PUBLIC TRADITION IN AN URBAN CONTEXT: AN OCCUPATIONAL FOLKLORE STUDY OF MUSICIANS IN ST. JOHN'S

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OCT 6 1981
MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY
OF NEWFOUNDLAND

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by

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A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Folklore
Memorial University of Newfoundland
January 1981

St. John's Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the occupational folklore and folklife of bar musicians in St. John's, Newfoundland. In carrying out the research, three methods have been employed: formal interview, participant-observation, and questionnaires. Eleven musicians were interviewed and the performances of many more observed in a number of bars in or close to the downtown area of St. John's. Questionnaires were distributed to the bar patrons who made up their audiences.

Rather than taking a generic or biographical approach, as has been previously used, a locus, the bars in which musicians perform, is the principal focus.

The main objective of this study is to describe and analyze what it is that musicians do each night in the bars. Before this examination could be made, a descriptive framework had to be developed within which to view bar behaviour. Accordingly the thesis is divided into three major sections: the first offers a description of the bars, noting their types, clientele, physical structure, and management; the second examines the attitudes and expectations of performers towards professionalism, the union, management, status, and role; the third discusses performer/audience relationships and interaction.

It was concluded that in order to survive in the bars, musicians must employ a number of occupational strategies which are used to counter the often disruptive effects of audience behaviour. Such strategies are as much a part of the work technique as the performance of a song. They are enacted to deal with such hazards as drunks, troublemakers, and inattentive audiences. These strategies are learned through the constant doing of the job, as musicians learn to anticipate possible situations and encounters in the bar and to reflexively respond to them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my thanks to Professor Peter Narváez who performed above and beyond the call of duty as my advisor. Without his suggestions, comments, criticisms, jokes, puns, patience, encouragement, and faith this thesis would not have been completed. I consider the many hours that I spent working with him to be the most valuable and enjoyable period of my university career.

I would also like to thank Dr. David D. Buchan for his much needed encouragement and support; Dean Frederick Aldrich for providing me with financial assistance in the form of a Memorial University graduate fellowship; Dr. Neil V. Rosenberg, Director of Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, for providing me with the financial support of an assistantship; and Dr. Kenneth S. Goldstein for his steadfast interest in this study. In addition, I am very grateful to Dr. Neil V. Rosenberg and Professor Martin Lovelace for their many references, suggestions and encouragement, and to Dr. Robert S. McCarl, Jr. for his initial criticisms and continued support throughout the duration of this project.

Special thanks go to Penny Houlden, my office buddy, editor, and drinking companion. She always knew when we

needed a quarter pounder and more importantly a beer. Together we shared the highs of good paragraphs and lows of elusive words and convoluted sentences. I could not have hoped for a more exacting editor.

Thanks also go to Chip Brown, David Taylor and Elizabeth Brown for their assistance with illustrations and proofreading, and to Philip Hiscock for many helpful suggestions. Patty Tramley, Ellen Tramley and Cindy Lamson deserve thanks for their suggestions pertaining to the thesis and, more importantly, helping cope with my life in the interim.

My task was made easier by the departmental secretaries, Cindy Turpin and Sharon Cochrane; their constant encouragement and interest throughout the writing of this thesis will never be forgotten. I would also like to thank Dallas Strange for her superb typing and for her patience.

Thanks also go to the Victims of Paradise, and to my brother Patrick, for being there.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my informants: John Parsons, Martin Laba, Peter Narváez, Glen Tilley, Bryan Hennessey, Ron Hynes, Scott Goudie, Dennis Parker, Terry Rielly, Neil Rosenberg, and Anna Kearney. They not only gave me their time but also their interest and encouragement. More than anything else they gave to me and to so many others hours of musical pleasure and inspiration. They are much more appreciated than they know.

This thesis is dedicated to them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Abstract		ii
Acknowledgements		iv
List of Tables		viii
List of Figures		ix
CHAPTER		
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	Methodology	8
II.	REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	20
	Occupations	20
	Musicians	31
	Bars	43
III.	THE BARS	51
	Types and Clientele	51
	Physical Characteristics	58
	Management's Expectations vis-à-vis Musicians	
IV.	THE PERFORMERS	78
	The Professional at Work: Full-time vs. Part-time	78
	The Union	90
	Musicians' Expectations vis-à-vis the Management	101
	Equipment	104
	Crowd control	110
	Presentational control	113
	Repertoire	116
	Status	119
	Roles and Expectations	139

CHAPTER Page

V. THE PERFORMANCE 167

Structure of a Gig 167
Performer/Audience Interaction 174

A. Audience Categories 174

Bar regulars 193
Friends and fans/friends 199
Musicians 207
Drunks 215
Troublemakers 223

B. Focusing Strategies 248

VI. CONCLUSION 256

BIBLIOGRAPHY 265

APPENDIX A: MAJOR INFORMANTS 265

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE Page

1. Audience Categories 185

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		Page
1.	Key	64
2.	Bridgett's (downstairs)	65
3.	Bridgett's (upstairs)	66
4.	The Cochrane Hotel	67
5.	The Cabaret	68
6.	Martha's (upstairs)	69
7.	The Royalton (Freddy's)	70
8.	Letter to union	94
9.	Letter to musician	95-96
10.	Role Continuum	159

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In St. John's, Newfoundland, as well as in many other cities and towns in North America, the bar is one of the most frequented social gathering places. While the presence of and emphasis upon alcohol in the bar draws patrons and effectively influences their behaviour, drinking *per se* is not the primary interest for the majority of patrons. Previous studies have established that there are three typical behavioural expectations that are trans-situational for all bar patrons; these are sociability, playing, and drinking.[1] Public drinking establishments provide a context within which individuals can socialize with friends, meet new people, relax, joke, play games, listen to music, drink, and "get drunk." Bars are also frequented for their live entertainment.

Many of the bars in St. John's feature musicians as entertainment. The owner or manager of the bar hires musicians to develop the ambience, thereby drawing patrons who will purchase drinks.

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[1] Julian B. Roebuck and Wolfgang Frese, *The Rendezvous: A Case Study of an After-Hours Club* (New York: The Free Press, 1976), p. 24.

This study focuses upon the folklore and folklife of bar musicians in their working milieu. Research was begun in January 1978, for a course in occupational folklore given by Robert S. McCarl, Jr., at Memorial University of Newfoundland. After being encouraged by McCarl and others to continue the research, the study was expanded for this Master's thesis. Since I have always enjoyed going to bars to hear musicians, this study has provided me with an opportunity to observe and analyze a cultural scene that is familiar to me.

My initial research was based upon interviews with three part-time musicians who performed a few nights a week in local bars in St. John's, and upon my own observations of their performances. In expanding the study I have included full-time musicians whose social and economic well-being depends solely upon their choice of music as a career. While there are similarities in work experiences between full- and part-time musicians, those who are involved on a full-time basis, who "put their ass on the line" in an economic as well as personal sense, have more at stake in being successful. Part of my discussion will be concerned with the attitudes that full-time musicians hold towards part-timers, who, depending upon their expertise, may be looked upon as dilettantes. The degree of professionalism, inextricably tied to specialization, the time needed to develop that professionalism, and the economic return that is forthcoming, are major concerns

to those who earn their total income from music. The meaning of professionalism and professional behaviour as it is applied to both full- and part-time musicians is dealt with in Chapter IV. In this chapter, musicians' status and role, as well as their expectations towards the management, patrons and union will also be explored.

This study is limited to those who work the bars in St. John's. Although most of my informants have worked in bars around the island, in Labrador and on the mainland, my own observations and interest concern local bars in St. John's. It is impossible to completely separate the musicians' experiences out of town from those in town, since much of the learning process involves the acquisition of a behavioural repertoire that enables them to deal with a variety of situations that arise in any bar. Because there is often a unity of experience, regardless of where the bar is located, I have included comments and narratives that relate to situations outside St. John's. Such information is used to illustrate how musicians draw upon it to order and make meaningful their experience in town. However, the activities of musicians on the road and their private interaction (for example, discussions about equipment and technique) will not be considered since I have not been in the position to observe them in depth.

There have been several studies of public drinking establishments focusing primarily upon typologies and

purposes of such establishments and as well the characteristics of patrons.[2] Basic questions such as, what is a bar, where is the setting, who goes there and when, what goes on there, have been dealt with at length. These questions, critical to any study dealing with bar behaviour, provide a starting point from which a framework for understanding the expressive dimensions of interaction between the musician and his audience can be developed. The second chapter offers a review of the literature pertaining to bars. The literature on musicians and occupations will also be surveyed, thus drawing together the main bodies of scholarship from which this study derives.

There are a variety of types of bars in St. John's, each with its particular kind of customers. Several bars, such as the Cottage and the Corner Tavern, are restricted to men and may offer taped music or a juke box, and games as entertainment. Most bars are mixed and a number of these feature musicians. Bars like the Strands have no dance floor, and book through entertainment agencies in Nova Scotia, usually hiring only musicians from the mainland.

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[2]See Sherri Cavan, Liquor Licence: An Ethnography of Bar Behavior (Chicago: Aldine, 1966); Marshall B. Clinard, "The Public Drinking House and Society," in Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns, ed. David J. Pittman and Charles R. Snyder (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), pp. 270-292; Julian Roebuck and S. Lee Spray, "The Cocktail Lounge: A Study of Heterosexual Relations in a Public Organization," American Journal of Sociology 72 (1966-1967), 388-396.

Other bars such as Bridgett's, the Rob Roy and the Royalton (more commonly referred to as Freddy's) hire local musicians and, like the Strands no dancing is permitted in them. There are a number of dance bars--the Killick, Furies, and the Anchor--which do feature bands. Discos have been a part of the bar scene in St. John's for some years. In such bars as Friends, Uncle Albert's and the Stanley Steamer, patrons dance to taped music.

The bars considered in this study are all located in the older sections of town, close to the downtown area. They draw a mixed clientele, which is made up of older and younger working class people, college students, and professional people. The atmosphere is relaxed and informal. There are no dress codes; blue jeans, casual or work clothes predominate. The management hires local musicians--solos, duos or groups--and, apart from the occasional person who will dance in the aisles, there is no dancing.

Chapter III examines the types of bars, their physical features, clientele and management.

In his paper on occupational folklore, McCarl points out that "the study of occupational groups by folklorists demands not only a new approach to oral expression, it also requires an understanding of the work processes and techniques from which this expression is derived,"[3] These

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[3]Robert S. McCarl, Jr., "Occupational Folklife: A Theoretical Hypothesis," Western Folklore 37 (1978), 145.

processes and techniques set within the microenvironments in which they function should not be reduced to one metaphorical key technique. Popular conceptions of occupations are dependent upon key techniques which cause stereotyped expectations.[4] The image that immediately comes to mind when speaking of a bar musician, to those who frequent such establishments, is, for example, that of a singer accompanying himself with a musical instrument, usually the guitar, or, alternatively, a group of musicians with amplified instruments. While the mastery of the instrument and the acquisition of a repertoire are critical to performance, these are only two of the many techniques that a musician must acquire in order to become successful in the bar context. Accordingly, the "complex of techniques, customs, and modes of expressive behaviour"[5] which characterize this work group will be explored.

Technique--"what you need to know to do the work"[6]--involves both mechanical and interactional knowledge. The musician must not only exhibit proficiency in his use of instruments, repertoire, voice and the public address system, he must also be adept at evaluating and responding

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[4]Robert S. McCarl, Jr., "Occupational Stereotype, Technique and the Critical Comment of Folklore," unpublished paper given at the Folklore Studies Association of Canada Meetings in London, Ontario, 1978, p. 1.

[5]McCarl, "Occupational Folklife," p. 145.

[6]McCarl, "Occupational Folklife," p. 148.

to the behaviour of the patrons. Chapter V offers a description and analysis of the interaction between musician and audience. Beginning with a description of the structure of a "gig," it continues with a breakdown of the audience. The ethnographic detail provided in this breakdown provides critical data on occupational strategy and customary behaviour. Occupational strategy encompasses a wide variety of techniques including the use of repertoire, verbal and non-verbal behaviour and the use of the public address system. Customary behaviour on the part of patrons, such as the making of a request, is viewed as a focusing strategy used to establish personal contact with the performer. Further, the basic struggle between performer and audience for expressive control and dominance in the bar is illustrated through the strategies that each use to initiate, control and terminate encounters.

One of the principal modes for the transmission of information among musicians is the occupational personal experience narrative. Santino notes that "occupational narratives provide an insight into and an index of the specific challenges and problems that arise in a job."[7] Such narratives refer to both physical challenges, which require a particular skill, and sociological problems reflecting responsibility, status and authority.[8] These

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[7]Jack Santino, "Characteristics of Occupational Narrative," Western Folklore 37 (1978), 212.

[8]Santino, p. 212.

narratives, upon which much of my analysis is based, will be discussed as they occur in the body of the study.

Chapter VI offers concluding remarks and suggests directions for future research.

In summary, Chapter I gives an introduction to the thesis, discussing the subjects that will be covered and follows with an explanation of the methodology used. Chapter II offers a review of folkloristic, sociological and anthropological literature dealing with occupations, musicians and bars. Chapter III describes the types of bars included in the study. Chapter IV examines the performers, their attitudes and expectations concerning working conditions, professionalism, their status and role in the bar, and the union. Chapter V deals with performance and considers occupational technique and customary behaviour in the bar. Chapter VI, the conclusion, offers a summary and a discussion of directions for future research.

Methodology

Before initiating this study I met and became friendly with several part-time musicians who perform in the local bars in St. John's. Since I regularly socialized with a few of the individuals I was to study, I was provided with inside information about them, a chance to observe them in a number of social situations, and a knowledge of some of the problematic situations confronting them.

When I began my research in January 1978, I started by making notes each time I went to a bar where there was a musician playing. My analysis to a large extent is that of an insider (that is, an audience member) who must alter her stance in order to examine the rules of conduct which govern interaction between the musician and audience. While there are advantages in beginning a study with an insider's perspective (one can make observations without drawing attention to oneself), the familiarity with the situation is itself a disadvantage in that many subtle as well as obvious behavioural cues may be internalized and missed when recording data. This problem, inherent in any study of one's own culture, is partially mitigated by the information obtained from the musicians' own statements about their work and work life. While I am an insider as a patron of the bar and as a member of the audience, I am an outsider in terms of the occupational group in question. Thus, my observations and interpretation of specific and generalized encounters during a performance can be checked and reinterpreted from the musicians' own viewpoint. However, as a member of the audience my perceptions have been molded as such. My initial reaction to and interpretation of events in the bar will be similar to many of the other patrons who are not playing a participant-observer role.

Having shifted my purpose for going to bars--that is from a natural participant to a participant-observer--I can draw upon past and current knowledge to reconstruct

the cultural scene in such a way that both musicians and patrons can recognize and better understand it.

As a participant-observer I was able to focus on the space-time properties within each bar, standing behaviour patterns, the musical performance, appropriate and inappropriate actions, and the individual types of patrons in the bars. When I knew the musician who was playing I was often able to sit at his table and during breaks gain an insight into conversational patterns, narrative structures and themes, joking behaviour, and attitudes about the audience that night. Although I felt free to raise questions, I tried to keep these questions to a minimum and, if I felt they could wait, would bring them up during an interview. I was reluctant to place a strain upon my relationship with them by demanding too much of their time and attention while they were working. When I was not sitting at the musician's table I would try to seat myself where I could observe his behaviour at close hand.

My field notes were usually written up at home at the end of the night or first thing the next morning. I would often jot down notes on a piece of paper during the night and later expand on my observations. This also gave me the opportunity to write down questions that I could raise during interviews.

At the mid-point of my research I devised a questionnaire, which was distributed in several bars to patrons during breaks in the performance. A total of 120

questionnaires were distributed and 101 were returned. The questionnaire was designed to find out basic sociological data (sex, religion, marital status, age, education) as well as indicate musical preferences in terms of individual performers and types of music (for example, blues, folk, country, rock 'n' roll), responses to what the individual considered to be a good bar performer and their general responses to the musician. My primary interest was to see how the patrons' expectations differed from or matched those of the musician. By finding out what type of person the audience felt made a good bar room performer I could, to some extent, see if the musicians' conception of their role in the bar met with those of the audience.

There are many limitations to a questionnaire of this nature circulated in a bar. First, the setting is not conducive to serious research in that the patrons go there to relax and socialize. Since almost all have been drinking, the seriousness with which they answer the questions and the amount of time they are willing to spend on them is limited. For this reason I kept the questions as brief as possible, using multiple choice where I could, and confined them to two sides of a single eight by ten inch page. A sample of the questionnaire is included at the end of this chapter.

The questionnaire is limited by its form. It cannot account for all of the variables in terms of an

individual's responsiveness to being questioned, past experience in filling out questionnaires and suspicions at being studied. The degree to which it is disruptive (for example, the respondents might be having a lengthy personal conversation) may colour the answers in terms of both length and content. Other variables include the level of literacy, the interpretation of questions, the respondent's possible desire to provide the researcher with what he feels to be an appropriate answer, a possible hostility towards academics and how seriously they take the researcher; all of these variables must be considered when using the questionnaire as a source of information.

Because of its form, the questionnaire can provide only an approximation of attitude and behaviour. It gives no idea of frequency or gradations of the types of behaviour listed.

Finally, the questionnaire is limited in its content. Since I am concerned with specific information I have geared the questions to these needs. I have assumed that the points I want clarified are those that have motivated the respondent's behaviour in the bar.

In spite of its limitations,the questionnaire has indicated the range of behaviour, expectations and attitudes of the patrons in the bars. I found that, in general, people were willing to spend the time to answer the questions, especially when they saw others in the bar doing so. Only a few treated the exercise as a joke and

most were conscientious in their responses. Several asked me about my research and expressed a genuine interest in the subject.

The information obtained from the questionnaire has been used in conjunction with my own observations of the patrons' behaviour as well as with any information I could get from patrons during direct questioning in face-to-face encounters. The questionnaires have been used as a minor research method and the information obtained from them has been treated accordingly.

During my research I compiled approximately fifteen hours of taped interviews after having talked to eleven musicians. This crucial part of my research enabled me to obtain an insider's perspective of bar performance and other occupational considerations that would have been impossible to acquire by simple observation.

I began interviewing in March 1978. Since I knew a few musicians in town I had no difficulty in setting up appointments with them. They were more than willing to talk to me and when I decided to pursue the study they were helpful in suggesting other musicians with whom I might speak. Since I had already established an easy rapport with them, I had none of the difficulties that researchers often encounter while trying to break down an informant's reserve and establish an atmosphere of trust and ease.

In his chapter on interview methods, Kenneth Goldstein mentions two types of interview techniques, the non-directive and directive interviews. He states that most interviews "will consist of a compromise between the two techniques. . . ."[9] My interviews were conducted in this way. I compiled a list of questions that I had handy and sometimes referred to during the sessions. I would open with a general question asking how they first began to play in bars and then let the musician go from there. If the topic of conversation wandered too far from the types of information I wished to cover, when the opportunity arose I would ask a question that would turn the conversation back to the points I wanted explained. However, it was often beneficial to let my informant direct the interview since he would often speak of aspects of the occupation that I had not previously considered.

Before setting up an interview I always made sure to see the musician perform at least once so that I would have some idea of his repertoire, style and manner with his audience. After seeing a musician perform I could ask him about specific incidents I had observed in the bar.

After each interview I would immediately transcribe or make an index of the tapes and note further questions I could ask. Sometimes I would ask the musician these

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[9]Kenneth S. Goldstein, A Guide for Field Workers in Folklore (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1964), p. 110.

questions without the use of a tape recorder and note his comments by hand. If it seemed that this method was inadequate then I would set up another interview.

The interviews provided me not only with information about the technical and behavioural aspects of the occupation, but also provided an insight into particular subjects to which I had little or no access (for example, musicians' dealings with the union).

Informants' statements and narratives have been included throughout the body of the thesis. These have been footnoted according to MUNFLA accession and "C" numbers. The following is a list of informants and their MUNFLA numbers, which correspond to taped interviews and which will facilitate the recognition of source material.

Name	Accession Number	"C" Number
John Parsons	79-597	C4556
	"	C4557
Martin Laba	"	C4558
	"	C4559
	"	C4560
Peter Narváez	"	C4561
Glen Tilley	"	C4562
	"	C4563
Bryan Hennessey	"	C4564
	"	C4565
Ron Hynes	"	C4566

Name	Accession Number	"C" Number
Scott Goudie	79-597	C4567
Dennis Parker	"	C4568
Terry Rielly	"	C4569
Neil Rosenberg	"	C4570
Anna Kearney	"	C4871
	"	C4872

Throughout the text I have used "I" to designate the informant, and "F" to designate the interviewer (Fraser).

Using the methods of participant-observer, questionnaires and interviews, I have attempted to describe and analyze the occupational life of bar musicians in St. John's. Folklore behaviour operates within the occupation to order, inform upon and make manageable musicians' everyday work experience. Such behaviour has been documented as it emerges in the bar; it is also described and assessed in musicians' personal experience narratives. These narnatives deal with recurrent incidents which take place in the bars and speak of working conditions, problems and methods of dealing with the variety of situations which develop during the course of the night.

Those subjects and themes which I have chosen to deal with focus primarily upon performer/audience interaction. The ethnographic data has been prefaced with a description of the bars and a discussion of such topics as roles and status in order to provide a descriptive framework within which the reader can set the interaction.

QUESTIONNAIRE: BAR MUSIC Q79B

Sex: __Male __Female

Religion: __RC __Protestant __Jewish __Other

Marital Status: __Married __Single __Other

Occupation:_____

Are you currently __employed __unemployed?

Principal place of residence_____

Education: __Primary __Elementary __High School

__College __Trades __None

Age: __19-25 __26-35 __36-45 __46-55 __56-65 __over 65

1. Do you prefer __live music __taped music

__jukebox music __no music at all in bars?

2. What type of music do you like to hear in bars?_____

_____

3. Do you come here to hear a particular musician or musicians? __yes __no

4. Which musicians do you come to see and what type of music do they play?

Musician _____ Music _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

5. Would you come here if there were no bar musician?

___would come as often __would come but not as often

___would not come at all __makes no difference

6. Why do you come to this bar?

__close to home __friendly atmosphere __to meet new people

__relax & drink with friends

__other (explain) _____

7. Have you ever left a bar because you did not like the musician? __yes __no

8. If you do not like a musician do you let him know? __yes __no

9. How do you let a musician know you do not like his music?
__by not clapping __booing &/or shouting
__talking loudly __telling him so
__other (explain) _____

10. If you want to request a song how do you ask for it?
__ask the musician directly __send him a note
__ask a friend to ask him __buy him a drink and then ask
__do not ask __other (explain)_____

11. Why do you request a song?
__you have heard the musician do it before and like his version
__he sounds like he would play that kind of song
__this is your way of letting him know you like his performance
__provides a way to have a conversation with him
__it is a popular song and you like it
__other (explain) _____

12. Do you like to hear original material? __yes __no
__depends on the singer and the song

13. If you like the musician's performance do you let him know?
__clapping after the song is over __clapping along
__shouting __sing along __dancing __do not let him know
__other (explain)_____
_____

14. Have you ever bought a musician a drink? __yes __no
If yes, why? __thought he was really good
__you were making a request __he was a friend
__you wanted to talk to him __other (explain) _____
_____

15. When speaking to musicians do you find that they are friendly?

__most are __some are __none are __do not know

16. What type of person do you think makes a good bar room performer? (explain)_____

_____

_____

_____

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This study brings together three areas of inquiry: occupations, musicians, and bars. While much of the folkloristic, anthropological, and sociological research in these areas is peripheral to the present focus, methodological and analytical insights can be drawn from them.

The development of the performance theory of folklore behaviour, which stresses the artistic and communicative process rather than the text or item, has opened new areas for the folklorist. Urban, industrial, and in fact, all facets of contemporary everyday life are now being studied. In addition to the perspectives gained from the literature discussed below, this study also draws upon the performance-centred approach to folklore in order to describe and analyze a cultural scene in everyday life.

Occupations

The study of occupational folklore has been approached from a number of directions which will be exemplified here. Initially, a generic approach, with the primary concentration upon the folksongs of male, rural, or isolated groups was taken. Miners, one of the first groups to be studied, were examined in Korson's Coal Dust on the

Fiddle: Songs and Stories of the Bituminous Industry[1] and Minstrels of the Mine Patch: Songs and Stories of the Anthracite Industry.[2] Initially interested only in folksong (see Songs and Ballads of the Anthracite Mines[3]) Korson broadened his approach and collected a number of other genres such as narrative, superstition, folk medicine, and on-the-job folk speech. His documentation of the socio-cultural matrix from which the lore sprang and to which it spoke stimulated others to make more intensive contextual studies. His introduction to Pennsylvania Songs and Legends[4] urges the study of the lore of both rural and urban groups in its natural context.

Green's study of recorded mine songs, Only a Miner: Studies in Recorded Coal Mining Songs,[5] acknowledges the debt that contemporary folklorists owe to Korson. Green's exhaustive study of topical and traditional recorded hillbilly

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[1]George Korson, Coal Dust on the Fiddle: Songs and Stories of the Bituminous Industry (Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1943).

[2]George Korson, Minstrels of the Mine Patch: Songs and Stories of the Anthracite Industry (Hatboroa, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1938).

[3]George Korson, Songs and Ballads of the Anthracite Miner (New York: Fredrick Hitchcock, 1927).

[4]George Korson, Pennsylvania Songs and Legends (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949).

[5]Archie Green, Only a Miner: Studies in Recorded Coal Mining Songs (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1972).

music describes the physical reality of mining and sets it in its social and cultural setting.

Occupational song has also been dealt with under the rubric of labour and protest song. Both Korson and Green include material that speaks of the deplorable working conditions and inhumane treatment of workers by bosses in the above mentioned studies. John Greenway's definitive work, American Songs of Protest[6] examines the songs of various racial, ethnic, labour, and occupational groups. His discussion of American social history provides contextual data and illustrates the conditions and events of which the songs speak. His biographical information, concerning such songmakers as Ella May Wiggins and Woody Guthrie, personalizes historical events. Page Stegner's paper, "Protest Songs from the Butte Miners,"[7] examines a collection of twenty-five songs as important social documents, which inform upon not only the working conditions but also upon the problems inherent in developing solidarity among workers. In "Workers in the Dawn: Labor Lore,"[8] Green points out that as unionism's economic practices developed so did a network of tales, songs, rituals, and

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[6]John Greenway, American Songs of Protest (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953).

[7]Page Stegner, "Protest Songs from the Butte Miners," Western Folklore, 26 (1967), 157-168.

[8]Archie Green, "Workers in the Dawn: Labor Lore," in Our Living Traditions, ed. Tristram Potter Coffin (New York: Basic Books, 1968), 251-262.

beliefs, and these form the substance of labour lore. He looks in turn, at language usage, narrative, and song.

A generic approach has been similarly used in the examination of superstition, custom and belief, legend, narrative, and folk speech.

Patrick Mullen offers a contextual and functional study of the folk beliefs of Texas Coast fishermen. He examines two groups: Gulf fishermen who fish far into the open sea, and bay fishermen who remain within the coastal estuary. Mullen demonstrates that because the former are engaged in a more dangerous occupation there is a greater need for and emphasis upon magic belief and magic belief legends.[9] Wayland Hand's "Folk Beliefs and Customs of the American Theater: a Survey"[10] and Dan Gross' "Folklore of the Theater"[11] both offer lists of customs, beliefs, and superstitions related to the theatre. These practices, which Hand states offer a psychological release in an unpredictable occupation, concern themselves with problems and fears having to do with performance, rehearsals, and on-the-road behaviour. Harvey Weiner offers a comparison of the customs and beliefs

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[9]Patrick Mullen, I Heard the Old Fishermen Say: Folklore of the Texas Gulf Coast (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

[10]Wayland Hand, "Folk Beliefs and Customs of the American Theater: a Survey," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 38 (1974), 24-48.

[11]Dan Gross, "Folklore of the Theater," Western Folklore, 23 (1961), 257-263.

of Italian and Eastern European Jewish garment workers in "Folklore in the Los Angeles Garment Industry."[12] The customs and beliefs are seen to reflect an occupational syncretism between the European hand-made industry and the mass production of ready-to-wear clothing in the United States. David Winslow's paper "Occupational Superstitions of Negro Prostitutes in an Upstate New York City,"[13] demonstrates how prostitutes use and rely upon beliefs and customs as protective devices in a high risk occupation.

Folk speech or occupational jargon as it develops and is utilized within the context of the workplace has come to the attention of a number of folklorists. The origin of soda fountain calls, the way in which they are ordered in terms of number of items, size of the drink or food, and special instructions have been discussed by Gerald Warshaver and Michael Owen Jones.[14] The folk speech of painters, oil field workers, truck drivers, postal workers, and fire fighters have been similarly studied.[15]

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[12]Harvey Weiner, "Folklore in the Los Angeles Garment Industry," Western Folklore, 23 (1964), 17-21.

[13]David Winslow, "Occupational Superstitions of Negro Prostitutes in an Upstate New York City," New York Folklore Quarterly, 24 (1968), 294-301.

[14]Gerald Warshaver, "Schlop Scholarship: A Survey of Folkloristic Studies of Lunchcounter and Soda Jerk Operatives," Folklore Forum, 4 (1971), 134-145; Michael Owen Jones, "Soda Fountain, Restaurant, and Tavern Calls," American Speech, 42 (1967), 58-64.

[15]John Michael Bennet, "Folk Speech and Legends of the Trade of Housepainting," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 4 (1969), pp. 313-316; Leslie Phipps Boone, "Patterns of

Recently greater emphasis has been placed upon occupational narratives as devices that not only offer an insight to the scholar into work techniques and occupational concerns, but also serve as an intergral part of working that instructs novices as to the appropriate behaviour both in terms of work skills and social behaviour. In his work on occupational narratives, Santino demonstrates that such stories provide an insight into and an index of the specific challenges and problems that arise in the job. By presenting a representative sample of narratives from three industries (railroad, airlines, and telephone company) drawn from workers at different job levels, Santino isolated the narrative motifs to uncover the meaning of the narratives. The narratives contain two types of problems: (1) the types of skills a worker must have in order to meet the specific physical challenges of the job, and (2) the sociological problems of responsibility, status, and authority.[16] The volume of stories in which the hostility of the worker is demonstrated towards superiors and outsiders indicates the

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Innovation in the Language of the Oil Field," American Speech, 1 (1949), 31-37; C. Grant Loomis, "Sign Language of Truck Drivers," Western Folklore, 3 (1950), 205-206; David B. Winslow, "Post Office Vocabulary," Keystone Folklore Quarterly, 1 (1952), 14; Paul L. Yelsma, "Words Used by Firefighters of the Denver Fire Department," Publications of the American Dialect Society, 52 (1969), 24-36.

[16]John F. (Jack) Santino, "The Outlaw Emotions: Workers' Narratives from Three Contemporary Occupations," Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1978, p. 153.

importance of such concerns to the researcher. Santino suggests that occupational narratives allow negative emotions to be expressed and thereby offer a much needed buffer in the various relationships between workers, clients, and management.[17]

Robert McCarl's work on smoke jumper stories suggests that the central concerns of an occupation cluster around a middle point between day-to-day work tasks and exciting or unusual occurrences.[18] The more dangerous occupations, such as smoke jumping or fire fighting, have the most detailed and frequent middle point stories. Upon isolating these middle point narratives they may be analyzed structurally in terms of content and context and finally their functions may be determined. Susan Berkman examines personal narratives told by doctors and nurses during slow periods in an emergency ward. The stories communicate information concerning the narrator's emotions, as well as information about social relationships and

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[17]Also see Jack Santino, "Characteristics of Occupational Narrative," Western Folklore, 3 (1978), 199-212; Jack Santino, "Contemporary Occupational Heroes," Folklore Forum, 10-11 (1977-78), 55-59; Jack Santino, "'Flew the Ocean in a Plane': An Investigation of Airline Occupational Narrative," Journal of the Folklore Institute, 3 (1978), 189-208.

[18]Robert S. McCarl, Jr., "Jump Story: An Examination of an Occupational Experience Narrative," Folklore Forum, 10-11 (1977-78), 1-17.

and unusual behaviour within those relationships.[19] James P. Leary examines the joking relationships that develop among cattlemen and demonstrates how occupational narratives, specialized knowledge, jargon, and formulaic bidding combine to create a system of social action and role image for the cattleman.[20]

Joking and joking behaviour in the workplace have been studied in terms of social control and status. Catherine Swanson attempts to demonstrate how joking behaviour at breaktime is used to negotiate the status relationship between two office workers.[21] Richard March shows how janitors use jokes to reestablish their pride and feelings of male superiority after working in a girls' dormitory.[22] By denigrating women through jokes, the members of a low status occupation vent their anger and deal with personal feelings of inferiority. Robbie Davis Johnson's paper on a Texas madam investigates the strategic and tactical use of folklore by the owner of a bordello to maintain social

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[19]Susan C.J. Berkman, "'She's Writing Antidotes': An Examination of Hospital Employees' Use of Stories about Personal Experiences," Folklore Forum, 10-11 (1977-78), 48-54.

[20]James P. Leary, "Strategies and Stories of the Omaha Stockyards," Folklore Forum, 10-11 (1977-78), 29-41.

[21]Catherine Swanson, "Joking at the Office: Coffee-Break Humor," Folklore Forum, 10-11 (1977-78), 42-47.

[22]Richard March, "Lust and Disgust on the Job: Broadening Occupational Folklore," Folklore Forum, 10-11 (1977-78), 60-64.

control. The madam uses her extensive repertoire of jokes in order to win verbal duals with customers and thereby asserts her dominance and control over the interaction.[23]

As a growing number of scholars turn to the work-place as an area of study, conceptual, methodological, and historical questions are being raised. Folklorists have broadened their definition of who the "folk" are and where folklore might be found, as they look to urban as well as rural people. The development of the performance-centred approach to folklore speaks of a concentration not upon the item but upon the complex social situation in which that item emerges. Folklore, seen as an artistic communicative process, has influenced the study of occupations. Examples of this tendency can be found in a special issue of Western Folklore devoted to contemporary approaches in occupational folklore and folklife. The following discussion centres upon the salient points in these papers at some length.

Archie Green offers a survey of the history of the study of industrial/occupational folklore from the earliest collections of cowboy, sailor, and lumberjack songs to the contemporary work of McCarl and others. He deals with basic arguments about the democratization of the term "folk," how expressive culture emerges during work activity, how work lore simultaneously reflects stability and conflict,

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[23]Robbie Davis Johnson, "Folklore and Women: A Social Interactional Analysis of the Folklore of a Texas Madam," Journal of American Folklore, 341 (1973), 221-224.

and what tools are useful in gathering information in the industrial arena. Green also looks at critical anthropological studies, novels, poetry, autobiography, and history. He further notes that popular fiction set in work contexts provides excellent ethnography. While he explains his own contradictory position, that is, he studies industrial lore, yet is hesitant in enlarging the term "folk," Green affirms that the factory is an appropriate field for folklore studies.[24]

Robert S. McCarl presents an operational definition of occupational folklife and develops a critical theoretical framework and methodology with which to apprehend and interpret data. He suggests that the central craft or process of an occupation be taken as the prime shaping or articulating force in the work group and that it is from this craft or process that all expressive modes of interaction are derived. His holistic, contextual approach looks at the rhythms, techniques, processes, and stylized forms of interaction from the native point of view. McCarl's theory of occupational culture approaches technique, gesture, oral expression, and custom from a non-generic, process oriented, folkloristic, and social scientific foundation. He demonstrates that work processes and techniques are inextricable from and form the basis of all

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[24]Archie Green, "Industrial Lore: A Bibliographic-Semantic Query," Western Folklore, 3 (1978), 213-245.

other forms of expressive interaction within the workplace.[25]

Roger Abrahams discusses "folk" as a sociological concept, its political and economic ramifications, and its recent redefinition, which has taken it from what is concerned with community (in the sense of village) to what has to do with groupings of significant others. Paralleling this discussion is a survey of the way in which occupational folklore has been studied in the past. He suggests that by using a sociological frame of reference, the researcher can relate the lore to the group. Looking at service occupations, Abrahams demonstrates how expressive culture is utilized in them, pointing out that the largest part of the lore can be found in the narratives that deal with recurrent problems and which contain jargon, routine activities, and typologies of customers.[26]

Robert Byington offers suggestions for the gathering of ethnographic data in contemporary, highly structured, urban/industrial work contexts. He points out many of the problems that researchers encounter with unions, workers, and management, and suggests ways of anticipating and

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[25]Robert S. McCarl, Jr., "Occupational Folklife: A Theoretical Hypothesis," Western Folklore, 3 (1978), 145-160.

[26]Roger D. Abrahams, "Towards a Sociological Theory of Folklore: Performing Services," Western Folklore, 3 (1978), 161-184.

preventing such problems. Byington suggests three methods of acquiring data: touring the workplace, participating in as many techniques as the group will allow, and cultivating a key informant. Finally, he discusses different methods of documentation (pen and paper, tape recorder, movie camera and video) and illustrates the pros and cons of each method.[27]

Jack Santino demonstrates one analytic approach to occupational narratives indicating how they provide an insight into specific problems that arise in a job. Such problems are treated through common subjects, for example, the "good old days," and characters and heroes. His work on occupational narrative has been mentioned above.[28]

Musicians

While there is a great deal of literature devoted to the study of popular and folk musicians in Western Culture, there is little emphasis placed upon the small-time bar musician. For the most part, musicians who have achieved national or international recognition have been studied by both scholars and popular writers. Those musicians who work behind the scenes, for example, studio

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[27]Robert H. Byington, "Strategies for Collecting Occupational Folklife in Contemporary Urban/Industrial Contexts," Western Folklore, 3 (1978), 185-198.

[28]Santino, "Characteristics of Occupational Narrative," 199-212.

musicians, or local musicians who have not achieved wide public recognition have been largely ignored. Fanzine books and articles, for example, deal almost exclusively with the careers, biographies, music, and performances of such musicians as Paul McCartney, Mick Jagger, B.B. King, Muddy Waters, Hank Williams, Bill Monroe, and others. Since fanzines aim for a wide popular distribution, and since the public is interested almost exclusively in famous persons, this material is written with an eye for fulfilling such needs.

