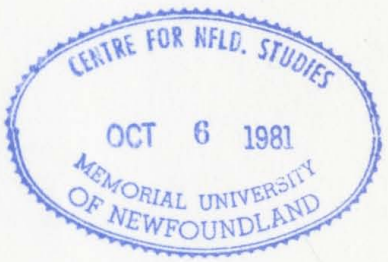
"I'M A PROFESSIONAL, BUT I'M NOT ON RECORDS": THE REFLECTION OF A PERFORMER'S SELF-IMAGE IN HIS REPERTOIRE

ROBERT McBETH SWACKHAMMER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"I'M A PROFESSIONAL, BUT I'M NOT ON RECORDS": THE REFLECTION OF A PERFORMER'S SELF-IMAGE IN HIS REPERTOIRE

by

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the life and repertoire of Frank Squires, a musician and story teller who lives in a small community on the Atlantic coast of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula. Frank learned his repertoire from traditional sources and contemporary media: with it he establishes and communicates his identity. This study examines Frank's goals in performance, the value and meaning he places on his music and his self-image as a musician, by looking at his life-history accounts and conversations about music, and by describing several of our experiences together. Frank's self-image as a tradition bearer and as a professional musician is reflected in his selection, conception and use of his repertoire.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One contains an introduction to the study and a discussion of techniques in life-history and repertoire studies.

Chapter Two is a chronological account of Frank Squires' life history, highlighting episodes in which he acquired his musical repertoire and developed his performance technique.

In Chapter Three the interpretation of the life-history accounts continues, but the focus shifts from historical commentary to analysis of the narratives' thematic content, illustrating the value and meaning the music has for Frank.

Chapter Four is a more detailed analysis of Frank's musical repertoire. The terminology and taxonomy he uses to order his repertoire are seen to parallel Frank's use of and technical approach to the various elements of the repertoire.

Learning practices which have influenced Frank's performance practices are discussed in Chapter Five, in terms of the need for an appropriate audience response to the performance. His music and performance practices are slowly changing within an expanding musical community and new performance situations; these changes are discussed.

In Chapter Six, Frank's musical career is compared to the careers of other Newfoundland musicians, and seen in terms of a regional model of the operation of folk and country music in eastern Canada.

Chapter Seven is the study's conclusion, which reiterates the personal and situational factors seen influencing the selection and use of Frank Squires' repertoire, and the ways Frank uses both the narrative and musical content of his repertoire to communicate a personal identity.

I believe every fiddle player, when they're playing, they're expressing their past, present and what they might have been.

Wilson Douglass, fiddler
Clay County, West Virginia
1977

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is the result of a collaboration, directly and indirectly, between myself and many people.

The authors and editors of the books and periodicals which have informed me, I gratefully cite in footnotes and bibliography. It is technically more difficult to give proper and sufficient credit to the other friends and helpers who offered references, ideas and improvements, or just listened patiently while I tried out half-formed thoughts and sentences. Some of these people, too, I can mention in footnotes, but much of their help was more far reaching than a citation can cover.

I say special thanks to Frank and Shirley Squires, and sons Francis, Leo and Max;

to my wife Cheryl Ray, and housemates Peter Gard, Penny Holden and Ray Cox;

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to Dean F.A. Aldrich and the School of Graduate Studies, for financial support;

to Paul Mercer, who even though writing his own thesis and holding down a full-time job, always took time to find a reference, talk over problems, buy me coffee, share a song, loan me money and generally be a very good friend.

This thesis is for Frank; I hope it respects his trust and represents him fairly to the reader.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF A LIFE HISTORY AND REPERTOIRE

This thesis studies the life history and folkloric repertoire of Frank Squires, a 49-year-old fiddler, accordionist, guitar player, singer and story teller, living in the small coastal community of Witless Bay, 35 kilometres south of St. John's, Newfoundland.[1] (See photograph one) It sets out to describe how one man selects, thinks about and uses what he has learned from traditional sources and contemporary media. The study illustrates how Frank Squires uses his repertoire to establish and communicate personal identity.

Frank Squires is a local community entertainer, with a personal style, repertoire and role, but without widespread commercial success or stylistic influence. He is a participant in a regional musical tradition; a study of his life and music illustrates an individual's response to the cultural processes of which he and his private tradition are a part. Because his musical environment and Frank's participation in it are changing, this is a study of performance practices and a repertoire in process.

I. Narrative and musical aspects in Frank's repertoire

Although Frank thinks of himself as primarily a musician, not a story teller, his conversations contain life-history accounts, reminis-

cences, memorates, anecdotes and legends.[2] Discovering the values and concerns expressed in these narratives provides insight into Frank's instrumental music, which does not have a "language" open to such investigation. Frank's expressed goals in musical performance and his descriptions of instrumental music are used to understand dimensions of his personal expression. The narrative and musical aspects of Frank's repertoire are seen here as different representations of the same expression; the two forms are both reflexive and reflective of the one man's experience, values, purposes and self-image.

Selected portions of transcribed fieldwork interviews are used to explain and exemplify Frank's repertoire and episodes of his life history. Particular attention is paid in this study to repertoire items which occur frequently, as they are refined and formalized through use. I believe such re-use and formalization indicates that an item matches a performer's expectations of proper and appropriate presentation, and is, or has been, successful in achieving his purposes. In this study the meaning such items have for Frank are examined in order to understand his goals.

II. The context of a repertoire

The content and use of a performer's repertoire reflect the life--past and present--of that performer. The content mirrors the circumstances of time and place in which the repertoire was learned. The previous history of the performer has shaped the values, conceptions and emotions which influence his contemporary practices.

Repertoire presentation is sensitive also to the on-going performance

situation. There is an "external context"--of time and place and factors such as performer-audience relationships--which affect the selection of the repertoire material performed and the manner of presentation.[3] An "internal context" of the presentation is simultaneously formed by the performer's attitudes--toward his repertoire material, toward his role as a performer and his evaluation of the performance.

