert "Butch" Kazeangin, Jr., pouring a freshly brewed pot of *soorj* while discussing the history of the Armenian community in Niagara Falls, New York, 2022. Photo courtesy of Gianna Lopez and the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University.

Crowds begin to gather at the 2022 Armenian Picnic at St. Hagop in Niagara Falls, New York, 2022. Photo courtesy of Gianna Lopez and the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University.

late 1960s through the 1980s, destroyed the East Falls Street corridor—then, one of the main business and entertainment districts in the city—to make way for major developments that never fully came to scale. The loss of the corridor led to significant divestment and emigration from the surrounding residential neighborhoods. Efforts in the 1990s by the city and a local development company to move St. Sarkis and St. Hagop to make way for a future development project—the Falls MegaMall—was successfully fought against by the community, and also, never built.

Foodways featured in many discussions of what the neighborhood and daily life in the community was like. Ani Avdoian reminisced about how on the properties of a number of houses in the area were grapevines, whose leaves would be used for *dolma* (Personal interview with the author, 2022). Sonya Gregian remembers that growing up and eating "chicken and *pilaf* on Sunday… meant you were successful in the new world" (Personal interview with the author, 2022). Lisa Ohanessian Mies recalled the street and kitchen where she learned to make *choereg* from her grandmother Barbara Aloian, and that smelling the *mahlab* as the bread bakes "...brings me right back to her kitchen" (Personal interview with the author, 2022). Laurice Ghougasian remembers growing up and being called in to help work in her father Edward Ghougasian's restaurants in the city of Niagara Falls (Personal interview with the author, 2021). While Butch Kazeangin poured cups of freshly brewed *soorj*, he shared a memory about the city: "In the city, [Armenian] men would gather at what they call [a] սրճարան (*srčaran*)… coffee houses. And they were all on the East Side. And the men would just sit and play cards and drink Armenian coffee all day long" (Personal interview with the author, 2022).

Because food plays a central role in daily life—as sustenance, entertainment, or artistic expression—it is a strong carrier of lived experiences. This includes not only knowledge of specific foodways, but also general experiences like family history, community life, neighborhood developments, and more (Long 2009, 7). As Don Yoder noted in his seminal work "Folk Cookery," foodways is at the center of an interrelated complex of attitudes, beliefs, experiences, and habits in a community culture (Yoder 1972, 338). By preparing, consuming, and talking about their experiences with Armenian food, community members express connections to their cultural heritage *and* how that heritage was expressed within the city of Niagara Falls. Foodways facilitates conversations about food as much as about nonfood topics, by creating a social event for people to sit down and talk. This is especially amplified at large-scale community events, where many members of a community come together to feast on a wide variety of dishes and talk.

Community Festivals and Resilience

Set on the corner of 9th and Falls Street, St. Sarkis Armenian Church and neighboring St. Hagop Armenian Apostolic Church and Armenian Community Center are two major pillars of Armenian heritage in the area. Both buildings were constructed and founded in the mid-20th century through community fundraising and community efforts. Prior to the construction of St. Sarkis, the community observed their *badarak* (Divine Liturgy) at St. Peter's Episcopal Church on Rainbow Boulevard. For over 70 years, patrons of St. Sarkis and St. Hagop have organized these major annual events. The only years the events were not held were during the COVID-19 pandemic, with St. Sarkis canceling events in 2020, and St. Hagop, in 2020 and 2021.

The Armenian Picnic hosted by St. Hagop began around 1951, coinciding with the construction of the Armenian Community Center. Festivities take place throughout the hall and the neighboring lawn. When you enter the Armenian Community Center at St. Hagop, you see historical images of the community, photographs from festivals of years past, and a large, framed historic

Historic repurposed barrel used for grilling *shish kabob* for the Armenian Picnic and community events at St. Hagop, 2022. Photo courtesy of Gianna Lopez and the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University.

photograph of the packed hall during a dinner greet you right when you walk in. Traditionally held on the third Sunday in July of each year, this major fundraiser in the community draws attendance from both the local community and even from those who have moved away but maintain ties to the local area. As Sonya Gregian recalled:

> Back then we had a huge Armenian community, and of course in the meantime many of them married and moved out of town…or had gone to college and did not find jobs in the area and moved out of town. But we've been doing our best to continue the tradition of Armenian food, music, dancing and culture all these years. (Personal interview with author, 2022)

At the neighboring St. Sarkis Armenian Church, the Armenian Picnic takes place in August, within the basement hall of the church and on the neighboring lawn off Falls Street. Organized by members of the parish council and volunteers, the St. Sarkis Armenian Picnic—like the St. Hagop Armenian Picnic—has been a major event within the community for decades. Within the basement hall of the church, a large community kitchen, stage, and walls can be found.