Scholars have taken a number of approaches to the study of the lives, careers, and music of prominent musicians, singers, and composers. There is a plethora of generic, biographical, and performance-centred studies. A number of theses studies examine performer/audience relationships and interaction, and the rules that govern these concerns. Such studies are exemplified below.

Extensive sociological research has been directed towards jazz musicians. Viewed largely as a deviant subgroup, which has rejected the musical preferences, as well as the mores and values of mainstream American culture, this group has become both within society and the literature a symbol of the alienated artist in North America. Sociologists, such as Howard Becker and Robert Stebbins, and jazz historian Nat Hentoff, have examined the occupational concerns, techniques, and careers of obscure and

internationally famous jazz musicians.[29]

Becker, Stebbins and Hentoff all make a distinction between jazz and commercial musicians, describing and analyzing their occupational expectations, hazards, strategies, and considerations. Becker provides extensive data on the relationship and interaction that the musician has with his audience, focusing upon the conflicts and constraints imposed by the audience upon the musician. He views performing in bars and nightclubs as a service occupation and argues that many of the problems that musicians encounter result from their desire to maintain their artistic integrity and the respect of fellow musicians, while at the same time obtain engagements and survive economically.[30]

All three look at the community of musicians and demonstrate the necessity of the novice to involve himself in a clique or a number of cliques so that he might draw upon the informal network of communication to obtain work, and for emotional and sometimes physical and economic support.

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[29]Howard S. Becker, "The Professional Jazz Musician and his Audience," in The Sounds of Social Change, ed. R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), pp. 248-260; Robert A. Stebbins, "Class, Status, and Power among Jazz and Commercial Musicians," Sociological Quarterly, 7 (1960), 197-213; Nat Hentoff, The Jazz Life (New York: De Capo Press, 1975).

[30]Becker, p. 248.

Neither Becker nor Stebbins state directly who their informants are. However, from their writings one gathers that these are musicians who do not have popular, national, or international recognition. Hentoff, on the other hand, looks at the careers of nationally and internationally famous musicians. He views occupational hierarchies in less localized terms than Becker and Stebbins. The community of musicians knows no state or national boundaries. He deals with the changes in jazz as a musical form and the changing attitudes towards jazz in the wider community. By giving biographical data on such artists as Count Basie, Duke Ellington and Charles Mingus, Hentoff provides a description of not only the jazz scene in the United States but also the cultural milieu from which it comes.

The literature on jazz musicians focuses on a highly esoteric musical form and musical culture. Jazz musicians characterize their audience as "squares" and accordingly develop attitudes and strategies to deal with them.[31] While many of these are similar and even identical to those of the bar musicians in this study, the condition of alienation, which is so intense among jazz musicians, is rarely present in the relationship between non-jazz musicians and their audiences. As Hentoff points out, rock music is multifarious and is created by the young so that it is no longer square for a reasonably sophisticated listener to like music that everyone else in his generation

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[31]Becker, p. 258.

"grooves" to.[32] The audience who listens to a rock, pop, or traditional performer has, for the most part, a closer affinity to this music than to jazz. Thus, the gap felt between the non-jazz musician and his audience is neither as intense nor as wide as the gap felt between the jazz musician and his audience.

Simon Frith's sociological study of rock music examines the rock industry, the musicians, and their audiences. He demonstrates that there is a close relationship between musicians and audience, which is largely due to the fact that both have similar backgrounds and interests. Frith argues that more than anything else it is the live performance, which binds musicians to their audiences and which creates the ties symbolized by rock festivals and concerts.[33] Moreover, Peter Narváez states that on a local level, the performance of a popular song in a small room context serves "to reify the sentiments and artistic expressions of a 'star' who is never <u>really</u> seen."[34]

Recent studies of punk rock suggest that urban British teenagers have rejected fifties and sixties rock music as the product of affluent middle class individuals.

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[32]Hentoff, p. viii.

[33]Simon Frith, <u>The Sociology of Rock</u> (London: Constable, 1978).

[34]Peter Narváez, "Country and Western in Diffusion: Juxtaposition and Syncretism in the Popular Music of Newfoundland," <u>Culture and Tradition</u>, 2(1977), 107-114.

Punk rock, on the other hand, a product of the "gutter," offers a totally accessible musical form and life style, which is created by teenagers from, for example, east end London slums. The distance between musician and audience is almost completely destroyed as fans join the musicians and often participate on stage.[35]

Blues has attracted folklorists in recent years. Charles Keil, in his sociological/folkloristic study Urban Blues, demonstrates the closeness of the relationship between the urban blues singer and his audience. His description of the Big Bobby Blue Bland's performance at the Ashland Auditorium on Chicago's West Side illustrates the ritualistic nature of the call and response patterns in the relationship between bluesman and audience. He notes that the performance represents the dramatic synthesis of charisma, catharsis, and solidarity in the aesthetic patterns of Negro culture. The audience is not a passive spectator, applauding only at the appropriate times, but is an integral and crucial part of the performance itself. While the audience is an integral part of the jazz performance--though Becker and others would point out that this audience is usually played against rather than played to--the critical difference is that there is a unity in expression or an expressive identification between the blues performer and his audience. The blues singer's sentiments

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[35]Virgina Boston, Punk Rock (London: Plexus, 1978).

and the expression of these sentiments through performance are anticipated by the audience and fulfilled by the performer.[36]

Folklorist L. Mayne Smith similarly notes in his study of bluegrass musicians and music, that the relationship between bluegrass musicians and their audience is informal and close. Special friends and family in the audience are acknowledged by the musicians on stage to increase the sense of identification between listeners and musicians. The fact that many listeners' motives for attendance may be as much social as musical and that a part of the audience may chat during the performance, reflects a comfortable, informal attitude towards the situation rather than a rude disinterest in the music.[37]

William Ferris, another folklorist, documents the development of the blues in the Mississippi Delta. He sets contemporary Delta blues in its historical, geographical, social, and cultural context and illustrates the reciprocity between the blues as an expressive form and the culture from which it issues. The blues speak to the larger matters of conflict in the lives of the performer and his audience. Like Keil, Ferris documents the critical relationship and

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[36]Charles Keil, Urban Blues (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966).

[37]L. Mayne Smith, "Music and Musicians: An Introductory Study of a Musical Style in its Cultural Context," Diss. Indiana University, 1964.

interaction between performer and audience, and offers a forty-one page transcription of a house blues party. In Blues From the Delta, Ferris argues for the in-context study and analysis of this musical genre, demonstrating that the text is shaped by and emerges in the interaction between the performer and his audience. The small room context of the blues party allows for optimum communication between performer and audience. Ferris' study describes the roots of the urban blues performance discussed by Keil and provides a great insight into the relationship between this musical form and its cultural matrix.[38]

Peter Narváez examines the itinerant Afro-American songster and downhome blues street singer and suggests that social history, blues lyrics, and biographies of black entertainers, reveal that such musicians have been strongly influenced by wandering Mexican street singers. The Mexican trovador of cantador provides a geographically immediate model for the Afro-American singers, their influence being reflected in musical instrumentation, style, and technique, and most especially in modes of performance ritual and life style. The performance styles of blind black singers are described as they play in the streets to white and black audiences.[39] In his study of the music and behaviour of a

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[38]William Ferris, Blues from the Delta (Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1979).

[39]Peter Narváez, "Afro-American and Mexican Street Singers: An Ethnohistorical Hypothesis," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 42 (1978), 73-84.

black street performer, "Bongo Joe," in Galveston, Texas, Patrick Mullen looks at a performer who is closely aligned to traditional folk society in the structure in which he works. Joe is historically linked with traveling street performers. It is the structure of the performance rather than its content which is seen as traditional. Mullen describes the performance situation, the audience, and the combination of traditional and innovational elements that influence the performance. He observes how Joe's white-oriented frustrations are vented as he satirizes individuals on the street and engages in verbal contests with members of the audience. The performance depends upon and is shaped by the individuals in the audience. Their economic and verbal responses allow Joe to fulfill his role as performer.[40]

A biographical approach to the blues is provided by another folklorist. David Evans' portrait of Mississippi blues singer Tommy Johnson compiled from reminiscences of friends and relatives offers a description of the lives of "folk professionals," those singers who participate in the commercial side of blues, yet who are still "folk singers," as revealed through accounts of their lives. Evans examines the way in which blues singers alter their repertoire to meet the needs and expectations of black and white

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[40]Patrick Mullen, "A Negro Street Performer: Tradition and Innovation," Western Folklore, 29 (1970), 91-103.

audiences.[41] Robert Baron similarly describes how Salsa musicians in New York selectively adapt their repertoire to changing audiences and contexts. The commercially successful musician manages to maintain continuity with musical forms from the past while adapting them to contemporary contexts.[42]

A biographical approach has also been used by such folklorists as Edward Ives, John Szwed, Henry Glassie and Roger Abrahams.[43] In his biography of Almeda Riddle, Abrahams discusses, among other topics, the development of a singer's repertoire in terms of the determinants of song choice. Granny Riddle's primary criterion for the presentation of a song was the age group of her audience. Her repertoire was divided into two basic groups: adult songs and children's songs. The songs were further broken down

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[41]David Evans, Tommy Johnson (London: Studio Vista, 1971).

[42]Robert Baron, "Syncretism and Ideology: Latin New York Salsa Musicians," Western Folklore, 36-7 (1977-78), 209-225.

[43]Edward D. Ives, Joe Scott: The Woodsman-Songmaker (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1978); John F. Szwed, "Paul E. Hall: A Newfoundland Song-Maker and his Community of Song," in Folksongs and their Makers, ed. Henry Glassie, Edward D. Ives and John F. Szwed (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, no date), pp. 149-169; Henry Glassie "'Take that Night Train to Selma': An Excursion to the Outskirts of Scholarship," in Folksongs and their Makers, ed. Henry Glassie, Edward D. Ives and John F. Szwed (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, no date), pp. 1-70; Roger Abrahams, ed., A Singer and Her Songs: Almeda Riddle's Book of Ballads (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970).

into, for example, courting songs and obscene songs, which were sung when she deemed them appropriate. This study, essentially a "folk-autobiography" examines two concerns of folklorists, the singer and the songs, and, thus, provides a great insight into the development and use of repertoire. Repertoire categorization and selection are also examined in a study by George Casey et al. They argue that the classification of the audience by the singer determines the songs in his repertoire which will be utilized on a specific occasion. The "good" singer has a conscious awareness of the differences between the groups for whom he performs and he accordingly modifies his performance to fit his perception of the special tastes of a particular audience.[44]

Bennett Berger offers a description of a joint concert given by a local symphony orchestra and a rock group and illustrates the differences in the norms that govern audience behaviour, and the confusion each experiences before becoming aware that such differences exist. The orchestra, initially taken aback at what they thought to be the bad manners of the rock audience, slowly realized that they were both operating under different rules.[45]

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[44]George Casey, Neil V. Rosenberg, and Wilfred W. Wareham, "Repertoire Categorization and Performer-Audience Relationships: Some Newfoundland Folksong Examples," Ethnomusicology, 17 (1973), 397-403.

[45]Bennett M. Berger, "Audiences, Art and Power," Trans-Action, 8-9 (1970-72), 26-30.

There have been few studies of musicians in which the researcher has used the bar as his central focus. The attitudes of a bar performer towards his audience and a folk taxonomy of the audience is provided in Michael Melford's brief paper on a bluegrass bar. Melford lists many of the most distasteful aspects of performing in bars, focusing primarily upon the rowdy behaviour of the patrons and the requests that performers would rather not, but inevitably do receive. Though the article is written in a somewhat tongue-in-cheek manner, Melford articulates many of the attitudes and problems that bar musicians develop and experience.[46]

Another study of bar musicians is Clinton Sanders' treatment of small-time bar musicians in Chicago. He examines the rules of behaviour that govern performer/audience interaction, and the attitudes of musicians towards their audiences and other musicians. He illustrates the ambivalent position and attitudes of bar musicians towards performing in bars, and discusses occupational concerns, ideals, expectations, hazards, and techniques. Sanders also describes how tensions and conflicts can be eased by the development of cooperative links with club personnel and regular patrons. In a relatively short paper Sanders effectively describes the major concerns of this

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[46]Michal J. Melford, "Working the Hillbilly Ranch," Autoharp, 27 (1965), 1-3.

occupational group.[47]

Joan Kosby offers an examination of performer/audience relationships, performance style, and the barriers that exist between performer and audience in her ethnography of a British folk music club. She observes that revivalist singers attempt to narrow the distance between performer and audience in the small room context of the pub. She discusses different audience types (e.g., loud Irish drinking audiences and quiet English audiences) and their effects upon performance, and "serious" versus "comic" performers.[48]

Bars

Most of the sociological studies of bars have been devoted to the development of typologies of public drinking establishments and typologies of patrons. Macrory and Clinard offer virtually identical typologies based primarily upon the bars' location and physical structure.[49]

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[47]Clinton R. Sanders, "Psyching Out the Crowd: Folk Performers and their Audiences," Urban Life and Culture, 3 (1974), 264-282.

[48]Joan Kosby, "An Ethnography of the St. Albans Folk Music Club," unpublished Masters Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978.

[49]B.E. Macrory, "The Tavern and the Community," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 13 (1953), pp. 609-637; Marshall B. Clinard, "The Public Drinking House and Society," in Society, Culture, and Drinking Patterns, ed. David Pittman and Charles Snyder (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1962), pp. 270-292.

Dividing bars into five categories (skid row taverns, downtown/cocktail lounges, drink-and-dine taverns, night clubs and road houses, and neighbourhood taverns) they describe the physical settings, class, and sex of patrons, and the primary function of each type of bar. Similarly Gottlieb, in a study of the differences in neighbourhood taverns and cocktail lounges, and Richards, in a survey of taverns in New York, note the ecological location and structure of the settings as their primary determinates in typing bars.[50] LeMasters provides an insight into the beliefs and attitudes of blue collar workers in his study of one working class tavern. As with the studies mentioned above, he does not provide much detail pertaining to behaviour, though he does list a number of games and activities that are carried on in the bar.[51]

While location, physical structure, patronage, and function are definite considerations in the present study, rather than being used to develop a typology of the bars, they have been viewed with one basic question in mind: how do these factors effect performance?

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[50]David Gottlieb, "The Neighborhood Tavern and the Cocktail Lounge: A Study of Class Differences," American Journal of Sociology, 62 (1956-57), pp. 559-562; Cara E. Richards, "City Taverns," Human Organization, 22 (1963-64), 260-268.

[51]E.E. LeMasters, Blue-Collar Aristocrats: Life-Styles at a Working-Class Tavern (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973).

Although these sociological studies do not take an ethnographic approach they are important in that they are perhaps the first that broke with the traditional moralizing perspective from which bars and more specifically alcohol consumption had previously been viewed. In these works, the bar, especially the neighbourhood tavern, is seen as an integrating rather than destructive force in the lives of its patrons. Functioning as a meeting place where social relationships are established, the bar is a place of recreation, a place where people can go to talk over personal problems and to enjoy themselves. Alcohol consumption, while central, is not the first priority of bargoers.

This was, in fact, attested to in a 1943 study of pubs by a group of anthropologists in an industrial town in northern England. It was observed that more time was spent by more people in public houses than in any other institution except for private homes and workplaces. People were drawn to pubs because they provided a context in which they could be socially active, as opposed to social gathering places, such as theatres, in which they were passive spectators. This comprehensive study described the structural features of pubs, their sub-settings, and the various uses that patrons made of them. Through the use of personal experience narratives and comments of patrons, bartenders, and barmaids, the researchers developed a

detailed ethnographic description of pub behaviour.[52]

There have been several recent ethnographies of bar culture. These are Cavan's macro analysis of bar behaviour in San Francisco, Roebuck and Frese' micro analysis of an afterhours club, and Spradley and Mann's occupational study of cocktail waitresses.

Cavan visited approximately one hundred bars in the San Francisco area and developed a typology based not upon location, physical structure, or the characteristics of the patrons who frequented them, as had been done in previous studies, but upon the primary uses that patrons made of the bars. She arrives at four types: (1) the convenience bar, (2) the night spot, (3) the marketplace bar, and (4) the home territory bar. Though different in location and function all bars exhibit three transsituational features: all serve alcohol, all are unserious contexts, and all are on the fringes of respectable American life. Focusing upon three general categories of activities, seating and spacial distribution, internal movement, and face-to-face interaction, she describes the stable reproducible features of behaviour that comprise the "standing patterns of action" in the bar. Such patterns are seen to persist independent of changing clientele; they are routinely expected within the setting and treated as

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[52]Mass Observation, The Pub and the People (London: Victor Gollancz, 1943).

fitting and proper for the time and place.[53]

Cavan's focus is less upon why people go to bars than on what they do in the bars they patronize. She suggests that bars provide a context that is less restrictive than "serious" settings, such as offices or restaurants, and where sociability and playtime activities are paramount. She argues that the setting is an "unserious" one in which nothing really counts, and where actions have no real consequence.[54]

Roebuck and Frese use Cavan's conception of the bar as an unserious setting in their study of one after-hours club. The authors give a detailed description of the club, noting the employee and patron types, the various sub-settings, and the types of behaviour that take place in these areas. As does Cavan, they discuss the latitudes of and ground rules for behaviour and the types of social control that make up the patterns of action in the club. They use personal narratives obtained through formal interview, and their own observations gained through participant-observation, to illustrate the insider's perspective, concerns, priorities, and actions.[55]

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[53]Sherri Cavan, Liquor License: An Ethnography of Bar Behavior (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

[54]Cavan, pp. 49-66.

[55]Julian B. Roebuck and Wolfgang Frese, The Rendezvous: A Case Study of an After-Hours Club (New York: The Free Press, 1976).

Spradley and Mann provide perhaps the only major anthropological study of American bar culture. It is directed towards a description of the occupational concerns of cocktail waitresses at a mid-western college bar, from the perspective of the waitresses. They look at the cultural knowledge that the waitresses must learn in order to do their jobs well, and in doing so provide a detailed description of bar behaviour. They analyze their findings in terms of male-female relationships and status in the wider society. They demonstrate, particularly through the joking form of interaction how expressive behaviour is used to negotiate these relationships.[56]

A number of folkloristic studies have focused upon bar behaviour. Michael J. Bell's study of folkloric communication in an urban black bar examines the behaviour of bartenders, barmaids, and patrons as they interact in the "time out" performance context of Brown's bar. Bell suggests that while the bar has an unserious orientation and all of the participants accept that the goings on are "play," personal relationships and biographies are intensely communal so that activity remains consequential. He contrasts the reflexive involvement of the patrons with the reflective involvement of the bartenders as they participate in the social life of the bar. Arguing that the occupational role of tending bar is artistic as well as social,

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[56]James P. Spradley and Brenda J. Mann, The Cocktail Waitress: Woman's Work in a Man's World (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975).

he examines social knowledge and patterns of performance as they are reflected in the artful accomplishment of the work. With an eye to the various forms of interaction which emerge in the bar, Bell describes how patrons manipulate the juke box, the "iron pimp," as they tell personal narratives while the texts of records play, to form a coherent patterned presentation of information. Bell examines the bar as an ecological environment, the behaviour which emerges in it and the meaning of such behaviour as it is enacted.[57]

Another folkloristic study of bar behaviour is James Leary's analysis of fights and fight stories in contemporary rural American bars. The barroom is viewed as an important locus for social activity, a locus which is a natural extension of the bargoer's workday world. Two critical aspects of social activity are fights and fight stories. Such stories are described as hero legends, which speak of the secular ritual of the fight. Both fights and fight narratives represent a world view that respects the traditional values of masculine aggression and display as they are manifest in old-time frontier behaviour.[58]

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[57]Michael J. Bell, "Running Rabbits and Talking Shit: Folkloric Communication in an Urban Black Bar," Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1975. See also, Michael J. Bell, "Tending Bar at Brown's: Occupational Role as Artistic Performance," Western Folklore, 35 (1976), 93-108.

[58]James P. Leary, "Fists and Foul Mouths: Fights and Fight Stories in Contemporary Rural American Bars," Journal of American Folklore, 89 (1976), 27-39.

The preceding review of folkloristic, anthropological, and sociological literature dealing with occupations, musicians, and bars, was given in order to exemplify the types of research that have been conducted in these areas. While many insights have been gained from these studies, the present thesis has drawn most especially from those studies which have taken an ethnographic approach to bar behaviour, and performer/audience relationships and interaction, and those which have offered an analysis of occupational narrative, custom, and strategy.

CHAPTER III

THE BARS

Types and Clientele

As mentioned in the review of bar literature, several sociologists in their discussions of public drinking places describe ideal types of establishments--the skid row tavern, the downtown/cocktail lounge, the drink-and-dine establishment, the nightclub and the neighbourhood tavern.[1] Such typologies are based primarily upon the ecological location and the physical structure of the bars. Cavan's seminal ethnography broke with this approach as she constructed four ideal types of bars based upon the special use to which each setting was put. While she states that due to loosely defined expectations such uses may be possible in all bars, an establishment may be characterized by the primary use to which the setting is put.[2]

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[1]See, Boyd E. Macrory, "The Tavern and the Community," Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 13 (1952), 609-637, and Marshall B. Clinard, "The Public Drinking House and Society," in Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns, ed. David J. Pittman and Charles R. Snyder (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1962), pp. 270-292.

[2]Sherri Cavan, Liquor License: An Ethnography of Bar Behavior (Chicago: Aldine, 1966), p. 144.

Four ideal types are described: the convenience bar, the nightspot, the marketplace bar and the home territory bar. The convenience bar is used as a place where patrons consume one or two drinks and, having no other motive for being there, leave.[3] The nightspot provides a diversion in the form of a production: "a programmed course of activity that is in some general fashion scripted, rehearsed, and presented to patrons."[4] The marketplace bar derives its special character from its use as an exchange centre for various goods and services. Sex, either commercial or non-commercial, is the most frequently marketed commodity after liquor.[5] The home territory bar provides a "private retreat for some special group."[6] Rather than being a public place, this type of bar is used by its patrons as a "home away from home," where intruders are unwelcome.[7]

In developing a typology for the bars in this study, three of Cavan's types: the nightspot, the marketplace and the home territory are of particular importance. According to these definitions, all of the bars considered in this study can be characterized as nightspots, marketplace

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[3]Cavan, p. 145.

[4]Cavan, pp. 155-156.

[5]Cavan, p. 171.

[6]Cavan, p. 205.

[7]Cavan, pp. 205-206.

bars and home territory bars. If such bars are to be described in terms of ideal type, then, for the purposes of this study, the definition chosen applies only when musicians are performing--generally between the hours of 9:30 p.m. and 1:00 a.m. The uses to which the bars are put during daytime hours are not relevant. As well, on any given night, the type of patrons who are present may ultimately determine the definition of the context. The major part of the clientele, for example, may be comprised of fans/friends of the performer. Their quiet attention or participatory behaviour might well influence the dominant behaviour patterns in the bar. Such behaviour can well inhibit or drive away those patrons who wish to use the bar for other purposes.

It should be noted that only Bridgett's regularly features musicians. Martha's, the Cabaret, Freddy's and the Cochrane hire musicians from time to time, sometimes on a regular basis for several weeks or months. The management might lose interest in featuring live performers, as in the case of the Cochrane; might think they no longer need musicians to draw a crowd, as in the case of Martha's; or might no longer have the money to afford musicians, as in the case of the Cabaret. Accordingly, these bars can only be considered as nightspots when performances take place.

As will be demonstrated in Chapter V, most bars have their regular customers. Bridgett's, the Cochrane,

the Cabaret and Freddy's all have a number of older working class men who frequented the bars long before musicians were introduced and who continued to do so (although with reduced frequency and duration) when musicians became a regular feature. The introduction of musicians, particularly to Bridgett's, altered the nighttime attendance patterns of the regulars, though their daytime patterns remained unchanged. The musicians began to draw a substantial number of university students, younger working people, and professional people (e.g., lawyers, doctors and university professors). It was also at this time that women, who had previously been excluded from the bar, began to attend.

Instead of remaining the exclusive domain of the regular, these bars, with their live entertainment, began to attract young single people. Bridgett's has increasingly taken on the characteristics of a marketplace bar, which unattached persons of either sex frequent in the hope of finding a potential partner for the night.[8]

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[8]In typing such bars as Bridgett's and Martha's as marketplaces, I must restrict Cavan's definition to the use of the bar as a non-commerical pickup spot. In her ethnography, Cavan described the sale of stolen merchandise and drugs, prostitution, and gambling as normal activities in marketplace bars. Thus, many were known as centres for illegal activities. Such activities were not observed, nor do I mean to suggest that they might occur in the bars in this study. For a description of heterosexual pickup practices see Cavan, pp. 178-190.

Martha's is perhaps the only bar which exclusively caters to and draws a young (ages nineteen to thirty) clientele. While a number of these patrons appear in the bar with great frequency and may be considered as regulars, they do not develop proprietary claims to the setting. They cannot nor would they wish to since, as a marketplace, a large turnover of patrons enlarges the pool of potential pickups.

Many patrons are drawn to these bars and become regulars because of the live music. However, while there is a rehearsed, "scripted" performance taking place, unlike the nighspots described by Cavan, where the audience was required to "attend to and evince interest in the staged events,"[9] there are no such proprieties in the above mentioned bars. While the musician would prefer to have the quiet attention of the patrons, neither he nor the management expects this of them.

This is not to say that, at times, many patrons do not turn their full attention to the performer, only that it is not expected of them. These bars are not nightclubs where the rules of behaviour establish that the performance is to be treated in a manner similar to a concert. On occasion the noise level does lower as the bargoers become attentive. However, they may frequent the bar because of the ambience created by a live performer, but

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[9]Cavan, p. 160.

not make that performance their focal point.

Since there is a rehearsed performance taking place, all of the bars can be classified as nightspots. These bars are not nightclubs, or contexts in which the patrons are expected to treat the performance as the primary focus. However, even though attention is not demanded, since there is a live performer, a particular awareness on the part of the patrons is apparent. They hear even though they do not listen. They might not leave until the end of a song or a set out of consideration for the performer. They might not even get up to order a drink or to go to the washroom in the middle of a song.

While this type of awareness of performance is evident, individuals or groups may be present for a variety of reasons. They might have come to meet friends, to have a drink alone, to meet new people, to "pick up" someone, or to drink and forget their problems. Each individual or group has their own definition of the situation. To some the primary motive for attending the bar is to meet a partner for the night, to others it is their home territory. Martha's could be classified as a nightspot/marketplace bar since it is predominantly frequented by young singles. Bridgett's, on a Friday or Saturday night, might be characterized in the same way. However, on a Sunday, when the older regulars seem to dominate Bridgett's, it might be classified as a nightspot/home territory bar.

The classification of the bars may even alter during the course of the evening. The older regulars at Bridgett's, for example, tend to come before the performer begins and remain for one or possibly two sets. Thus, it is a nightspot/home territory bar. Later, when the younger patrons drift in, around 10:30 p.m., it can well take on the atmosphere of a nightspot/marketplace bar for the duration of the night.

The uses to which public drinking establishments are put are exhibited through standing patterns of behaviour.[10] Such patterns are taken for granted by those who routinely interact in these settings. Thus, the older working class patron knows the days and hours of the day that he will meet his peers. Their presence in and definition of the bar serve to call into play those patterns which are appropriate. Likewise, groups of young singles, fans/friends, and friends of the musicians all bring to the setting their own definitions and patterns of behaviour. These individuals and groups are not separate in the bar; they interact, mixing with one another with an ease that demonstrates their willingness to accept each other's presence. While they will interact predominantly with their own groups, taking up their usual seats or stations

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[10]Standing patterns of behaviour, as defined by Cavan are the normative behaviours, which are "routinely expected within the setting, treated as fitting and proper for the time and place, and persistently independent of the changing populace." See Cavan, p. 3.

at the bar, there is a flow between them and as well with the performer. The musician may not be the major focus, but he is a common focus in the bar, and he serves to bind together, in a loose and informal way, the disparate elements that are present.

Physical Characteristics

The physical characteristics of a bar are of primary importance to musicians. Such factors as the placement and structure of the stage, lighting, size of the room and the proximity of the tables to the stage have a direct influence upon the performance. Included in this section are floor plans of five bars (Bridgett's, the Cochrane, the Cabaret, Martha's, and Freddy's,) as well as a discussion of the performance settings.

It is of importance to mention that the bars included in this study were constructed solely as socializing contexts. Musicians were introduced only as an afterthought some years later. Thus, the various aspects involved with performance--the placement of the stage, acoustics, the sound system--were not considered in the original layouts. In most cases the stage or performing area has been moved into different rooms or areas of a single room in the hope of achieving a better arrangement. However, unlike bars that have been constructed with the purpose of performance in mind, makeshift adjustments in these bars are, for the most part, inadequate to the needs of the performing musicians.

The placement and structure of the stage critically effect two aspects of performance; the first concerns visibility on the part of both performer and audience, and the second concerns protection of the performer and his musical equipment.

Musicians, of course, prefer to perform in a setting in which they can see and be seen by the patrons. When patrons are unable to view the performance it is unlikely that they will become responsive. Similarly, the performer who is unable to make visual contact with a majority of the patrons, and who is thus unable to receive the necessary feedback from them, may well think of himself as little more than a live jukebox.

> I wish I was more in the open at Bridgett's [downstairs] just because you have more of an overview of what's going on and more people can see you. . . . I mean they've got better sounding music on records at Bridgett's that they can't see. So if they're having someone sing the best difference is that they can see them, which it would be nice if more people could do.[11]

Most of the musicians who have performed both upstairs and downstairs at Bridgett's preferred the upstairs arrangement since, there, the musician was the focal point. Unlike downstairs, where the musician was hidden in a corner between the bar and the front wall and could be seen by relatively few people, the stage upstairs was in full view of all of the patrons. The performers were pleased with the

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[11]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

arrangement upstairs since it was more a listening than a socializing context.

While the placement of the stage is important in terms of visual contact, its physical presence, its elevation and its structured support, along with proper lighting serve to highlight the performance. The more the performance is highlighted, the greater the distancing between performer and audience. The musician who performs on a platform is both physically and psychologically removed from the audience. One informant compared the features in three bars:

> I feel that a performer is always cut off to a certain extent. There is a definite space between you and the audience. Not only physical but psychological space. So you're always cut off. Bridgett's, it's true, is an awful setup. I don't especially like it visually. Although what I do like about it is that I have a perfect view right down the bar. And that's real nice. . . . It's not too bad, [because] it's elevated. The Cochrane there's the most space, but the Cochrane and Freddy's there's no stage. Whereas at Bridgett's there's a stage, a definite thing. Here's the performer, here's this light. The Cochrane has a light too. And Freddy's doesn't. I don't like Freddy's. You just play in a dark corner.[12]

Freddy's, which had neither stage nor adequate lighting, was the least desirable context in which to perform. The seating arrangement was another problem. When the bar was crowded, the tables and chairs were placed so close to the performers' area that some patrons were often little more than one foot away from the musician, much to his discomfort.

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[12]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4558.

In his discussion of the "dynamism of space," Hall argues that man's "perceptions of space is dynamic because it is related to action--what can be done in a given space . . . ."[13] Each person has a "number of learned situational personalities,"[14] which are "associated with responses to intimate, personal, social and public transactions."[15] Four distance zones (intimate, personal, social, and public) each with its close and far phase are described in terms of the actions acceptable and senses dominant within a particular range.[16]

The act of performing music in bars is a public performance in which the musician is accorded a specified territory. This territory is sometimes sharply defined by a stage, which is raised above the floor. If there is no stage the performing area is defined by the musicians' equipment. Audience members know that, unless invited, they must not step onto the stage, or if there is none, behind the microphone.

Each bar has its own setup in terms of the placement of the performer's area and the proximity of the tables and chairs to that area. Upstairs at Martha's has the greatest distance between performers and audience, some

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[13]Edward T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension (Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1969), p. 115.

[14]Hall, p. 115.

[15]Hall, pp. 115.

[16]Hall, pp. 116-125.

fifteen feet. Upstairs at Bridgett's, the Cabaret and the Cochrane, and downstairs at Martha's, all have approximately a ten foot separation, and Freddy's and downstairs at Bridgett's normally have about a five to seven foot distance. All of these distances are subject to variation on individual nights as tables and chairs are shifted around to accommodate additional patrons.

At Freddy's, when the bar was crowded, chairs and tables were set up as close as one foot from the musicians. A musician or patron could, at this distance, easily touch the other. According to Hall, six to eighteen inches constitutes the far phase of intimate distance, and one-and-a-half to two-and-a-half feet constitutes the close phase of personal distance.[17] Since "the use of intimate distance in public is not considered proper by adult, middle-class Americans,"[18] such enforced proximity between performer and patrons can well inhibit the actions of each. It is, for example, perfectly proper to stare at a musician while he is performing. However, when a patron is sitting only one foot away from him, staring becomes so intimate an action that the patron might well avert his eyes, glancing up at the musician from time to time. The musician who must perform to the room, finds himself singing at a volume intended for distances of ten feet or more. Even

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[17]Hall, pp. 117-119.

[18]Hall, p. 118.

though his voice is "miked" he is singing at a volume which intrudes upon those patrons who are seated too close for comfort. Further, he is aware that patrons are able to view his performance on a more intimate level than he would normally wish. At one-and-a-half feet bodily odours can be detected, and vision is extremely clear so that small details about the face are visible as are skin textures.[19] Thus, performer/audience interaction and the performance itself become inhibited when an adequate physical distance has not been established between the musician and his audience.

While the actual physical structure of the stage, combined with proper lighting, serve to define the performance, the stage also provides a physical separation which is often needed for the performer's protection. While a patron might more easily take it upon himself to invade a musician's territory if he need only walk over to him, he might think twice or be more intimidated if he has to step up onto a platform to get to him. However, the musician's person and performance are not the only issues here, he must also be sure that his musical equipment is protected. After having built a platform at the Cabaret, the management also found it necessary to construct a fence around the stage. The Cabaret, probably the most rowdy bar that the musicians performed in, was a context in which fights

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[19]Hall, pp. 116-118.

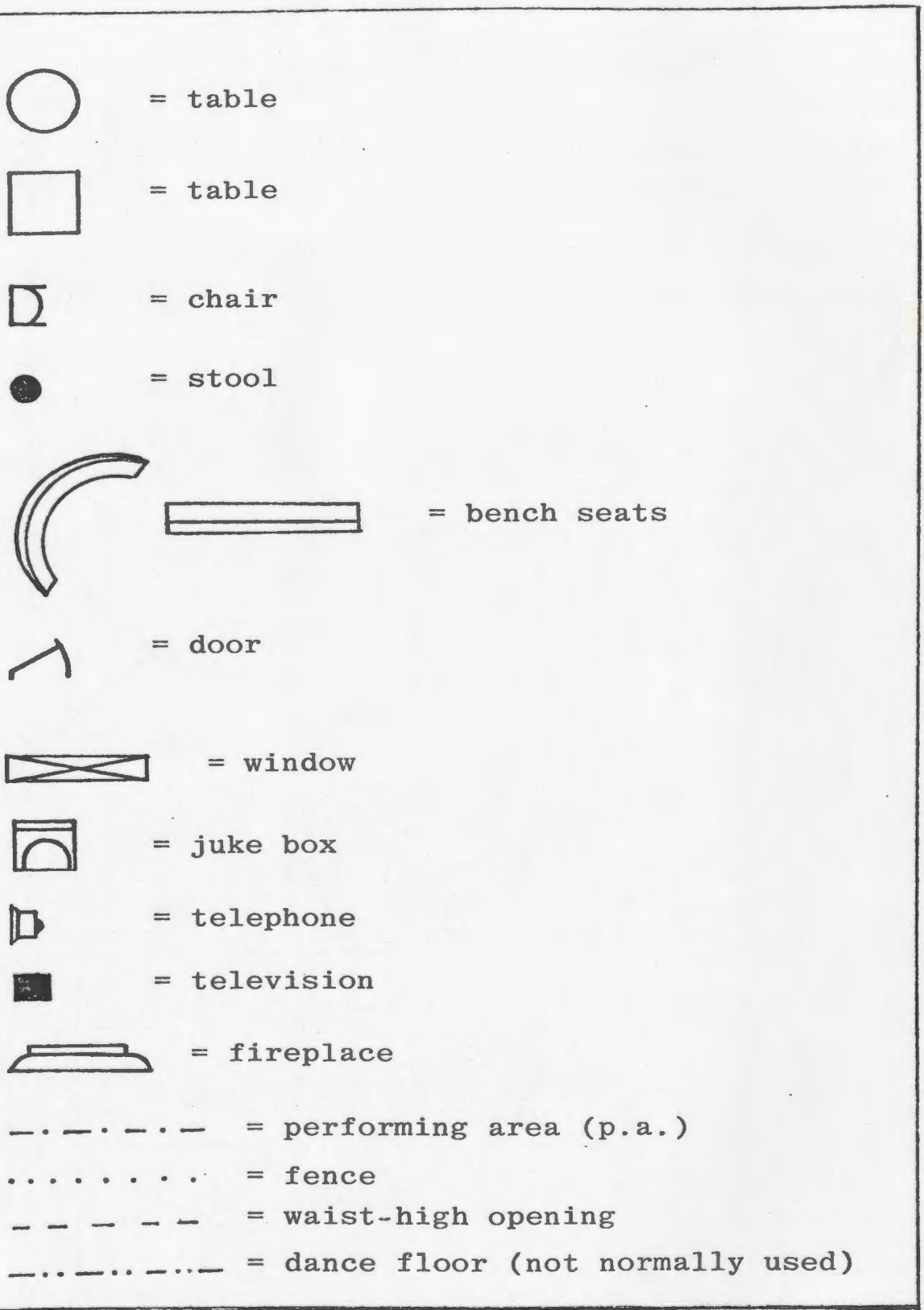
= table
= table
= chair
= stool
= bench seats
= door
= window
= juke box
= telephone
= television
= fireplace
= performing area (p.a.)
= fence
= waist-high opening
= dance floor (not normally used)

Figure 1. Key.