III. Self-presentation in performance

The "internal context" is intimately tied to the performer's personality, his purposes in acquiring a repertoire and his goals in performance. As performance responds to this internal context, the presentation of a repertoire item becomes part of the performer's presentation of self.[4] Self-presentational and self-definitional features are particularly visible in folklore performance which is 1) invested with the personal commitment of responsibility for the maintenance of a tradition, and 2) having special significance for self-image and role-identity, as such expression will be seen to have for Frank Squires.

By "performance" I mean something more than Frank Squires' on-stage appearances as a musician. I view his presentation of self through life-history accounts, memorates and other forms of conversation as aspects of folkloric performance. It is not necessary here to rely on "frame analysis" to distinguish performance from other modes of communication, nor to rank some "performances" more "authentic or authoritative" than others.[5] Those parts of conversation not highlighted by stylistic

or framing markers, as are some folklore forms and genres, operate for the same self-presentational purposes as the highlighted forms.

When narrative and musical performance are considered together, the presentation of self is a common and unifying feature of both repertoire forms. This allows insights gained from one genre to provide understanding of the other. Any study of the factors influencing the selection and use of a folklore repertoire must give attention to and gain information from self-expression within the entire range of performance.

IV. Influences on repertoire selection and use

There are many factors influencing the acquisition and use of a repertoire. This study deals in particular with four of these factors. It examines:

1) Frank Squires' response to the musical and social milieu in which he developed his repertoire;

2) Frank's self-expressed motivation for becoming a performing musician, as it relates to the sources from which he took his repertoire and to his use of the repertoire for self-expression;

3) Frank's conceptualization of the repertoire items in terms of structure, content and symbolic meaning is discussed; this study looks at Frank's manipulation of these structures and meanings in response to his motivating purposes;

4) the final influencing factor discussed here is learning practices and judgements made concerning audience response which Frank uses to determine the success or failure of his efforts to fulfill his purposes.

V. Life history-repertoire studies

Life history-repertoire studies are well represented in folkloristic literature, especially in the area of music study; in recent years a number of dissertations and theses in Folklore and related disciplines have dealt with the topic.[6] Repertoire studies have sought to detail the performer's creative manipulation of his material, to connect life-history crises and successes to item selection and performance style, and to follow the operation of a musical tradition in a contemporary commercial-music environment.[7]

Biographical and autobiographical sketches of fiddlers are numerous, yet few are done with folkloristic concerns foremost. Most are discographical and historical accounts which attempt to find the place of the fiddler in his social or commercial context. The majority of studies are designed to illustrate the fiddler's contribution to or maintenance of some regional, cultural or commercial fiddling tradition.[8] While it is important to understand the historical development of the content and styles of the musical milieu in which the performer participates, more to the point for this study are the non-technical, emotional associations which tie a performer to his personal culture, community and repertoire.[9]

The majority of fiddlers written about in previous studies have been recognized experts and innovators; many were influential, commercially successful musicians whose music has wide distribution. Few studies consider the observation of folkmusic collector Pat Dunford, that exceptional musicians are not found in every community and to present them as typical of folkmusic in general is wrong.

If one was to present a true picture of American

> traditional music, he would have to locate about 18 dozen second and third-rate musicians for every one first-rate musician. He would have to present a square dance fiddler who knows about five or six numbers and about as many violin notes. 10

Commercially successful, influential musicians need to be studied.[11] But equally important are those musicians who are successful only in their local musical communities, no matter how technically proficient they may or may not be according to "outside" standards and aesthetics.

One short work which illustrates the study of such a performer is musician Hedy West's biographical/autobiographical collaboration with Clay County, West Virginia fiddler, Wilson Douglass.[12] She portrays Douglass not as a fiddler of extraordinary skill or influence, but rather as exceptional in his intense love of and dedication to the music. The article, a series of edited transcriptions, provides only a brief analysis of the technical aspects of Douglass' playing--enough to help identify his stylistic traditions. The quotations are chosen to give a picture of Douglass' life, music and aesthetics; no explanation is needed to clarify Douglass' attitudes, other than his own statements:

> The fiddle was my choice, because it's beautiful. --I believe every fiddle player when they're playing they're expressing their past, present and what they might have been. 13

This thesis also attempts to avoid concern with "star" status, by studying the life of a "common" man. "Common" is a word Frank uses to describe himself, and does not belittle his importance within his musical community. Frank is a unique performer, with his own style, role and repertoire. He plays a number of instruments, and has a large repertoire over a wide range of musical styles. He is an example of the

many local community entertainers who provide the music for parties, concerts and dances within their immediate social network; a single participant within a musical tradition. His importance lies in his attempt to maintain this tradition, not in influential stylistic innovation or popular commercial success. As a folklorist, I am interested in the special use and adaption each individual makes of his culture for personal expression. This study of Frank's use of folklore forms and processes illustrates how one man, in a large tradition, can create and communicate his own unique identity.

Life-history documentation and repertoire study may fall into two major mistakes. On the one hand there is the mistake of relying too heavily upon analysis, when the person being written about becomes lost in the researcher's commentary. In over-reaction to this possibility, there is the mistake of allowing the oral history document to stand totally by itself, without comment, for fear of misrepresenting the informant. In a review of Robin Morton's biography/autobiography of Irish traditional singer John MacGuire, Henry Glassie suggests the use of the informant-centred material without comment is superior to the investigator-centred analytical approach, exemplified by his own prior study of a singer, Dorrance Weir.[14] Glassie maintains that a monograph directed at why a singer sings the songs he does and not others, carries the author into biographical and psychological considerations that are difficult to face while the singer and his family are alive. He suggests that such psychologizing as is necessary can be done without fear by researchers such as Edward Ives, who examines the lives and work of song writers long dead.

Ives' speculation on the character and personality of the song writers he studies goes no further than evidence allows.[15] Ives has had a long experience of the tradition he studies and the society in which that tradition operates. Because of his genuine affection for and sympathy with the material and his informants, Ives is able to present an objective view which represents the material fairly, and a subjective evaluation of the tradition, producing studies of high academic value and great human interest.