Historically, live music, dancing, and food were all major parts of the annual event, with Canadian-based Armenian bands and then local members of the community gathering to perform, including dumbeg player Ned Apigian and oud player Arthur Noubarian. Over time, as fewer local musicians or those from nearby Southern Ontario were available to come and perform, live music has been replaced most years by prerecorded Armenian music. Solo and group dancing still take place at the festival, though at a different scale than in the past. As Pawlic-Miśkiewicz found in her work with the Polish Tatar community, food plays a significant role in communities, "especially in [a] situation when the intergenerational transmission lacks songs, dances, costumes or language" (Pawlic-Miśkiewicz 2016, 373). Although dancing and live music may not occur at the same scale as in the past, Armenian foodways remains an unbroken, major component of the festival, demonstrating the resiliency of food traditions in a fluctuating population and city.

A cornerstone of the St. Hagop Armenian Picnic is the grilling of *shish kabob* and *shashlik*, with the secret being—according to the Ohanessian family who are the main grillers at the festival—the marinade, which has been passed down from generation to generation. The act of cooking these dishes connects the community to the past, as it is made not only with the same recipe—but also using the same tools. These dishes are made in repurposed iron barrels hewn in half, which Lori Ohanessian Hurtgam points out have been used in the community for picnics and social events for as long as anyone can remember (Personal interview with the author and Dawn Sakalian, 2022). The grills are set up in the lawn area next to the hall, propped up sideways on metal posts and legs: with the open halves face up and charcoal laid across their full length. Long-handled grill baskets are used to hold and turn over the meat and vegetable skewers.

At the Armenian Picnic at St. Sarkis, the grilling of *shish kebab* and *shashlik* also takes place in a custom grill. Made by Jamie Haig, the grill is made up of a repurposed oil barrel which was cut in half and fastened

together. Long metal rods run perpendicular to the barrel, propping up repurposed steel wire shelving. These rods are also connected to a handle, allowing the griller to raise or lower the shelving closer to the charcoal at the base of the barrel, creating a surface for the *shish kebab* and *shashlik* skewers to rest on while grilling. As the skewers are placed directly onto the surface, grillers at St. Sarkis use tongs instead of long-handled grill baskets, to turn them over one by one as they cook.

The smell and sight of *shish kabob*—a staple of Armenian events—can trigger strong memories and emotions in those in attendance. As Carol Kontchegulian Maggiore, who relocated to the area from Long Island noted: "Seeing the *shish kabob* come off the grill. It reminds me of my father and grandfather and them cooking [the *shish kabob*]" (Personal interview with Dawn Sakalian, 2022). While much of the event and gatherings takes place inside, it is not uncommon for people to wander by the grilling area to talk with one another or those grilling.

Other dishes that play a major role at both picnics include baked pastries, *pilaf* and *dolma*. Many of these dishes are prepared in the days leading up to and during the event itself, through the dedication and effort of a number of community members. These are also many of the same dishes that, historically, have been made at the picnic. The *dolma* made and sold during the Armenian Picnics have a unique neighborhood connection. The fresh leaves used to make the *dolma* are harvested by community members from the wild grape leaves that grow along the nearby fences. When ripe, these leaves are scalded to clean and preserve them, before being wrung out, and frozen, to be later defrosted and filled, closer to the date of the Picnic.

At the Armenian Picnic at St. Hagop, two types of *pilaf* are often prepared: a rice *pilaf* and a bulgur *pilaf*. Cooked in an enormous pot for the picnic and other major functions within the community center kitchen, the rice *pilaf*, for the last number of years, has been made by Rachele (née Satarian) Aversa, following a family recipe passed down from her mother. The bulgur *pilaf* is made by Sonya Gregian, as another alternative style of *pilaf* for guests. Twenty-four pounds of rice *pilaf* are cooked each picnic, with work starting early. As Sonya Gregian shared, "We go down that Sunday morning and we start. She's on one side of the stove, I'm on the other" (Personal interview with the author, 2022).

Rice *pilaf* also features prominently at the St. Sarkis Armenian Picnic, made in the community kitchen that is located in the hall beneath the church, by Ani Avdoian, who follows her own family recipe for the *pilaf*. At St. Sarkis, rice *pilaf* is typically accompanied by hummus and *piaz*, a white bean salad mixed with tomato, onions, and herbs.

Aside from savory dishes like *shish kabob* and *pilaf*, baked pastries play an important role and major feature of the picnic at St. Sarkis and St. Hagop. When asked about the baked pastries and the Armenian community events in Niagara Falls, Stephen Flinchum recalled that, according to his mother Helen (née Mardirosian) Flinchum, "What she said…was [that] she started the bake sale. That they weren't doing bake sales before, and she said we should start baking Armenian pastries at the picnic and selling them. And now? It's a gold mine. People love it"

The custom grill made by Jamie Haig for grilling *shish kabob* at the Armenian Picnic at St. Sarkis, 2022. Photo courtesy of Gianna Lopez and the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University.