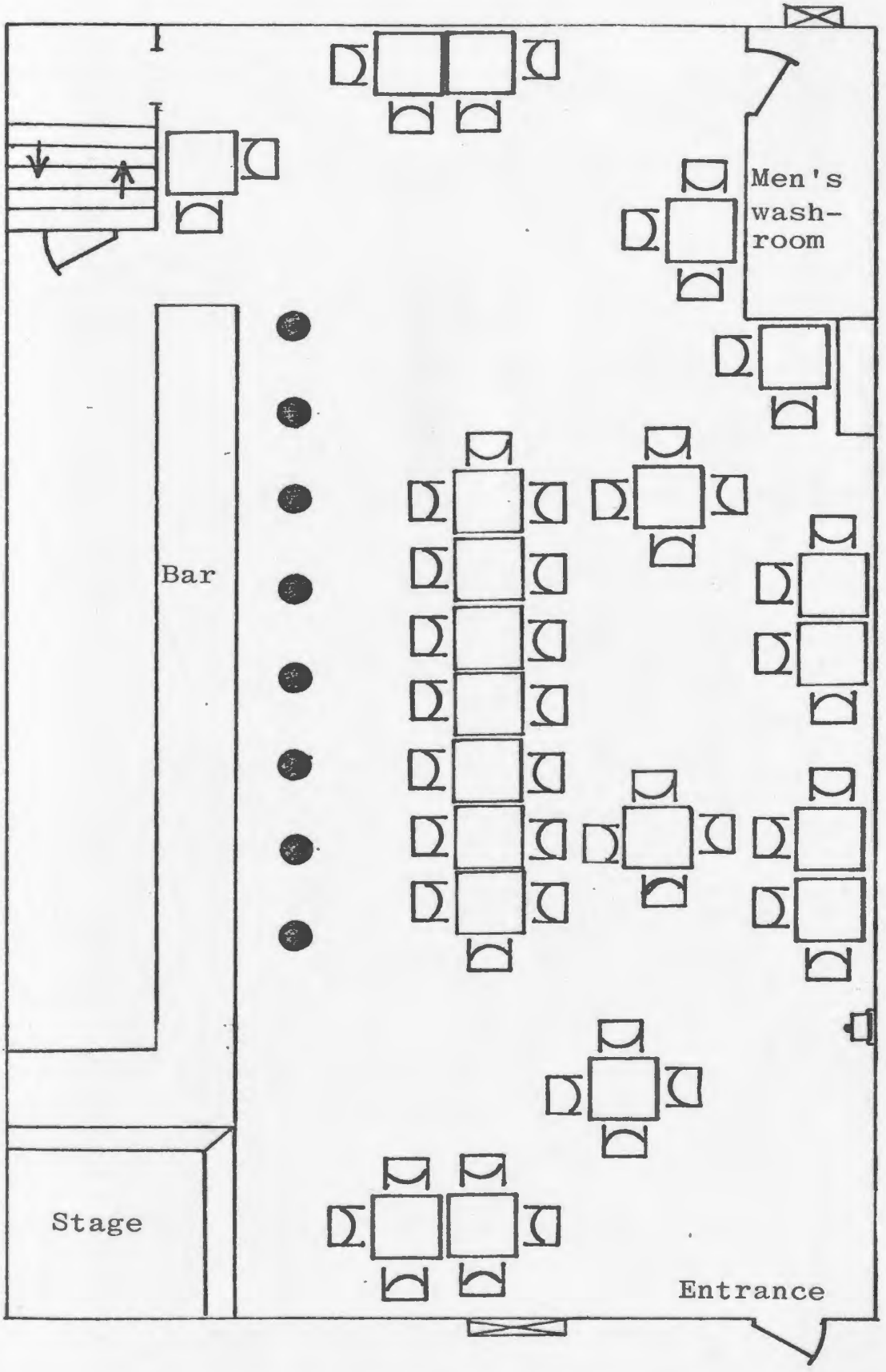

Figure 2. Bridgett's (downstairs).

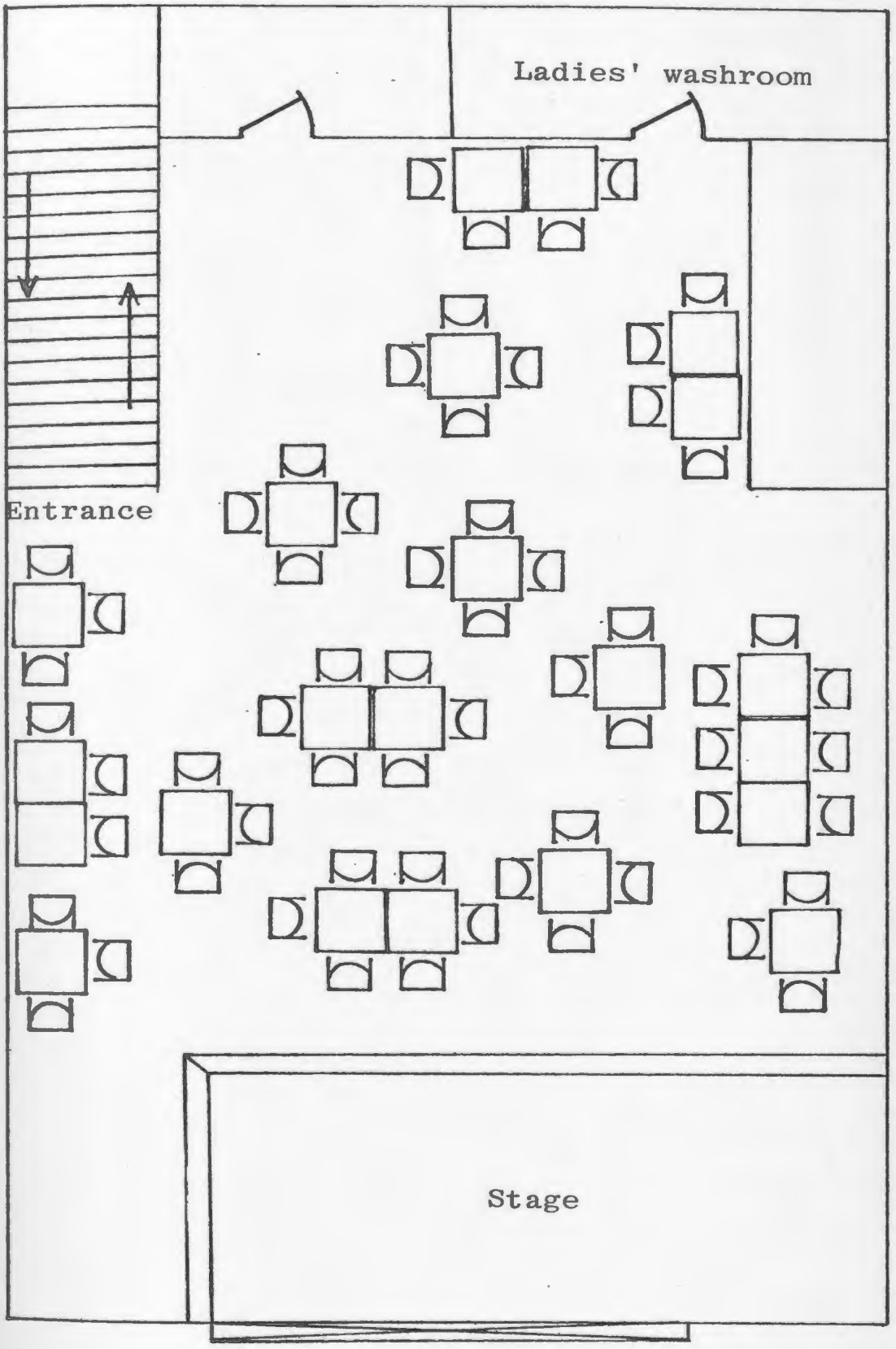

Figure 3. Bridgett's (upstairs).

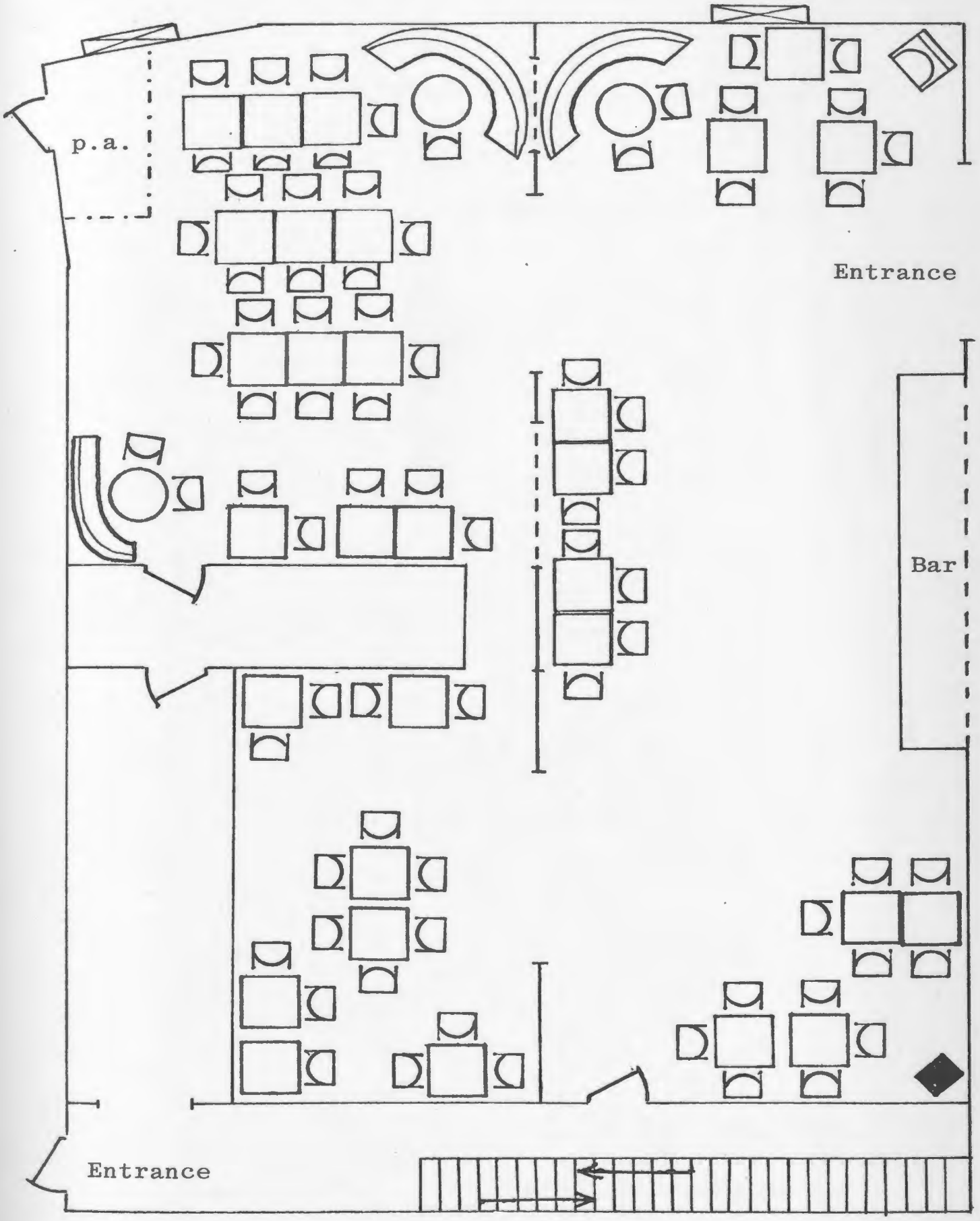

Figure 4. The Cochrane Hotel.

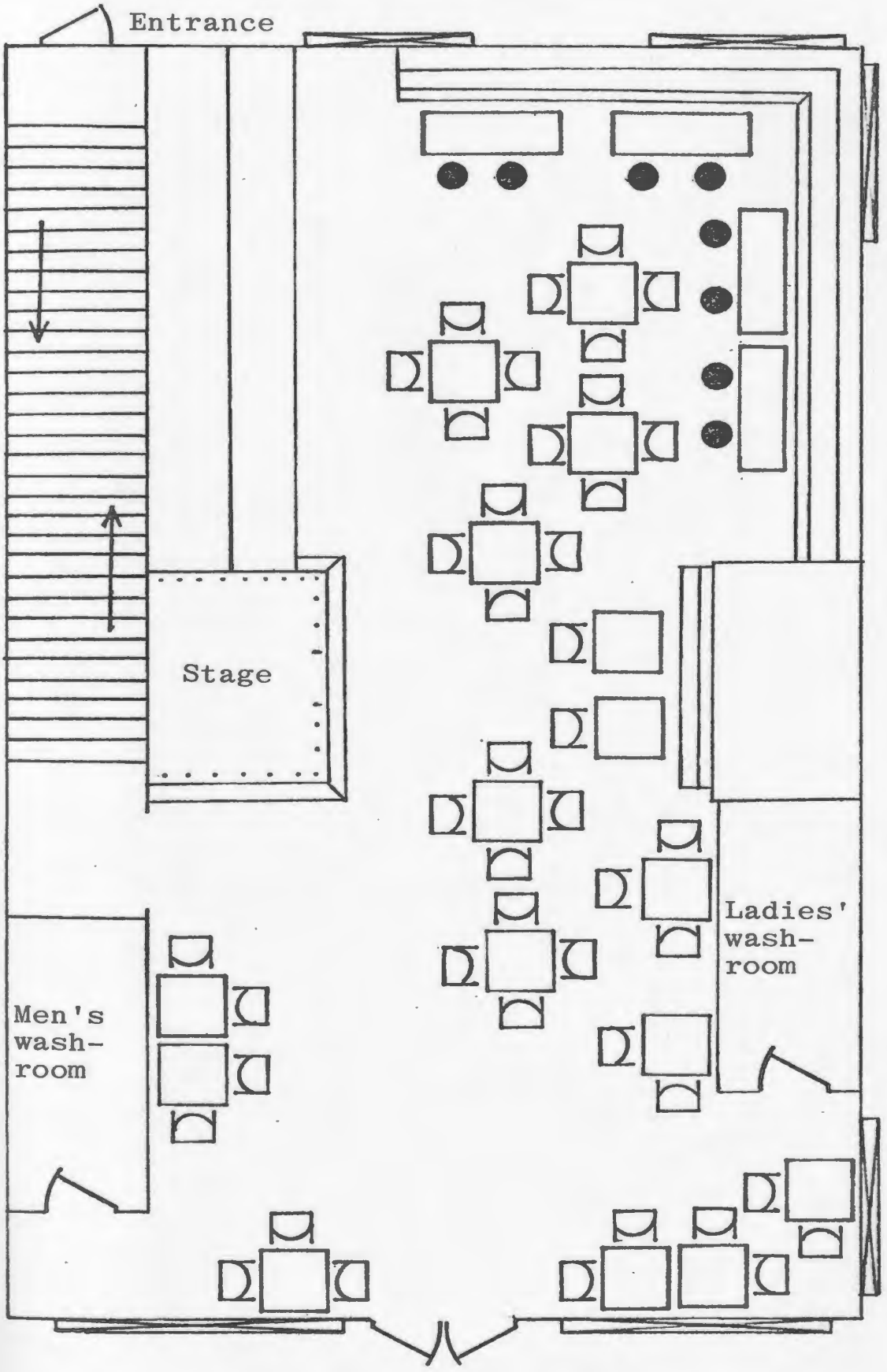

Figure 5. The Cabaret

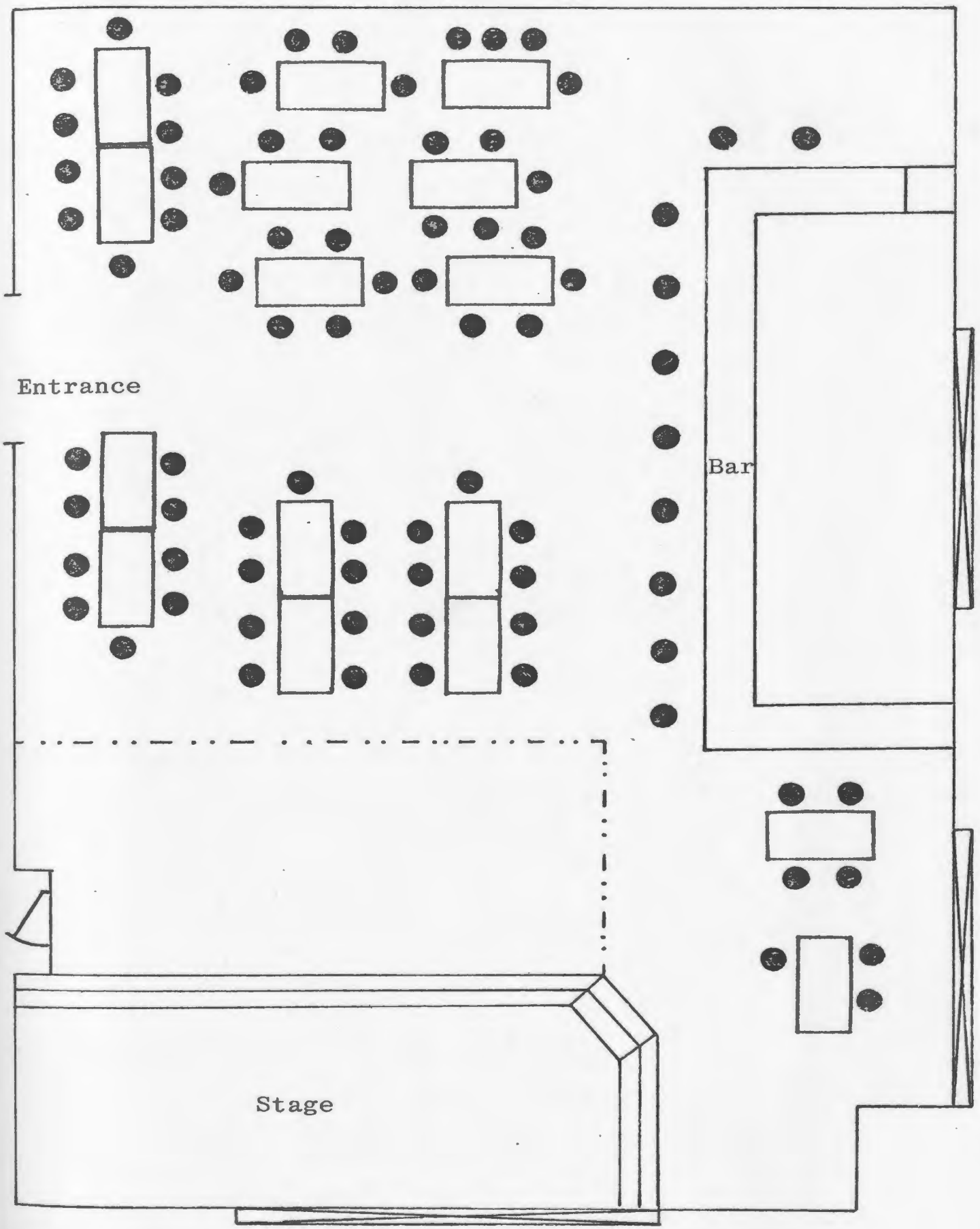

Figure 6. Martha's (upstairs)

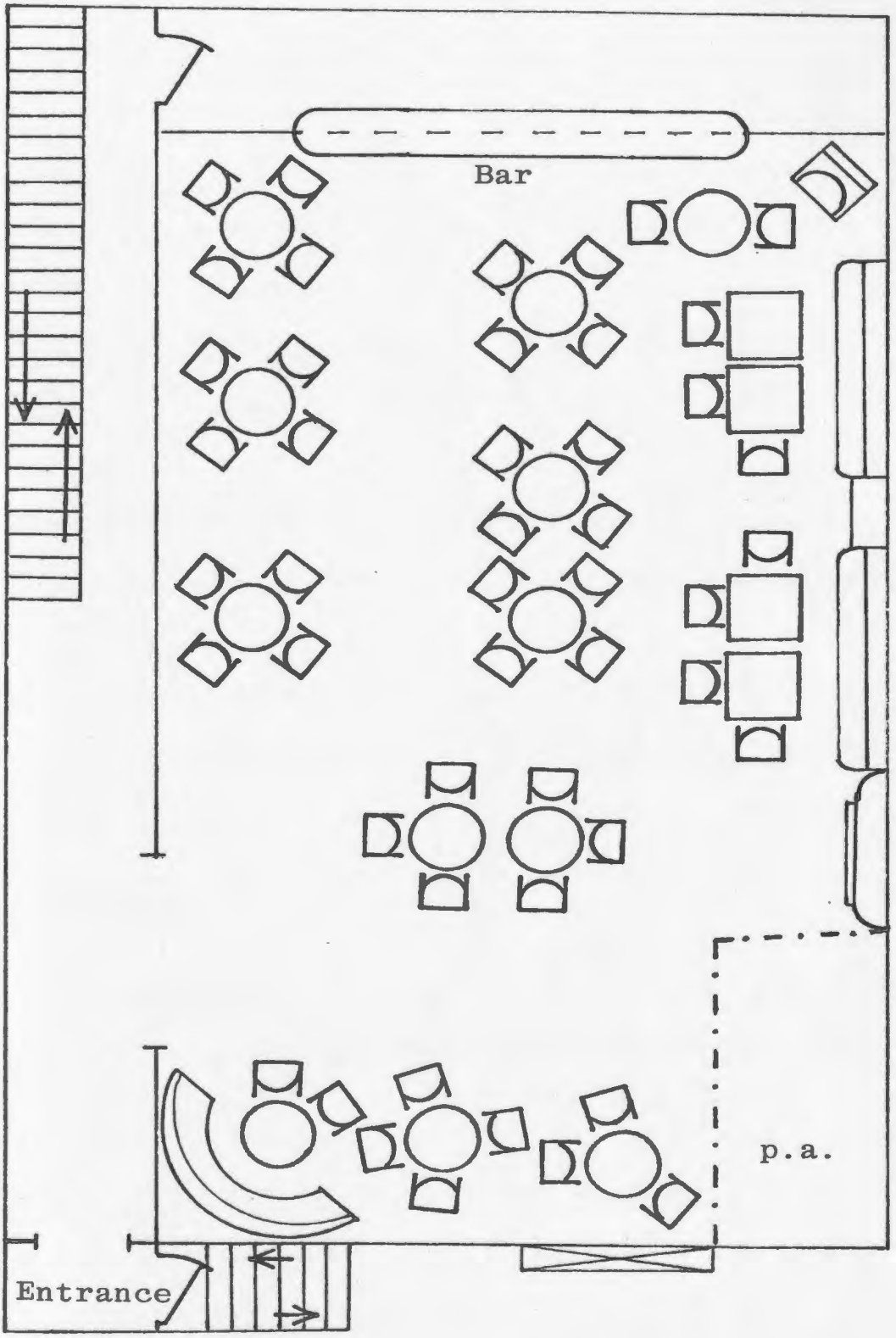

Figure 7. The Royalton (Freddy's).

often erupted. The fence served as a protective device, keeping the action away from both the performers and their equipment.

> A stage is always best because your speakers won't get knocked over. You're protected that way. I think most people are anxious about [this] in a bar. They want their stuff to be safe because you've got a big investment in equipment and instruments and stuff when you play. . . . And so you want that safety. And that's really good to have a stage. You play king on the mountain while the place falls apart.[20]

For the most part, the bars in which solo musicians or duets perform are small rooms. Downstairs at Bridgett's, Freddy's and the Cabaret are all best suited to one or two performers. The performance areas are relatively small so that more than two or three musicians would not have enough space to move about freely. While it was, again, a small room, the performing area upstairs at Bridgett's could comfortably support six or seven musicians. Two or three would be the usual number although some nights any number of musicians could be seen jamming there. Upstairs at Martha's was the largest room with a large stage. This context was best suited to rock 'n' roll, jazz, and blues bands, whose presence and volume could fill the space.

Management's Expectations vis-à-vis Musicians

A professor of anthropology observed to me one day that the management of a bar is out to make money. "They're not interested in providing a platform for

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[20]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

musicians to express themselves, or letting their customers in for some great music. All they are interested in is raking in the bucks."[21] Paul Kelly, the successful owner/manager of Bridgett's was an articulate representative concerning the position of bar managements. He stated during an interview that "above all this is a business. It's nice if I can get some enjoyment out of it, but it is a money-making proposition."[22]

The relationship between musician and management, which will be dealt with in Chapter IV, represents a critical juncture in the social structure of the bar. The underlying element in the conflict is the dichotomous nature of the occupation; it is both a service occupation and, as well, an artistic endeavour. While the musician perceives his actions falling most exclusively within the realm of art, the management perceives them as falling within the realm of service.

The management of a bar provides musical entertainment to draw a crowd who will purchase drinks. Paul Kelly is intent upon developing an informal easygoing atmosphere in which his patrons can communicate verbally with the musicians during breaks and, if they wish, actively participate during the sets. He feels that a party-like ambience will draw the most customers.

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[21]Personal conversation with Louis Chiaramonte, 20 February 1980.

[22]Personal interview with Paul Kelly, 5 May 1980.

The ambience is heightened by a particular type of musician. While Kelly does hire a number of musicians who perform a variety of musical styles, he has certain expectations that they must meet if they are to continue to be hired. First, he wants musicians who are not "serious" about their music; "serious" musicians easily become offended and distracted by boisterous crowds.[23]

The type of crowd that most musicians prefer--the attentive, quiet, listening crowd--is not, from the manager's point of view, particularly good for business.

> Crowds don't necessarily mean business. Some come for the music and not to drink. These aren't the kind of people we want to attract. We want people who are going to drink and have a good time. This isn't a concert place.[24]

Although he stated that people would not come to Bridgett's as much if there were no musicians, and that the musicians get the crowd "in the mood," Kelly does not want the musicians to become the central focus of attention. They should remain peripheral, while socializing and drinking should be the patrons' primary interest. It is, for example, a well established fact among musicians and management alike, that more drinking is done when the musician is off stage than on. Kelly noted that he would sometimes have to ask a musician who had performed into his break to stop for awhile to make sure liquor sales

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[23]Personal interview with Paul Kelly, 5 May 1980.

[24]Personal interview with Paul Kelly, 5 May 1980.

did not drop off.

There is also the expectation that the musician chat and socialize, to some degree, with the audience during breaks.

> We don't make it a rule, but it's sort of an informal rule that it is part of the job for the musician to be friendly during breaks. And if they have any sense, they will know that this is how they will establish a following. And if you establish a following, then you get rehired.[25]

A bar must have a friendly, relaxed atmosphere if it is to attract a regular clientele. For this reason the management does not wish to take too heavy-handed a stance when dealing with troublemakers and drunks. Here is a serious point of disagreement and conflict between musicians and management.

> It's up to the entertainer to look after himself with drunks. People who dance or try to come up on stage don't in my opinion constitute a real problem. Sometimes they are really good and sometimes they are bad and will get embarrassed after singing a few bars and sit down. Anyway, the audience likes it, it's a bit of enjoyment for them.[26]

The management does not care if the musician is embarrassed or upset when drunks and troublemakers invade his territory, for in the management's opinion, the lesser the distance between musician and audience the greater the audience enjoyment and the better the business.

That the management is more interested in the patrons' comfort and enjoyment is evidenced by the decision

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[25]Personal interview with Paul Kelly, 5 May 1980.

[26]Personal interview with Paul Kelly, 5 May 1980.

at Bridgett's to stop providing entertainment upstairs. All of the musicians interviewed indicated that upstairs was much more conducive to performance than downstairs. The musician was the central focus, people tended to be a little quieter and the acoustics were better. However, it was indicated to the management by a number of patrons that the physical layout as well as the atmosphere was not conducive to socializing; they could not mingle. As a result, after a year, the stage was removed and pool tables and pinball machines, both of which draw a substantial clientele during day and night, were installed. The fact that the musicians preferred performing upstairs had no effect on the decision.

It is the opinion of the management at Bridgett's that a musician cannot make a living playing music in Newfoundland. There are not the opportunities that exist on the mainland for concert and recording work and those who play in bars cannot really do so on a full-time basis. Even though they do not want "serious" musicians, Bridgett's expects a great deal from their performers. While technical expertise is not expected, performers are expected to exhibit a certain social competence.

> We are always willing to give new young people, who are just starting out, a chance. If they are really nervous and blow it the first couple of nights we let them stay. They will improve after a little while. How are they going to get experience if they can't get their first job?[27]

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[27]Personal interview with Paul Kelly, 5 May 1980.

Because Bridgett's provides a sound system the new local performer does not have to invest in expensive equipment. By providing a sound system Bridgett's is able to attract exactly the type of musician they are looking for.

However, the management expects the performer to know how to operate the sound system. Moreover, the bar staff usually has no such knowledge so that on any given night a musician who has no experience with sound systems is left to his or her own devices. As a result, many would-be bar musicians are discouraged from performing because of their ignorance of audio technology. Novices usually gain this knowledge from friends who are established performers. These friends help them set up prior to their first few gigs and show them how to operate the public address system in the future.[28]

While Kelly does not require technical expertise on the part of musicians he does expect a "professional" attitude toward the job--they must perform despite the conditions in the bar on any particular night--without a "professional" commitment to the role or a serious interest in the musical performance. He wants musicians to maintain a form of interaction with the crowd that meets the clientele on their own terms, reduces the social

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[28]Personal conversation with Peter Narváez, 16 September 1980.

distance between them and heightens the relaxed, party-like atmosphere. The musician in such a situation is open to any number of encounters with patrons and is expected to handle them in a friendly way.

The needs of the musician are secondary to those of the patrons. As Dennis Parker remarked: "The manager wants what the patrons want."[29] The management knows that attendance would be reduced were musicians not to be featured. However, they also know that there are enough musicians who either enjoy this type of social presentation or who need the money badly enough to put up with the conditions in the bar. Moreover, there are simply not a great number of bars in St. John's where musicians who do not play "top forty" songs can perform. Consequently, bars like Bridgett's have no difficulty in finding musicians to perform each night, even when they do not cater to the musicians' demands or expectations.

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[29]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERFORMERS

The Professional at Work: Full-time vs. Part-time

A semantic muddle issues from the designation in folk speech of musical presentation as "playing." As a result, playing is equated with "play," as conceived of in the classical Calvinist work/play dichotomy. On several occasions individuals in an audience have been heard to remark, either to a musician or a friend, "You (They) get paid for this?", the implication being that the musician gets paid for having fun.

Musicians, like the audience, refer to their work as playing: "I'm playing at Martha's this weekend." "I'm going to play tonight at the Cochrane." A potential engagement is rarely referred to as work and is seldom called a job. Even the terms "gig" and "gigging" circumvent the notion of work. Thus, calling performance in bars "playing," is an accepted aspect of language usage for musician and audience alike.

At the same time, performing in bars is work, and hard work at that. It is physically exhausting, especially when the musician gives a high-intensity performance, and emotionally draining, particularly when a performer must

respond to a less than enthusiastic audience, in a less than adequate physical setting. However, in an occupation in which the expression of personal style is central to the completion of the work and in which the individual is an artist as well as a worker, the line between work and leisure becomes obscured so that earning a living is potentially an enjoyable experience.[1] At the same time, the more the audience diverts the musician's attention from the musical presentation, the less his enjoyment, and the more like "work" the gig becomes.

Both work and play are value laden and ambiguous terms. To the musician work connotes drudgery; work is not to be enjoyed. Playing is an experience that only becomes work when it ceases to be pleasurable. The situation is an ambiguous one because even though musicians do not call their gigs work, in actual fact, they know that gigs are work. They must "hussle" to line up gigs, they must spend hours rehearsing and arranging material. In an occupation that is essentially insecure, in which there are no guaranteed hours, no unemployment benefits, it is critical that the actual doing of the job compensate for such drawbacks. Thus, enjoyment of the job, or, more to the point, the conception of the job as enjoyable, as play

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[1]Stebbins notes a similar situation with jazz musicians. See Robert A. Stebbins, "Class, Status, and Power among Jazz and Commercial Musicians," Sociological Quarterly, 7 (1966), 198.

rather than work, is a crucial aspect of the occupation.

Whether a musician is full- or part-time critically affects the conception of bar performance as work or play. Full-time bar musicians often find that the job impedes their musical development and inhibits their enjoyment of musical presentation.

> When I was singing as much as I was, two years ago, three years ago . . . it was definitely work. I mean to the point where you get home six o'clock in the morning, sleep until four, get up. And you did not want to pick up a guitar during the day because you had to sing that night.[2]

Attitude plays a major part in how much enjoyment a musician can derive from performing in bars. Another performer who worked full time explained:

> I: People are beginning to realize that this is a job. It's not like a job, but I guess it is. It would be more of a job if I was just playing something I didn't want to be playing. Then it would be a job, a task.
> F: So as long as you can do what you want to do. . . .
> I: Yeah, I remain content and fresh and just having a good time. No track of days. When you're working, you get off on Friday, and it's ahh, you know, you go mad for the weekend and then you're back at it on Monday. I'm glad I left that behind 'cos to play professionally it doesn't matter if it's a Monday, a Sunday or what.[3]

Musicians' views are often contradictory. Whether the performer is a full- or part-time bar musician is an important factor governing the formation of views pertaining to performance in bars as work or play. In some ways

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[2]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4872.

[3]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

part-time musicians' performance in bars is in opposition to their daily activities (that is, their work) and is comparable to the motivations of the audience who use the bar context as an escape. There is, then, some degree of unity in the function that the bar provides to both musician and audience. While performance in bars is an enjoyable part-time pursuit, it is not looked upon as a desirable full-time activity. One part-time performer stated:

> I couldn't see myself doing this full-time. I mean I would go berserko bonkers. I feel that it's like a novelty, a departure from what I do during the day, which is kind of ridiculous. And this is more authentic. . . . I would probably hate it if I had to work there all the time. I really do feel that I could do it all the time part-time. I could do it while I was doing another occupation.[4]

Another performer who had worked full-time observed:

> I have done it like five or six nights a week and it seemed at that point like work. I was driving and playing, driving and playing. And just driving all the time. Driving just about drove me out of my mind. I really hate driving.[5]

Both of these musicians are able to enjoy the experience because they perform in bars on a part-time basis. The full-time performer may become jaded by the experience.

> I can think of a couple of performers who play in bars really just for the money and really can't stand it. I don't do it that way. I really enjoy it. If I was doing it five nights a week I

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[4]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4558.

[5]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

> wouldn't enjoy it. It would seem like work. But I enjoy it if it's just one or two nights you know, a couple of nights every other week, or whatever.[6]

Musicians who work only two nights every two or three weeks can more easily forget annoying experiences in the bar, knowing that they will not have to contend with similar occurrences on a nightly basis. Full-time bar musicians, however, must deal with all of the various occupational hazards each night that they perform.

It is difficult to state exactly how many nights a week, and weeks a month, that a full-time bar musician works. Most of the musicians included in this study are in fact, part-time. Some are full-time musicians, in that they work for CBC,[7] give the occasional concert, or compose for and act in stage shows, working the bars when they are otherwise unemployed. Some make their sole income from bar gigs for extended periods of time. Both Dennis Parker and Terry Rielly, who are full-time musicians and who play the bars regularly, indicated that they did not like to play bars seven nights a week. The difference between full- and part-time musicians is that the former indicated that they would become jaded after playing seven nights a week, four weeks a month, while the latter may become stale after two or three consecutive nights.

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[6]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

[7]Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

However, even when a night is particularly enjoyable and the musician has had a good time, the presentation is a serious one. Huizinga notes that "the consciousness of play being 'only pretend' does not by any means prevent it from proceeding with the utmost seriousness, with an absorption, a devotion that passes into rapture. . . ."[8] Even though the musician may be doing something he enjoys--a state many musicians and non-musicians alike would consider antithetical to working--the presentation is both professional and serious. Goffman provides an important insight into the question of seriousness in his analysis of games. He observes:

> We also see that the notion of taking a game too seriously or not seriously enough does not quite fit our notions of the contrast between recreational "unserious" activity and workaday "serious" activity. The issue apparently is not whether the activity belongs to the recreational sphere or the work sphere, but whether external pulls upon one's interests can be selectively held in check so that one can become absorbed in the encounter as a world in itself.[9]

Although the amount of time spent in bars has a great effect upon how much musicians enjoy performing, it is the seriousness with which the musician, whether he is full- or part-time, treats his performance which is at issue. If he is part-time and he is not dependent upon the

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[8]J. Huizinga, Homo Ludens (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950), p. 28.

[9]Erving Goffman, Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961), pp. 69-70.

income from bar gigs, he is more apt to enjoy the experience, but at the same time, he will treat the presentation with the same amount of seriousness as a full-time bar musician. The stance assumed by the musician towards musical presentation, his attitude and commitment to it, all find expression in the degree of professionalism he exhibits.

The questions arise: What is professionalism? What is a professional musician? Can a part-time musician be professional?

Merriam asks if "the student who works his way through the university as a card-carrying member of the musicians' union [is] a professional?"[10] If it is assumed that professionalism means total devotion to music and the receipt of total income from music then that student and any other part-time musician cannot be called a professional.

The situation becomes even more complex since many part-time musicians do depend upon the money that they make in bars. Merriam notes:

> If our criterion be economic, however, there must be a number of degrees of professionalism; in fact, professionalism seems to run along a continuum from payment in occasional gifts at one end to complete economic support through music at the other. It is difficult to know at what point professionalism begins and ends. . . .[11]

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[10]Alan P. Merriam, The Anthropology of Music (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964), p. 125.

[11]Merriam, pp. 124-125.

If payment is used as the major criterion, and it certainly simplifies the situation if it is, then the full-time musician who makes his living performing is a professional. The part-time musician, who is paid but who has other full-time activities from which he either derives his major salary or, in the case of a student, occupies the greatest portion of his time, is then a semi-professional or an amateur.

Another criterion used to determine professionalism is public recognition of a musician by the community, as a musician. Such recognition may be accompanied by payment and by the granting of certain privileges.[12]

While the etic definition of professional uses payment and public recognition as its major criteria, the emic, in-group definition is concerned with behaviour. There is a general consensus among musicians that professionalism depends not upon the number of hours spent performing, or a full-time commitment to music, but upon technical expertise, attitude and dependability. Such factors are illustrated in the following narrative:

> We had a guy in our band who was recommended by a mutual friend in another city. And he was a good musician and we heard him play and he could do a lot of stuff and knew a lot of tunes. He filled a need that we had. And we discovered the guy, he'd get on stage, and first of all he never arrived ahead of time for the gig so we had to set up everything. He'd always walk in late and we'd have the mikes all set up. . . . This is pretty typical

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[12]Merriam, p. 125.