Morton had an association with his informant long enough that he felt himself competent to edit, without comment, MacGuire's conversations to accurately present the man's opinions and personality. Morton's understanding of MacGuire would be equally valid were it to be expressed in a less subtle form of commentary than his editing, since that understanding has been shaped through their continuing relationship. However, the book is about MacGuire, not Morton, and Morton remains, by choice, in the background.

It is "sympathy" in the sense of "feeling together," which allows Ives and Morton to do their work successfully. Glassie, by contrast, is dissatisfied with his approach to and commentary on Weir's song writing. Glassie was not sufficiently familiar with the man and his life-situation, and brought to bear on the investigation considerations formed in an academic worldview inappropriate for the worldview under study. I find little sympathy with the informant and his opinions evident in the monograph. Perhaps because of his own dissatisfaction, Glassie has changed his approach. He has recently written, "studying man must become a compassionate exploration for significance in

existance, an art centred on human qualities," a sympathetic attempt to understand the conditions of experience which shape the world of self and others, to see the generative principles behind cultural and personal works.[16]

In the interview situation of folkloristic fieldwork, the relationship which permits successful dialogue is an aid to the necessary "feeling together" of informant and researcher. In an on-going fieldwork situation, both the informant and the fieldworker can gain emotional and intellectual knowledge of the other person as he presents himself in the relationship.[17] It is on this principle of sympathetic dialogue in participatory fieldwork that research for this thesis is based.

The thesis is on a different level of discourse than Morton's Come Day, Go Day on MacGuire. I cannot remain in the background as an annotator and editor of transcriptions. The intrinsic evidence generated from the structure and content of Frank's conversations must be presented with my subjective interpretation and analysis. However, as William Filstead suggests, "according to the phenomenological paradigm, the actor is the principal source of information about his social world. Therefore it is essential to learn how social actors construct explanations of their world."[18] For that reason, this study centres on Frank Squires' own account of his music and life history.

The following chapter provides a biographical sketch of Frank Squires' musical experiences, highlighting episodes in which he chose his repertoire. The biography suggests factors influential in Frank's choice of musical repertoire and performance practices and illustrates experiences important to the formation of his value system.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1]Primary documentation for this thesis consists of a series of sound and video tapes and photographs of Frank in his home, at community concerts and at regional folk festivals. Fieldnotes made on my personal experiences and conversations with Frank, at home, at house parties, dances and on the telephone (where tape recording was not appropriate or possible) form important secondary sources. The complete set of fieldwork tapes and transcriptions, including fieldnotes and documentary artifacts with a set of photographs, are on file with the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA), under accession number 77-101.

Each MUNFLA collection is given a master accession number with which all material in the collection is marked. Each fieldrecording is designated with its own number, preceeded by the letter "F" according to the archive shelf list. Each tape citation in this thesis provides the MUNFLA accession and F-tape number.

My collecting numbering system is also provided. It indicates the order in which the tapes were made and the place on the fieldtape from which the quotation comes. For example, RMS 77-2(a), indicates the first side of the second tape recorded with Frank in 1977. The date of the taping is added after each citation. A master concordance of MUNFLA and RMS numbers is on file with the tape transcriptions, MUNFLA 77-101.

Transcription conventions used in this study are:

1) square brackets indicate editorial gloss or explanation;

2) round brackets contain descriptions of sounds on the tape;

3) three dots indicate ellipses of false starts or digressions of less than one sentence by the speaker, or a short interjection by another person which does not stop the flow of the conversation;

4) descending three dots indicate ellipses of a digression in the conversation of more than a sentence but less than a page of transcription, usually about two minutes of conversation;

5) punctuation and paragraphing attempt to follow the verbal punctuation of pauses and drops in voice tone, or an obvious change in topic.

6) no attempt has been made to render "dialect" pronounciation of common words. One exception is the use of "cordine" for "accordion," a common Newfoundland pronounciation, as is the occasional use of "bye" for boy.

[2]The terms memorate and reminiscence are not meant to be exclusive categories in this study, however for convenience memorate will be used to refer specifically to first-hand personal experience narratives; reminiscence will refer to a more general, "what it was like in the old days," story. Each may contain the other, in practice.

For a summary of oral narrative forms and definitions followed in this study, see Linda Dégh, "Oral Narrative," in Folklore and Folklife, An Introduction, ed. Richard M. Dorson, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 53-83.

[3]For a Newfoundland study of repertoire categorization and performer-audience relationships, see George Casey, Neil V. Rosenberg and Wilfred W. Wareham, "Repertoire Categorization and Performer Audience Relationships: Some Newfoundland Folksong Examples," Ethnomusicology, 16 (1972), 397-403.

[4]A complete discussion of the dimensions of the presentation of self is found in Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959).

[5]Richard Bauman, "Verbal Art as Performance," American Anthropologist, 77 (1975), 291-293; Del Hymes, "Breakthrough into Performance," in Folklore Performance and Communication, eds. Dan Ben-Amos and Kenneth S. Goldstein, (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1975), pp. 16, 18.

[6]Such works concerning fiddlers include articles by Francis O'Neill, Patrick Shuldham-Shaw, books by Jean Thomas, and thesis and dissertations by Malvin Artley, David Parker Bennett, Cecil Warner Calhoun and Burt Howard Feintuch, listed in the bibliography.

[7]Such studies include articles by Frederick Danker, Kenneth S. Goldstein and James J. McDonald, listed in the bibliography.

[8]See Michael Mendelson, "A Bibliography of Fiddling in North America," in six parts, John Edwards Memorial Foundation Quarterly, 11.38 (1975), 104-111; 11.39 (1975), 153-160; 11.40 (1975), 201-204; 12.41 (1976), 9-14; 12.43 (1976), 158-165; 13.46 (1977), 88-95. See also the cumulative bibliography of The Devil's Box, in the fourth (December) issue of each volume; any current issue of Bluegrass Unlimited, The Journal of Country Music, Old Time Music, Traditional Music contain studies of and interviews with fiddlers.