(Personal interview with Dawn Sakalian, 2022). Stephen's mother, Helen (née Mardirosian) Flinchum, was a professional chef and active member of the St. Sarkis community before her passing in 2021. At St. Sarkis, baked pastries include: *lahmajoon*, a flatbread topped with ground meat and tomato; *khadayif*, a shredded phyllo dough pastry; *khata* (*gata*), a sweet pastry; *khourabia,* a shortbread biscuit; *simit*, a twisted sesame bread; and more. Barbara Malkasian, when sharing her favorite dishes with the interviewers, recalled differences in how her mother would make *khadayif*, compared to those sold at the picnic—namely, differences in the type of cheese used (Personal interview with Dawn Sakalian, 2022).

These picnics and community gatherings are two of the largest annual events that foster community resilience and Armenian cultural expression in the local area. At a practical level, the money raised through the sale of dishes at the festival helps raise funds for the respective churches and councils. This in turn works to ensure and maintain a community space and facilitate community events for future generations. By taking place within the neighborhood where the Armenian community has historical ties, the physical context of the festivals spark discussions and memories about the city of Niagara Falls—and highlight the resiliency and determination of the community to maintain a connection to the city.

The tying of community cultural identity with the City of Niagara Falls, perhaps, was best expressed by Glenn Choolokian, whose family were among the first waves of Armenians to settle in Niagara Falls:

> Niagara Falls was important to my family. It was important to me, and it's important to my kids. Four generations [of our family] worked for the City. And I'm proud to be Armenian. When I was a councilman, we used to recognize the Armenian Genocide every year. Every year on Main and Pine…they have the Armenian stone [*khachkar*] over there, so I spoke every year I was a councilman." (Personal interview with the author, 2022)

The leaves of these grapevines that grow along the fences near St. Sarkis and St. Hagop are used by the community for making *dolma* for the picnics, 2022. Photo courtesy of Gianna Lopez and the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University.

This determination and connection of the community to Niagara Falls, is also reflected in the story behind the new church doors at St. Sarkis Armenian Church, that feature a modern interpretation of the *khachkar*—the Armenian cross-stone. The doors were made by local carpenter Arthur Garabedian, who founded Art's Wood Shop in Niagara Falls after his retirement from Trott Vocational School in Niagara Falls, where he had been the carpentry teacher. He was approached by his friend George Baloozian, whose sister Alice Budnick née Baloozian was in hospice and had asked if he (Arthur) could make new doors for the front of the church. Arthur tearfully recalled, "I said yeah of course. So I made the doors, and Alice came out of the hospital and she told her brother George, 'Drive me by the church, so that I can see the doors that Arthur made'" (Personal interview with the author, 2021). [Alice passed shortly after].

Almost every interview conducted as part of the *Survive, Remember, Thrive* project (food-related or not) included discussions that intimately wound together Armenian foodways, Armenian cultural identity, and the wider Niagara Falls community. This is because foodways is a particularly powerful medium for maintaining ties to one's ethnic community in relation to other communities (Buckser 1999). As Weber-Lawson and Susan Kalčik both found in their research, foodways plays a central role in "circulating and transforming identity…as a force of exclusion and inclusion" (Weber-Lawson 2024, 195), with major foodways events serving to symbolize a local ethnic community identity (Kalčik 1984, 55).

Conversations with participants in the project would circulate from how the community in the city had changed, to loved ones and close friends who have passed away, to Armenian dishes they make or enjoy eating, and more. What started out as simple discussions or recollections about food, stirred up emotions of nostalgia for a city and community that was—discussions also encompassed the close ties of the community to the city of Niagara Falls, in recalling the different employment and places they, their loved ones, and friends lived—highlighting the shift from industrial boomtown to its ongoing socioeconomic, political, and population struggles.

Looking Forward, Looking Back

Recent emigration from Armenia to the Buffalo–Niagara region has led to new efforts and opportunities to share and express Armenian culture in Erie County, including language classes, hosting of touring music groups, and other foodways events. These new community events are coordinated by the Western New York Armenian

Box of *khadayif* stacked on top of an assortment of pastries for sale at the 2022 St. Sarkis Armenian Picnic, 2022. Photo courtesy of Gianna Lopez and the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University.

Community (WNYAC) organization and community members, like Deacon Al Amato and Anjelika Abrahamyan. For example, an annual bake sale through the Massachusetts Avenue Project in Buffalo, which is coordinated by WNYAC and Karine Amato, provides an additional yearly opportunity to purchase and consume Armenian pastries. These programs provide new opportunities and touchstones for community members to experience and share their cultural heritage with a wider regional audience, in addition to the two major annual events that continue to take place within Niagara Falls in the historic community.