> of the conflicts that emerge in this kind of situation. He always showed up late. We had set up the sound system ourselves. He had tuning problems with his instruments, he wouldn't learn the arrangements, he forgot them, he never knew what key we were in . . . he would forget words, he was so laid back that he was no help, he was an anchor. He was just out of it on stage. And the one thing I really demand on stage is movement from one song to the next. I think that's one of the secrets of our success. . . . I'm uncomfortable if there's somebody around who's lackadaisical and slow and doesn't pick up on what we're doing. . . . And I really think that's important and part of being professional. That's being professional. It's like getting up on stage and handling the situation and also being professional is making sure that your mike is on and being concerned about the sound system and evaluating your performance afterward; what worked and what didn't work. All of that kind of thing I think is really important. It's part of the enjoyment of doing it.[13]

A professional is, then, someone who can be depended upon by his fellow musicians, who shows up for gigs at the proper time, who learns and competently performs the materials, and who is concerned with and rehearses the material.

Another emic criterion is that of technical proficiency. A professional is someone who exhibits a superior degree of technical expertise, while the term amateur has come to be applied to the unskilled novice. One musician commented that he would be the last person to say that another, who was part-time, was not a professional, since he was such an excellent musician.[14] For the first

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[13]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4570.

[14]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

to call the second an amateur would be unthinkable.

If a musician, whether he is full- or part-time, performs at a bar with another musician or a group, he will be expected to behave in a manner conducive to giving a good performance. The unprofessional musician described above makes the group look bad and those who are concerned about presentation will not want to be forced into the position of carrying such an individual. It would seem, then, that what is most important to the musician is not whether a musician is a professional--in the etic sense--but that he live up to the in-group standards of professional behaviour.

Professional behaviour is something that a musician learns over time. Abrahams suggests that:

> A real pro is someone who has both learned the operation of a job and is able to transcend the routine character of the occupation bringing an individual 'something' to it, a personal style or unique strategy or simply a competence to endure in the face of boredom or the tension.[15]

Rosenberg has formulated three analytic categories--apprentice, journeyman and craftsman--to describe the process through which a musician develops the skills of a performer.[16] The apprentice is involved in learning musical skills, the journeyman who has mastered these skills

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[15]Roger D. Abrahams, "Towards a Sociological Theory of Folklore: Performing Services," Western Folklore, 3(1978), 180.

[16]Neil V. Rosenberg, "Goodtime Charlie and the Bricklin: A Satirical Song in Context," Canadian Oral History Association Journal, 3(1978), 30-31.

works on social aspects, such as personal style, and the craftsman develops a unique public personality.[17]

The social skills learned by a musician that become implemented through unique strategies relate to the competence that the professional must display under tense circumstances. This competence can be termed as "coolness," poise under pressure. "Coolness refers to the capacity to execute physical acts, in a concerted smooth, self-controlled fashion in risky situations. . . ."[18] Each time a musician steps on stage there is the danger of prop failure, intrusion and interruption; conditions that may cause him to lose his expressive identity and control. The professional musician anticipates as many problems as he is able and sets up with them in mind. While the novice or apprentice has the ability to deal with the mechanical aspects of performance, only experience allows him the expertise to deal with errors and interruptions.

For the novice, being centre stage can often be debilitating. Mistakes are usually apparent, "because they were followed by a nervous apology (at worst) or by what Nye calls the 'rote-learner's eye roll'."[19] The

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[17]Rosenberg, pp. 30-31.

[18]Stanford M. Lyman and Marvin B. Scott, "Coolness in Everyday Life," in Sociology and Everyday Life, ed. Marcello Truzzi (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968), p. 93.

[19]Clinton R. Sanders, "Psyching Out The Crowd: Folk Performers and their Audiences," Urban Life and Culture, 3(1974), 274.

following narrative notes the advantage that the experienced musician has:

> That's something that comes with [time]. I mean, I'm no big person that's been on the road and all that crap, but I have done it for quite a few years, fairly regularly. . . . I was talking to somebody about this recently. If I ever made a mistake I'd sort of flinch, maybe lose a beat or stop and act really stupid about it. But now, like I was talking to Peter . . . the other day. And the other day someone dropped about ten glasses on the floor about two feet away from me at Bridgett's and I didn't even blink. I was in the middle of a song. You know like five years ago if that had happened I would have gone, "Oh, oh," and jumped or you know, tried to make some feeble remark about it. But you're prepared for it now, like you're in a little shell of your own and it doesn't matter. It's funny how that happens, how it changes. . . . Just experience, and the old saying goes there's no substitute for it.[20]

Professional behaviour is the combination of attitude, approach and technical skill that both full- and part-time musicians must exhibit in order to perform competently in bars. It incorporates technical know-how, such as musical skills, and also interpersonal social skills, such as manipulative strategies and expressive self-control. These strategies and skills are learned through experience, by doing the job over and over again, and are framed by a basic attitude that treats the presentation with a seriousness that transcends social and economic preoccupations.

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[20]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

The Union

Ostensibly, a union is a collective and co-operative agency that will protect and support its membership. In actual fact, it is the attitude of most musicians interviewed for this study that the union is a completely ineffectual organization that has no control over management, that does not protect its members, and that demands unreasonable fines and dues. The only reason given for joining is that membership in the union is a prerequisite for obtaining CBC jobs.

One of the reasons that the union appears to be so ineffectual to the informants is because the local is in Halifax.

> The union is nothing here. There's no local here. But don't call it a union. Oh God! The bane of every musician in Canada and North America is the musician's union. It's the worst, most disorganized union in the world. . . . It's a horrible union to belong to. It doesn't protect you. It only demands, demands your dues every year. It demands you pay your fines. It demands you pay your work dues. It's totally and completely disorganized and it's regulations are really outdated.[21]

There is a seventy dollar fee to join the union and a thirty-five dollar annual renewal fee.[22] While a 4% work dues is paid by members performing in bars, clubs,

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[21]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

[22]Atlantic Federation of Musicians, Local 571, A.F. of M. Constitution and By-Laws of the Atlantic Federation of Musicians, 1975, Article III, Section 4, p. 18.

and for radio and television broadcasting a member is not required to pay more than thirty dollars per year.[23] There are also a number of fines for which musicians are liable should they break rules stated in Articles IV, IX, and X, of the constitution and by-laws.[24] Such infractions would include performing for less than union wages, performing with a non-union musician, failing to report a job, performing while union fees were not paid, and failing to fulfill a work obligation.

The fees, fines, and dues paid by members are used by the union executive for the protection and support of the membership. Musicians are required to report all engagements prior to a gig.[25] The musician signs a contract with the bar, which must pay union scale wages. Any musician who works for less than union scale is subject to a fine.[26] Should a bar renege and attempt to pay a lesser sum, the musician can report this to the union and action will be taken against the bar. The union also provides a group insurance policy for death or disability,[27] an

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[23]Atlantic Federation of Musicians, Article III, Section 11B, p. 20.

[24]Atlantic Federation of Musicians, Articles IV, pp. 22-27, IX, pp. 36-38.

[25]Atlantic Federation of Musicians, Article X, p. 41.

[26]Atlantic Federation of Musicians, Article IV, Section 1, p. 24.

[27]Atlantic Federation of Musicians, Section 10, p. 7.

insurance plan for musical instruments, and a pension fund.

For the most part, the musicians interviewed in this study resent paying fees and fines, stating that they will never receive the benefits.

> I think the union is nothing but a bloody hassle. For every gig I play at CBC they take 7% for this so-called pension fund. I'm quite sure I'll never see the pension fund. I think it's bull-shit. I don't see why I have to pay 7%. The only reason I'm in the union is because I do play CBC gigs. I would not be in it otherwise, I just would not.[28]

Another informant told the following narrative to illustrate what he considered to be unreasonable demands on the part of the union.

> I mean _____ is a good example. _____ went and played a session that we did for CBC for "Up At Ours." I wrote a theme song for that series and I asked _____ to come in and play on it. And so he had to pay a work dues of seven dollars and some cents to the Halifax local for working out-side of his jurisdiction. . . . And they sent him the bill for it and they sent him a twenty-five dollars service charge. So _____ wrote back and wanted an itemized list of all the services he was being charged for. And they sent him back a very curt letter saying please pay this bill or you will be expelled from the union and you'll have to pay a full amount of initiation dues to get back in plus all past dues that you may have incurred while you were expelled.[29]

In order to give this memorate rhetorical emphasis, the narrator has exaggerated the incident and heightened the narrative effect. As Santino has suggested, such occupational narratives provide an insight into specific

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[28]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4567.

[29]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

problems that arise in a job.[30] The sociological problem of authority and its resultant conflicts are evident in the memorate. The musician exhibits a deep-seated resentment towards the power held by the union to extract dues and fines.

Figures 8 and 9, photocopies of the original correspondence between the musician mentioned in the narrative and the union, tell the real story. The musician does question the twenty-five dollars "service charge," which he considers to be unfair. Rather than returning a "curt" letter, threatening expulsion, the vice president of the union explains the agency's position and urges the musician to telephone the office, collect, should he have any further questions.

Narratives of this type become occupational legends which serve to explicate and reinforce the attitude of distrust held by musicians towards the union. When set in its sociological context the narrative indicates a lack of communication between the two parties and the confusion and ignorance on the part of musicians concerning the workings of the union. Another example of such misunderstanding is the complaint that while the union extracts heavy dues, it offers no protection from unscupulous club owners.

> [The bars] here are not controlled. I mean we belong to a union here that doesn't exist, right.

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[30]Jack Santino, "Characteristics of Occupational Narrative," Western Folklore, 3(1978), 212.

March 26, 1979

Dear Sirs:

Since I recently sent you $43.96, enclosed find $10.10 ($5 for the tardiness of my dues, $5.10 for "Up at Ours"). I will not send the "service charge" of $25 until such time as a further explanation is made. From the comment "performing without a paid up membership card" it would appear that this is hardly a service charge but rather a fine. If this is in fact the case, I find it exorbitant to say the least since the engagement was but a week and a half into the new year. Isn't there any period of grace whatsoever? Please remember how distant Newfoundland musicians are from "their" local which does not send out bills for dues until after memberships have expired and fines imposed.

Please do not misinterpret my comments. I am perhaps one of the staunchest supporters of the union in St. John's. However, it is extremely difficult for me to promote an organization as "benevolent" when it imposes such severe financial penalties on supporting members (who have a consistent history of being in "good standing") for such a slight transgression as mentioned above.

Yours sincerely,

Figure 8. Letter to union

ATLANTIC FEDERATION OF MUSICIANS

LOCAL 571 A.F. OF M.

CANADA

April 5, 1979

Dear Sir & Brother,

We have your letter of March 26, accompanied by payment of $10.10. We not also your reference to recent payment of $43.96, of which $3.96 was credited to you for invoice of March 1, 1979, in that amount for Work Dues on Newfie Bullet on CBC. The other $40.00 was held in abeyance to be applied when the remainihg $5.00 of your 1979 Membership Dues was received. And the payment of $10.10 has been applied to that balance and to the $5.10 billing for Work Dues on "Up at Ours", January 11, 1979. So that means your 1979 Membership Dues and Work Dues are paid to date, leaving the matter of the Service Charge of $25.00, on which you request explanation.

The term "service charge" explains (better than the word "fine") the extra work entailed when our members (and you are not alone) overlook their obligations. In your own case this involved omission to pay Membership Dues for the Quarter in which you performed for CBC in "Up at Ours" on January 11, 1979. The rule covering that is printed on the back of every member's card as a reminder not to perform at any time without a card paid-up for the period in which the engagement is performed.

There is a "period of grace" in January of each year for Membership Dues, but it applies only if a member is not performing. Numbers of our members keep their obligations fully paid up, and are greatly incensed with any other members who do not, and who still continue to perform. In your own case this was a single instance, but the rule still applies.

. . . . 2

You are not required to pay Work Dues till you receive our invoice, and Late Payment Charges are not computed from the engagement date but from the mailing date of the first invoice. So there was no need to assess yourself $5 which does not yet apply, and in the event has been applied to complete the $45 of your 1979 Membership Dues in full, for which a card has already gone to you.

We have never sent our invoices for Membership Dues because of the enormous mailing-costs these days. And since January 1, the New Year, is the automatic due-date for Membership Dues, the majority of members remit automatically.

As to communicating with this "distant" office, our members are entitled, in matters of urgency, to call this office collect by phone. I would not suggest this is such a case, since we regularly receive correspondence from Newfoundland members in this fashion on many topics.

If you wish to appeal the Service Charge (Fine) you may do so in writing, or in person, to the Executive Board, Peter Power, President, and mail it to the address on this letterhead. But, in any event, payment of the penalty must accompany the appeal for it to be given due consideration.

Fraternally yours

Clive Schaefer

Clive Schaefer
Vice President

S/s

Figure 9. Letter to musician

> It's only a representative that takes your dues every month and sends them off to Halifax. . . . You never see him. He doesn't do anything for you. I mean if I go out to _____ tonight and have an argument with the management and so they say okay get out you're fired and I say well you owe me three hundred dollars for this engagement, they'll say screw you, or they might give me [a lesser sum]. . . . So the union doesn't help anybody that much.[31]

This statement is correct. If a musician is cheated by the management of any of the bars considered in this study the union will not take any action against the bar. However, this is not because the union is ineffectual but because my informants work in these bars without informing the union. As mentioned above, all union musicians are required to report their engagements and to pay work dues--a percentage of their earnings. Since the musicians do not report the engagements and do not pay work dues they are breaking union by-laws. If a musician obtains an engagement and is subsequently cheated by a bar owner he cannot inform the union since he has been working on the sly.

Many performers do not belong to the union since membership is not necessary to get many bar gigs. None of the bars considered in this study and few of the musicians want to have anything to do with the union. As one informant explained, "If you talk to any musicians about the union they get frightened, or if you talk to a club

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[31]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

owner around here they have the same attitude."[32] Musicians who are just starting out or who perform in bars on a part-time basis cannot afford to pay dues and simply do not want to bother with a union. Bar owners are afraid that if the union becomes involved they will be forced to raise the wages of the musicians.

Wages are a touchy point with most musicians, who generally believe that they are underpaid. From 1976 to 1978 Bridgett's paid thirty dollars a night, while the Cochrane and Freddy's paid thirty-five dollars for a solo musician. (They did not increase the pay if more than one musician performed.) Since 1979, Bridgett's has paid fifty dollars for a solo and eighty dollars for a duo. The Cochrane and Freddy's no longer hire performers. Martha's pays fifty dollars a night for each performing musician.

Most musicians do not think that fifty dollars is adequate pay for the amount of work that has to be done.

> They paid me fifty dollars a night and I don't think that's enough for performing musicians. . . . A lot of places make quite a lot of money off of musicians. . . . You take a group of four, like the CFA stringband, . . . I have understood that they would get maybe sixty dollars split four ways. Now that's incredible when you consider that you're playing a minimum [of] thirty-five to forty minutes . . . four times a night. And you are supposed to be high powered. . . . Now if you're getting fifty dollars a night and I know at Bridgett's if there were two people it would be eighty dollars for two individuals,

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[32]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

> that's an insult. It should be fifty dollars per person no matter what you are.[33]

Were the union to become involved musicians might well make a higher wage. However, many of the smaller, less established bars, that could not afford to pay union scale, would no longer be able to hire musicians at all. Consequently the number of potential jobs would be reduced; a situation that neither musician nor bar owner wants.

Since these musicians cannot expect support and protection from the union when they perform in such bars, they must deal with problems with pay and "rip offs" on an individual and sometimes in a collective manner. From time to time musicians refuse to perform at a bar if the pay is too low. John Lacy and Gordon Quinton, two established and widely respected musicians in town, made it well known that they would not play at Bridgett's, which at the time offered only thirty dollars a night for the duo. Some time later, when other bars began to pay fifty dollars and Bridgett's remained steadfast at thirty dollars, more of the better musicians refused to perform there. As a result the management was only able to hire mediocre and less experienced performers, who would literally play for nothing. In order to induce the more experienced and talented musicians to come back, the bar was forced to raise the musicians' wages. Thus, management raised the

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[33]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4871.

wages only when a number of musicians acted together to boycott the bar.

Similarly, musicians must rely upon one another in order to obtain information about unscrupulous bar managers. The following narrative circulated quickly through the musicians' network of communication as a warning against a bar:

> There have been situations where people have been ripped off. John Lacey played at a place called Sam's for a weekend and when it came time to pay him, Sam only gave him twenty dollars. . . . That story got around. That was a local legend in no time, around the musicians.[34]

Occupational narratives of this type, which warn musicians of unfair practices of bar managers, are critical amongst a group which has cut itself off from protective agencies.

Most of the musicians interviewed here take very little interest in the union. There is a general ignorance, on the part of the musicians, concerning the rules and regulations set down in the constitution. Those who are working full time at music and who are highly competitive in obtaining work, resent any restrictions and dues owed to the union. For the most part, they only join in order to obtain the more lucrative CBC jobs. Unlike in the bars, they do have to pay work dues for radio and television jobs, though the higher salary at CBC does make it worth

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[34]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

their while. The general practice is to work in the bars without informing the union, take the lower salary, and rely upon their own devices when confronted with difficulties concerning wages.

Musicians' Expectations vis-à-vis the Management

In their description and analysis of the occupational culture of bar waitresses, Spradley and Mann examine the significant relationships in the bar from the waitresses' point of view and in terms of the bar's social structure. They observe that "like all societies, the social structure [in the bar has] several important stress points, critical junctures where conflicting alliances and competing interests come together."[35] The relationship between bar musicians and bar manager involves one such critical juncture. Beneath this conflict lies the dichotomous nature of the musician's occupation--that it is both a service occupation and an artistic endeavour. The manager hires musicians to attract patrons. The musician, while wishing to make money, is also concerned with obtaining a platform and outlet for his music. However, the weight of financial obligations will at times require the musician to compromise his artistic ideals, forcing him to perform under less than ideal conditions.

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[35]James P. Spradley and Brenda J. Mann, The Cocktail Waitress: Woman's Work In A Man's World (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), p. 85.

There are a number of social and physical problems inherent in musical presentation in bars. While musicians anticipate and formulate strategies with which to deal with many such problems, ultimately they expect the management to provide them with a platform that will allow a reasonable degree of presentational freedom.

Drawing upon Goffman's concept of team performance, Sanders argues that the manager is part of a "set of individuals [including musician, club personnel, and regular patrons] who cooperate in staging a single routine."[36] While he notes that it is to the advantage of the manager to foster the impression that the performance is exceptional, thereby drawing a greater number of patrons, the manager's motives are not purely materialistic. Close personal relationships may develop between the two so that the manager will respond to the musicians' needs and offer support in terms of crowd control.[37]

However, as Goffman points out, a team is a grouping not in relation to a social structure or social organization, but in relation to an interaction or a series of interactions in which the relevant definition of the situation is maintained.[38] The series of interactions

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[36]Sanders, p. 272.

[37]Sanders, p. 272.

[38]Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1959), p. 104.

within the bar, which is relevant to the musician, involves several kinds of negotiations between the musician and a variety of types of individuals. Throughout the course of the evening a certain order is maintained in the bar allowing for the affirmation of the definition of the social situation held by each segment in the series of interactions so that each might perform their tasks or enjoy their leisure. Within the social structure of the bar, the musician is in a unique position in that he is a specialized part-time employee. Certainly, he may be hired and rehired on a recurrent basis every few weeks or months, but he is a peripheral employee in that his involvement is less with the bar than with the presentation of his music in the bar for a few hours each night. At the same time, the bar manager is concerned less with the musical presentation than with selling the greatest number of drinks and making the largest profit possible each night. Each needs the other: the musician needs the manager to give him a platform, no matter how flimsy, and a salary, no matter how low; the manager needs the musician to bring in customers. But each will strain to have his own expectations and needs fulfilled.

A team effort may well exist in those bars where the atmosphere is like that of a British folk club, and in which the emphasis is upon the musical performance rather than conversation and socializing. In such

contexts the team might well be comprised of manager, musician, bar personnel, and regular patrons, whose definition of the situation is unanimous and has to do with providing the best listening atmosphere possible. However, in the bars considered in this study, the management is interested in developing an atmosphere that is conducive to the patrons' drinking pleasure and the musician becomes just one more commodity in the development of that atmosphere. Thus, instead of being members of the same team, the musician and manager have a relationship which involves a critical juncture. If there were a team effort involved in the creation of conditions that were conducive to the musical performance, such conditions would, in fact, be obvious in the bars. In actual fact, many of these do not exist and musicians are forced to perform in less than ideal contexts.

These conditions can be broken down into three categories, the first having to do with the sound system, the second with crowd control, and the third with presentational freedom in terms of repertoire, volume, and length of sets and breaks.

Equipment. There is much more to performance in bars than simply buying a guitar, learning a number of songs and standing up and playing them. The experienced barroom performer not only knows how to handle a crowd but also how to use the public address system in a manner that is most conducive to his style of performance. Even

though most bars are relatively small rooms, the use of a PA system is crucial. Unlike the folk club, where it is a more or less formal rule that while the musician is performing the audience is silent, the bar is a context in which people laugh, talk and sometimes shout during the performance. One musician noted:

> Recently somebody asked why I just didn't play the guitar and sing, at someplace that I was playing, without the use of a PA. And quite frankly it's a matter of hearing yourself and self-defence.[39]

Familiarity with the PA system is a critical aspect of performance and its mastery is something that all aspiring bar musicians must learn.

> You might find that thereare some people who play very well but because they have not mastered the use of a PA or something like this [they appear not to be very good]. I saw somebody at Bridgett's not too long ago who was very accomplished, but they couldn't master the PA and as a result nobody could hear them and they were thought by members of the crowd not to be very good. That actually had nothing to do with their skill at all. It was just due to the fact that they were not familiar with public address equipment.[40]

Even when a musician has learned how to use the PA system to his best advantage, the expense involved in putting together a good system is often prohibitive. Many performers simply cannot afford it.

> [Equipment] is a lot. That's something that I think club owners never consider, the cost that musicians have. . . . I'm sure there's more money

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[39]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

[40]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

> in the music equipment I own than I make in a year. To have decent gear you can easily write off a year's earnings. And you're always needing maintenance and new things. . . . And then you have to have a vehicle to transport when you own your own gear. It would be great if all the clubs had a uniform PA that you could use.[41]

Many musicians point out that it is the responsibility of the bar to provide them with a PA system:

> One of the things that pisses me off about the clubs here is that they expect you to have your own sound system and that's one reason why the acoustics are so unreliable in the clubs around here. If you go by a club by club basis, because everybody has to make their own arrangements for acoustics and mikes and so on. Bridgett's has a system but they don't have very many mikes. You have to take pot luck on mikes. So we own our own mikes and we rent the head and the speakers. But if these people had any kind of sense and saw, looking at it in the long term as an investment, they'd invest in a decent sound system.[42]

When a bar does not have its own system the musician must buy, rent, or borrow equipment for the evening. Unfortunately, the equipment does not always meet professional standards. One musician experienced problems after obtaining a set of speakers at the last minute:

> Friday night I had horrible speakers, what I consider horrible speakers and it just didn't sound good. And I didn't like it. I didn't like the way it sounded. So I didn't play very well I think.[43]

The cost of renting equipment can take a large part of a night's earnings:

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[41]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

[42]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4570.

[43]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4559.

> I: There was a time [at Bridgett's] when there was no sound system. You had to provide your own, which for me a couple of times really made me flat broke. I remember one time I was so stuck for a system I ended up having to rent it for twenty-five dollars.
> F: Oh, so you made five bucks.
> I: No, no I made fifty cents because it cost me four dollars to get it from the rented taxi, to get it all there and back.[44]

Even when the management does provide a PA system, they are often negligent about its upkeep. This is a constant irritation to the musician who must deal with equipment failures during the performance.

> The last time I played at Bridgett's,"Roger's" [manager] system, the microphones were all buggered up. So I found that the bar people were not very much help. And I always figure that you know, if you're running a bar and you've got a musician playing, then it should be your responsibility to make sure that the equipment is good. But apparently there's a very definite line of duties and if you're a musician it's your responsibility to make sure that all the equipment is in running order, even though it's not yours. Anyway this particular night I was supposed to start at 9:30, had everything set up and the mikes wouldn't work. There would have been a time that I would have royally panicked but my attitude has changed so much since being involved with this sort of business. You say, "Look there's nothing I can do about it. It's their fault the equipment is [broken]. I will try my best to get the piece of equipment that's needed." But until then it's the audience who will have to suffer or the bar. It's no sweat off my back, I will still get paid my money.[45]

While the musician expects the management to provide him with good working equipment, he knows that this is rarely the case.

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[44] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4871.

[45] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4871.

> Professionals have their own sound systems and they don't trust the PA system in bars. With reason because the PA systems in . . . bars are generally as cheap as the bar owner can get them. Because the idea with the bar as far as the bar owner is concerned, . . . is to spend as little on live entertainment as possible, so he can realize a low break even point in terms of what you sell each night. So that's an eternal problem.[46]

Bridgett's used to charge the musicians that they hired five dollars for the use of the sound system. In 1976-77 Bridgett's paid five dollars less than other bars so that the musicians were forced to rent the equipment that was necessary for them to perform.

There is little that the musician can do to counteract this problem with the management. Many are happy that the bar provides any type of sound system since they cannot afford to purchase their own. Many rely upon fellow musicians to lend or rent them sound systems.

> Peter Narváez came in and really helped me out. I borrowed his system a couple of times. That was a big help and I found more than anything there when you have that kind of consideration and assistance from fellow musicians that it means a great deal.[47]

Management assumes little responsibility for the upkeep of their own equipment, and assumes even less for musicians' equipment that has been damaged or stolen from their premises. One performer had his expensive sound system stolen from the Cabaret one night.

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[46]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4570.

[47]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4871.

I: I played there [Cabaret] once, got me gear stolen, so I didn't play there again.
F: Oh yeah Scott told me that yesterday. Was it insured?
I: No.
F: Did the club pay for it?
I: You're joking. I asked them you know, if they would even put in a little, a token amount. And they said I'm very sorry, they were very nice about it. So I just said well I'm not playing here again. And they've asked me to go back, you know . . . but there's no way.
F: You'd think that would be the club's responsibility.
I: You would think so. I mean there was no pre-arrangement it was just one night it was a Monday night and I was only playing there the one night. And I left at three in the morning with the guy, I watched him close up and everything. And I was coming back at like twelve to get the gear, when they opened. So I thought no sweat, what's the point in dragging it all home in a cab now. Wish I had a done.[48]

If musicians are to give competent performances during which there is a minimum of equipment failure, they must have a sound system upon which they can rely. There are mixed expectations among musicians concerning the responsibility management must take in equipping bars with such systems. Some believe that it is the responsbility of the management, others believe that musicians should purchase and maintain their own. The unifying factor is that whether the PA system belongs to the club or the musician, the musicians believe that it is up to the management to maintain and/or protect it. If the bar has its own system they should be responsible for keeping it in

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[48]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

good working order. If a musician brings his own equipment, the bar should insure that it is neither damaged nor stolen. Should either happen the bar should pay for the damage or loss. As evidenced by the above statements and narratives, such expectations are not fulfilled. Clubs do not maintain their own equipment and neither do they take any responsibility for musicians' sound systems.

Crowd control. The roles and expectations held by musicians pertaining to the social conditions in the bar will be discussed in detail below. It will be demonstrated that any type of interruption of the musical performance constitutes a breach of etiquette in the eyes of the performer. The performer expects the management to control any individual who disrupts or threatens to disrupt the performance. While some musicians expect only that the management will keep offenders away from the stage area, others hope that they will also try to keep the crowd reasonably quiet. The efficiency with which management meets these expectations depends to a great extent on the policy of the bar in question. Bridgett's, for example, has always maintained a fairly strict policy towards offenders. Generally, troublemakers are not tolerated and when they make a nuisance of themselves they are either seated or removed from the premises. One informant stated:

> Downstairs [at Bridgett's] there were a number of times when people would invade you, would actually come up and grab the mike and try and sing and slobber all over you. And usually management

would, they would be very cautious of that sort of thing, I must say.[49]

In Chapter V, the interaction between performer and audience will be discussed using Wallace's concept of equivalence structures as a framework within which to understand the behaviour. In maintaining this model, the relationship between musician and management, like that of musician and audience, may be understood as proceeding from vastly different cognitive maps. Thus, this relationship between management and musician completes the ethnographic picture in terms of occupational considerations. Each segment in the interaction--musician, audience, and manager--is instrumental to the dialogue of action, and each behaves in a manner appropriate to his definition of the situation. Since each definition is based upon a different cognitive map, points of conflict occur which result in the breakdown of the equivalence structure and which necessitate the instigation of occupational strategies on the part of the musician to deal with the altered situation.

The audience is either embarrassed, annoyed, or amused by an offender. The performer is helpless if he is not experienced enough to enact an appropriate strategy to extricate himself from a potentially embarrassing situation. He may be forced into performing around or to the offender. The management must then decide how far to let the situation go before action is taken. This decision is based

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[49]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4871.

upon economic considerations as well as the status of the offender in the bar and his previous behaviour, the performer's status, as perceived by the management; and the audience reaction.

Bars such as Bridgett's and Martha's are noted for their strict policy towards offenders. This policy indicates a rigidity of expectations towards audience behaviour and also indicates that the bar is economically secure and popular enough to demand a certain standard of behaviour. On the other hand, bars like the Cochrane and the Cabaret have reputations for being rough and in these bars the management exerts little control over the actions of the patrons. The Cochrane and Cabaret, because they are less popular, can ill afford such strict attitudes and therefore must maintain a more flexible approach to offenders, much to the discomfort of the musician.

The bar manager is first and foremost a businessman. He does not want to jeopardize his profits by acting in what the patrons might consider to be an overbearing manner just to accommodate the wishes of the musician. Paul Kelly, owner/manager of Bridgett's, maintains that it is up to the musician to look after himself. Drunks who might dance in front of the performance, as long as they do not directly cause a disturbance, are an added form of entertainment. Kelly maintains that "the crowd likes it, so it's a bit of fun."[50] Left unattended, he noted, that the drunk would

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[50]Personal conversation with Paul Kelly, 5 May 1980.

usually become embarrassed and seat himself.

To the musician, the drunk represents not only a potential threat to smooth uninterrupted performance, but also casts an unserious frame around the performance itself. What might be a "bit of fun" to the patron is, to the musician, a debasement of his performance. The drunk, who is a foolish figure, essentially makes the musician such a figure by destroying the performance frame and establishing a joking, unserious one.

There are no set rules or standards of behaviour among the bars in which musicians perform. Rather musicians must be aware of the potential hazards in each bar and as well the management's policy towards offenders. This awareness comes both through personal experience and through the experience narratives of other musicians who have performed in these bars. Such narratives inform upon the standards of behaviour, potential hazards, and bar policy.

Presentational control. Presentational control pertains to two aspects of performance: the first is structural--the length of sets and breaks--the second has to do with content, or repertoire.

There is a running battle between management and musicians as to the length of sets and breaks. While there is a fairly standard format--thirty minutes on, and thirty minutes off--most musicians expect that management

will allow them some leeway in the structuring of the length of their sets.

> Like some people want to make sure you start right on time. They don't notice that maybe you've played extra long, you know, and start a bit late because oh, maybe the few people that are there seem to be having a really good conversation or . . . there just aren't enough people there. So when you start you play longer. Some bars are wise to that but then, some, they don't care at all what you do, they figure that's your thing and you do it. . . . But then there is the odd time when there are places where I've played, when I see the manager's car there and my heart kind of falls as I arrive. Knowing that will make me a bit tense.[51]

The relationship between manager and musician often becomes bitter over this point of contention. Particularly officious managers will point to their watches indicating to the performer that he should begin despite the fact that he is in the middle of a conversation or had played well into his break. It is interesting that the bars with the best crowd control are often the worst offenders when it comes to rigidity about length of sets. The fact that the manager might have been at one time a bar musician himself may not soften his attitude.

> That's the most frightening example of all right. _____ was like an erstwhile musician. He played in bands and he played out on his own and was into music. So you think he would have at least have known both sides of it, right. And yet as soon as he got into the management position at Bridgett's he was looking at his watch. I played there at times when he was looking at his watch and expecting you to be up on stage and if you're not up there he's giving you gentle hints and tell you when to stop and start. Oh Jesus Christ I couldn't believe

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[51]MUNFLA , Tape, 79-597/C4456.

> it. It just drove me nuts. I couldn't believe that he could go that way from having seen the musician's side of it that he would go right the other way and be like every other obnoxious club manager. It depressed me for a long time because he's a friend as well, right.[52]

Managers may not only insist that the musician begin each set on the hour but also expect him to play to an empty house.

> Every once in a while you get a gig in which there is nobody. I walked into one place with a friend of mine and it just opened and there was nobody there. And it's really funny what happened in that situation. Some owners expect you to go right up and play right punctually, even if there's not a soul there, even if it's just the bartenders and bar maids. They expect you to play as if there was a full crowd there. . . . It feels totally ridiculous. Their arguments are always interesting. That if somebody does come in they should hear there's a lot of activity going on. It's really ridiculous because some people feel that if they are paying you, that you have to do something, even if it's just play to the wall.[53]

Of course, many managers take a much more relaxed stance about the length of sets and the general performance. Doug Ryan, who was responsible for hiring musicians at the Cochrane Hotel, and who would often sit and talk with them at breaks, was one such manager. He did not expect musicians to perform to an empty room, often letting them start late and finish early. The musicians had complete control over the length of their sets so that if they were feeling "hot" they could perform for an hour or more and take a longer break. This is of course the type of

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[52]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4564.

[53]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

freedom that bar performers like to have. One performer pointed out that the managers will always get their money's worth.[54] Many musicians prefer to perform than to break, especially when they do not know anyone in the bar and have no one to chat with. If they are involved with and excited by their music during a particular set they will want to perform for a longer period of time and often they will only take ten or fifteen minute breaks. Ideally, the performer would like the management to trust him to put in a full night on his own terms.

Repertoire

Control over repertoire is of paramount importance to the bar musician. He must constantly negotiate his choice of songs with the audience and, while he knows that "the manager wants what they [the audience] want,"[55] he expects the management to allow him to evaluate and respond to the audience on his own terms. In a city the size of St. John's, where most of the musicians have been performing for a number of years, management generally knows the type of music that the musician plays and whether or not he will appeal to the customers. One performer pointed out that:

> I don't mind managers saying, you should pick it up, you're playing too many ballads, but I don't think the manager has the right to say you must

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[54] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

[55] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

> play this kind of music. I mean he's hired you and he should have some understanding of what you do before you go in there.[56]

Frank Taylor, owner/manager of the Rob Roy, for the most part hires Irish traditional, and middle of the road commercial musicians. While Paul Kelly of Bridgett's hires a variety of types of musicians--blues, rock and folk--during the summer he prefers to hire sing-a-long type musicians who have a large repertoire of Newfoundland tunes. These musicians attract not only the regular customers but also a large number of tourists who wish to hear Newfoundland music. Martha's will hire jazz, blues, and rock 'n' roll bands on weekends to play upstairs and from time to time they hire solos or duets to perform folk and blues, in the smaller room downstairs during the week, weekends and for the occasional matinée.

Generally speaking, musicians have little difficulty with management concerning repertoire. Since most of the musicians have been playing around town for a number of years, management will know if they will be accepted by the patrons; additionally, musicians know the bars so well that they can alter their repertoire to suit each context.

Musicians have more of a problem with volume control than with control over their repertoire. One seemingly constant fight between musicians and management has to do with loudness. A performer pointed out during a break at

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[56]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

the Grad House that:

> Managers or bar personnel don't understand what loudness is. They think that because there is distortion, which is purposely created by the musician, the music is too loud. As a result I have a few methods for getting around this problem.[57]

That particular evening the volume of the music was moderately quiet; one could easily hold a conversation with the person sitting across from them without having to shout. However, the manager still asked the duo to turn down. When the performer was questioned as to what he would do in such cases, he answered, "Oh I just fiddle around with the dials and sometimes give it a mental zap, but I won't always turn down."[58] On occasion, the musician will go so far as to increase the volume slightly. The manager sees him turning the dials and if he is not paying a great deal of attention he probably will not notice that there is no change or that the music has, in fact, become slightly louder.

In summary, the relationship between musician and management is one in which there is a great potential for conflict. It involves a critical juncture in which the competing interests of the two come into play. While the musician conceives of his job as first and foremost artistic, to the management it is a service. Thus, management

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[57]Personal conversation with Peter Narváez, 16 May 1980.

[58]Personal conversation with Peter Narváez, 16 May 1980.

caters to the needs of the patrons, often leaving musicians to fend for themselves under rather adverse conditions. The musicians' chief complaints have to do with inadequate sound systems, inadequate crowd control, and dogmatic attitudes towards the structure of the performance.

Status

> F: Talking to a performer is probably one of the hardest things.
> I: Yeah, and it takes a long time to realize that because you think, my gosh, anybody could talk to me. There's no reason in the world that somebody can't talk to me.[59]

Merriam writes that, "among the most complex and fascinating aspects of the behavior of the musician is the problem of his social status, both as seen by himself and as judged by the rest of society."[60] He continues that the problem is more complicated than it first appears since in some societies musicians' status is not clearly high or low. In fact, many societies have a highly ambivalent attitude towards musicians so that while they do not have a "high" status, they do have a "special" status and are accorded certain privileges not given to others. In order to resolve this situation, Merriam suggests that there is a pattern of low status and high importance, coupled with deviant behaviour allowed by society and capitalized upon by musicians. Such a pattern is found in a number of

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[59] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

[60] Merriam, p. 133.

cultures throughout the world and might be used to characterize the position of musicians in such cultures.[61]

Status, as an analytical construct, is problematic since there exist a variety of scholarly definitions and colloquial usages. Following Linton, Merriam speaks of ascribed or achieved status, and the place it occupies in the social hierarchy of a society.[62] Status is, thus, synonomous with social position and can be understood by learning the rights, duties and privileges accorded a musician.