[9]These emotional associations may be considered to form part of the performer's aesthetic. See Michael Owen Jones, "The Concept of 'Aesthetic' in the Traditional Arts," Western Folklore, 30 (1971), 77-104.

[10]Pat Dunford, jacket notes to Traditional Music for Banjo, Fiddle and Bagpipes: Franklin George of Bluefield, West Virginia, with John Summers of Maria, Indiana, recorded by Pat Dunford, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, Kanawah 397, (1967). This reference was provided by Neil V. Rosenberg.

[11]Examples of studies of influential musicians in a commercial context include works by Charles R. Townsend, Lester B. Sellick and Roger M. Williams, listed in the bibliography. For a study of the influence of commercial musicians on musical traditions, see the work of Bill C. Malone, also in the bibliography.

[12]Wilson Douglass, "Clay County Fiddler: Wilson Douglass, his story as told to Hedy West," Sing Out!, 25:4 (1977), 17-20.

[13]Douglass, "Clay County Fiddler," p. 19.

[14]Henry Glassie, review of Come Day, Go Day, God Send Sunday, by Robin Morton, Folklore Forum, 7 (1974), 147-149; Glassie, "'Take That Night Train to Selma': An Excursion into the Outskirts of Scholarship," in Folksongs and Their Makers, ed. Ray B. Brown, (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Press, n.d.), pp. 1-68.

[15]Edward Ives' books and articles are listed in the bibliography.

[16]Henry Glassie, "Source for a New Anthropology," a review of Wellspring: On the Myth and Source of Culture, by Robert Plant Armstrong, in Book Forum, 2:2 (1976), 70-77.

[17]George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self and Society, from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist, (1934), ed. Charles M. Morris, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 298ff., 366ff.; Arnold M. Rose, "A Systematic Summary of Symbolic Interaction Theory," in Human Behaviour and Social Processes, An Interactionist Approach, ed. Arnold M. Rose, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962), 3-19. Rose employs "empathy" for a true communication exchange, to distinguish it from sympathy as simply "imagining" being in the other's place.

[18]William J. Filstead, "Sociological Paradigms of Reality," in Phenomenology, Structuralism, Semiology, (The Buchnell Review, April 1976), ed. Harry R. Garvin, (Lewisburg: Buchnell University Press; London: Associated Umiversity Presses, 1976), p. 65.

CHAPTER TWO

EPISODES IN FRANK SQUIRES' CONTINUING MUSICAL BIOGRAPHY

This biography of Frank Squires is based on the stories Frank tells of himself, illustrated with selected transcriptions of our conversations and descriptions of a few of our experiences together. Our common ground is fiddling and music; most of our conversations dealt with these topics. Frank often used his life-history accounts to illustrate points in our discussions. Frank uses such stories in all of his conversations, not just during taped fieldwork interviews. I have heard him tell many of these stories several times.

All the recorded conversations took place in the Squires' kitchen-living room.[1] The room is small, 12 feet by 12 feet, kept very warm by the oil and wood burning stove in the centre of the room, and open to the coming and going of neighbours, friends and pets. We were rarely alone for the interview sessions. At first the presence of neighbours inhibited me. I did not ask certain life-history questions which occurred to me, not knowing how private Frank would wish to be. Later it became clear that the presence of both the Squires' and my friends was the natural situation in which the stories would be told. There has never been a session, formal or informal, at which music has not been played.

During an interview shortly after I met Frank, he told me:

> Life is short really, you know, life is short. If you live to be a hundred years, that's still only short. . . . This is the best part of life: entertainments and enjoyments, you know. You feel like you are on top of

> the world when you get a fiddle, get up in front to a large group of audience, you know. Most of all when they like this type of stuff, you are going to put whatever you got into there, you see. 2

Although Frank laughs, jokes and smiles easily during conversations, it is difficult to see the enjoyment he feels while fiddling. His concentration is so intense he looks like he is frowning. (See photograph two) He becomes focused on the instrument; all of his energy goes into the production of sound. He occasionally looks up, making eye-contact with a listener or the other musicians playing, but his face is almost expressionless. The sound is foremost, not the personality of the fiddler.

Frank has been a musician from an early age, but it was not until he was over 20 that he began seriously to play the guitar and fiddle. As he explains:

> So the reason was, I felt that I should do something for me country and try to keep it alive in the old Newfoundland style, you see. I remember Premier Smallwood, J. R. Smallwood said we mustn't lose our Newfoundland heritage. So I feel as though by playing the fiddle, I feel as though I'm going to keep this alive. 3

Shortly after he began to play, Frank appeared on a televised news programme, made weekly appearances on a country and western radio programme, and became a dance-band musician in the Eastern Avalon Peninsula area. Frank's appearances on radio and television, at local community concerts, dances and house parties, and more recently on the developing Newfoundland folk festival scene, have influenced his choice of repertoire material and his style of playing, as these experiences

both matched and confronted two of his main concerns in life: that of valuing and preserving his vision of Newfoundland's traditional heritage and that of performing for and pleasing an audience with his music. As his past history has shaped his music and performance, so now with new social and musical contacts, Frank's musical repertoire and presentation is continuing to develop and change.

I. Meeting Frank and first hearing his music

Frank's willingness to be interviewed, the ease with which he talked about his music, and his apparent success with his local community audience were the factors which first attracted me to him as a subject for a repertoire-life history study. I met Frank and his wife Shirley at a St. John's Folk Arts Council-sponsored evening "time" in the Witless Bay parish hall, February 1977.[4] Witless Bay is approximately 35 kilometres south of St. John's, on the Atlantic coast of the Avalon Peninsula, (the "Southern Shore"). I had gone to the time with a group of Memorial University students and friends. Some of these people had done fieldwork in the area and helped organize the entertainment with the local Folk Arts Council, gathering performers and supplying and operating the sound system. A few of us performed, but the majority of the entertainers and all the audience but ourselves were Southern Shore residents, about 250 people.[5] During the show Frank played several tunes on the fiddle and the accordion, as a soloist and to accompany some young step dancers. After the concert was officially over he borrowed a guitar and sang some Hank Williams songs, at the encouragement of a group of teenagers who were waiting around and apparently wanted some more

music other than the older Newfoundland traditional music which had, for the most part, filled the evening's entertainment.