In ethnic communities that have seen the local population significantly decrease both within their community and the wider city over the years, foodways remains one of the most resilient forms of cultural expression. Laurice Ghougasian noted:

> You know my dad was very proud of his Armenian identity. And that I expressed an interest in it, in learning Armenian...in going to the church and being involved in activities. So it's just a part of my culture and sharing my culture. So it [making *paklava*] takes me back to all of those feelings, that I've been making this since I was a kid…." (Personal interview with the author, 2021)

While specialized knowledge of, or access to, other traditions, like playing the *duduk* or carving a *khachkar* may be harder to acquire, opportunities to learn foodways knowledge continue to be widespread—whether it is learning to cook *pilaf* in a home setting from a family member, or how to prepare *manti* with other community members in the lead-up to a major community festival. This resiliency can be attributed, in part, to the dual nature of food—both at its most basic level as sustenance and as a medium for navigating identity. Through foodways, makers and consumers navigate ideas and emotions connected to nostalgia for past expressions of cultural heritage and the city where they took place. As Rachele (née Satarian) Aversa concluded, when asked about her involvement with the Armenian picnic, "We want people to know…we're still here. We're still trying" (Personal interview with the author, 2022).

References

Abbots, Emma-Jayne. 2016. "Approaches to Food and Migration: Rootedness, Being and Belonging." In *The Handbook of Food and Anthropology*, edited by Jakob A. Klein and James L. Watson, 115–132. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Armenian Relief Society Lucia Chapter Telephone and Address Directory: 2010. Niagara Falls, NY.

Buckser, Andrew. 1999. "Keeping Kosher: Eating and Social Among the Jews of Denmark." *Ethnology* 38(3): 191–209.

Kalc̆ik, Susan. "Ethnic Foodways in America: Symbol and the Performance of Identity." In *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States*, edited by Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, 37–65. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.

Kowsky, Francis, and Martin Wachadlo. 2007. "Historic Preservation Industrial Reconnaissance Survey: City of Niagara Falls, Niagara County, New York." Reprint. Prepared under contract to City of Niagara Falls, in conjunction with Niagara Falls Historic Preservation Commission and New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation. *https://buffaloah.com/surveys/nfindustrial.html*

Kratts, Michelle. 2017. "Melting Pot: Niagara's Rich Ethnic Heritage." Lewiston Public Library: Lewiston, New York.

Long, Lucy. 2009. "Introduction." *Journal of American Folklore* 122(483): 3–10.

Pawlic-Miśkiewicz, Barbara. 2016. "Rites and Tradition of the Polish Tatars: From Religious Holidays to Everyday Rituals." In *Islam in the Balkans: Unexpired Hope*, edited by Muhammet Savas Kafkasyali, 343–76. Ankara: Tika.

Sutton, David E. 2001. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*. London: Berg Publishers.

Weber-Lawson, Kelsey. 2024. "Of Community and Kołduny: Food, Identity, Inclusion, and Exclusion among Polish Tatars." *Food and Foodways* 32(3): 193–212.

Yoder, Don. 1972. "Folk Cookery." In *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*, edited by Richard Dorson, 325–50. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Edward Yong Jun Millar is the Curator of Folk Arts at the Castellani Art Museum of Niagara University, where he conducts fieldwork, develops exhibitions, and creates digital content highlighting cultural heritage and communities in the Buffalo–Niagara Region. The short-form video series *Survive, Remember, Thrive* explores Armenian folklife in Western New York and is available to watch on the Castellani Art Museum's YouTube Channel. Photo courtesy of the author.

Join or Renew your New York Folklore Membership to Receive *Voices* and other Member Benefits

For the General Public

Voices is a peer-reviewed scholarly journal, published twice annually. Join New York Folklore and become part of a community that will deepen your involvement with folklore, folklife, the traditional arts, and contemporary culture. As a member, you'll have early notice of Gallery special exhibits and NYF-sponsored key events. Members receive a discount on NYF Gallery items.

For Artists and Professionals

Become a member and learn about technical assistance programs that will get you the help you may need in your work:

Mentoring and Professional Development

Folk Artists Self-Management Project

Folk Archives Project

Consulting and Referral

Advocacy

A Public Voice

Membership Levels

Individual

$ 50.00	Basic Membership
$100.00	Harold W. Thompson Circle
$150.00	Edith Cutting Folklore in Education

Organizations/Institutions

$ 75.00	Subscriber
$100.00	Partner
$150.00	Edith Cutting Folklore in Education

Please add $20.00 for non-US addresses.

For payment, choose the option that works best for you:

Use our website, www.nyfolklore.org

or mail a check to us at 129 Jay St., Schenectady NY 12305;

or call the NYF business office, 518-346-7008, to pay with a credit card over the phone.