However, in his seminal work on status and role, Linton points out that status has come to have a double significance. In the abstract, it is a position in a particular pattern; a collection of rights and duties. At the same time it has come to mean the sum total of all statuses an individual may occupy, so that it represents a position with relation to the total society.[63] In colloquial usage status connotes evaluation. In this sense it is an abstract phenomenon which denotes honour, prestige, esteem, and respect. One has status; to gain it is

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[61]Merriam, pp. 133-137.

[62]Merriam, p. 131.

[63]Ralph Linton, "Status and Role," in Readings in Sociology, ed. Edgar A. Schuler, Thomas F. Hoult, Duane L. Gibson and Wilbur B. Brockover (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1967), p. 167.

a gratification, to lose it, a deprivation.[64]

Goodenough attempts to clarify some of the more confusing aspects of status in his criticism of the way that it has been employed as an analytical construct. He calls for a clear distinction to be made between status--a collection of rights and duties--and social position or identity--which is a persona, such as father or child, doctor or musician. Thus, a status is the reciprocal rights and duties that exist between two identities, for example, musician and audience, in an identity relationship. Since a status is a collection of rights and duties, then a particular social identity will occupy a different status in each identity relationship. Thus, in order to understand status one must look at the relationship between two social identities.[65]

In summary, status has been used to designate a collection of rights and duties, a social rank synonomous with a social identity, a social position in terms of an individual's collective identities, and finally a state of having or being without respect, esteem, and prestige.

To return to Merriam, whose use of status connotes social position, and who points out the ambivalent

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[64] International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 15, 1968 ed., 253.

[65] Ward H. Goodenough, "Rethinking 'Status' and 'Role': Toward a General Model of the Cultural Organization of Social Relationships," in Cognitive Anthropology, ed. Stephen A. Tyler (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), pp. 312-314.

position of the musicians in various cultures including North American culture, it is important to note that status may be determined in relation to society in general. At the same time, drawing from Goodenough, it is possible to examine status through identity relationships and determine how social position changes according to the identities that come into the foreground in certain contexts. What is suggested here is a marriage of Goodenough's concepts of social identity and identity relationships with the connotation of status as rank. It then becomes possible to examine status in social situations through an analysis of identity relationships and also to examine status in the sense of musicians' status in the community where there is no such relationship. The following is a discussion of musicians' status within the bar, within the wider community and within the sub-group of musicians in St. John's.

There are two identity relationships within the bar through which status may be determined: musician (employee)/management (employer), and musician/audience. Within the social structure of the bar the musician is in a tenuous position. Since he is a specialized part-time employee, who is hired for his ability to draw a crowd, his position in the informal status hierarchy may well depend on the whim of the management.

Some musicians believe they are just one step above the waiters and waitresses:

> If you're a musician and you can't stand the customer, well you've got a little more leeway [than the waitress]. Like I said the musician is one cut above, at least in the bars that I played in [the waitresses and waiters].[66]

Others believe that they do not even have this advantage:

> I: Again the relationship between the clubs and the bands or the musician are not always equal relationships. They tend to look down on you as just hired help.
> F: What are you, sort of on par with the waiter or waitress. . . .
> I: I don't know, probably less than that. The waiters are there every night. They're the regular crowd. The musicians don't even get tips right.[67]

Since the job of the musician in the bar is not a defined one, that is, it does not come with a job description and formal rank as found in offices, his status, at least in the eyes of the other employees, depends to a great extent on how he is treated by the management. Some managers take a great deal of interest in the musicians, come down to the bar and listen to them, give them a cut rate on alcohol, or simply offer them free beer.

> Probably Doug Ryan is the best guy to play for, 'cos he comes down all the time to listen to you if he likes your music. He always comes when I play. And he gives free beers for me and my friends usually.[68]

This type of treatment indicates to the musician that he is a valued "employee" of the bar and one to whom a certain

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[66]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4872.

[67]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4564.

[68]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4559.

deference is extended, a deference which is also extended to his friends.

The second identity relationship in the bar is that of performer/audience. In the eyes of the audience the musician has a very special status. As evidenced by the opening quotation, many patrons are hesitant to approach performers and, in fact, hold them in awe. As a result, patrons have developed customary and strategic approaches and formulaic openings to initiate conversations and make contact with musicians. As performer, the musician has a formal identity.

> You have this instant identity, real strong identity. I've had all kinds of people . . . lots of people come up just to strike up conversations. Either they want to know the performer, they get off on that, or they're just really interested in the music.[69]

Another musician observed:

> [Introducing people to the band] flatters them. Usually what happens is these people come in and they bring their friends so that they know you but the friends don't know you. So they come in and you see them when they come in. Often you wave at them from the stage if you recognize them and they, you come over and they can introduce you to their friends. And it kind of gives them brownie points.[70]

As will be discussed in the following chapter, the musician does not relate to the audience as a whole, but according to personal categories, which he has developed through repeated performances in bars. As a result, in

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[69]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4558.

[70]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4570.

many instances a variety of social identities come into play simultaneously. To some of the patrons in the bar, the musician is not only a bar musician but may also be a friend or teacher, a husband or wife. Thus, the relationship that exists between a musician and individual members of the audience in other contexts and under other conditions may affect the identity relationship and therefore the musician's status in the bar.

The setting, however, does contextualize social identities and brings into play those ritual sets of relationships and interactions to be placed in the foreground. As Goodenough would point out, there is no such identity relationship as musician/wife; this would be ungrammatical, in the sociolinguistic sense.[71] While these other identities and relationships may affect the behaviour in the bar, status is ultimately determined through the more generalized interaction.

In the eyes of the performer, status emerges in the interaction, that is, the amount of deference paid to him on any particular night will colour what he conceives his status to be. Within the identity relationship performer/fans, for example, the musician has a high status as evidenced by the respect paid to him by the fans. However, if the category of drunks and troublemakers[72]

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[71]Goodenough, p. 315.

[72]Categories such as fans/friends, drunks and troublemakers will be discussed in detail in Chapter V.

predominates and little attention is paid to him, or worse, there are constant interruptions, it is evident to the performer that these people have little respect for what he is doing. Hence his status is low.

The musician is in a tenuous position as a bar performer. He is in the forefront of peoples' attention--that is, all can hear and, if they wish, see him. There is a physical as well as psychological distance between performer and audience. The stage sets them apart, often raising the musician to a level above the audience. Amplification also adds to this distance. In terms of sheer numbers he is the only one in the bar who is doing what he is doing. He is doing something that many aspire to or have fantasies of doing. He is performing. Many in the bar might play musical instruments and sing at home, but it is the act of performing publicly for people which commands the respect and sometimes awe that is given the musician.

However, this distance is constantly narrowed and sometimes destroyed as individuals in the audience attempt to engage the performer's attention or even to become part of the act. Further, the distance is radically changed during the required breaks. The bar performer is, thus, prevented from maintaining his social distance from the patrons, which in turn prevents him from promoting his special status as a performer. Boles and Garbin similarly describe the difficulty that the bar room stripper, who is

expected to socialize with customers at breaks, has in maintaining the identity and status of an entertainer. They contrast the bar stripper with the burlesque performer, who is always on stage, separated by a physical and social barrier. A parallel distinction can be made between the concert and bar performer.[73]

Merriam states that "the listener responds socially in different ways to music, depending both upon the situation and his role in it."[74] The role of the listener in a bar is, for the most part, a much less restricted one than that of the listener in a concert. The expectations for attention and applause are not as great in the bar as in the concert. However, since on any given night a significant portion of the audience does give their attention to and applaud the bar performer, since they wish to identify and converse with him, since a certain deference is paid to him, the bar performer does have a high status within the identity relationship performer/audience.

The instant identity which aids in the musician's establishment of a high status in the bar does not necessarily work to his advantage in the wider community.

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[73]Jacqueline Boles and A.P. Garbin, "Stripping for a Living: An Occupational Study of the Nightclub Stripper," in The Social World of Occupations, ed. Bernard J. Gallagher III and Charles S. Palazzolo (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 1977), pp. 226-248.

[74]Merriam, p. 144.

While musicians are generally a respected group in St. John's, the notion of earning one's living performing in bars is not necessarily highly thought of. One musician explained:

> When I met Patty's [his wife] folks, her father's a doctor and her sister's married to a soon to be doctor and her brother's in university and I'd been in university, but at the moment I was a bar singer. You know, a small-time bar singer in St. John's. And I always feel, I always think that people think that that kind of person is kind of sleazy. Some people do. I think they do. . . . I just felt like the guy won't think that his daughter is doing well enough which is not the kind of man he is at all. That was just in my head and I was quite insecure about the whole thing.[75]

Even if Patty's father were not that kind of man, the musician's insecurity reflects the way in which musicians think the wider community considers them.

What we are dealing with here is occupational stereotyping. McCarl suggests that a metaphorical key technique--"what we allow to symbolically stand for activities we really know very little about"--[76] is the immediate image generated when someone tells us what they do. These metaphors arise out of the central or key work technique and cause us to "stereotype our expectations based on conventionalized occupational symbols."[77] It is

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[75]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

[76]Robert S. McCarl Jr., "Occupational Stereotype, Technique and the Critical Comment of Folklore," unpublished paper read at FSAC Meetings, London, Ontario, 1978, p. 1.

[77]McCarl, p. 1.

through the nature and implications of the stereotypes built around bar musicians that status in the wider community will be approached.

The popular image of a bar musician as derived from mass media is that of a singer/guitarist performing in a noisy drinking atmosphere. An alternate image would be that of a group of musicians performing loud electrified music in a similar environment.

There are two major aspects of these images that determine the development of an occupational stereotype. The first has to do with the persona, and the second, the context in which the persona is found.

Mass media's presentation of the lives and careers of musicians, accounts of their rise to and fall from fame, the intense competitiveness and the occupational hazards all colour popular conceptions of the occupation. The most poignant examples of the disastrous effects of making a living from music can be found in the highly publicized accounts of the deaths of rock 'n' roll stars Jim Morrison, Janis Joplin, and Jimi Hendrix, jazz singer Billy Holiday, and country and western star Hank Williams.[78]

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[78]See, for example, B. Wolfe, "Real-life death of Jim Morrison," Esquire, June 1972, pp. 106-110; "Blues for Janis," Time, 19 October 1970, p. 54; A. Goldman, "Drugs and Death in the Run Down World of Rock Music," Life, 16 October 1970, pp. 32-33; W. Bender, "Janis and Jimi," Time, 15 February 1971, p. 76; Roger M. Williams, Sing a Sad Song: The Life of Hank Williams (New York: Ballantine, 1970); Billie Holiday and William Duffy, Lady Sings the Blues (New York: Lancer, 1956); Your Cheatin' Heart, M-G-M, 1964; Lady Sings the Blues, Paramount Pictures, 1974.

More locally in Newfoundland, Jimmy Linegar's well known struggle with alcoholism has been attributed to his career in music.[79] Mass media has also dealt with the immorality of musicians. There is a plethora of accounts of orgies, drug use and groupies, which is attributed to the basic nihilistic destructiveness of musicians and which have found expression in the lives of the above mentioned stars. Thus, deviant behaviour is synonomous with and expected of musicians.

While these popular accounts of the lives of famous and infamous musicians bear little if any resemblence to the lives of those musicians who perform in the bars in St. John's, the stereotypes may act upon popular conceptions of musicians in general.

The second aspect of the popular image of musicians is concerned with context; the bars in which musicians perform. While bars are places where people go to socialize and have fun, and are thought of as places for relaxation, they are also conceived of as having a questionable moral order.[80] They are places where geople get drunk and disorderly, where fights occur, where illegal acts, such as the sale of drugs and stolen merchandise, are committed. That the musician who works in bars is constantly around

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[79]MUNFLA, Tape, 73-45/C1402-06; Michael Taft,"'That's two more dollars': Jimmy Linegar's Success with Country Music in Newfoundland," Folklore Forum, 7 (1974), 92-120.

[80]Sherri Cavan, Liquor License: An Ethnography of Bar Behavior (Chicago: Aldine, 1966), pp. 37-45.

alcohol, that his hours are erratic, as are the number of days a week and weeks a month he works, and finally that performing music in bars is not thought of as "work," all place him in a highly marginal position in society.

The feelings of insecurity experienced by the musician above, when meeting his wife's parents, his acknowledgement that people might think that what he does was "sleazy," was partly due to the fact that at that time in his life he was a full-time bar musician. He was not at university, he did not have another job and his total income was dependent upon what he could make in the bars. He did not see that this was a career that offered many opportunities for advancement. However, for the part-time musician some of the negative aspects of the stereotype are mitigated. Abrahams notes that all manual labour and service occupations are low status if "one manifests a long term commitment to the job."[81] If the life goals of the individual involve further education or more professional work then the low status occupation is transformed into part of the individual's education.[82] The part-time musician who is putting himself through school or has another profession is defined in his relationships in the wider society by his full-time commitments. The fact that he is a bar musician may add colour to the personal

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[81]Abrahams, p. 176.

[82]Abrahams, p. 176.

biographies other persons hold of him.

Here we are speaking of status on two levels. One involves an occupational stereotype thought to be held by the wider community through which the status of musicians within that community may be measured. The second is that of an individual who is a member of the occupation and who enters into an identity relationship--son-in-law/father-in-law--and who will affirm or destroy that stereotype with reference to himself by his personal behaviour. His status in the latter relationship will depend upon a variety of factors of which his occupation is but one.

Stereotyping, occupational or otherwise, is a complex process through which the behaviour of unknown others can be quickly anticipated; it is the semantic simplification of a complex of behaviours. When a woman brings home a man with whom she is entering into a relationship, and tells her parents that he earns his living playing in bars, she risks their displeasure. Operating under the stereotype they see a person with no job security, whose morals are suspect, who works in a context which is frequented by persons with questionable reputations, and who is a potential drunkard and drug user.

We are dealing here with the esoteric views of musicians rather than the exoteric views of the wider community. Musicians think that members of the wider community apply a negative stereotype to them, which results in their low status. As Bryan Hennessey stated:

"I've never felt that . . . anybody has any respect for what you're doing, for the work that you're putting into it."[83]

As mentioned above, Merriam has suggested that a pattern of low status and high importance together with deviant behaviour has a wide distribution throughout the world. He further notes that this pattern cannot be said to characterize musicians in all societies and calls for further research to disclose its geographical extent and social significance.[84]

Only research in the community will determine whether or not such a pattern exists in St. John's. Musicians tend to believe that they have a low status, which is often based upon their personal experience with inattentive audiences, and popular stereotypes that have developed in mainland North America. The applicability of this pattern to St. John's might be gained through the use of questionnaires distributed to members of the community and through personal interviews. The data would give a more accurate picture of the local community's conception of musicians and indicate whether the musicians' esoteric views were in actual fact those of the community.

Finally, status must be considered in terms of the way in which musicians rate one another. Becker notes that

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[83]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4565.

[84]Merriam, p. 140.

"[jazz] musicians classify themselves according to the degree to which they give in to outsiders; the continuum ranges from the extreme 'jazz' musician to the 'commercial' musician."[85] Similarly, Sanders found that bar musicians in Chicago speak of two categories of performers: entertainers and musicians. "Entertainers" emphasized the totality of the stage presentation rather than the music itself, developing a pattern and orienting themselves primarily to providing an enjoyable evening for the audience. "Musicians," on the other hand, felt themselves to be on stage to transmit an "aesthetic communication." Entertainers' primary interests like those of commercial musicians' were economic rewards and career advancement. Musicians stressed technical proficiency and emotional communication. Musicians tended to look down upon entertainers because they had "sold out" to the audience and compromised their artistic integrity.[86] Musicians in St. John's make a similar distinction between "performers" or "musicians" and "entertainers." Entertainers tend to include more commercial (top forty) music in their repertoires and develop a number of rehearsed jokes and anecdotes. Musicians, like those described by Sanders,

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[85]Howard Becker, "The Professional Jazz Musician and His Audience," in Sounds of Social Change, ed. R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), p. 249.

[86]Sanders, pp. 267-269.

stressed only the music, without relying upon jokes or verbal patter to "get" an audience.

There is no strict consensus among musicians in St. John's as to the status of entertainers. One informant suggested that:

> Sometimes you've got to work on an audience. Some people are terrible musicians but they're excellent with audiences. You see I'm not an entertainer, like I'm not an actor. Some people can get on stage and even though they can't play a bloody chord on the guitar they can get the audience with them. Because they're actors they have mastered the art of manipulation. . . . As far as I'm concerned I'm there to play music and I'm going to play as best I can and the audience is there. If they want to listen they can listen but I'm not going to go out there and convince them. I'm not into being a salesman. That's why I'm not into commercial music.[87]

This is a somewhat purist attitude to musical presentation and one that is common to jazz and folk musicians. The informant, a part-time musician, who is otherwise employed, is sufficiently secure economically to expect this type of artistic purity. Full-time musicians have at times incorporated theatre and jokes into their stage performances.

> F: You and Glen seem to . . . it's almost like you have an act. You have jokes you get into and the way you introduce songs is really funny and catches people's attention. Is that something that you've worked out too, or did that just come?
> I: That's something we learned through doing theatre. . . . Before I was just a musician's sort of musician. When I played on stage I was into doing my songs well, but wasn't really interested in entertaining as such. Like there are people around that are great musicians but not much into entertaining except for when they're doing

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[87] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4567.

> their music. Like some people are great musicians but they don't entertain at all between songs. They're just sort of, "Well this is my next song." But audiences honestly appreciate that in-between thing, you know, that contact with them. So I enjoy doing that now, and it was learned from doing theatre. . . . Ideally I don't think that you should have to do that. . . . I don't mind doing it, but I think that ideally audiences should be so wrapped up in the music that you don't have to do anything else other than sing.[88]

The observation that the audience honestly appreciated jokes and between song patter is an accurate account of the needs of the audience. Sixty percent of the questionnaire respondents stressed friendliness and a sense of humour as being the main criteria for a good bar room performer, while thirty percent stressed technical ability. Such comments as, "a friendly, down to earth person,"[89] "one with a good sense of humour, one who is friendly and not distant with the patrons . . . ,"[90] and "as long as a performer is half decent most people will enjoy the evening. . . . As long as a performer talks to or at least jokes or lets the audience know he is no different than anyone in the bar . . . he will or she will make a good impression,"[91] are representative of most of the respondents. Thus, the audiences' conception of a good bar room performer, one who is friendly and jokes with the audience,

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[88] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

[89] MUNFLA, Q 78B-32/p. 2.

[90] MUNFLA, Q 78B-50/p. 2.

[91] MUNFLA, Q 78B-34/p. 2.

is diametrically opposed to the musicians' insistence that the audience should first and foremost appreciate the music.

Unlike jazz musicians, who form an extremely esoteric group, with rigorous expectations in terms of musical technique and purity, St. John's bar musicians tend to be more open minded and versatile concerning the enjoyment achieved when playing a number of musical styles. While status may be highly subjective in terms of musical style, those musicians who exhibit superior technical expertise are the most highly respected.

There is a sense of "making it" in the bars in St. John's, though musicians are rarely paid according to merit. The novice who buys a guitar and who performs at Bridgett's for the first time is usually paid an identical wage as the experienced musician who is technically proficient and who has been performing for twenty years. There is a certain status in having played upstairs at Martha's, since it is well known that the better bands play there. There is, however, little opportunity for advancement in terms of studio and concert work. Musicians can get CBC gigs, but, except for a very few who are regularly employed by CBC, these are infrequent and as one informant pointed out, extremely tedious.

Technical proficiency is probably the greatest single factor upon which status within the community of musicians rests. While performance style does influence the respect shown to one musician by another, there is a

difficulty inherent in linking style to status. Different forms of music demand different performance styles. The stage show developed by the rock 'n' roll group Marty and the Marginals employed a great deal of body movement on the part of the vocalist--"ass shakin'"--[92] which is theatrical and stylized rock posturing. Irish music tends to be accompanied by a constant stream of jokes and patter in between songs. Folk music and blues take on a subdued, serious presentation. A musician who plays primarily blues and original material may denigrate a commerical or Irish musician for the music he plays, and the jokes he employs, but at the same time speak highly of his technical expertise. On the other hand, a performer may compliment another's technical accomplishments, but suggest that his ability to give a competent performance is less than adequate because of his lack of social skills.

Musicians are often competitive with and ambivalent about one another, making it difficult to uncover the real reasons for the designation of status; why respect is withheld from one and given to another. Petty jealousies and personal dislikes also muddy the question.

There are various aspects involved in determining status--technical expertise, performance style, repertoire, writing ability, work accomplishments, professionalism and personality. Since many of the musicians are friends,

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[92]Personal conversation with Martin Laba, 6 February 1980.

or have at least performed together at one time or another, they have a keen knowledge of the abilities of each other. Ultimately, the respect that is conferred is based upon an extensive knowledge of the capabilities of individuals within the occupation.

Roles and Expectations

Barrooms offer various types of entertainment to attract customers. Games such as darts, pool and pinball, dancers, strippers, television, as well as music help to establish an atmosphere that draws a particular clientele. Several forms of musical entertainment--taped, juke box, radio or live--may be utilized by a bar owner. Mechanized music does not require, though often does receive, a response from patrons. A request made by a patron to a bartender for a particular tape or the payment for and the choice of a song on a juke box indicates aesthetic preference but does not directly effect the producers of the music. These musical forms may remain solely in the background since no personality or ego is involved. The juke box may be used, as it is in many bars, as a vehicle for dancing, or as described by Michael J. Bell, in the telling of narratives.[93] In these cases the actors, by their manipulation of the machine, bring it into the forefront of the activity. The live performer needs the response of patrons--if he is a

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[93]Michael J. Bell, "Running Rabbits and Talking Shit: Folkloric Communication in an Urban Black Bar," Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1975, pp. 106-107, 460-473.

dance musician he needs people to dance, if he is a solo singer he needs people to listen--in order to maintain a healthy ego, which allows him to continue performing in bars.

This section deals with the role of the bar musician and his personal and occupational expectations for performance conditions that are of a social nature. Using musicians' personal experience narratives, as well as observations gained through participation, the way in which musicians' personal expectations differ from their occupational expectations are examined. Such narratives are based upon and explicate the ethnographic reality encountered by the musician each time he performs on stage. Moreover, they bring together both personal and occupational expectations by describing recurrent situations and expressing attitudes towards them.

The concert musician, the coffee house singer and the nightclub entertainer all have the right to expect attention and applause from their audience; the bar musician does not have this right. The expectations held by the bar musician are based upon his conception of his role in the bar. These expectations, as well as those held by patrons towards him, govern the interaction between musician and audience.

The musician is hired to help develop an ambience that attracts customers and sells drinks. If the crowd is noisy he can turn up the sound so that he can hear himself, and in some bars this is all he can hope for. While the

musician knows he often is hired only to provide background music, his commitment to his art and conception of himself as a performer necessitate that at least part of the audience pay attention to, enjoy and appreciate his efforts. Without some form of positive feedback, he thinks of himself as little more than a live juke box.

Perhaps one of the most difficult experiences a performer can have is his first time playing in a bar.

> I saw Bonnie Raitt's brother, who I knew briefly, David Raitt, play at a bar that I was playing at, do a set. And they started out very nicely and people were very happy about what he and this other fellow were doing. And they freaked out because people started talking and stuff, right. And the guy who was playing started swearing and finally David started swearing and saying they were a bunch of, you know, I won't even say it on tape. But I tried to explain to them afterwards, you know, a lot of people were enjoying it. "Just because they weren't being quiet, you know, doesn't mean that they weren't enjoying yourselves. It's just too bad that you got freaked out." But he was really used to people either being attentive enough in a concert situation, so that he couldn't make that transition from concert or small room situation where people are giving their full attention to the performer. He couldn't make that transition . . . and a lot of people can't make it. Lots of people play at a bar like once, and hate it and leave, and never try it again.[94]

Santino notes that a "very common subject of narratives is <u>the first day on the job</u>."[95] The two musicians described above experienced great difficulty performing in a bar for the first time. Both expected the patrons to respond to them as if they were playing in a coffee house

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[94]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

[95]Santino, 204.

or concert situation. They responded to what they thought was a rude, disinterested audience. Were the context a coffee house, then this judgment would have been correct, though their actions--swearing at the audience--would still have been inappropriate. They had not learned to recognize that patrons enjoy and appreciate musical performance in bars even when they do not give their full attention to the performers. Thus, the narrative speaks of the "initiation" of the novice bar room performer and indicates the distinction that must be made between concert and bar performers, each having their own sets of rules, expectations and social skills.

The experienced bar musician knows that people go to bars for a variety of reasons.

> Bars are for listening to certain kinds of music. Bars are places to get picked up or to pick up. They are places to pick up dope. They are places that alcoholics go. They're all those things.[96]

Bar musicians understand that patrons enjoy themselves in ways other than simply listening to the musician. One informant contrasted the British folk clubs in London to bars in St. John's:

> In England, you know, in the folk clubs, you can hear a pin drop. If anyone says anything, "Out!" . . . When I came over here it was just a wall of sound with people talking. It was kind of strange. But I think people, you know, go into a club to a have a good time. They don't go in to be sitting in there like it's a cemetery. It's ridiculous. Say you're with a young lady, you're going out.

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[96]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4567.

Since there is a turnover of individuals who attend the bar from set to set, the musician can also anticipate that his audience on any particular night will change.

> . . . you really have to be very careful about judging your sets. . . . You want to do some really good material at the beginning because people tend to drift, especially in St. John's from bar to bar. Especially in the downtown bars because there are so many of them in a row, right. So you want to hold them but you don't want to give all your good numbers away, right, because there's a big turnover the first two sets. You look out the third set and they're all new people.[111]

When a bar is distinguished as a listening or a rowdy place, whether it meets with this characterization on any individual night or during each set, the musician relies upon his conception of the bar, based on past experience in it, when he decides whether or not to perform there again.

Rowdy bars are sometimes avoided by musicians who can afford the luxury of being choosy, or by those who become upset or depressed by the patrons' lack of interest.

When forced by economic reasons to play in rowdy bars some performers become bitter and resentful towards the patrons. When comparing his reaction to inattentive patrons to another musician's, one performer pointed out:

> He can go and play at the Cabaret all night long and maybe some people will listen and occasionally some people will applaud or people might be just drunk all night and just be laughing and having a good time and just being regular Cabaret crowd,

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[111]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4562.

the patrons to respond to him, and partially sets the framework for performer/audience interaction. The other half of the interactional segment--the patrons--have their own set of expectations, which may or may not match those of the musician. The convergence or divergence of these two sets of expectations, together with those of the management, complete the frame for the interaction.

The social psychological definition of role draws upon the dramaturgical metaphor, which was first used by George Meade and the University of Chicago sociologists in the late 1920's. Role was used most specifically in occupational analysis to represent the behaviour expected of the occupant in a given position or status.[98] Role, as Linton suggested, is "the dynamic aspect of status."[99] Two features in this definition are significant: first, the expectations held by persons regarding the appropriate behaviours for the actor in a given position and, second, the actual enactments of the actor in his position.[100] Goffman distinguishes between these two aspects of role by separating the concept role--"the activity the incumbent would engage in were he to act solely in terms of normative demands upon someone in his position"--and role performance,

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[98] International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, 1968 ed., 546.

[99] Linton, p. 168.

[100] International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, 1968 ed., 546.

"which is the actual conduct of a particular individual while on duty in his position."[101] Thus, the difference between typical response (that is, role) and the role performance of an individual in a given position becomes obvious. Further, Goffman suggests that the difference between the two is partially due to the individual's personal perspective and definition of his situation.[102]

When a musician performs music in a bar, he is also performing the role of a bar musician. There is little concensus among musicians concerning their role in the bar so that personal perspectives and definitions of the situation do result in a variety of types of role performance.

One conception of the musician's role is that of the provider of background music:

> I: I think a bar's for drinking and I'm providing more than anything, background music. People want to talk, talk and drink and that's what a bar is for. The music is there for ambience, the whole mood and atmosphere of the bar and that's what the musician's function is. If he gets pissed off about the fact that no one's listening to him he's in trouble man, because he shouldn't be in that context.
> F: I've seen guys walk off the stage.
> I: Yeah well you know, what bullshit. You don't have that. [total attention] If you want that you go to a coffee house where people come for the express purpose of listening to the musician, or to a concert if you can get to that.[103]

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[101]Goffman, Encounters, p. 85.

[102]Goffman, Encounters, p. 93.

[103]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4558.

At times the musician's perception of the patrons is a philosophic statement about the people who frequent bars, and his role becomes one of providing enjoyment for such individuals.

> When people are drinking they want to be happy and you can't help but try to make them happy, or help their need. . . . I feel that most people who go into bars are very lonely and screwed up. . . . I feel that there are lots of people who go there for a good time, but it's amazing how many of them are there because they're looking for something. They're looking for diversion, they've had a hard day, they're down, they don't want to think about what's happening. . . . I think anybody playing in a place like that [who] is really involved in presenting their music with their ego at stake, thinking of people as being there for a purpose, and not feeling as though they're fulfilling [a] purpose in performing by helping those people is making a mistake.[104]

This musician originally thought that he was doing the audience a favour by performing. As he gained experience performing in bars, his conception of the audience and his place in the bar changed:

> If people lead lives of "quiet desperation" and were only there for a half an hour, it's really nice to help provide an atmosphere through music in which people can enjoy themselves.[105]

By viewing his role in the bar in this way the musician does not leave his ego bare to be battered by the audience's inattention. Rather, he recognizes that the music is heard, and that the atmosphere it helps to create makes a pleasant context within which the patrons can enjoy themselves.

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[104]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

[105]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

Even when patrons are attentive a musician may think their interest is a result of boredom and not of his performance.

> They're not going to come to you of their own free will, unless they really feel like it. Unless they're so bored with themselves and what they have to say to each other that you're the only other thing in the room that really matters. And you don't really matter. You're just there, you're the focal point for them. But if you're going to be a focal point for some people you can at least make it interesting for them. I mean you're being paid to do it.[106]

That the musician is a focal point, a vehicle through which the boredom of the audience is relieved, is expressed in the statement of this musician. The critical difference lies in attitude. The musician as focal point is a notion acceptable to some but not all musicians. The fact that "you don't really matter," that any musician--as long as he performs competently--can fill the role is disturbing to some musicians. The patrons are not necessarily interested in the musician or his music; they are interested in having their attention diverted and boredom relieved. Any musician who happens to be playing in the bar, as long as he performs music that the patrons like, will fulfill this function. For some musicians this is not enough. They want the level of their own personal involvement in their music matched by the involvement of the audience, so that the audience attends and listens because they know <u>he</u> is performing. This does occur when a musician has played

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MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

around town long enough for him to establish a following. When this is the case, on any given night a part of the audience may include fans/friends who have come because they know and enjoy his music. However, the presence of the musician in the bar is only incidental to many of the patrons who have little if any interest in the performance.

Whether or not a musician realizes that his music is regarded as background music, his expectations of how it will be received are based upon his past experiences in the bars. Each time he decides to perform in a particular bar he knows that he will receive a variety of responses from the patrons. Since the musician is aware that the patrons' behaviour and involvement with the performance can vary in each bar as well as from night to night, and from set to set in the same bar, his expectations concerning the responsiveness of his audience and the conditions in which he must play must be constantly modified to suit each context.

Some bars are known as "listening bars." In these the musician can expect, though not rely upon, a significant number of individuals to show interest, pay attention and applaud.

> Bridgett's [upstairs] is more of a listening place. But it's set up that way, so it works. So if you get a good performer in there, you'll have a good audience.[107]

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[107] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

Other bars are characterized as rowdy, where the clientele pays little attention to the musician.

> Usually you can forget about listening at the Cabaret. . . . The problem is that it gets a bit rough down there. Yeah people don't really listen much and it's mostly men and they get really, there's been fights and stuff when I've been down there.[108]

One musician described a typical night at the Cabaret:

> On a typical night at the Cabaret, you know, the place is loaded with drunks and wierdos down there. And you're playing to, you know, we play down there, I remember one night playing down there and [at] the table directly opposite the stage there was a guy who was like, slumped over the table the whole night, right. For the whole first half of the night, and then during the last set he slumped over onto his seat. So that was the audience, there was our audience that we were playing to all night. And the few other people who were there weren't as bad as that guy, but they weren't any better, they weren't any more appreciative.[109]

While some bars are generally noted for their listening audiences and others for their unresponsive audiences, for a variety of reasons the complexion of the bar and behaviour of the audience can change on specific nights:

> But the audiences are different all the time you see. It's hard to say where I really like to play or where I would like to play. I enjoy Bridgett's at times, but I've had horrible nights at Bridgett's, just absolutely horrible. And I've really good nights at places where I didn't expect to have . . . a good night at all. So it changes all the time. It changes with the audience.[110]

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[108] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4567.

[109] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4564.

[110] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

Since there is a turnover of individuals who attend the bar from set to set, the musician can also anticipate that his audience on any particular night will change.

> . . . you really have to be very careful about judging your sets. . . . You want to do some really good material at the beginning because people tend to drift, especially in St. John's from bar to bar. Especially in the downtown bars because there are so many of them in a row, right. So you want to hold them but you don't want to give all your good numbers away, right, because there's a big turnover the first two sets. You look out the third set and they're all new people.[111]

When a bar is distinguished as a listening or a rowdy place, whether it meets with this characterization on any individual night or during each set, the musician relies upon his conception of the bar, based on past experience in it, when he decides whether or not to perform there again.

Rowdy bars are sometimes avoided by musicians who can afford the luxury of being choosy, or by those who become upset or depressed by the patrons' lack of interest.

When forced by economic reasons to play in rowdy bars some performers become bitter and resentful towards the patrons. When comparing his reaction to inattentive patrons to another musician's, one performer pointed out:

> He can go and play at the Cabaret all night long and maybe some people will listen and occasionally some people will applaud or people might be just drunk all night and just be laughing and having a good time and just being regular Cabaret crowd,

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[111]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4562.

> a let's go get 'em crowd. And it doesn't seem to bother him at all. Now I can't perform in that situation at all. I fall to pieces, you know, I just come apart. I become totally and completely withdrawn, I don't care what I'm singing anymore, I don't care if I make mistakes, I don't watch the audience, I'm generally cast down or I'm looking at my fingers. I'm not looking at the audience and I'm not playing to them. It reduces me to nothing.[112]

If the patrons' noisy or rowdy behaviour is viewed not as a direct personal slight, but as an expression of their socializing pattern and needs, then the musician can play in these bars without having his ego continually devastated. However, the musician may consider the noise level or the patrons' inattention to be a direct response to his ability or lack of ability to "get" an audience, or to perform competently.

> You can never really get everyone, right. . . . You can get everyone on some occasions, right, and sometimes you can't get anyone on other occasions. And that's <u>you</u> more than it's the audience, in all cases as far as I'm concerned. It's not the audience. . . . If the performer is good he can get any audience in any bar . . . no matter how sort of diverse they are, if it's a good tasteful performance.[113]

When the performer takes full responsibility for getting the audience, when he measures his competence by the degree of attention he receives, inattention becomes a negative statement about his ability; the audience is letting him know that he is not good enough to catch their interest.

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[112]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

[113]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

The degree to which a musician will assume responsibility for getting an audience is highly ambiguous. Later in the interview the musician stated:

> You know it's in vain to try to perform for this audience because that's the type of audience that doesn't care who you are or what you do, right. They're not out to be entertained, they're out to entertain themselves any way they can.[114]

For the most part, the bar performer wants his music to be in the forefront of the audience's attention and might well become irritated if the audience carries on with their chatter or makes noisy comments either to him or to each other while he is performing. As a consequence, musicians often speak of the ignorance of the audience, both in terms of rudeness and of their inability to recognize good music.

> A lot of the time I treat audiences like ignoramuses. They need it. You've got to educate people. It's like, you don't come to a nightclub where someone is playing really well, working really hard and just be noisy, rude and disregard the person totally. . . . The least thing you can do is applaud occasionally. They don't even do that.[115]

Becker has observed that jazz musicians repeatedly refer to the inability of the audience, club owners and management, in fact, any non-jazz musician, to judge the proper worth of their music.[116] As a result, jazz

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[114]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

[115]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4567.

[116]Howard Becker, "The Professional Jazz Musician and His Audience," in The Sounds of Social Change, ed. R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), p. 248.

musicians perform solely for each other or for their own personal satisfaction. Similarly, by calling the audience "ignoramuses" and treating them accordingly, the bar performer employs an occupational strategy which will allow him to disregard their lack of interest. As will be discussed below, a musician who places too much emphasis on positive audience response, may well become debilitated, if such response is not forthcoming.

Accompanying the characterization of the audience as ignorant is the strategy of isolation. Sanders notes that when the focus of his musical communication is inward directed, the musician attempts:

> . . . to encapsulate himself in his music, thereby physically shutting himself off from an audience whose failure to respond in the expected manner attacked his perception of the performance as a unique and accomplished work of art.[117]

Isolation or the inward directed performance is a critical and constantly used strategy, which, in essence, allows bar musicians to suspend interaction with the audience until such time as that interaction will provide an impetus rather than an obstacle to performance.

Perhaps the most extreme occupational strategy employed by musicians when patrons are noisy and inattentive is to leave the stage before the set is over. Leaving the stage may be accompanied by a scowl or a few derogatory remarks to the audience.[118] However, to many

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[117]Sanders, p. 275.

[118]See page 141.

musicians this is a naive move on the part of those individuals who have not developed an understanding of the bar context.

While musicians do utilize strategies whereby they maintain isolation from their audience and deem them ignorant, they will, to some extent, measure their musical competence by the type of response they receive. There are two basic criteria in the evaluation of their worth: the first is external and has to do with audience response, the second is internal and speaks of their own perception of their performance. Ultimately, as explained above, the latter is the most significant. Even a positive response by the audience may be denigrated by the performer. As one informant pointed out:

> [The other night I got] a tremendous response but I had a bad night on the whole. But you come off and people [say], "Hey you're fantastic." . . . That pisses me off. . . .[119]

If the audience is unable to judge when a musician is performing well, then it follows that they will be unable to judge when a musician is performing poorly. Hentoff notes that:

> To achieve their most basic satisfaction jazzmen try to impress other musicians. Whether the audience or the critics have caught a clinker, the musician knows that his colleagues have, and usually he's ashamed.[120]

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[119]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

[120]Nat Hentoff, The Jazz Life (New York: De Capo, 1975), p. 23.