Frank is a slightly-built man, about five-foot-five; he is outgoing and friendly. Before the show began I walked over to the corner of the stage where he was unpacking and tuning his fiddle. He immediately introduced himself, shook my hand, and we began talking. His young son, Max, then five years old, brought out my fiddle case from behind the curtain where we were standing. Frank seemed surprised that I was a fiddle player, but when he practiced a bit of "St. Anne's Reel," and I recognized it, my credentials seemed to be established.[6] He began to tell me about his appearance on CBC television in Cape Breton, when he played "St. Anne's Reel" with a band called the Cape Breton Western Playboys.

Frank and I didn't talk long that evening, but I did sit for a while with Shirley, who was taking pictures with an old Kodak Brownie camera, and I was introduced to a few of their friends. Both Frank and Shirley seemed eager for me to visit their home; Frank was pleased I wanted to record and talk about his music.

That evening I heard the basic elements of all of Frank's music. Frank played fiddle tunes from the standard repertoire of North American fiddling, but all the tunes I recognized have been recorded by popular Canadian fiddlers--"Rubber Dolly," "Boil Them Cabbage Down," "Big John McNeil," and "St. Anne's Reel."[7] He played the fiddle without accompaniment, in short bursts of tunes--not medleys but brief, separate items presented one after the other with a definite opening and closing statement to each tune. The melodic contours of his renditions of well-known tunes did

not always match the versions I knew. All were played in a strong driving rhythm with a forceful, tense bowing-arm motion. Clothespins on the bridge of his fiddle deadened the melodic tone and emphasised the rhythm. In his bowing, a saw stroke or shuffle-bow rhythm predominated, accompanied with drones and double-stops.[8] Frank stood still as he played. There seemed to me to be a strong southern-mountain American old-timey fiddling influence in his use of drones and shuffle rhythms, with none of the lighter touch, ornamented, single-note fiddling which characterizes much of eastern Canadian and Maritime fiddling.[9]

When playing accordion, Frank's tunes lasted longer, often for as long as the dancers felt like dancing. In rhythm and melody these tunes more closely approximated the sound of Newfoundland dance music with which I was just becoming acquainted.

The audience was attentive. If one person started clapping in time to the fiddle and accordion, most followed. The dancers seemed to dance more easily to his accordion playing than they did to another local accordionist who played that evening. No one danced to his fiddle music.

When the concert was over and most of the adult audience had left, a few young teenagers would not let Frank go without singing a song. He obviously wanted to sing and had asked me earlier if he could borrow the guitar of a friend. Because there was not enough time, Frank did not sing during the concert, but was waiting at the end of the show to sing through the microphones even though the audience had left. He did not need much encouragement from the teenagers to start, and sang several songs he introduced as "Hank Williams songs."[10]

Frank's guitar playing was common three-chord country and western

styling, played with a flat-pick.[11] The melodies of the songs matched those I knew more closely than his fiddling matched the tunes I recognized. His singing was high-pitched, at the upper end of his range, and tight-throated, not unlike the singing voice of southern Anglo-American traditional singers who pitch their voices as high as the tune will allow.[12] Frank stood to play the fiddle and sing; he sat down to play the accordion. He was obviously "in his element" and presented a strong, eager performance, placing himself properly within range of the microphones, as if experienced with the technology.

I saw Frank as an interesting and unique performer, with command of a wide-range of musical styles and instruments, incorporating traditional and contemporary material. He was friendly and willing to be interviewed; I felt that meeting him provided me with an excellent opportunity to learn more about Newfoundland music and the role of a local community entertainer.

II. Frank's family traditions and early history

Frank Squires was born in 1930, in St. John's, into a Roman Catholic family with six brothers and five sisters. Frank's mother's grandfather was a tin whistle player and fiddler from Ireland who farmed near St. John's. Although his great-grandfather was dead long before Frank was born, Frank traces some of his musical ability and interest, in part, to him.

> Frank: There are quite a lot of Irish people in Newfoundland that belongs to Ireland. My great-grandfather was from Ireland himself. He was a fiddle player and a tin whistle. I guess that's where I got some of his stuff from, (laughs). 13

Frank's mother often spoke of hearing her grandfather play for dances, parties, or just to pass the time. Frank's attribution of his love of music and musical ability to his great-grandfather might have been suggested to him by me during one of our conversations when I explained my own interest in the fiddle came from a fiddle-playing grandfather. Frank had mentioned his musical Irish ancestors previously without connecting them to his own ability. Yet in the recorded conversation after this, Frank definitely linked ancestry with musical ability and playing style.

> Frank: Now there's, it's said in a book of Scottish dialogue now, you see, his father, his early people all immigrated here from Scotland, you see. And the most all this's picked up from down through the years. In other words, it's passed down from family to family, you see. Na son gets up, he's a good fiddle player; well, he says his father was better than him and his father was better than him. It goes right back down the line. 14

While valuing his Irish ancestry, Frank does not "like" Irish showband-style music or the contemporary Irish singing trios popular in Newfoundland. He connects Irish music more with the accordion than the fiddle. Frank distinguishes between his own music and other kinds, using heritage to define the styles.

> Frank: There's why I never liked Irish tunes, I don't know. Me mother liked them, but I don't. . . . The words are different. They're different. You take an Irish song and a country song, there's two different things altogether, you see. . . .
> My mother is Irish as far as I know. My, my, my father's people, Daddy was a champine step dancer, but he, his forefathers they claim were from England, now, you see.
> Now they have me classed as an Irish fiddler, now

I don't know. If I'm an Irish fiddler it's new to me. Kelly Russell [a young fiddler who appears on regional television and has played with Frank at folk festivals] said I was an Irish fiddler. Said, I guess it must be on my mother's side. But apparently I don't know. I doesn't care too much about Irish anything.