Musicians who perform in groups play more for each other than for the audience. Musicians who are seated in the bar often make up a select segment of the audience; a segment to whom the solo musician often directs his musical presentation. In such instances, musicians derive more satisfaction from interaction with other musicians, and consider their criticisms and appreciative comments as the most significant.

Even though the individuals present at the bar do not constitute an audience in the same way as those present at a coffee house or concert, and the musician cannot demand that the patrons act as if they were in one of these contexts, ideally he wants them to be attentive. The act of performing in any context, whether it is the recitation of a monologue at a "time,"[121] the enactment of a contemporary drama on stage, or the telling of a personal experience narrative at a party, is a calling of attention to one's self and one's actions. There is an important ambiguity in the bar between the presence of and lack of involvement with the audience regarding the appreciation of the performance. While he cannot demand applause, the

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[121] A "time" is "in essence, a situation where the deviations and role 'reversals' sanctioned by the occasion are fully achieved. People at a time may drink, dance, and joke sexually in a manner normally thought to be quite out of order." See, James C. Faris, Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement, Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 3 (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972), p. 157.

performer may be resentful and unhappy when there is no such response. This is an emotional contradiction in that although the musician says he does not demand recognition, he really expects it. Part of the work technique, then, employs such occupational strategies as characterizing the audience as ignorant--thus disregarding their lack of response--and isolating themselves from the audience. Alternatively, a performer may strike a functional balance with each audience, or significant individuals within that audience, that matches his level of personal involvement in the performance.

The bar musician also learns to recognize that simple applause is not the only form of appreciation shown by the audience. Often, after a set is over, a patron will approach the musician and say how much he enjoyed the performance and perhaps buy him a drink to show his appreciation. Occasionally, patrons will sing or clap along, tap their fingers or even dance to the music. Some are obviously watching; turned toward the performer they mouth lyrics, sing under their breath, or smile at a particular line. One musician who is a respected song writer is approached at breaks by individuals who bring him songs that they have written, to get his advice.

Another occupational strategy used by musicians is to focus upon those people in the audience who are attentive.

> Sometimes I'll do that to make myself feel better, . . . pick out a small portion of the audience that I know . . . is listening and play to them. Sometimes you have to.[122]

Another musician commented:

> Like you pick out people right. People that are really listening. There were two girls there last night . . . sitting down. They weren't talking at all, they were just watching right, and listening, which is great. You're playing for those people.[123]

By choosing a particular table or group of individuals to play to the musician is able to place his music in the forefront of their attention for as long as they maintain their interest in him. Throughout the night, as individuals come and go, the musician may shift his focus to accommodate these changes. The notion that "I feel good as long as at least one person is listening," is echoed time and again by bar performers.

While bar musicians do employ these strategies to deal with noisy, inattentive patrons, the bar must not be seen as a context, which, by its nature, always hinders performance. One musician suggested that because he did not have the total attention of the patrons, he could develop a fairly relaxed style of presentation.[124] Another mentioned that he could try out new material and work through rough spots at bars.[125] A musician often becomes

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[122]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

[123]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

[124]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

[125]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4562.

so used to the bar as a noisy, socializing place, that if the patrons do become quiet and attentive, it could well become unnerving.

> A couple of weeks ago I played at the Cochrane on a Saturday night and it seemed as though it turned into a concert, which was a very strange thing. The room was full and it seemed that everybody stopped talking and listened to one number after another and just really applauded. . . . It hasn't happened in a long time. I was quite taken aback and I found that . . . my mannerisms became a little nervous. I started backing up against the wall while I was playing which is a sure sign of nervousness, trying to get away.[126]

There is a diversity of views among bar musicians concerning their role in bars and their standards for musical performance. This diversity reflects upon the way in which they perceive the patrons' behaviour and ultimately effects the way in which they interact with them. The musician's conception of his role, his standards for performance, and his ego investment in the performance are directly related and form a continuum. That is, the greater is his ego investment, the more a musician requires his music to be placed in the foreground and the greater are his standards regarding the patrons' deference towards him. The following diagram illustrates this continuum:

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[126]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

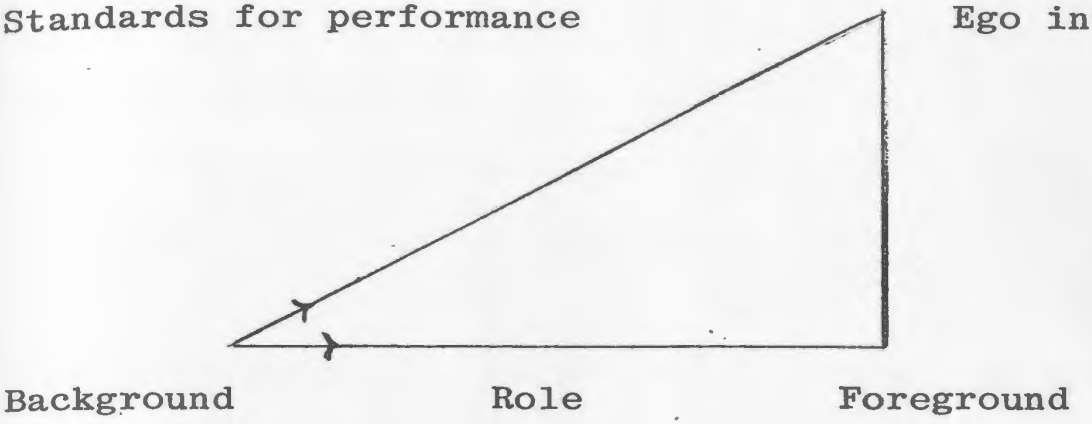

Figure 10. Role Continuum.

To understand this continuum it is of particular importance to clarify what is meant by ego investment. Ego investment is a condition in which the musician performs in order to impress his audience and ultimately to receive from them admiration and applause. Through his performance he indicates that he is superior to the others in the bar. Thus, foremost in his mind is not the musical performance as such, but the admiration, respect and awe that that performance will bring.

This is not to say that a musician must not have a large degree of ego involvement in his music. There is a distinction to be made between ego investment and ego involvement. The latter indicates an absorption with gain, whereas the former indicates an absorption with performance. A musician must maintain a high degree of ego involvement in the presentation of his music; he must be absorbed with and committed to his performance in order to present a face

which coincides with his performance posture.[127] Even when he knows that he is having an off night or that his musical performance is uninspired and weak, he must not let the audience know that he is not performing well by his personal standards. This would involve losing face.

Investment connotes gain. Gain, in this context, is measured by all forms of positive response shown to the performer by his audience. The performer who is "thinking of people as being there for a purpose,"[128] who plays a song with the express purpose of having the audience show their appreciation of him, is investing his talents and energy for applause, that is, gain. Talent and energy, like money, are gambled in the hope of a return. If there is none, then the investor experiences loss. Ego investment rises with a musician's desire to put his music in the forefront of his audience's attention. In order to ascertain that his music has gained the attention of the audience, that he is, in fact, the principal actor in the bar, the musician's expectations from his audience become greater so that audience response becomes an anticipated right rather than a fortuitous approbation.

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[127]Goffman defines "face" as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line [that is, the pattern of verbal and non-verbal acts] others assume he has taken during a particular contact." See, Erving Goffman, Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face to Face Behavior (Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1967), p. 5.

[128]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

The foregoing diagram has been devised to illustrate the relationship of three factors that pertain to musical performance in bars: standards for performance, role, and ego investment. While it points to the variation that might be found in the attitudes of bar musicians, there are definite patterns and similarities, regardless of attitude, that have to do with personal and occupational expectations.

Personal expectations pertain to the ideal conditions for performance that the musician would like to see in the bar, that is, the way in which the musician believes the audience should behave while he is performing. Occupational expectations are based on work experience and pertain to the way in which the musician knows that patrons in all probability will behave. On any given night, when a musician performs, these two sets of expectations are either challenged or affirmed.

Personal expectations will vary to some extent. As one musician noted:

> . . . . if Bridgett's puts an ad in the paper saying such and such a person is appearing at Bridgett's from this date to this date then it's like an announcement of a performance, isn't it? So therefore you should go with that attitude to listen and be quiet. . . . And if it's a bad performance then you leave. Or at least try and be unobtrusive, be quiet. At least be polite. Or be quiet if you can't be polite.[129]

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[129]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

Since a performance has been advertised this musician hopes that the audience will treat it as such and act accordingly. Yet he knows the context has a socializing and not strictly performing atmosphere, so that the chances of gaining the quiet attention of the audience is unlikely.

Some musicians allow that a certain amount of chatter is natural and acceptable and believe that the musician who expects quiet is in trouble.

> The attitude I have come around to is that I almost resent people who come and sit up front real attentive like, drink one beer all night, close their eyes and rock back and forth to my music. I just think . . . you're in a bar what are you doing? . . . People want to talk, talk and drink and that's what a bar is for.[130]

While there is a difference in the degree of noise and attention that each musician expects from the audience, there are two critical personal expectations which speak of a very basic rule of etiquette, and one which they all hold in common. Patrons and other individuals in the bar, with the exception of other performing musicians, must never interrupt a musician during a performance. An interruption of any kind--engaging the musician in conversation, stepping onto the stage or tampering with the equipment--constitutes a serious breach of etiquette and critically effects the performance by preventing the musician from giving his full attention to his music.

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[130]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4558.

Accompanying this rule is the expectation that the management, waiter, or bouncer should effectively deal with any individual who attempts to interrupt the performer. If the management is ultimately responsible for controlling the behaviour of the bar patrons, then this control should extend to promote the physical and emotional well-being of the musicians who are employed there. Even if his role is to provide background music the conditions in the bar should be conducive to fulfilling this function.

In actual fact, as discussed above, the management does not always fulfill this obligation. Some bars are more efficiently run than others. At Martha's and Bridgett's, if a patron makes a nuisance of himself, a member of the staff will usually step in and either seat the person or remove him from the premises. At the Cabaret or Cochrane, two ineptly managed bars, offenders are usually allowed to carry on, sometimes until they drop drunkenly on the floor in front of the musician, or worse, until they literally attack the musician or each other. There is no set standard among bars for the control of unruly characters. Rather, the treatment of offending individuals is indicative of the overall character of the bar.

Personal expectations speak of the ideal; occupational expectations speak of the reality. The latter encompass the gamut of behaviour of patrons and bar staff as well as any other individuals who enter the bar. Based

upon experience, these expectations enable the musician to anticipate possible encounters. As one musician put it, "bars are livewire places, anything can happen there."[131] Since the range of encounters that a bar musician may have during the course of the night are great, he must constantly evaluate the patrons' behaviour and develop a repertoire of strategies to deal with them. He must be ready for anything: rowdy drunks dancing in front of the stage, obnoxious individuals making unreasonable demands, strangers who become too friendly, fights, police raids; the list is endless.

When personal and occupational expectations become entirely divorced from one another, when the minimum conditions that the musician requires in order to give a competent performance have not been established, his experience is neither rewarding nor enjoyable. Robert A. Stebbins observes of jazz musicians that:

> Like any participants in some form of play or art, a large number of the producers and consumers of jazz are concerned with it for its own sake and not for some exterior reason. To the extent that this is true, the line between work (which is concerned with instrumental values) and leisure (which is concerned with intrinsic values) tends to be blotted out, and making a living becomes possible while doing what one enjoys.[132]

When the ideal is not realized the sphere of instrumental values expands at the expense of intrinsic values. While

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[131] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4567.

[132] Stebbins, p. 198.

Stebbins is speaking of a musician's choice of repertoire and the demands that the audience makes upon this choice, the ideal of which he speaks can be extended to all of the conditions in the bar. When the sphere of instrumental values is great, as one musician put it, "those are the nights when it's work usually; those are the nights when you're not into it but you're making your rent and grocery money."[133]

There is no question that performing in bars is work. However, it is a particular type of work that places personal style in the foreground, so that as well as being a service occupation, it is also an artistic endeavour. As a member of a service occupation the musician's role is to provide music for the patrons' enjoyment. If he can fulfill this role and at the same time arouse the interest of the audience, retain control over his performance, and give his direct attention to the musical presentation, then his own intrinsic values have priority.

The conditions in a bar, to a great extent, determine the quality of a musical performance. One musician suggested that when a performer is ignored it is almost impossible for him to give a good performance.[134] There are typical patterns of behaviour in particular bars and these bars are typed as listening or rowdy places, according

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[133]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4567.

[134]Personal conversation with Peter Narváez, 14 November 1979.

to musicians' experience in them.

Similarly, musicians' attitudes and personal expectations are as variable as their personalities. However, some generalizations may be made. The way in which a musician conceives his role in a bar directly affects his role performance, that is, the enactment of the role. The greater a musician's desire to have his music placed in the foreground, the greater is his ego investment in and the higher are his standards for performance. When these standards are not met, he calls into play a number of occupational strategies. Such strategies include characterizing the audience as ignorant, directing his performance inward, focusing upon attentive individuals in the audience, and leaving the stage before the set is over. Thus, the musician directs his performance towards those who are appreciative, ignores those who are not, and disregards negative responses. Ultimately, a bar musician relies upon his own standards of excellence and deems the comments and responses of other musicians with whom he is performing, or who are seated in the audience, as the most critical.

CHAPTER V

THE PERFORMANCE

Structure of a Gig

Apart from the standard performance/break routine of thirty minutes on and thirty minutes off, or forty on and twenty off, there is a patterned flow of action that occurs each night in a bar. The musician begins his first set at 9:30 p.m., performs for thirty to forty minutes, takes a break, begins the next set at 10:30, and so on until the last set is begun at 12:30 a.m. At 1:00 a.m. the gig is over, the bar stops serving drinks and preparations are made by the bar personnel for closing. All patrons--unless they are special friends of the bar employees--are to leave by 1:30 a.m.

A gig, an engagement for one night, can be divided into three basic units: before, during, and after the musical performance. Each unit has certain duties and considerations, of which the musician must be cognizant, if he is to remain in control of his performance.

There are a number of tasks to which the musician must attend before the first set, and which thus require that he arrive in advance. These tasks involve setting up the sound system and testing it to see that it is functioning properly.

Every occupation involves duties that are drudgery. Setting up the PA, packing it away, and carrying it to and from the bar, sometimes up and down three or four flights of stairs, is hard physical labour. There is a great potential for conflict among band members should a musician shirk his responsibilities and allow his fellow musicians to do his share of this work.[1]

A four man group like the East End Blues Band must arrive two to three hours early to put together an elaborate system; if they are playing two or more consecutive nights they need only arrive early the first, since they will leave the equipment at the bar for the next gig. A solo or duet would, in contrast, need only arrive fifteen to twenty minutes ahead of time. Similarly, if a musician is performing at a bar that has its own public address system, he need only arrive five to ten minutes early to tune his guitar, and check the PA. Yet even when a musician does not have to spend a great deal of time setting up, he may prefer to arrive at the bar and relax for a while before the first set.

> F: Is there anything you like to do before the first set to get you in the mood?
> I: No, it's like so many things, it's like planning a party. Sometimes they go and sometimes they don't, and sometimes the least planned ones are best. I like to be there a bit early for one thing and just relax. Have a drink sometimes, but not necessarily have a

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[1]Personal conversation with Peter Narváez, 17 October 1980.

> drink. Just be there for a while and sit down and relax. Maybe talk to the bartender or something and make sure everything works.[2]

Sanders observed that when a performer arrives early to familiarize himself with the performance setting, he pays special attention to "the physical aspects of the room which could enhance or hinder his relationship with the audience. . . ."[3] Such considerations as the effectiveness of the sound system, the positioning of the lights, stage, and bar and the amount of visual contact that is possible with the audience are taken into account.[4] A musician arriving early in an unfamiliar setting might also take note of the atmosphere in the bar, the clientele and noise level. The performers interviewed for this study have all performed in the local bars for a number of years. Consequently, they have an extensive knowledge of such considerations, based upon previous experience. Only when a bar undergoes renovation, or a new bar opens must they take these factors into conscious consideration. For the most part, the performers arrive in advance of the first set to ensure that the public address system is in good working order, and to relax before the performance.

The first set is often more slowly paced than the next three. The audience is smaller and quieter, allowing

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[2]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

[3]Clinton R. Sanders, "Psyching Out the Crowd: Folk Performers and Their Audiences," Urban Life and Culture, 3 (1974), 271.

[4]Sanders, p. 271.

the musician to perform, if he wishes, ballads, personal, romantic and other types of soft material. It is also during this time that the musician "feels out" the audience, and overcomes any nervousness he might have.

> The first song to me is always the most difficult or actually the first three. As you build yourself into it, you throw out testers and find out how people are going to receive [you]. Naturally you wouldn't start out with a rompin' stompin' type of song. People have just arrived and they're getting used to you and you're getting used to them.[5]

The experienced musician knows that alcohol consumption affects the audience so that they become more boisterous and receptive during the course of the night. Accordingly, material is selected with this in mind. One informant explained the reason for and necessity of pacing each set:

> It's nice to come into a gig, play the first set and you know what the sound is like. . . . And the second set, you're really warmed up and the third set, you get the crowd with you. . . . Alcohol affects the crowd and they get drunk, they get louder. So you really have to be very careful about judging your sets. . . . Of course you want to save "The Laundrymatic Blues," and stuff for when they're good and half-cut, around the third set, and then you really nail them with it. But then again you want to do some really good material at the beginning because people tend to drift, especially in St. John's, from bar to bar. . . . So you want to hold them, but you don't want to give all your good numbers away.[6]

By the final set one of two situations exist. During the week nights (Sunday to Thursday) the audience has

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[5]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4871.

[6]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4562.

thinned out, since many patrons have to go to work in the morning. On Fridays and Saturdays, however, the audience often does not want the performance to end. Having been drinking for some hours they may well be drunk; they are having a good time and want to stay in the bar and "party." After the musician has played his final song they call out for an encore.

The encore, a non-specific request for another song, places the musician in an ambivalent position. He is caught between the bar personnel and the patrons. The bar musician must negotiate between these two factions: one, which wants to clear up and go home, and the other, which wants to stay and have a good time. If he responds to the wishes of the patrons--which if he is caught up in the spirit of the evening he may well want to do--he may incur the wrath of the bar employees. If he cuts off precisely at one, he may disappoint his audience.

One Friday night, downstairs at Bridgett's, a musician performed two encores for a noisy crowd who were thoroughly enjoying themselves. After he put his guitar away, the manager approached him and told him not to respond to such requests in the future, since it meant that he and his staff would have to spend ten to fifteen minutes longer clearing out the last patrons from the bar. The musician later said that this was an unfair demand since the time difference was not that great, and both he and the audience wanted the same thing--another song.

One musician who worked both as a bar performer and as a barmaid at Bridgett's offered these comments about encores:

> If you've got a really hot evening and the last set is really romping stomping, and bellowing it out, the last thing you want . . . is for the waitress to come up and say, "Drink up ladies and gentlemen, it's last call, time to go." And of course you try and get every song in there you can, 'cos you're really hot. And you think it's really a bitch if they're telling you to go home. And you sing and you sing and you know if people will sing along with you fine. . . . But if you're a waitress, and I've been through the whole racket, it's just looking at it from every perspective possible, there are some musicians I could have broken their bloody necks [for performing too long]. I have made a solemn promise that never in my life will I ever sing a song after one o'clock.[7]

Like a request, an encore is a customary form of expression used by patrons to communicate appreciation to a musician for his musical performance. It is also, in some cases, an expression of the patrons' desire to remain at the bar after the prescribed time of departure and thus, if fulfilled, may bring the musician into conflict with the bar employees. The negotiation of the encore illustrates yet another area of conflict between management and musician. Each has his own motives for catering to the needs of the audience, and each will push his point to the limit. Many musicians will perform one encore and leave it at that. Free Beer, a musical/comedy duo, has a standard, stragetic response to demands for encores, which allows them to gracefully leave the stage without offending

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[7]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4872.

the audience. They will, in a humourous manner, tell the patrons that the "poor" bar help want to go home and go to bed, so, far be it for them to keep them from their beds. Other musicians will playfully make a deal with the audience. One night at Martha's, I heard Terry Rielly promise to sing one more song only if the audience would, a) sing along, and, b) go home afterwards, "because somebody's got to clean up here, and it ain't gonna be me."

When the last set is finished and the encores have been performed, the gig is over. The musician may sit down, have a drink and relax for a few minutes before he sets about packing up his equipment. Like setting up, the amount of time that it takes to dismantle the sound system depends upon the number of musicians and whether or not they have been using the bar's equipment. A group can spend up to forty minutes packing a system into their cars. Solos and duets take anywhere from five minutes to half an hour. Often a band will come back the next day to remove their equipment. However, with, perhaps, the exception of the drummer, the musicians always take their musical instruments with them. If that bar's system has been used, or if the musician is performing again the next night, he need only pack his guitar.

While a musician is hired to work between the hours of 9:30 p.m. and 1:00 a.m., a total of three and a half hours, he might actually have to spend up to seven hours at the bar setting up, performing and finally dismantling

his equipment.

Performer/Audience Interaction

A. Audience Categories

Peter Narváez suggests that "the in-person performance as opposed to its technological representation . . . [serves to] reify the sentiments and expressions of a 'star' who is never *really* seen."[8] The sentiments and expressions are heightened and more easily apprehended by an audience through the performer's physical presence in the social situation. The song, abstracted by its usual media play is rendered a material entity in the personalized context and face-to-face interaction of the bar.

While the performer reifies the expressive dimensions in the star's songs, the presentation of a popular piece of music identifies the performer and his music with the media--that is, records, radio and television--on which it is normally heard, so that some of the "glitter" of the star rubs off on the local live performer. The musician's performance in a bar can be seen and heard by most of the individuals in the audience and thus, presents an opportunity for those individuals to establish contact with a personality who is approachable.

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[8]Peter Narváez, "Country and Western in Diffusion: Juxtaposition and Syncretism in the Popular Music of Newfoundland," *Culture and Tradition* 2 (1977), 107.

Sanders observes that "the audience was a necessary, though unpredictable, element which was both loved and hated by the professional folk performer."[9] Live performance in bars affords the audience the opportunity to make contact with the musician and it is this contact and the ensuing interaction that is both the joy and bane of every musician who enters a bar.

Performer/audience interaction is comprised of a myriad of strategies that each enact in order to initiate, avoid and control encounters. It is crucial for the performer to remain in control of each encounter and of his expressive behaviour as a whole. He must "ensure that the particular expressive order is sustained."[10] This order "regulates the flow of events,"[11] in this case in a fashion that is favourable to the presentation of his music. If the performance is to remain smooth, uninterrupted by the accidental or intentional actions of the patrons and bar personnel, and by technical and prop failures, the musician must be able to effect strategies to deal with these incidents and failures.

The interaction between performer and audience is governed by loosely defined consensual rules or conventions

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[9]Sanders, p. 273.

[10]Erving Goffman, Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face to Face Behavior (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1967), p. 9.

[11]Goffman, p. 9.

that have developed through the past experience of both musicians and patrons in this social situation. Becker points out that such "conventions suggest the appropriate dimensions of a work, the proper length for a musical or dramatic event . . . [and] regulate the relations between artists and audience, specifying the rights and obligations of both."[12] He further suggests that:

> The concept of convention provides a point of contact between humanists and sociologists being interchangeable with such familiar sociological ideas as norm, rule, shared understanding, custom or folkway, all referring in one way or other to the ideas and understanding people hold in common and through which they effect co-operative action.[13]

The earlier discussion of musicians' personal expectations holds that all individuals, who are not directly involved in the performance, must never interrupt the musician. This expectation is, in fact, a convention that is generally accepted by most patrons and bar personnel. The night is structured so that there are "breaks," which are prescribed times when patrons might legitimately approach and converse with the musician. While breaks are intervals in the musical performance, the musician, though not on stage, continues to enact the role of bar performer. In actual fact, as alluded to in musicians' occupational expectations, a wide gamut of behaviour is expected so that

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[12]Howard S. Becker, "Art as Collective Action," American Sociological Review, 39 (1974), 771.

[13]Becker, p. 771.

patrons often approach performers during the performance.

The problems that musicians experience in bars stem from the particular type of social intercourse that is found in such a context. Cavan observes that in a bar:

> The events that take place are not to be treated seriously, not automatically to become an item of one's biography, [and] the gamut of conduct that can be engaged in by those present need be limited by no more than personal preference or momentary fancy.[14]

She suggests that the bar is an "unserious," "open" setting in which contact between strangers can be treated with less concern and in which relationships and selves are accorded some measure of indifference.[15]

While this is to some extent correct, and the seriousness of the performer's role juxtaposed against the unserious nature of the bar creates a potential for conflict, this characterization of the bar is somewhat overstated. Michael J. Bell points out that at Brown's, the patrons' intimacy generated a system of shared understandings. Identities in such a context developed over time so that patrons know each other's "interests, feelings, histories--real or imagined, and this knowledge permits a more intense order of social life."[16] Since this bar

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[14]Sherri Cavan, Liquor License: An Ethnography of Bar Behavior (Chicago: Aldine, 1966), p. 13.

[15]Cavan, pp. 12-13.

[16]Michael J. Bell, "Running Rabbits and Talking Shit; Folkloric Communication in an Urban Black Bar," Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1975, pp. 185-186.

operated like a home territory, and many of the patrons had been frequenting it since it opened, "a preconstituted system of situated memories, and a permanent communicational frame [exist] which supports consequential interaction."[17] Thus, while behaviour could well be "unserious," interaction need not necessarily be inconsequential.

Moreover, a bar is not, strictly speaking, an open region, that is, a place in which, after entering, individuals, unless putting forth evidence to the contrary, will be open for conversation with strangers.[18] Public drinking establishments are designed to provide a context where people can make human contact without the social conventions found in "serious" public settings, such as restaurants, and theatres. There are however, a highly prescriptive set of social rules based upon a heightened awareness of and sensitivity to clothing, non-verbal cues and modes of communication. Further, admittance into bars is frequently restricted. Such factors as dress (blue jeans may not be allowed), general appearance (a dirty or intoxicated person may be denied entrance), and even formal membership (a pass card may be required) may restrict entry.

Upon gaining entrance into a bar there is a relaxation of roles which results from the patrons' desire to set aside their serious daytime pursuits and personas.

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[17]Bell, p. 186.

[18]Cavan, p. 49.

Thus, by viewing the bar as a region in which unserious behaviour is possible, where roles are relaxed, and in which there is an alternate set of rules, we may now look at the way in which individuals operating under these rules effect the behaviour and performance of musicians.

Performers' and patrons' behaviour is based upon two different cognitive maps, that is, definitions, categories and attributes that organize the individual's experience in a social situation.[19] Anthony Wallace's notion of equivalence structures is useful in understanding the effects of conflicting or misaligned cognitive maps. Equivalence structures "enable participants in social interaction, to predict the behavior of the other person without knowing the cognitive map that is generating that behavior."[20] The audience has a set of definitions and expectations about what they think the musician is thinking and doing, even though it might not be accurate. As Dennis Parker suggested: "The audience doesn't know what's happening in your mind."[21]

The discrepancy between what each segment of the interaction (performer/audience) understands and anticipates concerning the behaviour of the other, Wallace terms

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[19]James P. Spradley and David McCurdy, The Cultural Experience: Ethnography in Complex Society (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1972), p. 26.

[20]Spradley, p. 29.

[21]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

the "cognitive non-uniformity" of the situation, that is, the specific alignment or misalignment of one person's concept of the reasons or motivations for another person's behaviour.[22] Over time these concepts (cognitive maps) reach a state of stasis or equilibrium (equivalence structure) even though they may be based--and often are--on personal theories about the reasons for the other person's behaviour that are erroneous. The system works until someone breaks the equilibrium. Although the audience may not fully understand the cognitive map generating the behaviour of the performer, they do maintain their own based upon a number of factors. Frequently, individuals will hold preconceptions based upon a stereotype which anticedes experience. Such stereotypes, as discussed above, may be a product of mass media, or may develop through narratives told by those who have attended bars featuring live performers. Bargoers will maintain their own cognitive map based upon a collective repertoire of past experience and of the past behaviour of performers and audiences they have seen.

Since the bar musician has himself been an audience to other musicians, he is likely to maintain a more accurate cognitive map for his audience's behaviour. He may, however, experience varying degrees of cognitive non-uniformity about their expectations and reactions due to his previous experiences and confidence in his ability.

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[22]Spradley, pp. 28-29.

An extreme example of this is the incident mentioned above of the concert or coffee house musician's first experience performing in a bar.[23]

The establishment of equivalence structures and the conditions of cognitive non-uniformity are further complicated by the heterogeneous audience. The audience can be broken down into categories, each with its own set of cognitive maps: bar regulars, fans/friends, friends of the performer, other musicians, drunks, and troublemakers. Present will also be the bar personnel, who in one way, constitute an audience not unlike patrons who are giving little attention to the musician, and who in another way, form a critical segment of the audience since their approval may determine whether or not a musician is to be given further employment in the bar.

These categories are not mutually exclusive; an individual might easily belong to several categories simultaneously. Friends might also be musicians and/or fans; a bar regular might also be a fan/friend. As one musician pointed out, "I know a drunk, troublemaker who is a musician and a friend of the performers . . . or at least he likes to think he is a friend."[24]

The relationship between performer and audience is an immediate one, based upon loosely defined conventions,

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[23]See page 141

[24]Personal conversation with Dr. Neil V. Rosenberg, 2 December 1978.

which govern their interaction. As a result, patrons, whom the performer has never seen before and who might potentially fit into one of the categories mentioned above, first and foremost, will be classed as attentive or inattentive.

This categorization is, of course, not static. A patron who pays little attention to a performer one night may pay a great deal of attention another night. A patron who is inattentive to one performer may give his total attention to another.

The degree and the type of attention that patrons give to performers form the basis upon which the categories bar regular, fan/friend, friend, musician, drunk and troublemaker have been developed. It must be made clear that these are etic categories. While musicians will discuss the behaviour of individuals using the same terms and develop an emic system of categorization similar to the one used here, further distinctions have been employed for the purpose of analysis.

The terms drunk and troublemaker, for example, are frequently used interchangeably by musicians. While troublemakers are more often than not intoxicated, and drunks often cause trouble, they have been divided into two separate categories because of the type of attention they give and their intent in paying such attention to the performer.

The degree of attention that drunks and troublemakers give to performers is too intense. Drunks frequently give too much positive attention to the performer, becoming so involved with the performance that they seek to emulate the musician and to become part of the act. Troublemakers give too much negative attention to the performer; directing, for example, loud insulting comments at the musician, they try to disrupt the act. Even when a drunk or troublemaker directs his behaviour towards others in the bar, the intensity of his actions--for example, a troublemaker might start a fight--may well have a disruptive effect. Such individuals often have the same effect upon a performance, however, the motives for their behaviour are completely different. Thus, while musicians often use the terms loosely, placing them into one emic category, for the purposes of description and analysis, they have been divided into two etic categories.

The other terms, bar regular, fan/friend, friend, and musician, approach musicians' emic categories more closely. Fan/friend, a term used by one musician, has been employed since it encapsulates the relationship of such individuals to performers. Bar regular was chosen instead of the more often used "regular" in order to eliminate potential confusion between regular followers of musicians and regular customers of the bar. Friends and musicians are both emic and etic categories.

The following chart has been devised in order to illustrate the degrees and types of attention shown performers by patrons. History refers to the knowledge a performer has about individuals. Friends, for example, are persons that the performer knows. Fans/friends, bar regulars, and musicians will in all probability be known, especially if the performer has been playing bars for a number of years. Some drunks and troublemakers are well known, if not personally at least through other musicians' personal narratives. If a performer knows an individual he can expect a certain type of behaviour from them. The actions of strangers can only be anticipated. Unknown persons who are attentive and respond in a positive manner may be typed as fans. Persons who become intoxicated and boisterous, or who begin to dance unsteadily in front of the stage, may be typed as drunks or troublemakers. In either case, their behaviour will be anticipated on the basis of similar individuals in the musician's experiential repertoire.

Bar regulars. Almost every bar has its regulars, those individuals who frequent the bar, often on a recurring basis. Regulars patronize a bar not necessarily to hear a musician--although some might be regulars as well as fans of the musician--but because they enjoy the atmosphere in the bar and the company of the other regulars. The bar is a locus or focal point for their leisure activities; they

TABLE 1

AUDIENCE CATEGORIES

Audience	History	Behaviour	Attention	
			Type	Degree of Involvement
Bar Regular	known	expected	neutral	low
Fan/friend	known	expected	positive	high
Friend	known	expected	positive	high
Musician	known	expected	critical	low/high
Drunk	unknown	anticipated	too positive	too intense
Troublemaker	unknown	anticipated	negative	too intense

may choose a bar because of its proximity to their homes, places of work, clientele, ambience, and in some cases because it might be in vogue.

Frequently, regular customers establish the bar as their "home territory" and resent the intrusion of strangers. A home territory bar is "a setting where patrons may stake out proprietary claims and create an order of activity indigenous to the particular establishment, to be defended if necessary against the intrusion of others."[25] Strangers who enter are likely to be rebuffed and made to feel uncomfortable by looks, "too long to be taken as a prelude to civil inattention, [and] too intent to be taken as an invitation."[26]

Regulars have sometimes established a bar as their own long before musicians are hired to perform in it, and they may well resent the encroachment of the musicians into their territory. When the musician, an intruder, finds himself in such a situation, he must be extremely sensitive to the feelings and, particularly, the musical preferences of the regulars.

Until 1974, Bridgett's was a working man's bar, the home territory of men who would meet for a drink after work and later in the evening after dinner. In 1974, solo bar musicians were introduced into the bar by the owner. It

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[25]Cavan, pp. 205-206.

[26]Cavan, p. 218.

was not an easy place to play. The regulars resented the presence of musicians, especially those musicians who did not play Newfoundland and country material.

The introduction of the musicians changed the ambience of Bridgett's and with it the clientele. The older working class men still frequented the bar after work and dinner and sometimes even stayed for a few sets, but after ten o'clock the major part of the clientele consisted of college and university students, professional people, actors, and younger working people.

Musicians would usually select their material during the first sets of the night that would please the older regulars. Casey et al. suggest that:

> The "good" singer is aware of the likes and dislikes of the groups and individuals for whom he performs. He manipulates his repertoire in response to perceived or anticipated performances, giving his constituents what he thinks they would like to hear.[27]

The good bar room performer, from the point of view of the audience and management, responds to the perceived needs of the audience. A request for a song and the performance of that song is a direct and formalized exchange between performer and audience and one which explicitly states the preference of the former. Often, however, the performer anticipates the musical preferences of his audience, his

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[27]George J. Casey, Neil V. Rosenberg and Wilfred W. Wareham, "Repertoire Categorization and Performer-Audience Relationships: Some Newfoundland Examples," Ethnomusicology, 17 (1973), 397.

criteria being their age, physical appearance, and his past experience in the bar.

> When a "good" singer performs regularly before more than one audience, he develops an awareness of the differences between the groups for whom he performs. He accordingly tailors his performance to fit what he perceives as the special tastes of particular audiences. This tailoring is often done in terms of repertoire selection.[28]

The older working class patrons of Bridgett's are usually the dominant element in the bar during the first set or two. One musician pointed out:

> [At] the beginning of the night . . . there are regulars, and they're older guys, the neighbourhood guys, the working guys. I play country and western songs the first set because those are the only people that are there. And it's great, I like country and western music. . . . Then as the crowd changes, I'll move into my own music and reggae and rock 'n' roll. So you have to be sensitive to who's there, I think, if you have a flexible enough repertoire.[29]

A flexible repertoire is critical and facilitates a desire to play the type of music that the regulars like to hear. A musician who enjoys playing Newfoundland material observed:

> Like Bridgett's you'll get . . . men in their seventies there. . . . And I used to try and play something that would please them. Like I'd play . . . like a couple of old Newfoundland folk songs or, you know, maybe a couple of country and western classics. Something that they'll appreciate. Something that will mean that they've had partially an enjoyable evening at least.[30]

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[28]Casey et al., p. 400.

[29]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4558.

[30]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

Even when musicians cater to the musical tastes of older, regular patrons, the musicians' presence will significantly alter the standing patterns of behaviour previously established in the bar. When musicians were introduced into Bridgett's the regulars attended the bar less frequently and for shorter durations of time. At night the bar no longer belonged to them.

Regular patrons do, however, have a certain status in the bar which allows them a greater latitude of behaviour than individuals who infrequently attend, that is, if they subscribe to the informal and formal rules of behaviour that exist there. They become more than anonymous, faceless individuals and many times are as much a part of the bar situation as the waiters and bartenders. Many become known to the musicians, who sit and drink with them at breaks.

Like Bridgett's, the Cabaret has it's older, regular, working class, male patrons. Many of these men have been going to this bar for years. Although there is no proper dance floor, and patrons rarely dance there, one night when a duet was performing, an older man, perhaps seventy or eighty years of age, repeatedly asked young girls to dance with him. All of the girls accepted and they danced, with great energy, directly in front of the stage. At the end of each dance he would either stand with the girl waiting for the next song, or seat her and ask another to dance.

During the breaks, after the musicians had sat down, he stepped up onto the stage and sang traditional songs with great gusto. After he sang three songs the bartender politely told him that they were going to play taped music, and would he please sit down. He smiled at the bartender, walked over to his table and sat down until the next set when he was up dancing again.

When I asked one of the performers about the man, I was told that he was there all of the time behaving in the same manner. Since the man was a regular and since this was his normal pattern of behaviour, both musicians and bartender knew what to expect from him. Certainly he had been drinking, but he was not drunk. He was in complete control of his motor abilities. He did not dance too close to the musicians, nor did he try to catch their attention in any way when they were playing. He was simply enjoying dancing to the music. When he stepped up and sang into the microphone he did not try to tamper with it. While the musicians did keep an eye on their equipment, they did not immediately rush to turn it off as musicians often do when a patron will attempt to use it for a song.

This person was allowed to dance, not because the Cabaret was lax about enforcing rules, but because he was a regular patron with a known history and actions that were expected--that is, he was classed neither as a drunk nor a troublemaker. He was allowed a greater latitude of behaviour than would have been extended to strangers since

both management and musicians knew that he would not disrupt the performance, nor would he tamper with the equipment. His behaviour was, thus, acceptable within the rules available to regulars.

Bars also have younger regular customers. They frequent some of the same bars that older regulars patronize as well as going to bars that are almost exclusively for young singles, like Martha's and Rob Roy. Younger regulars do not seem to develop the same proprietary feelings towards the bars that they go to as do older regulars. In fact, if the bar is used as a marketplace, the more variety the clientele the better it is for meeting people. Young regulars might not attend a bar simply to hear a musician, but might well leave if they do not enjoy the music being played on any particular evening.

For several months during the winter of 1978, I regularly attended the Rob Roy on Friday afternoons with a group of between six and eight people. The group consisted of university graduate students, professors, musicians, and radio and television broadcasters. The bar was perfect for relaxing after a week's work; the seating arrangements were conducive to conversation, it was not crowded, the manager and waitresses were friendly and the juke box had a good selection of music. However, when the manager hired two mainland musicians, whose repertoire consisted mainly of Irish music, to play at the bar at night and on Friday afternoons, they literally drove us away. None of us liked

their repertoire or style, nor had much respect for their musicianship. We "hopped" from bar to bar looking for another to patronize regularly, sometimes returning to the Rob Roy when we knew these musicians would not be performing.

Musicians can also draw patrons who will become regulars at the bar, not so much to hear the music, but because the bar is a popular spot when musicians perform there. Essentially, patrons who are primarily interested in meeting people and going to the bars that are popular will follow patrons who have gone to a bar to hear musicians. The musician becomes the direct cause for the revitalization of a bar without being the direct concern of a good number of the patrons.

Martha's is a good case in point. It was very popular from 1976 to 1978. By the end of 1978 its popularity decreased and a very young crowd (nineteen to twenty-two) began to attend. In order to draw an older, more affluent clientele, the management renovated both floors of the bar and hired musicians to perform throughout the week downstairs, and Friday and Saturday nights every second week upstairs. Martha's once more became the place to go among an older set. Even on the nights when musicians were not performing there was a high turnout.

In summary, the introduction of musicians into a bar can significantly alter the ambience, which may well result in a change in the regular clientele. Two types of

regulars were discussed: the older regulars who have an allegiance to and proprietary feelings for a particular bar, and younger regulars who are interested less in the bar than they are in its atmosphere or its popularity. Either type of regular may leave the bar or alter his attendance patterns when musicians are introduced. Further, regular customers, who are known to musicians and management, are allowed a greater latitude of behaviour than are strangers when their behaviour is expected and deemed "innocent," or undisruptive.

Friends and fans/friends. Friends of the performer, those individuals who socialize with him outside of the bar, can generally be counted on to be supportive rather than to cause trouble for the musician. On occasion however, a friend will act in an inappropriate fashion during a performance.

One night at Martha's I was sitting at the bar listening to the East End Blues Band with a woman who was a friend of the guitarist/vocalist. She had had a particularly bad day and during the course of the night had become intoxicated. During the second last song of the night, "Susan" slowly approached the stage, stepped up, walked over to the vocalist's microphone and began to sing in a barely audible voice. The vocalist, who was standing a few paces behind the mike, playing an instrumental, remained behind Susan and did not attempt to sing the final verses of the song. Instead, he signaled to the band to

cut the song short, and ended with the instrumental. Susan then stepped down from the stage and returned to her seat, greatly embarrassed. At the end of the set she went over and apologized profusely to the vocalist. He accepted her apology, telling her not to worry. They then chatted for a few minutes.

Susan knew that she had acted in an inappropriate manner and although inebriated, had the wherewithal to apologize. The vocalist, as well as the rest of the band, had been obviously annoyed and made uncomfortable by Susan's presence on stage. However, her apology was graciously accepted. Had Susan been a stranger to the band and the management, she might well have been thrown out of the bar. Since she was a friend of one of the performing musicians and a regular patron of the bar, she was allowed a greater latitude of behaviour than would have been extended to a stranger. Were she to make a practice of such behaviour, her out-of-the-bar relationship with the performer would come under considerable strain. Reclassification as a troublemaker, caused by further breaches of etiquette, would result in her being treated with less indulgence. Susan's behaviour was exceptional, not because of how she acted--this is normal behaviour--but because of who she was and how she, according to her previous history, usually acted.

The presence of personal friends in the audience usually offers the performer inspiration and support. If

the bar is filled with people who have little or no interest in the performance, he will be able to direct his music to his friends. They also provide diversion during breaks and often give him an excuse for avoiding unwanted conversations with strangers. The performer will use the presence of friends as an occupational strategy when he explains to a stranger that he cannot speak with him, since he must go and sit with friends.

Friends will at times offer direct support when the musician is having difficulty with unruly individuals. While two musicians were performing at the Cochrane Hotel an extremely inebriated individual got up and danced, unsteadily, in front of them. The man stumbled back and forth, dancing close to one musician and then to the other. Both musicians were extremely uncomfortable and neither would look directly at the man when he tried to make eye contact. The vocalist looked desperately to the bar in hope that the bartender would ameliorate the situation. Then his wife went over and asked the bartender to remove the individual. When no help arrived from the bar personnel, "George" a friend of the musicians, who was seated directly in front of the performing area, attempted to seat the drunk. Although the man pulled away from him while the song was in progress, George did manage to seat him after the musicians cut short the song and finished. The drunk remained in his seat until he finally passed out unconscious, slipping under the table where he remained for the

rest of the night.

The intervention of a friend is significant because it takes that type of personal commitment to break out of the anonymity of the audience and move from a passive to active role--thus becoming part of the performance.

Some patrons are classified as friends only within the context of the bar. The musician will maintain an easy-going relationship with them during gigs, but will not socialize with them outside of the bar context. One musician explained:

> What we usually do is spend some time talking with friends and acquaintances. And we usually do kind of fan out and go see the people that we know. And usually that's a courtesy, you know. Here's somebody that's come to see you and is a friend. Maybe you haven't seen them in a while. Often the kinds of people who come are fans/friends, that is, they're people who come to see you when you play. They're not people that you see in other contexts. . . . You go and have a drink with them and . . . talk about what's going on and so on.[31]

The relationship that fans/friends have with the performer is based solely upon their interaction in the bar. Accordingly, they will do little to jeopardize this relationship, and often make up an extremely attentive part of the audience. This does not mean that they necessarily treat the bar as a concert situation, listening to the music without speaking to one another, though some do and occasionally become annoyed if they feel that the crowd is too noisy while the musician is performing. They have

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[31]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4570.

become fans because of their interest in the performer's music and will therefore, usually direct more attention towards him than a regular patron.

Frequently, personal friends and fans/friends act as conventional role models for other patrons in the bar. Sanders observes that bars are partially made up of "'regulars' who usually knew the performer . . . [and whose] activity during a performance was constrained by more than the often violated norms of appropriate audience behavior . . . ."[32] The supportive and demonstrative behaviour of friends and fans/friends helps mould the interaction and relationship that the performer has with the rest of the audience. They can usually be counted on to offer applause and sometimes shout out encouraging and affirmative remarks, for example, "alright!" or simply "whooh!", at the end of a song. Their obvious enjoyment and enthusiasm may act at times as an incentive for the other patrons to take more interest in the performance.

In acting as role models, friends and fans/friends behave in a manner that is not dissimilar to the "shill." Goffman describes the role of the shill as "someone who acts as though he were an ordinary member of the audience but is in fact in league with the performers."[33]

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[32]Sanders, p. 270.

[33]Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1959), p. 146.

Traditionally, the shill provides a model for appropriate behavioural responses desired by the performer, or the necessary audience response for the development of the performance.[34]

The role's historic origins are found in fairgrounds where a "stick" was hired by the operator of a gambling booth to bet and win prizes, thus inducing the crowd to gamble, and a "shillaber" provided psychological encouragement to the crowd by rushing to buy tickets to a show as soon as the barker finished his spiel. In everyday informal conversational gatherings, a wife will assume the role of shill when she appears to be interested in, and provide appropriate leads and cues to her husband while he tells an anecdote that she has heard him relate many times before. Thus, the wife enacts the role of a shill, which is in this sense "someone who appears to be just another unsophisticated member of the audience and who uses his unapparent sophistication in the interests of the performing team."[35]

Fans/friends and personal friends acting in the role of shill are not, of course, paid by the performer, nor does he expect them to fulfill this role. Like the wife who cues her husband, they are motivated by an emotional commitment. They want the performance to go

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[34]Goffman, Presentation, p. 146.

[35]Goffman, Presentation, pp. 146-147.

smoothly for the musician's sake. They may consciously or unconsciously stimulate audience response. They might clap along to a song while looking around, making eye contact with others encouraging them to join in, or they might get up and dance, inadvertently inspiring others to do the same. In offering their support, whether by positive responses, or by attending to unruly individuals, friends and fans/friends bring into play behavioural patterns and responses that are often emulated by the rest of the audience, and which help to provide an atmosphere that is conducive to the performance.

Musicians. Musicians seated in the audience often have an effect upon the performer and his performance. Their presence can either inspire or intimidate. They can provide critical input into the technical aspects of the performance by offering advice concerning the balancing and mixing of the sound. Sometimes they will join the performer and "jam" for a few numbers or a set, or make suggestions about repertoire.

A musician in the audience can have a devastating effect upon the inexperienced, insecure performer. The performer might alter his sequence of songs, directing his performance towards a musician and playing those songs which he thinks may impress or interest him.

> F: If there is someone that you think is a really good guitar player or that you respect musically do you ever play to them?

> I: Yeah, like I'll play a song that I might have played like, half an hour before they came in because I think it's hot. That used to make me really nervous. When someone came in that was good, I'd just screw up completely, quite a long time ago. Now I know that I'm doing my best and who cares. It usually makes me better now. It usually makes me excited and wakes me up if I'm getting bored and makes me hotter. . . . It makes me do more imaginative things. . . . Yeah I used to be real nervous when I knew there was anyone there, I used to think I was the shits. But now I figure if I'm the shits I've been the shits this long and I don't care.[36]

Another musician suggested that playing to, or for another musician can damage the performance.

> I notice when people [musicians] are there. And it used to influence me a lot. But I found that in fact, when you try a little harder you choke up. . . . When you psychologically do it that way it doesn't work. In fact, it's better to do what you're doing, you know, stick to your plan.[37]

It is of importance to note that the first musician, a solo performer, has the freedom to choose his repertoire at will. The second, a musician who plays in a bluegrass group, follows a routine developed cooperatively by the group members. If one of the musicians in the band were to try to deviate from the plan, tensions might well arise. Thus, the musician who plays in a group cannot exercise the same independence as the solo performer.

A performer may "try something tricky" or "work a little harder" when musicians are in the audience because they tend to be more attentive or at least more critical,

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[36]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

[37]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4570.

when they are attentive. The general audience knows little about the subtleties of a performance. Most cannot tell when a musician has made a mistake even when they are giving their total attention to the performance. The experienced musician can recognize errors, innovative interpretations, and variations, and will make judgments about the performer's style and competence, even though he does not always voice them.

Constructive criticism is well taken by most performers, particularly when it comes from musicians who they respect.

> I was playing a song of my own and Peter was in the audience. It was the last song of the set and when I finished it he came up and said, "Man that was really great, but you, really look at this, if you add a chord here it will change the whole complexion of the song," which it did. It changed the whole thing. It helped it. It made it a better song.[38]

While a musician may be critical about another's music, this may not be based upon a feeling of competitiveness, but upon a genuine interest in style and technique.

> When I see anyone playing, I'm always thinking how I could do that better, if it's something I can do. If it's a good guitar player I just enjoy it and really like it because I'm not a good guitar player . . . . But like singing, people really have styles and I often think, wow, they really blew that song, they ruined that song. Or they didn't, they did something really nice. . . . But there's a real fraternal sort of thing there, that is a lovely thing. There's nothing nicer. Well, like you see jazz musicians playing together. The more they're into each other's playing the better they

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[38]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4559.

> are . . . and unless you're idiots,it isn't competitive really. . . . Musicians are always the ones who compliment you the most.[39]

A performer will often solicit the opinion of other musicians in the audience.

> And there's this thing, you might just come off [stage] and say, "Listen, you know, how's the sound, how's the vocal sound? Are they too loud?" And obviously you're going to ask someone that's a musician that you know. And they say this or that and you can adjust it accordingly. Or you might ask them about a certain song, or whatever, you know.[40]

There is a strong dislike for musicians who exhibit competitive qualities in their criticisms.

> I hate it when someone just is itching to play himself and is probably just sitting there saying, "I'm better than this guy," and "He sucks." . . . Criticism that comes out of a sense of competition is a real drag.[41]

Musicians find such remarks ridiculous and the criticism unfounded.

> F: Do you get that [criticism] from other musicians?
> I: Not ones who are really good or who play much. . . . Once in a while though, you'll get some guy who'll say, "You didn't pay much for that guitar," and laugh sort of. And you know they just don't know what they're talking about. Or they pride themselves that they only sing Neil Young songs. And the closest they can sound to Neil Young the better, right. And I'm a dummy because I don't sing mostly Neil Young songs and I don't sound at all like Neil Young when I do. Which is not what I want to do. And they can be a pain if they won't leave you alone. Otherwise it's just a joke.[42]

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[39] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

[40] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

[41] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4558.

[42] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

Musicians, particularly those who work full-time, are often extremely competitive with one another. They must "hussle" to get gigs, lining up enough to ensure that they are regularly employed. However, when they are present at another musician's gig, professional etiquette should prevent them from criticizing the performer out of hand. Occasionally a musician will make critical comments, which are out of line.

One night, when a group was playing upstairs at Martha's, a well-respected musician seated in the audience severely criticized the drummer to the vocalist. The vocalist was incensed and later said,

> Who does he think he is? Just because _____ plays louder than a brush, he says he's heavy handed. These jazz musicians, they have no feeling for rock 'n' roll. And he shouldn't be criticizing _____ at his own gig. He was way out of line.

Often the performer will ask a musician seated in the audience to come up and jam with him. St. John's is a small community and many of the musicians who play in the downtown bars considered in this study are either friends or are at least familiar with each others' musical styles. Most have jammed at one time or another at bars or parties or have performed together professionally. As a result, many can easily play the harmonica, guitar, or sing as either back up or lead with the performer on any given night. Jamming is sometimes arranged prior to a gig, sometimes it is spontaneous.

To give a lift to the show the performer will sometimes introduce a musician who is about to join him in a theatrical fashion.

> We have had people come up and play with us but usually it's our invitation. We'll see somebody and ask them to come up. It's good in that the audience enjoys it. And you always arrange it so that you see they're there and go ask them, then call them up from the audience and make a big deal out of it. It adds to the show.[43]

While it "adds to the show" for the audience, the presence of another musician can make the night for the performer.

> Last night was just super, because my mate came after the first set. My mate came up and we used to play together like years ago. And he came up with his harps, he's a really good harp player. And we knew all these really old songs we used to play together and he was jamming on my new ones. The audience was just going right mad right. . . . Then Nells Boland . . . just walked up and sat down at the piano . . . and he did all this boogie and everything. It was just super. And then . . . John Phippard, who's a good friend . . . sat down and we had another great time. And last night was just super. I hope tonight is half as good.[44]

Frequently, musicians with whom the performer is not acquainted ask if they might jam with him. These requests are treated with apprehension and the performer's decision--if he does not automatically refuse all such requests--rests upon his instant assessment of the individual's capabilities. This assessment is based upon his past

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[43]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4570.

[44]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

experience in the bars with individuals making similar requests. If the person is sober and looks competent, the performer may take a chance. If the performer discovers that he has made a bad decision in letting him join in, something that is usually evident after a few bars of a song, he quickly manipulates backup strategies to extricate himself from the situation.

> F: Say a stranger said, "Hey, I want to play harp with you," or something like that?
> I: I'd say yeah, if I think he's, well first of all if he's not drunk, and secondly, if he looks as though he can handle what he is doing. You know it's hard to say. Like the other night I had a guy come up. First of all a couple of guys came up and played piano with me at Bridgett's. And that's great, people I know. So that's super. And then a guy asked me if he could play harp. And I didn't know and I'd never seen him before. He wasn't drunk so I said sure, you know. So he came up and he played a couple of tunes. And really he didn't have a clue. He probably might have thought he did, but . . . so half way through the second tune I just sort of cut it short politely and just said, "Well thanks a lot mate." And that's it, right.[45]

Cutting the song short and politely thanking the harmonica player is a strategic, unequivocal dismissal and as well a sensitive way to let a would-be performer down gently.

Often a performer makes it a practice not to let anyone jam with him. In the case of a group in which the music is highly arranged, there is little opportunity for spontaneous jamming. A band may make an exception and invite a friend to sit in on a song or two, but their tight

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[45]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

arrangements can be used as an excuse for refusing a request to sit in.

One night "Ken," a not-too-distinguished harmonica player, asked if he could join Marty and the Marginals during a set. Knowing that Ken was a poor musician, the vocalist responded with, "I'm sorry man, but we're tight, we're really arranged."

Some musicians will simply not risk letting strangers on stage, and have a standard response for such requests.

> Well the standard play that most people say is like, you say, "Well you have to take that up with the management, it's not up to me." A lot of people say that, they say, "Well I can't say yes or no boy, you have to talk to the manager." And of course, if the guy is determined enough to go and talk to the club manager, you never know, nine times out of ten the guy's okay.[46]

Of course, the club owner must be sensitive to the musicians' needs if this ploy is to work. Unfortunately for the performer he often lacks in sensitivity.

> This is another thing, the manager, the club owner should be on your side, right, in a situation like that. But a lot of times they'll say, "Well you know boy, it's okay with me. . . ." And you say, "Oh for fuck sake, Jesus, can't you see, you clod, I don't want this guy up here." And it's especially hideous if a guy, a lot of times a guy who's drunk will come up and hassle you and want to get up and play, right.[47]

Would-be performers, who have little or no skill, and who wish to join the musician are treated with

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[46]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4564.

[47]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4564.

apprehension. If the musician does not automatically refuse such requests he will quickly assess the individual's capabilities basing this assessment upon his demeanor. If the individual proves to be a competent musician, the performer will happily jam with him on one or several numbers. If he cannot play, the performer will politely thank him after a song, thus dismissing him from the stage.

In sum, musicians seated in the audience can affect the performance in several ways. They might unintentionally intimidate an inexperienced performer causing him to become flustered and make mistakes. They can offer constructive criticism pertaining to the sound system and repertoire and inspire a bored performer simply by their presence in the bar or by joining in the performance. The latter not only heightens the evening for the performer but also makes for an interesting and enjoyable performance for the audience.

Drunks. In her discussion of bar life in San Francisco, Cavan suggests that "the possibility exists . . . of what might be called 'normal trouble', which is to say, improper activities that are frequent enough to be simply shrugged off or ignored."[48] Activities considered to be normal trouble are as much a part of the standing behaviour patterns of the bar as proper behaviour, that is to say they

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[48]Cavan, p. 18.

are "a taken-for-granted aspect of the public drinking place."[49] However, simply because these activities are part of the standing behaviour patterns, and because no one is particularly shocked if and when they occur, does not mean, as Cavan suggests, that they are inconsequential and do not automatically become part of an individual's biography.

Certainly persons may assume a bar persona: an assumed character that is enacted only in a bar. However, the degree to which one may have an exclusive bar persona and biography depends upon the size of the city, that is, upon whether an individual can go to bars in which he is not otherwise known, and involves, as well, a conscious decision to actively seek out bars in which one will be a stranger. As mentioned above, the patrons' intimacy may generate a system of shared understandings which permits an intense order of social life. Further, even those patrons who are unacquainted and for the first time strike up a conversation, or simply interact with others in the same room, will type each other; actions are evaluated and judgments are made. What would be thought of as a serious breach of etiquette and met with moral indignation in a restaurant or an office, for example, stumbling drunkenly into someone, would not be treated with the same severity in a bar.

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[49] Cavan, p. 18.

Such behaviour is not necessarily ignored in a bar. That there are rules governing the smoothing over of particular offences attests to the fact that a bar is not an "anything goes" context. As Cavan herself points out, jostling someone or knocking over their drink calls not only for a verbal apology, but also for the purchase of a gift drink as a form of atonement.[50] An individual's actions form his biography and he is treated accordingly. No action is inconsequential. That some are accorded more indulgence in a bar does not mean that they are not remembered and relied upon in the future to anticipate behaviour.

The fact that an individual's actions are remembered is attested to by the numerous occupational narratives which relate musicians' encounters with patrons. Such narratives often describe offensive, disruptive, and unusual behaviour, and, in some cases, name particular individuals who are known for their personal idiosyncrasies. The narratives, as examples of extreme behaviour, allude to the acceptable parameters of behaviour in the bar. They also indicate the character of particular bars and serve to inform other musicians about the support and help that they might expect from particular managements.

The bar musician knows that each time he steps behind a microphone the possibility of normal trouble

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[50]Cavan, p. 124.

occurring is not unlikely. Anything that is disruptive of his performance is conceived of as trouble. Drunks falling into the equipment or stepping up on to the stage, trouble-makers shouting insulting remarks from their seats, obnoxious individuals threatening them and, of course, general free-for-alls in the bar, all fall into this category.

Drunks, who tend to make up the largest number of offenders and who make a great deal of trouble for musicians, are not always seen as troublemakers. While musicians express a dismay at their presence and a dislike of their actions, they often feel ambivalent towards drunks.

> You don't really hate the drunks. You resent them. . . . I'm rather ambivalent about how I consider it. Some of it is touching. Last night . . . I finished playing, I went to get my money. This real old guy, sort of nice, you know he wasn't dirty or anything like that. He was just an old man. You know suit and tie, you know, overcoat. And he'd been sitting there getting pissed. And he just stood up the way drunks do and confronted me, like real suddenly and held out his hand to shake my hand and he didn't say anything. And then I shook his hand and then he uh, kissed me. He did, which was a real freak-out. I just thought, My God, you know, it was sort of moving, I was sort of moved by that. Not that I, I don't know, it was just because I was a musician. Just because I was the guy who was playing and provided music for his beer drinking, I suppose I don't know. I don't know why, I don't know what was going through his head. Probably not very much, he was pretty pissed. But, you know, so he got real friendly. But it was kind of interesting, I like that, I like that thing.[51]

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[51] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4560.

Drunks often want only to make some kind of contact with the musician. However, unlike the drunk in the above narrative, who waited for an appropriate time to show his appreciation to the musician, some seek out the musician during his performance and thereby make a nuisance of themselves.

> But when a drunk comes up on the stage and stands an inch away from you. . . . Sometimes I feel, like, I wish I had a shotgun, I'd blow his head off. I really don't like it sometimes. In fact, most of the time. Mostly I'm tolerant, but today I think I'm in a cynical mood so I say I'd blow his head off. . . . I know, shit it's a bar room. Guys are there, they're working class bars especially. And they're just going to get pissed man and I relate. They think of the musician as real celebrities or something. They want to get close to them and show them that they really get off on their music. They obviously want to participate in it somehow, I suppose. Generally when I'm that drunk I'm not out in public, so I can't say what I'd do. So I'm rather ambivalent. Sometimes I feel like I could strangle them 'cos they really wreck things. . . . But fuck man, that's what it's about. You play and it happens. That is the occupational hazards, maybe I don't know. You play in a working class bar room, maybe any type of bar room. You know you're going to have things like that. That's what it's about.[52]

Drunks who dance in front of the stage and who try to catch the eye of the performer do so, not to create a disruption or to put an end to the performance, embarrass or harass the musicians, but to become a part of that performance. Their behaviour is predictable in that there is a definite pattern of movement from their seat to the stage. It is unpredictable in that the musician does not know how far the drunk will go. If he edges closer and

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[52]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4560.

closer to the performer, he may try to step up on the stage; if he is staggering blindly he may fall into the equipment or the performer.

Two musicians were playing on a Sunday night upstairs at Bridgett's. Seated directly to their left at one of the tables closest to the stage were five males in their late teens and early twenties. While they were all fairly drunk, one was particularly intoxicated. Throughout the set he would get up and dance in front of the stage, at times moving dangerously close to the mike stand or a speaker. As he staggered back and forth he continually tried to catch the attention of the bass guitarist and imitated him by pretending to play along on an imaginary instrument. Neither musician would make eye contact with him. Occasionally the bass guitarist would look at a friend in the audience and roll up his eyes, look at the drunk and smile, indicating that he found his behaviour laughable as well as pathetic. Every now and again one of the drunk's friends or a waiter would grab him and seat him at his table. He would not stay down for long. During the break he got up on stage, took the microphone and tried to sing. The waiter immediately put down his tray, rushed up to the stage, collared him, and put him in his seat, warning his friends to keep him there.

The drunk obviously wanted to make contact with and emulate the performer. He constantly tried to engage the bass guitarist in eye contact and imitated him playing the guitar.

Two musicians discussed a similar incident at the Cochrane Hotel during a break in their performance. One expressed a feeling of ambivalence about this type of incident, saying, "If it had happened in a classy bar, the man would have been escorted out of the place by a classy waitress." He went on to say that the magic of the performance, which cannot be articulated, was destroyed as a result of the drunk's behaviour. "When you lose it you know it was there, but while it's there you can't really express what it is."

A drunk dancing in front of a musician forces him to shift his attention away from his performance in order to contend with the demands of the social situation. Such an occurrence is a good measure of a musician's concentration. As one musician pointed out, some performers can play with an obnoxious individual screaming in their ear and not miss a beat. When a performer has years of experience and has played a particular piece over and over again he can put himself on "automatic pilot" so that such behaviour will not affect the performance in any way.[53]

Not only will the drunk engage the performer during his performance, but he may also approach him during a break.

> F: How can you tell that they want to talk to you? Are they standing close?
> I: Yeah, or they're just looking at you. Or they might, you know, if a drunk person asks you for a request and is sitting near by, they're going to want to talk to you after. . . . You learn to subtly

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[53]Personal conversation with Peter Narváez, 3 November 1980.

> make sure it doesn't happen. Like you don't look at anybody that you don't want to talk to. And when you see someone who you know, is just waiting for you to jump off the stage, what you do is just look that way (motions with his head) and I'm putting down my guitar and go that way (motions in the opposite direction).[54]

If a drunk is dancing in front of a performer there is really little that he can do. If the management, who the musician believes is ultimately responsible for dealing with such characters, or a friend, either of the drunk or of the performer, does not step in and seat the person, he can only ignore him, protect his equipment as best he can, cut short his number, and wait until the drunk is seated. While the drunk is dancing or trying to catch the musician's attention, the musician hopes not only that he can get through the song without a serious mishap but that he might also avoid the man during the break. He is, therefore, twice removed from his music; first, he is concerned with watching the actions of the inebriated individual in front of him and, second, he is making plans to avoid a potential encounter during the break.

The behaviour of the drunk is a taken-for-granted aspect of the bar. In a context in which roles are relaxed and an alternate set of rules establishe a condition in which unserious behaviour may occur, the actions of the drunk establish the boundary between what is acceptable and what is unacceptable behaviour. As Erikson, in his study on

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[54]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

deviance, suggests:

> The only material found in a system for marking boundaries . . . is the behavior of its participants; and the kinds of behavior which best perform this function are often deviant, since they represent the most extreme variety of conduct to be found within the experience of the group.[55]

Thus, the drunk--or the troublemaker, for that matter--functions in a manner not dissimilar to a criminal in the wider community; when his behaviour is censored those around him are forewarned that similar actions are inappropriate.

The treatment of the drunk by the management is a further indication to the musician of bar policy. If such characters are not censored, if they are allowed to interfere with and disrupt performances, the bar will be categorized as a rowdy context, described in narratives, and possibly avoided by a number of musicians in the future. The drunk's actions, therefore, not only mark the boundaries of acceptable behaviour but also function as a gauge for musicians in determining bar policy.

Troublemakers.

> You do have troublemakers, and people who really get ticked off at you. I mean I've had some bad experiences.[56]

Like drunks, troublemakers disrupt a performance; unlike drunks, troublemakers intend to do so. They may be obnoxious drunks or simply individuals who for some reason

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[55]Kai T. Erikson, "The Sociology of Deviance," in Social Psychology Through Symbolic Interaction, ed. Gregory P. Stone and Harvey A. Faberman (Waltham, Mass.: Ginn-Blaisdell, 1970), p. 712.

[56]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

want to denigrate the performer. The performer realizes that the troublemaker is as much a part of the bar context as the drunk, but treats him with much less compassion or tolerance.

Some troublemakers are well known characters, instantly recognized by musicians when they enter the bar. The following two narratives relate experiences with the same woman, an infamous troublemaker in the Continental:

> There's some women who really give you a hard time. There was a woman who gave everybody a hard time. Her name was Irene. And she'd shout about the fact, and I did a version of "Irene" that was pretty well liked. And she was crazy about it. And I'd do it two or three times for her. But I mean, I just couldn't do it that many times. And she'd become obnoxious, really obnoxious. She used to grab the microphone and stuff like this. And it was, it was very bad. Every once in a while somebody'll get up and start singing and grab the mike. That'll happen in any of those situations. But she was adamant about the song "Irene." She was nuts about the song.[57]

> I had one funny thing happen to me at the Continental. It used to be a different Continental, I think it was, before you were here. . . . It was really small and a little rougher, you know, rougher sort of crowd. And there used to be these two women that would be in there a lot. And one's name was Irene and the other woman had a hunchback.[58] And they were about sixty, or in their fifties. Really tough women. And, uh, this Irene always used to come in and get me to sing "Goodnight Irene," and they'd always buy me a beer, and get me to sing "Goodnight Irene." They didn't really want to talk to me after I was through playing. But they did holler at me a lot when I was playing. But this one night they sat right up near me. And there wasn't a stage there, like, so they were this close, as close as we are, just about a foot

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[57]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

[58]The hunchback woman is probably Patsy Mullins, a well known character in St. John's bars in the 1970's.

> apart. And they were both really drunk. And they started talking to me. And everytime I'd finish a song they'd really start talking to me. Just in between songs. And this hunchback woman started running her hand up and down my leg, and saying . . . you know, they were okay. I mean, I'm not making them out to be monsters, but quite repulsive this hunchback lady was. And she was running her hand up and down my leg and saying, "I'll pay you twenty dollars to come home and sing for me anytime." All this stuff. And "I haven't had any lovin' in three months," and all that. "Come on home with me," and all that. And I'm such a softy and such a sucker, I just can never tell someone to fuck-off. Especially when they tell me something like that. I mean, I'm not going to go home with her. But I just say "My wife's over there," and all that. And I didn't have a wife at that time. But, you know, all these lines. And I would just think of one song to sing next as I was finishing the last one. And that kind of stuff, you know. You feel pretty tense. And if you're like me, some people can say fuck-off, some people can say, I don't know, just laugh and ignore it. And I can't. And that made me feel guilty. And not tense because I was scared. Just tense because her story was as legit as any other jokers who might be more cool acting, right. But I just, it's funny when that kind of thing happens.[59]

Another character was known to musicians in St. John's as "Mr. Take-a-Break."

> There's a guy that used to plague a lot of people around here. A couple of guys, but especially one guy. He was always saying, no matter who was playing or what the occasion was, as soon as he'd walk in the place and there was live music, he'd applaud wildly after a song, right, and then he'd shout, "Take a break. Take a break." Everybody knew him as, oh you know, Mr. Take-a-Break. It was like a broken record. He was always saying take-a-break. . . . You know the guy was making a real hassle. Just every once in awhile the guy is shouting in front of you and you can't even hear yourself.[60]

As mentioned above, there is little that a musician can do when he is confronted with such unruly characters.

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[59]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

[60]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

He hopes that the management will deal with these people, although he knows that the situation will often go unattended. Occasionally, the musician will attempt to deal with the offender himself.

> You get some people, you know, trying to take the mike stand off-stage when you're in the middle of a song. But I just treat that sort of thing with aggression. Just warn them off, "Get off or else." It's the only way. I just try and be as polite as I can, mainly.[61]

It is a risky proposition when a musician treats a troublemaker in an aggressive manner; he cannot know how the individual will react.

> The first place I played here was the Continental, which used to have music regularly upstairs. Some guy was right there just giving me a very hard time, an older man sitting right in front of me. And I remember I lost my cool that night and I just shouted at him after a song was over. I said, "Get out." And as soon as I said that I thought, "That was a mistake." I expected all kinds of hassles and trouble. But to my amazement, the guy just got up and walked out. Oh boy, was I pleased. I was proud as punch. I couldn't believe it. But anyway, he was much bigger than me too. I was really surprised. He must have been half wacked to accept that kind of thing. Usually that's grounds for a big argument.[62]

If at all possible a musician will avoid a direct confrontation with a troublemaker, since he is unsure of the support he will get from the management and unable to judge how far the incident might go.

> I: You've got to try and preserve some kind of diplomacy with the clod even though the last thing you want to do is be nice to him. You just want to

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[61] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4568.

[62] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

> plow him and get rid of him. . . . I hate that . . . when you get somebody from the audience who insists on making a nuisance of himself.
> F: Have you ever seen a musician get a little bit rough with someone?
> I: Not very often. I've seen it occasionally. Like a guy's patience will just snap and will say like, "Will you sit the fuck down out of it." You know, "Leave me alone," right. . . . If it happens in the middle of the night when the place is crowded you can't, you don't want to be up getting into a racket with some guy on stage. . . . So you're sort of stuck.[63]

Musicians must often be diplomatic with troublemakers for their own self-protection. Sometimes a troublemaker will threaten a musician.

> I was playing there [Bridgett's], it was the first night, the East End Blues Band ever formed. And some guys, some heavies came in and wanted us to play a song. And we said we didn't want to play it and the guy said he wanted to play. We said, "No." And they were waiting outside for us. They wanted to start a fight. That same night "Joe Donalds," that was probably a bad night, Joe Donalds, who is an asshole in my opinion. . . . He poured beer over our electrical wires, tried to electrocute us because we wouldn't let him play bass. Every time he sees you in a band, "Come on now boys, right now I want to play some bass, right." He can't fucking play bass.[64]

Under the most extreme circumstances a troublemaker will even attack a musician.

> One night when Peter Narváez was playing there [Cabaret] he was playing with a friend of mine, Charlie Wade, a black guy. This guy comes in and tries to kill him, choke him, tries to beat him up. Just because he's black. Just 'cos Charlie was black. The guy hates black people. God knows why.

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[63] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4565.

[64] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4567.

> 'Cos there's none in Newfoundland. There's no reason to hate them except you watch too much TV. The Cabaret's usually full of bigots like that. . . . They got the guy off him and they called the cops after.[65]

Situations such as the above, where patrons threaten or attack a musician rarely occur in St. John's. Yet there are frequently fights, general free-for-alls that take place in the audience and can sometimes move towards the stage. The performer, at all times, tries to remain uninvolved.

> I: Another real problem, it doesn't happen so much lately, I've noticed, but a few places like it's happened at the Cabaret a few times is fights, right. A fight in the club, there's nothing as, it's really a drag, right. If a fight breaks out in the club and you're there on stage. And you're playing away and all of a sudden you notice fists going and bodies flying around and tables being flung around and people shouting at each other and rolling around on the floor. You don't know whether to stop or keep playing. A lot of times the management will tell you to stop playing or keep playing one or the other.
> F: Why would they tell you to keep playing?
> I: Well, you know, just to keep the crowd distracted. That's a major hassle with downtown clubs like the Cabaret. You never know what kind of wierdos, drunks, or crazy guys are going to come in off the street looking to pick a fight or going to take offence at something and get belligerent about it.[66]

On occasion, a musician may use the lyrics of a song as a derisive comment aimed at an individual who is making a nuisance of himself. The following narrative illustrates how a musician was able to ridicule two troublemakers, wrestling the audience' attention away from them through the strategic use of a song.

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[65]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4567.

[66]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4565.

> I tell you, one of the funniest experiences I had with an audience was the last time I played at Bridgett's. It was my last night and there was a girl there, I'll call her a dolly. Beautiful blonde hair, curled. And she used to come in to Bridgett's a lot and I guess she was in the hooking trade of some sort. There was a youngster about nineteen years old who had just turned nineteen and the two of them were sitting there pie-eyed drunk and she was obviously most physically turning him on and I was sitting there. And all these people were kind of, their attention was split between me and them. And he kept asking me for some ungodly Kris Kristofferson number and I kept saying no. And he kept trying to grab the mike from me. And that sort of thing really gets to be a bother. That's at the point where the audience and you can split, it depends on how you handle it. I could have just said, "To hell with this, I'll walk off the stage." But instead of doing that it just seemed like I was in a really funny mood and she kept doing all these things. And I would come off with songs like "Oh my but you have such a pretty face, hey for a girl I once knew." And all these songs. To me songs are beautiful because they catch a moment and the audience was picking up on it. . . . Well, that was the only way I could get through the performance. What was the . . . "I took myself down to the Tally Ho Tavern, to buy me a bottle of beer, And I sat me down with a handsome young stranger, whose eyes were as dark as his hair." Anyway, I kept throwing these songs out and you try to get through the songs because you're laughing because what they're doing is so ungodly disgusting it's funny. And there was Jim Hibbert and Scott Swindon were there and I was wondering how they were taking it, but they looked over and they were just laughing their heads off too. Occasionally, you have to say, "What the hell," and that's what happens. So I got out of it with a lot of grace and she got barred. And I think he sobered up rather quickly.[67]

Thus, the musician, through the strategic use of her repertoire, makes the troublemaker the butt of a joke and succeeds in maintaining expressive control of the performance.

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[67]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4872.

While violations of etiquette occur frequently so that musicians come to think of them as occupational hazards, or, as Cavan puts, it normal trouble, they cannot be overlooked if the musician is to be allowed to give a smooth performance: a performance that the musician, bar manager and most patrons want to be enjoyable. These violations range from minor improprieties, those acts that do not seriously disrupt the ongoing activities, to serious violations, those acts that result in the breakdown of performance.

Rude remarks, dancing drunks, and loud and obnoxious cat calls all constitute minor improprieties. They inhibit, but do not necessarily destroy, the performance frame. When individuals tamper with the musician's equipment, fall into it, grab microphones, throw objects around the bar or at the musician, or start fights, they enact serious violations that destroy the performance frame in the bar.