Mac: You'd call yourself what? More a, more a Newfoundland fiddler?

Frank: Ya, right, right, right you are, because Daddy's people, the early people, I would say came from England, see. Now on my mother's side, they're from some part of Ireland, 'cause grandmother, grandmother's mother, father, immigrated here from Ireland in the early days, see, and he used to play the tin whistle and play the fiddle. Now for sure I didn't pick it up from him, see [that is, didn't learn it in person from him] . I said, this is the Newfoundland tradition. This is what I really went for. 15

Frank's father was a step dancer who enjoyed a good time, perhaps a bit too much. He worked as a sealer, as a bridge master of a sealing ship, a farmer and a landscaper in St. John's and, according to Frank, made a substantial wage. However the man began to drink heavily and when he died, at 52 years, left his large family with only a little over forty dollars. Likely because of his father's experience, Frank does not drink and explains often that he spends much of his time "trying to get away from booze," and drinkers.

Despite whatever hardships caused by his father's behaviour, whenever Frank speaks of him, he praises the man. There is an obvious affection in the memory. His father participated in and enjoyed traditional Newfoundland entertainments and employment, two things which Frank values highly.

Frank: Daddy was a step dancer. Wherever you were to,

> if you had any kind of an instrument, you had to get it out to play it, especially if he had a few beers.
>
> This Newfoundland way of life, now. You work hard all the week, see, usually weekends you end up, have a few beers, a few jigs and reels going. Of course, you had no trouble get him out on the floor, you see.
>
> Then I remember, I played to a dance in Ferryland, in Calvert. I'd bring the fiddle, when I had the string band lined up. Everywhere I went Daddy chased me. 'Course we got the jigs and reels going, he was on the floor, you see.
>
> So we did have a great time, in the past. There was no joking. When Dad was with you, you really did have a ball. 'Course the tunes I play, this is what he was reared up with and what he danced to. 16

Frank's stories of his father always deal with the man doing something Frank considers an essential part of the old Newfoundland way of life: drinking, step dancing, rowing and sealing. He establishes for his father an irrefutable set of Newfoundland credentials. These stories occur in conversations when Frank is talking about his own expression of Newfoundland tradition. I believe he is, in this way, explaining that his music is at once a personal expression, a family tradition, and a regional heritage. He has said:

> . . . so, they say the pride of Newfoundland is the fiddle. I admire fiddle players. It is an old Newfoundland tradition in, ah, what we say, the old-time reels, old-time square dances. Usually there I play the button accordine for the old-time Lancers. So I can play several instruments. But my fiddle is the favorite one I use. That's the best one that I like.
>
> My father used to be a step dancer, and used to be a reel, used to do the reel. My poor father's gone now, so, ah, I try to carry on the Newfoundland tradition, through playing the fiddle. 17

Frank's mother still plays the button accordion in what he describes as the "old Irish style, slow airs and songs." He has a fiddle-playing uncle, a sister who plays the accordion and a brother who plays the guitar and is a "cowboy singer."[18] There was a radio and a 78 R.P.M. phonograph, with a few records, in his home when he was growing up, but Frank wasn't too interested in music then. There was always something else to do, he explains, like schoolwork and sports.

From a school friend, Frank learned to play the harmonica, and played a bit at small school parties. In 1940, Frank made his "first public opening," playing the harmonica for a children's war savings programme on VONF, the government financed radio station, then located in the Hotel Newfoundland, St. John's.[19] Frank tells a detailed narrative of his appearance on this popular amateur-talent programme, and always speaks of it as "my first radio broadcast."

III. Learning music outside the family

Around the time of his radio appearance, Frank heard his first fiddler. The following account of this experience is provided in detail because it contains many themes which occur frequently in Frank's narratives: how being a fiddler is "in the blood;" how a fiddler is paid; how personal contact is necessary for learning; how Frank desired to "take up where" the old-timers "left off."

> Frank: But years ago and the old-time Scottish fiddlers now, it must have been something to see, though, and hear. Whereas I heard Mom talking when she'd go to the dance and hear two old-time Scottish fiddlers, got Scots blood in them, of course, they are Scots, and they, 'cause they, their forefathers and people down through the ages immigrated here.

And lots of times she'd go to the dance and wouldn't dance. The people used to go there and set down and listen to the reels and the tunes they had, you see. But I used to hear Mom saying when she was a teenager, if she couldn't get ne'er a byefriend, well know, you would go to the dance anyway. And when, then, there was reels, mostly it was reels. It was one hour.

And then, they would probably play all night for 20-cents-a-fiddler; usually used two fiddlers sometimes three. But anyhow, they'd go just to listen to the Scottish, Scottish reels.

Mac: When did you first hear a fiddler?

Frank: When I first heard a fiddler I was nine years old. I was nine and I was after doing me first radio show then, but I couldn't do anything with a fiddle. Although that I was interested into it, then. But I couldn't do anything with it. I was sort of getting up in years before I started to get to play it.

Mac: Did you first hear them on radio?

Frank: First, ya. I heard them on radio first, you know, but I never know, I had no idea how all this was done until I saw a person playing it and even then he was getting quite old. He was too old to play himself, but he managed to play a tune. His fingers were all stiffened up. He was good, when he was young, this old Mr. Fitzgerald from Blackmarsh Road, you see.

Well, I see him playing to a dance where he got halfway through the reel and he got tired and he had to give it up. I said, "By God, I wish I could play like that," I said, "I could take up where you left off."

"Well," he said, "Now son, now is a good chance for you to learn," he said. "If you get interested," he said, "You'll have no trouble to pick it up," he said, "But there's a few things you must learn." 20

As Frank became older he "fell in love with the string instruments, such as fiddle, guitar and mandolin, and the button accordion. . . . I became interested in these old fiddle tunes what the Newfoundlanders, our forefathers, used to play in the past."[21]

Throughout his conversations Frank places a high value on formal education, and maintains the most beneficial effect of Confederation,

for Newfoundland, was the up-grading of the schools, "to be just as good as anything on the mainland."[22] He is very proud of his two sons who are completing high school. However, his own schooling was cut short. Both he and Shirley have commented on the high cost of books and school supplies.[23] It is likely a low income in his large family forced Frank out of school into work. At the time of Confederation, Frank, 18, was working at manual labour on the government road crews, for 23 cents an hour.