Both performer and audience are made uncomfortable and become annoyed by these activities. While the musician hopes that the management will take responsibility for dealing with these offenders, often the performer or the audience itself resolve the situation. One musician commented:

> I find that you work up a tolerance for people that get out of hand. . . . The only thing that annoys me in a club most is if someone's getting out of hand and interrupting the show for the rest of the people. . . . But also, in a sense, the audience controls the audience. If some guy's really out of hand and there's a general consensus, you know, people. . . . All you have to do is say into the

> mike "How many people here are having a hard time listening to the music?" . . . Usually the embarrassment of having a response like, "Yeah sit down," [will shut them up].[68]

A performer will have a great deal of support if several of his friends or fans/friends are present. Though they may not physically restrain an offender, they can yet embarrass him into silence.

Drunks and, particularly, troublemakers are remembered by musicians and managers. Individuals like Irene and Mr. Take-a-Break are well known and many occupational experience narratives have been generated by their type of behaviour. Serious offenders, like the individual who attacked Charlie Wade, are severely dealt with by managers who bond them (bar them from the club) and sometimes call the police to arrest them.

B. Focusing Strategies

Goffman's concepts of focused and unfocused interaction in conversation are useful in understanding performer/audience relationships and interaction.

> Unfocused interaction consists of those interpersonal communications that result solely by virtue of persons being in one another's presence . . . each modifies his demeanor because he himself is under observation. Focused interaction occurs when people effectively agree to sustain for a time a single focus of cognitive and visual attention as in a conversation . . . or a joint task sustained by a close face-to-face circle of contributors.[69]

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[68] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

[69] Erving Goffman, Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961), p. 7.

In a bar, as in any other social situation, both focused and unfocused interaction take place. Patrons continually change their focus of attention as people come and go, as conversations are initiated and terminated. Part of the enjoyment of the bar experience for people who frequently participate is the ability to engage in and appreciate a variety of foci of interaction simultaneously --that is, listening to someone's conversation, while at the same time tapping feet or fingers to the beat of the music and watching the door, other members of the audience, and the musician.

Without taking Goffman's concepts too literally, they can be utilized in looking at the "depth of focus" involved in performer/audience interaction. Either the performer by his behaviour towards a group or individual, or a patron by his behaviour towards the musician, can deepen the focus. One of the hazards of the occupation is the individual who seeks out a direct focus of attention with the musician while he is performing, as has been discussed above.

Musicians can, at times, engage in direct, full-focused conversation while performing.

> If people are noisy I'm lucky because I can play instrumentals. And when I'm playing instrumentals I can do anything I want. I can almost walk around and talk to people. It comes so naturally to me when I know a song that I can almost divorce myself from the actual musical performance and that's a great emancipating feeling. . . . But instrumental music is the kind of thing where, as I was saying, I can even chat, and I do sometimes.[70]

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[70] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

Of course, several conditions are necessary before this type of focused conversation during performance can occur. First, the musician must be performing an instrumental, so that his verbal play can be utilized in conversation. Second, he must have either a pickup on an acoustic guitar or an electric guitar if he is to walk around in the audience. Third, he must be confident that he knows the music well enough to direct a substantial amount of his concentration away from the technical aspects of the music and towards conversation. Fourth, he must be relaxed and comfortable in leaving the performing area, or in fact, widening it to include part of the audience, since, in effect, the conversation becomes part of the performance.

The performer can also deepen the focus with a patron by verbally including him in the performance.

During the second set at Bridgett's, "Jim" one of the performer's personal friends entered the bar, stopped a few feet in front of him and smiled in greeting. Before he could continue to the bar to get a drink, the performer stopped in the middle of his song and exclaimed, "Hey, hey, hey, there's my old friend Jim. Alright! This number is now dedicated to my main man, the infamous Jim Molloy." He then replayed the verse in which he had stopped and finished the song.

The musician, by interrupting and naming an individual in the audience brought a generalized unfocused interaction (performer/audience) to a full-focused confrontation

with a specific individual. The performance was expanded for a few moments to include an individual--the greeting itself became part of the performance. The musician's spontaneous interruption of his song in a unidirectional greeting neither broke the performance frame nor caused the musician to lose control of the situation.

In both of the cases described above the musician has initiated the change in depth of focus and in doing so has remained in control of the flow of events. Patrons themselves often wish to deepen the focus of interaction with the musician and employ certain strategies to do so.

Two strategies used most frequently by patrons for making contact with the performer involve purchasing him a gift drink and making a request for a particular song. It is not surprising that in a situation in which the main focus of exchange between people is music and alcohol that these items should be intentionally placed in the foreground and manipulated--as a custom--in an attempt to provide an avenue through which the audience member can make direct personal contact with the performer.

Cavan points out that "treating--the presentation of gift drinks to another--is perhaps the most general of bar rituals. . . ."[71] However, while it may be a widely used custom, "whatever the ceremonial meaning may be, the ritual character of the act requires those involved to be

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[71]Cavan, p. 113.

attuned to the implications it carries, for like any rite, its meaning always lies beyond its apparant form."[72]

Patrons purchase drinks for musicians for a variety of reasons. The musician, in response, must learn to correctly anticipate the motives behind the purchase in order to manage the encounters in which he may become involved. Often a patron will purchase a drink for the musician simply to show his appreciation of the music. He finds out from the bartender what the musician is drinking. The bartender or waiter then serves the musician the drink and points out the individual who has purchased it. When the patron sees that the drink has been served he may nod at the musician, smile or raise his glass as a salute, thanking the musician from a distance. The patron's appreciation of the music has thus been communicated through the purchase of a gift drink, but without any verbal exchange. The patron may or may not want a direct verbal exchange with the musician. By buying him a drink he has opened the avenue for an exchange, but by remaining in his seat, the patron leaves it up to the musician whether or not a conversation will ensue.

Sometimes, however, the gift drink will be treated as the patron's ticket to engage the musician in conversation.

> Also patrons attempt to, you feel sometimes like a prostitute because they try to buy you off with a drink, right. . . . And it's great if it's just a drink, but [sometimes] the person expects you to go over and chat with them and sometimes is

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[72]Cavan, p. 113.

> offended if you don't chat with them, or if you smile and say "thank you" and that's all there is to it.[73]

One evening at the Cochrane, while I was sitting with a musician during his break, a patron brought the musician a beer. He then sat down and began to talk about music and famous musicians and his own unhappy life. The musician chatted with him for about twenty minutes and included him in the general conversation at the table. After the musician began the next set, the man, who was drunk, slumped over, asleep at another table.

Later when I questioned the performer about this incident, he said that the beer "was his ticket to sit down. If someone buys you a drink, for sure they've bought part of you for a minute. They've invested in you."[74]

The prostitute analogy is a good one because, particularly in bars where there is a cover, the audience might very well have a certain proprietary feeling towards the performer. When there is a cover the negotiation between performer and audience is influenced by a direct economic exchange with the possible result that the performers may be more formal in their presentation and the music is more of a commodity.

The purchase of a gift drink need not be used to initiate an encounter with the musician. A patron will

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[73] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

[74] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

sometimes engage a musician in conversation and then offer to buy him a drink or simply order one from the bartender while they are talking with the expectation that he will accept it.

When treating occurs between patrons--most specifically male patrons--who are unacquainted, the drink serves to "bind [them] together temporarily . . . in an ongoing encounter by establishing a set of mutual obligations between them. . . ."[75] There is the expectation that the patrons will remain together for the duration of the drink and that the receiver will reciprocate in kind. In contrast, when a patron buys a drink for a musician, though there may be the implicit expectation on the part of the patron that a conversation will ensue, the musician is not obligated to return the drink. The mutual obligation is one in which music and alcohol are exchanged. The musician provides music for the patron's enjoyment and the patron buys him a drink in appreciation. Unlike bartenders and waiters, who may be given money by an appreciative customer, musicians in most bars are not. The gift drink is, therefore, a kind of tip. A patron might, for example, purchase a musician a drink when asking for a request or after a request has been played for him. The drink, in this case, is a means of showing appreciation for a specific act, a tip for special service.

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[75]Cavan, p. 113. Also see, Alvin W. Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960), 161-178.

There is a practice in some bars and particularly in coffee houses in which a "hat" is passed for the patrons to make contributions to the musicians. Usually the musicians are not paid by the management in such places. There are no such establishments nor is there such a practice in St. John's.[76]

On one occasion I did see a patron attempt to offer money to a musician. A middle-aged man had engaged a musician in conversation at the Cochrane, after having bought him a few beers. Observing that he must not make very much money playing at the bar, the patron offered the musician both money and a place to stay. He was immediately refused, and the musician indicated to me at the end of the gig that he found the offer highly suspect. He thought that the man, a stranger, was "coming on" to him; that is, he was propositioning him. The prostitute analogy, in its most extreme, is evident here; a patron offers drinks, money and a place to sleep, attempting to "buy" more than simply the musician's time.

While the musician is not obligated to purchase a drink for a patron who has previously bought him one, he does on occasion reciprocate.

> There's one guy at Bridgett's who sort of, everytime he gets drunk, which is quite often because he drinks a lot, he always comes up and tells me, you know, he's spreading the good word about me around. And

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[76] In the past, a hat was passed around Bridgett's on New Year's Eve. The proceeds went to the musicians, though they were also paid wages for the night.

> he always buys me drinks. And, like at times he's bought like six beers and brought them over to the table, to me and whoever I'm with. So I buy drinks back and he likes me for some reason. I don't know why. Maybe I'm friendlier to him than a lot of people who play there.[77]

When a patron continually buys a musician drinks on different nights, while their relationship is still one which is operative only in the bar, there is a change in the relationship from interactants to acquaintances. The musician may offer a patron a drink particularly after he has shown a continuing interest in himself and his music.

As a medium for social interaction, the gift of a drink indicates more than a simple appreciation of the music. The evaluation of a musician as "friendly," open to personal contact with his audience, is, as the musician quoted above indicated, crucial to the initiation of the exchange. Some musicians do not have many drinks purchased for them; one stated that this was because he was not friendly to patrons.

> I seldom get an offer like that, very very seldom. Mind you, I don't usually, not that often will I sit with people. Some nights when I'm in the mood, I'll sit at about ten different tables at a break. Other nights I won't see anybody. I'll go outside and wait until the set starts, because I don't want to deal with all the people. I don't have many people offer me drinks that often. I don't know why, but I really don't. People don't seem inclined to be that generous towards me about drinks and stuff. I think it's because I'm not very receptive to them when I'm on stage. I'm not friendly.[78]

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[77]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

[78]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

Certainly the musician's demeanor both on stage and during breaks will determine to a great extent whether or not he will have gift drinks purchased for him. An unfriendly musician, like an unfriendly patron who indicates that he does not wish to be approached, in all probability, will be left alone.

Often it is the older male patrons who buy gift drinks and, since it is an established custom to do so, the performer realizes that to refuse would be an insult.

> I very seldom [refuse] if someone offers, because it's part of the business if, you know, people have been enjoying you. It's not quite as common now. Like the older people tend to do it more, I find. Because it's sort of a custom of the past. Like if you did a request for someone then they'd buy you a beer. That's not to say that young people don't do that. . . . I will refuse if I feel that I've had [enough to drink]. If people insist then I won't refuse. And if I can't drink it all at the end of the night, then I'll pass it on to someone who I know will enjoy it. You know I really appreciate that, I think it's really nice.[79]

Yet, there is a problem inherent in the practice of purchasing gift drinks for the performer; how can he graciously accept the drinks without consuming so much alcohol that he fails to give a competent performance? One musician noted:

> Well at times it's either feast or famine. You play clubs sometimes and no one will buy you a beer, right. Other nights they start. Someone will send up a round and if it's beer it's not too bad, but if it's liquor. . . . I mean you drink it back right, and you hit it back, sort of a nervous reaction when you finish your song--something to reach for. And you

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[79]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

> get pretty well on. And if these people are getting well on too and they see you enjoying it, like they keep sending up rounds. And there's times I've played where I've been in no condition to be standing, never mind playing, although that's very few.[80]

Giving beer away to friends, or saving them until the end of the night, are strategies used to deal with this problem.

> I collect them . . . I have tons of them. I've had three or four at the end of the night that I haven't touched. I just pretend, I get a glass and am constantly pouring but I've got three or four full beers at the end of the night. I just quietly move them onto the counter and let the girl take them, or I give them to friends.[81]

By departing from the bar during a break, the musician leaves little opportunity for patrons to offer him gift drinks. This is perhaps the most effective as well as obvious avoidance strategy. It is also one that is generalized, that is, it effectively counters all types of exchange and encounters. However, most musicians remain in the bar during breaks. They move from table to table, sitting and chatting with friends, acquaintances, and strangers. In doing so, they place themselves in a position in which they can be approached by various individuals. Such musicians either enjoy this type of social interaction or are adept at a number of avoidance strategies which they employ to ward off unwanted encounters.

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[80] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4562.

[81] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4558.

Another strategy used by patrons in order to make contact with the performer is to request that he play a particular song. As with the offer of a gift drink, the making of a request is a custom that can be executed in a number of ways and can carry a variety of implications.

Often during breaks, patrons approach the performer and ask him to play a song in the next set. He might preface the request with a compliment about the performer's musicianship or engage him in conversation pertaining to some aspect of musical performance or musical genres or style. Sometimes if an individual is too shy to approach the musician directly, he will give the waiter a note with the request or ask a friend to make the request. Requests are also called out between numbers, and sometimes rather than a specific song, a genre of music--"play rock 'n' roll," "play the blues,"--is called for. If a musician is playing something that the audience enjoys he may receive calls for similar music--"more blues"--or further songs by the same singer or group,--"more Stones."

The song request is perhaps the key area of involvement for the patron as an individual. Indeed, the personal motivations of an audience member seeking an individual contact through a song request are a parallel to the personal involvement of the performer in choosing specific songs for certain individuals or groups. If the patrons understand what the musician is trying to accomplish on stage, and if the musician is sensitive to his

audience's preferences, then there is a convergence of expectations and needs.

Musicians either know or quickly find out the musical preferences of each bar's clientele. If they are a rock 'n' roll band they know that they will have difficulty being accepted in an establishment that usually hires country or traditional musicians. At the same time, patrons who know the styles and repertoires of particular musicians will either follow or avoid them, depending on their own preferences. So, for the most part, the audience is made up of individuals who may well appreciate and enjoy the type of music being played.

The musicians interviewed for this study would not learn songs that they did not like simply because they often were requested. They would, however, learn a few numbers by a musician who they respected if his songs were asked for a great deal. Most musicians, for example, know one or two Bob Dylan songs since his music is popular.

> F: Have you ever learned any songs just to appease them?
> I: Yeah, the occasional tune. . . . But I'm just not into it [doing songs that he is not enthusiastic about]. What I do is I probably find an album by that artist and get an obscure number that no one's played or heard off of it, the one I like.[82]

Thus, rather than making an outright refusal, the musician personalizes the request by choosing a song by the same artist that he himself prefers.

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[82]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

Many musicians will genuinely try to respond when a patron makes a request. "If someone requests something we can usually come close to the request anyway."[83] Yet if a song by a particular artist is asked for and the musician does not know it, he may offer to play another of that musician's songs. Sometimes he might respond with a song of the same theme. One night, while I sat at Bridgett's, the performer was asked if he knew "The Canadian Railroad Trilogy." He did not and responded with, "No man, I really don't know it . . . but I can do this song about trains."

Making a request may be used as a formulaic strategy both for establishing contact with the musician and for communicating an assessment of the performance. For many patrons, making a request is the only way that they can think of to establish personal contact with the musician.

> I try to be as friendly as possible when somebody does say, "Can you do such and such," because [for] most people it means . . . not particularly that they want to hear that song--it took me awhile to understand this--but for a lot of people it means, "Gee I like your music and I'd like to say something to you, therefore I'm going to ask you for a request."[84]

Occasionally a patron will insist that a musician knows a song.

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[83] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

[84] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4561.

> There are people who are really insistent, people who are a bit drunk and are really insistent that you must know this song. "I mean this is an old old song, you must know it." "But I don't know it man." "Ah you must know it." "No man, I don't know it." It's hard to get away from these situations, right. All you can do is smile and say I'm sorry. People get offended, you go down in their books because you don't know [a song]. "What kind of performer are you if you don't know 'Kevin Barry'."[85]

If an individual becomes obnoxious when demanding a request, the management at the urging of the performer, may remove him from the bar.

> The only thing you don't like is every once in a while you get some guy who will come up and insists you do something and tell you that you know it and you don't. And there's nothing you can do. And eventually we've had guys like that thrown out of bars, once or twice.[86]

Those patrons whom the performer deems boisterous and unruly are frequently ignored.

> Every now and then you get somebody in the crowd [who yells], "Play the blues, play some more blues." And I can't be bothered trying to please them all night long, especially when they're obviously just getting out of hand.[87]

Musicians also become irritated by requests for songs or styles of music that they obviously do not perform. There is little that the performer can do with such requests except, perhaps, ignore the individual or politely explain that he does not know the number.

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[85] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4566.

[86] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4570.

[87] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4569.

> You know, someone will ask for three songs and you don't know any of them. Like they might ask me to sing "I did it my way," by Frank Sinatra and something by Pink Floyd and something by Kiss. Stuff like if they had any kind of sense of what I was about at all, they wouldn't even ask me. Not that they are lousy songs necessarily, but I don't do that kind of music. Then they act like you don't know anything. "Fuck you, you don't know nothin'." You know, I don't give a shit. I do if they keep yakking at me. But my answer is, "There's a million that I don't know," ha, ha, ha. Mr. Nice-Guy, and they don't care if I'm Mr. Nice-Guy.[88]

In cases when a song, inappropriate to the musician's repertoire, is requested, the request may not be made as a compliment but as an overt challenge. While it is still a strategy for establishing contact with the performer, the patron is competing with him for the attention of his own group. The request is an impossible one and the patron is aware of this. His intention in asking for the song is to gain prestige in the eyes of his peers by upstaging the performer and by demonstrating his lack of musical knowledge. As one musician so aptly put it: "It's funny the people who won't compliment you, who . . . resent the fact that somehow it [performing] makes you shinier than they are."[89] In either case, whether the patron is trying to upstage the performer or simply has no sense of his musical style, the performer usually tries to ignore or laugh off such requests.

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[88]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

[89]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

When, however, a legitimate request is made the performer normally tries to respond to it immediately because, often, if he waits the patron will have left or even forgotten that he made it. One musician had the following experience:

> Requests can be a drag. They can also be funny. Like once I was playing at Bridgett's and I had this drunken asshole, a whole table of them actually, but one guy kept going, "Play Jimmy Rodgers," all night. And I'd go, "Yeah man, I've just got to do this other stuff first. I'll play it I promise, right on, cool man." And finally I got around to doing it and I'd go, "Okay I've had a request all night to do a Jimmy Rodgers song. I'm going to play 'Train Whistle Blues'. I hope you're listening." I'd started playing it, as soon as I play it like, ooh! he collapses on the fucking table, drunk as a skunk. And here I am, I've already started the fucking song. I don't want to play it anyway. And he's drunk out of his mind. And I think, "You fool what did you play this for? Why did you even try?" . . . His friends carry him out to throw up outside or something. You know requests go like that very often.[90]

Since there is a vibrant tradition of local music in Newfoundland, musicians are often asked to play Newfoundland songs. Some musicians, particularly the Newfoundlanders, do have traditional material in their repertoire, mixing it with original and contemporary tunes.

A patron or table of patrons will occasionally call out to an obviously mainland musician, "'Play 'Sweet Forget-Me-Not,'" or some other Newfoundland song. This is sometimes done in jest, though sometimes the patron issues the request as a type of challenge. One musician, an

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[90]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4559.

American, who has been living in Newfoundland for several years and who has arranged an instrumental version of "The Star of Logy Bay," often surprises a patron making such a request. On one occasion a bargoer exclaimed, "Lord Jesus, he knows one too!" when this musician performed the song. Although surprised, the man was genuinely pleased that he had had the interest and taken the time to learn a Newfoundland song, and on its completion applauded vigorously.

A musician can be made very uncomfortable if patrons reject him for knowing no Newfoundland songs.

> It's funny . . . when people get angry with you. "What do you think you're doing singing in this bar? What do you think you're doing not singing any Newfoundland songs? You won't last long." . . . It's usually when you're playing at a place for the first time. Or in a place that hasn't had entertainment before. And these are regulars and older guys and they resent the fact that you're not doing any Newfoundland songs.[91]

Even though some patrons might be angry or resentful if a musician knows no local songs, the musician may still choose not to learn any if he does not feel comfortable with the material.

> I think it's stupid for me not being a Newfoundlander to sing Newfoundland songs. I mean there's more stupid people going around singing with Newfoundland and Irish accents, when there's enough people that do that well. . . . I didn't grow up with Irish stuff. I just say I'm not from Newfoundland. . . . I always do something that depreciates myself sort of. Like I say I can't do as good a job as the people who do that.[92]

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[91]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

[92]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4556.

Musicians generally hope that once they have performed around town, the patrons will come to know their music and accept them for the material that they choose to do.

Patrons who are familiar with a musician's repertoire often request songs that they have heard him play before. They will at times ask for a song that the musician has already played that night.

> You don't want to play the numbers twice a night, although sometimes you get requests. See people come in, you get the situation where someone comes in and says, "I want to hear 'Lester'." And we say, "We just played it in the last set." And [they] will say, "Ah come on man," right. So you play it again right. It suffers. I don't want to play it again. The audience doesn't necessarily want to hear it again.[93]

A patron may also ask that a musician play what he considers to be an inappropriate song for the situation in the bar at that time. The request may be for a soft, melodic, introspective song, which is entirely inappropriate in a noisy bar.

> And you're playing that song "Vancouver Morning" in a bar, and Finnigan's is the worst bar. Because you know the little inner room where the musicians play. Well you get five or six, you get a table of people in there laughing and talking. We had a hockey team come in there one night. And somebody outside asked for "Vancouver Morning." And I said I really didn't want to play it. And they said, "Ah come on." And I said, "Okay I'll do it." And like you sing this song and you're laying your soul right out there. And it's like, roars of laughter and talking. And people right in the middle of the song yelling

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[93]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4562.

> out for, you know, sing, "Irish Eyes are Smiling." It's cutting you to pieces, it's terrible.[94]

It pleases a performer when a patron requests a song that he regularly plays, especially if it is an original tune like "Vancouver Morning" or "Lester." However, as in the two situations above, the song is not always appropriate to the atmosphere in the bar at that moment and the performer must choose between playing the song and pleasing the patron or following his better judgement and playing another tune.

Just as musicians anticipate and perform certain types of music for particular groups, so do they anticipate requests from individuals. When a musician "receives repeated requests for one song from one individual . . . the singer begins to identify the song as 'Joe's song'," [95] that is, with the individual who continually asks for it. In time the patron need no longer ask for the song since it becomes in effect an "anticipated request" and will be played by the musician whenever the individual is present.

After hearing a musician perform "Long Black Veil" at Bridgett's, "Ed," a devoted fan, requested the song whenever this musician performed. After a while the musician would play it without being asked. As Ed put it, "Whenever I would walk into a bar where Martin was

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[94] MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4562.

[95] Casey et al., p. 400.

playing, 'Long Black Veil' would be the next song he'd play."

The musician makes the assumption, based on previous experience, that an individual will enjoy hearing a song. The bargoer, by turning towards the performer, giving him his full attention, and later thanking or complimenting him on his rendition, reinforces the performer's expectation. The performer, knowing that an individual enjoys a particular song, may, in fact, wait until that person is present--especially if he is a fan/friend in regular attendance--before playing it. If he has already performed the song he might play it again.

Some musicians believe that any type of suggestion --perhaps with the exception of his original material--is an overt attempt to control his performance.

> People think that just because you play an instrument, if they name a song you can just, bang, play it. Even if you could, I don't know if you would anyway. I mean, I'm not put on stage just to play the songs that these people want to hear. I'm there to entertain them as best I can. But I think if you want to play music on a non-commercial level you have to get up there and do your own thing. You have to play your music the way you want to. And if you do it well people will be entertained anyway no matter what kind of garbage they like.[96]

The notion that "I'm not put on stage just to play the songs that these people want to hear," addresses a dilemma that all musicians experience, that is, how much control over the performance should the audience be allowed

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[96]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4567.

to exert. In the previous chapter, performing in a bar was characterized as both a service occupation and an artistic endeavour. Becker notes that:

> Service occupations are, in general, distinguished by the fact that the worker in them comes into more or less direct personal contact with the ultimate consumer of the product of his work, the client for whom he performs the service.[97]

As a consequence the client, in this case the bar patron, will attempt to direct the performer and may "apply sanctions of various kinds, ranging from informal pressure to the withdrawal of his patronage in the conferring of it on some others of the many people who perform the service."[98]

While the patron might not see it as such--and the musician himself may not see it as inevitably and essentially negative--the making of a request is indeed an attempt at controlling or at least directing the performance for a brief moment. The effectiveness of a request in altering the performance is dependent upon four factors: the receptiveness of the musician to the suggestion, the extent of his repertoire, the degree of structure to his performance, and his musical competence.

A musician's receptiveness to playing requests is determined by his conception of himself as a performer and

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[97]Howard S. Becker, "The Professional Jazz Musician and his Audience," in The Sounds of Social Change, ed. R. Serge Denisoff and Richard A. Peterson (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), p. 248.

[98]Becker, p. 248.

by the manner in which the request is made. Some performers dislike any type of request, while others will quite happily play requests, and, in fact, "feed off" this type of interaction, as long as they are made in an appropriate manner. A drunken cry to play "That'll be the Day" may well be ignored, though it might eventually be performed if only to keep the patron quiet.

Obviously, a musician can only play a request if he knows the song. One musician explained that he hated getting requests. "Well mainly because I usually can't play them."[99] Another commented that it was much easier when playing in a group since one of the members would probably know the song.

If a musician's performance is highly structured, he is less apt to play requests. Performers frequently have a specific sequence of songs for each set based upon rigid criteria which consider three major factors: tempo, key and source.[100] Performers prefer to mix such factors; they will change tempo from song to song, play numbers in different keys and perform various artists' songs. As one musician explained, "If you play several songs in a row in the same key, after a while they all start to sound the same to the audience."[101] Similarly, if a musician performs a number of songs by the same songwriter or in the

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[99]MUNFLA, Tape, 79-597/C4558.

[100]Personal conversation with Peter Narváez, 16 November 1980.

[101]Personal conversation with Peter Narváez, 16 November 1980.

same tempo, they are apt to sound much the same.

The Crooked Stovepipe, a bluegrass group that has been playing together for several years will play requests that are not generally part of their repertoire. If one or two members of the band know the song, or if they all know it but have not performed it together, they may be willing to ad lib. Their informal style and ease with repertoire, which comes from years of experience performing together, allow them to perform a variety of requests. In contrast, the newly formed rock 'n' roll band Marty and the Marginals, who have developed a tight stage presentation, will not attempt to do any numbers that they have not previously arranged. They will play requests but as one of the group members jokingly said one night while I was at Martha's, "We have a request and we're actually going to play it, but only because it's part of our repertoire."

Finally, the degree of a performer's musical competence may well determine the way he treats requests. Some musicians are able to perform numbers that they have not previously played because of their familiarity with chord sequences, tunes, and rhythms. They might be able to accompany someone on a song that they have never heard before if they have an extensive knowledge of song types. Other musicians, who are less experienced or who have not developed this skill, are unable to fulfill such requests.

In summary, the offer of a gift drink and the making of a request are focusing strategies employed by

patrons in order to establish personal contact with musicians. While it is, perhaps, the most general of bar rituals, the purchase of a gift drink assumes various meanings. First and foremost, the patron wishes to make some type of personal contact with the musician. In doing so, he might want to show his appreciation of the performance, attempt to engage the musician in a conversation, or use the drink to ask for or to thank the musician for playing a request. The musician must correctly anticipate the patron's motives and needs, graciously accepting the drink without leaving himself open for unwanted encounters. At the same time, the musician must gauge his alcohol consumption in order to remain sober enough to perform competently. The making of a request is similarly used in making personal contact with the musician, and as with the gift drink, the implementation of such a strategy takes on various meanings. It can be used to communicate appreciation or to comment upon the musical performance; taken at face value it can simply mean that the patron wishes to hear a particular song. Unlike the gift drink, the making of a request is also a method by which a patron can exert a measure of control over the performance, and, thus, directly influence the performance. The performer's response is determined by his attitude to requests in general, his repertoire, the structure of his performance and his degree of musical competence.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Certainly folklorists have always loved and studied music. The plethora of books and papers examining tunes, texts, and the people who create and perform them attests to this. The demand for greater attention to context and the growing interest in the performance-centred approach to folklore have resulted in an increasing emphasis upon the relationships that develop between performers and their audiences and upon their interaction. Following this trend in folkloristic scholarship, I have dealt in this study with the occupational folklore and folklife of bar musicians in St. John's.

Rather than centring upon a musical genre or individual performer, I chose as my focus, a locus: the bar as a performance context. Accordingly, I examined the relationships and behaviour that emerged in bars from the point of view of musicians who performed in them.

I had a number of objectives in this study: to describe the way in which performers and their audiences interact; to demonstrate how folklore behaviour is utilized within such interactions to initiate, control, and terminate encounters; to examine the way in which musicians' narratives inform upon their attitudes, occupational techniques, and

strategies.

I did not, therefore, focus upon music per se. Repertoire was examined as it was used by performers to maintain expressive control. Individual songs and musical genres were, thus, considered under the rubric of occupational strategy.

In reaching my objectives I found it necessary to establish a descriptive backdrop upon which an interactional analysis could be built. Accordingly, Chapters III and IV offered descriptions of the performance contexts, and the attitudes and expectations of the performers, patrons, and managements.

Chapter III, primarily directed towards providing a description of the bars, dealt with their types, physical structure, clientele, and managements. I concluded that since the bars were neither designed nor promoted as performance contexts, their physical structure and socializing atmosphere tended to inhibit rather than enhance performance. However, even though the conditions for performance were not ideal, for lack of better opportunities and because of an intense desire to perform, musicians accepted gigs in them. Further, it was observed that the introduction of musicians into the bars significantly altered the ambience, reducing the frequency and duration of attendance of the older, working class, male regulars who had previously established the bars as their home territories. Concurrently, the presence of musicians encouraged a new, younger clientele to patronize

the bars.

Chapter IV was intended to illustrate the identities of the performers in an occupational sense. Bar performers, like other persons in occupations dealing with the public, are essentially middlemen in that they must contend both with their employers and their customers.

Musicians were hired to perform a service: to provide entertainment for the patrons' drinking pleasure. However, while musicians knew that they were hired to entertain, first and foremost, they saw themselves as artists. Thus, they needed the license to express themselves as they saw fit. Whether a musician believed his role to be that of a provider of background music, or that of the principal actor and main focal point in the bar, he expected the social and physical conditions to be conducive to fulfilling his role. Since his expectations were rarely met, there were two areas of potential conflict involving the three segments of interaction. These were performer/management and performer/audience. Each segment had his own definition of the bar context, which coincided with his personal motivations for being there, and which was directly influenced by his previous experiences in bars, with musicians, and with audiences.

In order to clarify the difference between what performers ideally wanted from what in all probability occurred, I defined two types of expectations: personal and occupational. Personal expectations spoke of the ideal conditions for performance and related directly to musicians'

conceptions of their role in the bar. Occupational expectations spoke of the reality of the situation: the full gamut of patrons' and managements' behaviour. Based upon personal experience, occupational expectations served to explicate the ethnographic reality.

Chapter V examined this reality. The structure of a gig was outlined, describing the basic pattern and flow of action each night. Performer/audience relationships and interaction were subsequently described through an analysis of audience categories and focusing strategies.

A pattern emerged throughout musicians' statements concerning their personal expectations and in their stories of actual occurrences in the bars. This pattern revealed the divergence between the ideal and the reality. While the occasional narrative spoke of a "great" night in which the conditions in the bar were conducive to a fulfilling performance, for the most part, non-narrative discourse was used to explain the ideal conditions for performance. Personal narratives, on the other hand, were more commonly used to explicate the ethnographic reality; they spoke of the occupational hazards. Similarly, musicians gave accounts of the occupational strategies used in dealing with such hazards in narratives. The majority of such narratives were also used to enhance musicians' arguments for establishing ideal conditions by illustrating the negative effects of audience and management behaviour upon performance.

It was demonstrated that musicians had to contend with a number of problems, such as, inattentive audiences, drunks and troublemakers, and insensitive managers. Even those patrons who expressed delight in the performance, for example, drunks, were at times too intense in their involvement, much to the discomfort of the musicians. Other patrons used focusing strategies, such as offering gift drinks or making requests, to show their appreciation or to establish personal contact with the musician. In doing so, patrons at times created dilemmas for the performer: the drink might have been one too many, yet to refuse it would be an insult; the song may have been inappropriate to the moment, yet the musician might feel obliged to play it.

In order to deal with such occupational hazards, bar musicians drew upon their behavioural repertoire and enacted occupational strategies which allowed them to remain in control of their performance. Such strategies were patterned responses to recurrent situations in the bars and were as much a part of work technique as, for example, learning to operate the PA system. Occupational strategies provided emotional support for the musician. Characterizing the audience as ignorant or directing the performance inward, for example, allowed musicians to disregard the ego-destroying inattention and negative feedback of the audience. Other strategies, such as deriding a troublemaker through the use of a song or cutting short a song to stop the approach of a dancing drunk, allowed the musician to manipulate or stop

such individuals, maintain audience attention, and retain control of his performance. Thus, occupational strategies included a number of techniques which aided musicians in the maintenance of expressive control.

Musicians enact occupational strategies in order to control the disruptive or potentially disruptive behaviour of bargoers. Thus, the strategies deal with what are essentially the negative aspects of performing in bars. Accordingly, when musicians speak of the ways in which they handle the audience they describe those actions which hinder their performance. Thus, strategies are occupational techniques which are enacted during crisis situations. As was suggested by one musician, the magic of the performance, which cannot be articulated, is destroyed by a drunk's behaviour.[1]

Each musician whom I interviewed spoke of the pleasure and satisfaction which is the essence of playing music; they would not do it otherwise. It is a difficult experience to articulate. Some called it magic, others transcendence, still others deep performance. It is achieved in bars when performers can communicate so well with their audience that they can completely immerse themselves in their music.

There are many aspects of this occupation which need further investigation. While I have been concerned primarily with performer/audience relationships and interaction, such areas as musicians' private interaction, rehearsals,

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[1]See page 213.

on-the-road behaviour, personal aesthetics, repertoire development, performance style, the interaction of musicians as they perform on stage, and the levels of performance that can be reached in the bar context are crucial fields of research.

To many, a bar without a musician is an empty bar. I go to bars to socialize and to listen to music. I choose the bars that I go to for the musician who is performing. While many bargoers seem to be uninterested in the performance and the performer, there are always those who pay rapt attention to the music, those who are moved by the music, those who cannot keep from rocking in their seats, tapping their feet to the beat, and watching the performer. Many might not understand the occupational techniques, but they are still touched by the emotions that are displayed, excited by the energy that is created and inspired by the words, rhythms, and melodies that compose the songs.

Music is very accessible in this society. All one has to do is turn on the radio, the television, or put on a record or a tape. Musicians are not so accessible. We have our stars who appear on these media, or who, if we are lucky, will come and perform to an audience made up of thousands of fans. And we have our local musicians who perform around town in the bars. A song on a record is in essence only half a song. A song performed by a musician who is standing ten feet away comes alive. You can watch his hands, you can watch his feet, you can watch his face,

and sometimes all of this becomes the music.

There are those rare moments when a musician is transported by his music; he becomes his music. These moments are not planned, nor are they rehearsed, but when it happens the audience can sense it and they, too, are transported. This is a crucial reason why many musicians perform. He can achieve this transcendence in his room, playing to himself; he can achieve it in a room full of strangers, and when this happens he has given the audience something beautiful. It is my hope that if a bar musician were to read this study he would see himself as a valued person in this community.

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-------. "Interview with Terry Rielly." St. John's, August 3, 1979. MUNFLA, 79-597/C4569.

-------. "Interview with Neil V. Rosenberg." St. John's, September 11, 1979. MUNFLA, 79-597/C4570.

-------. "Interview with Anna Kearney." St. John's, March 11, 1980. MUNFLA, 79-597/C4871-C4872.

Unrecorded Interviews and Conversations

Fraser, Ingrid Ann. "Conversation with Louis Chiaramonte." February 20, 1980.

-------. "Interview with Paul Kelly." May 5, 1980.

-------. "Conversation with Martin Laba." February 6, 1980.

-------. "Conversation with Peter Narváez." November 14, 1979.

-------. "Conversation with Peter Narváez." May 16, 1980.

-------. "Conversation with Peter Narváez." September 16, 1980.

-------. "Conversation with Peter Narváez." October 17, 1980.

-------. "Conversation with Peter Narváez." November 14,1980.

-------. "Conversation with Peter Narváez." November 16,1980.

-------. "Conversation with Neil V. Rosenberg." December 2, 1978.

APPENDIX A

MAJOR INFORMANTS

Scott Goudie
Born: 1955
Birthplace: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal place of residence: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal occupation: Visual artist

Bryan Hennessey
Born: ca. 1948
Birthplace: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal place of residence: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal occupation: Musician

Ron Hynes
Born: 1950
Birthplace: Ferryland, Nfld.
Principal place of residence: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal occupation: Musician

Anna Kearney
Born: 1953
Birthplace: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal place of residence: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal occupation: Field worker for Newfoundland Museum

Martin Laba
Born: 1950
Birthplace: Toronto, Ont.
Principal place of residence: Toronto, Ont.
Principal occupation: University professor

Peter Narváez
Born: 1942
Birthplace: Brooklyn, N.Y.
Principal place of residence: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal occupation: University professor

Dennis Parker
Born: 1946
Birthplace: England
Principal place of residence: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal occupation: Musician

John Parsons
Born: 1958
Birthplace: Halifax, N.S.
Principal place of residence: Halifax, N.S.
Principal occupation: Teacher

Terry Rielly
Born: 1949
Birthplace: Ottawa, Ont.
Principal place of residence: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal occupation: Musician

Neil Rosenberg
Born: 1939
Birthplace: Seattle, Wash.
Principal place of residence: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal occupation: University professor

Glen Tilley
Born: 1951
Birthplace: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal place of residence: St. John's, Nfld.
Principal occupation: Musician