III.a Learning the accordion

Around this time Frank began to learn to play the button accordion. He and a fellow worker, "an old-timer," got two identical accordions and the man played a slow song which Frank copied. After learning "where the buttons were," Frank picked up the faster jigs and reels himself.[25] The next time he was paid, Frank bought his own instrument and carried it with him "on the road." Nine months later he was playing for parties and dances.

III.b Learning country music and Hank Williams songs

Frank's family had moved to Witless Bay, where he stayed for a few years, but Frank returned to St. John's because he preferred the city and wanted to up-grade his education. In St. John's Frank had the opportunity to see the singing cowboy movies of Gene Autry, Tex Ritter and Roy Rodgers. As he explains, "I seen hundreds of them."[26] Later Frank was to see several of these singing-stars in person, in concerts. In many ways they provided a role model he was partly to copy when he became a

performing musician. But it was hearing American country and western music on radio which sparked his interest.

The American military base in Pleasantville, on the eastern edge of St. John's, had a radio station which broadcast American popular music for the service men. On this station, in 1948, Frank first heard Hank Williams. Williams' band, the Drifting Cowboys, produced a blend of steel guitar and fiddle that Frank describes as perfect. With that, he "fell in love with American country style music," and began to learn to play the guitar. He bought some Hank Williams song books and although unable to read music, learned to play by copying the chord diagrammes drawn out above the words.[27] Shirley still keeps these books, preserved in plastic wrap, with her collection of autographed photographs of movie stars and country artists the Squires have seen in concert.

III.c Learning to play the fiddle

In 1953 Frank was a patient in the St. John's sanitorium where he also operated the patient canteen.[28] While there he met Harvey Mowland, "an old-time fiddle player from Bonavista Bay."[29] With Mowland's help, Frank began to learn to fiddle.[30] Since he was already familiar with the guitar, another old-timer suggested Frank start to fiddle by picking up the mandolin, which uses finger positions similar to the fiddle. Frank found the mandolin "very easy," and learned to play it in a few days. After this, he explains, he simply had to master the bowing technique.

Mowland taught Frank one of the two most important tunes in his repertoire, "St. Anne's Reel." Whether performing in public or private, "St. Anne's Reel" is the first or second tune Frank plays, alternating

with "Big John McNeil." Frank plays "Big John McNeil" with greater frequency and longer per playing than "St. Anne's Reel." But "St. Anne's Reel" features prominently in several detailed, often told, narratives Frank has about playing and the history of dancing and fiddling.

In these ways, through face-to-face contact with family musicians and friends and through exposure to radio and movies, Frank heard the two strands of sound which have woven together to produce the basic cloth of Newfoundland music: the older, relatively stable traditional songs and dance music of European settlers; and the newer, constantly changing mainland popular music styles, most often determined by broadcasting and recording industries in the United States.

IV. Finding an audience for his music

Within nine months of learning "St. Anne's Reel" Frank, accompanied by an Eskimo friend from Labrador, appeared playing the tune on a televised news broadcast, over CJON television, St. John's. This televised "News Cavalcade" appearance is important to Frank; he has related the story to me many times. The narrative has become a formulaic narrative-repertoire item, used by Frank to establish his credentials and competance as a fiddler. The significance of this narrative is discussed in a later chapter of this thesis. Ironically, the "News Cavalcade" item was a silent film, however people did recognize Frank and his popularity at parties increased.

> Frank: Everywhere I went I carried the fiddle with me. 'Cause we did have quite many parties and students that I met at school, I was asked to everyone of their homes. And of course, I couldn't go without the fiddle and the guitar. Some of the boys would have a button accordine

> and when I got tired playing the fiddle, they would pass me the 'cordine.
>
> And the old-timers especially around Chapel Arm and those places, well I spend quite a bit of time over there. . . . There was a house over there I couldn't get out of at all. They wouldn't let me out. The old-timers there had a drop of 40 ounces there and, it wasn't a hard place to get a drink, it was no trouble to get a drink there. But if you could do anything with a 'cordine or a fiddle, that's where you were stopping. . . . Every week I had a different place to go to. I was asked. . . .
>
> And they would be at the old-time reels, old-time dances, too, the old-timers. And one fellow I know, fellow, fellow, fellow Hidgen, said, "Can you play the fiddle?" and said yes.
>
> "Yes," he said, "I can tell by the cut of you. Now give me the "St. Anne's Reel" while I gets me coat off," he said. (laughs) Be God, well anyway I'll never forget. I must have been there at least three hours that night. I remember I had to rosin up the bow five times. Lot of people came from outside, you know, and friends and neighbours 'round the harbour; all of them came in and they cleaned out the kitchen. The same night that I was there.
>
> But I was only there in that house one night, but I had several opportunities to go back to it again, but apparently I just didn't get there, 'cause I had other places to go you see.
>
> . . . about a year and a half after [he started to play the fiddle] after nine months was up, when I finished, I was on television, see. People saw me, and then of course, when you go into a community, now, "This fellow was on television," see. So, man, they grabs you and haul you in their houses and when you get into a house and they know you play the fiddle, well, that's your home. You're one of the family. They'll make you one of the family. That's the way I found it. 32

In the mid-1950's Frank moved to Labrador City for a short while, to work as a cook's assistant in the company cafeteria. Frank's dormitory room became a social gathering place for musicians and friends. There Frank first heard Scottish fiddling, a style of music he enjoys but is unable to play. Frank has told me several times of meeting Jim, the union representative from Scotland, who played the fiddle so well the room

would fill up with listeners until near dawn. Because the tunes were "turned differently," and "too complicated," Frank was never able to pick any up, no matter how hard he tried.[33]

V. From amateur to professional

V.a Working with a dance band

When Frank returned from Labrador he changed his status as a musician; he moved from being an interested amateur musician who played for friends at house parties, into the "professional structure of country music," in an attempt to make money.[34] Frank had begun his education again, in a high school up-grading programme at the government-sponsored vocational training school where he learned watch repair. In school he met Stan Turnbull, "a cowboy singer." With Stan, another fiddler-accordionist, a drummer and an electric guitarist, Frank played almost every Saturday and Sunday night for close to six years, in parish halls, Orange Halls and Fisherman's Union halls throughout the eastern Avalon Peninsula area. The band made a wage of four to 25 dollars-a-night, what Frank refers to as "big money in those days." Frank was the band leader who arranged the bookings.

The band played traditional Newfoundland dance music for the Lancers, a four-couple set dance with five figures, and other forms of square dances. During the breaks between the Lancers, Stan and Frank sang contemporary country and western songs for people to waltz and dance slowly.[35] The band was popular, and acquired regular bookings for Christmas and New Year's Eve dances and for special occasions like wedding and anniversary receptions.

Frank explains the music this way:

Frank: And then I was singing this American, this Hank Williams. I used his songs, I, and I got quite a good name for myself with this.

When I was singing these songs, you know, the people were on the floor, you see. . . . So of course if you heard a good cowboy tune, you were getting out and dancing. That was it.

There was several of Hank Williams' songs I used to sing.. I had to sing them five or six times during the night. . . . The people wanted them, see. You had to do what the people wanted and that was it.

Mac: So was cowboy music really popular then, at that time?

Frank: See, I suppose it wasn't, you wouldn't call it cowboy, I suppose on account of the artist was dressed up in a cowboy suit. But you see, the songs he sang, apparently it wasn't a cowboy song. See, just because he sang a song about a girl and love or something similar to that, they'd call it a cowboy song.

But the artist was a cowboy anyway, or maybe he wasn't but he was from some part of Alabama somewhere. I guess he just dressed in cowboy clothes to go out on stage singing. But this fellow he made quite a reputation. He was on records. I remember one song, "Jambalaya;" he sold 10 million copies in four months. 36

You know, this was good . . . . So I used, I studied his books, I studied his books and used his songs at dances.

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.
.

We used to listen to him on radio. And then there was people all over the globe, all over the world that like this gentleman. And it wasn't himself. They like the songs and the words. The words that he had. He was a good country music man; people fell in love with this. This is the old-timers now, and even teenagers; they used to get out and dance to his type of country music.

Mac: What do you think it was about the words?

Frank: The way he had the words put together, you know. He wrote songs about the blues and stuff like that and the words, the Americans told me themselves, that it wasn't the song it was the words that he put into them . . . .

> Mac: It wasn't so much the sound as it was the meaning, maybe?
>
> Frank: No, but the sound he had was perfect. It was good. . . . When people heard this they were on the floor in a matter of seconds, you see. And then on the juke boxes in St. John's and around the outports, you'd see there several records of him there. Ah, then see going in and sit down, watch what button the people'd press.
> "I'll bet it'll be Hank Williams." And you're, you're right. So regardless of what song he sung, they knew it. So people loved this, and this is what I studied. 37

V.b Radio work

When summer vacation came, in 1959, Frank and Stan were unemployed, and "to get off the street" they would go to the local radio station, CJON, one or twice a week, to sing for tapes to be played on a Sunday afternoon country music show. Anyone could come in and perform if they wished, according to Frank, and the boys received no pay for this. Frank most often used the songs of Hank Williams and Doc Williams. Because the rest of the band members were working, they could not perform as a group on the radio, nor did Frank do any fiddling. The studio once lent Frank and Stan a tape recorder for their songs, when they were unable to get to the studio in person. Frank explained, he did plan to play the fiddle on radio, but school started again in the fall and he had no more time to perform. The radio appearances brought attention to the band, and attracted audiences to the dances.

After graduating, Frank and Shirley were married, 11 February 1961; Francis was born a year after. The family moved to Sydney, Nova Scotia, where Frank worked for Altine's Department Store, in the jewlery depart-

ment. He explains, he worked himself out of a job, quickly repairing all the watches the store needed done. In Cape Breton, Frank again heard the Scottish-style music he enjoys and again found he was unable to play it. Working at Altine's in the evening made it impossible to perform publically, but Frank did participate in house parties. "Everywhere I went I took the bloody old fiddle with me," he explains.

V.c Meeting recording artists.

Besides making friends with music in Cape Breton, Frank had the opportunity to meet the "stars."

> Frank: Through music I did have the opportunity to meet several of the artists. Such one of these guys like Johnny Cash. I guess the world knows him. I shook hands and talked with him just as I'm talking to you there now. And he's on top of the world. And quite a lot of our Newfoundland people know him and heard him. And another gentleman, known as Doc Williams; he's from some part of Wheeling somewhere; I met him in Cape Breton. I shook hands and talked with him. And I also talked with another lady, the queen of country music, Kitty Wells. I shook hands. I was talking half-an-hour with Kitty. And another guy, he's from Cape Breton, some part of Cape Breton, Hank Snow. I talked to Hank Snow quite a bit. Through music I did get to meet the people I wanted to see and I sat down and talked with them and I was happy I did.
> . . . They'd come in this community place, in Cape Breton, well, I'd go in the night time, anyway, well they'd come down 'round the stand and shaking hands with the people and talking with the people. This is how I got to talk with them. 38

To Frank's surprise and pleasure these people, who had succeeded in the music business to which he was still a newcomer, were not "special" in anyway other than that they were good musicians.

> Frank: Although they are, they are, shall we say, with

> a high position, but they are common people like ourselves, you see, they're common. Even though they are on top of the world, they're common. Now when you sit down and talk with them they're just no more than, they're common like any man or any woman that you've known personally all you life, you see. Ned Landry is Canada's champine fiddler, or he's supposed to be, but he is just like yourself to come and talk to him. 39

Watching Landry in person, Frank saw him play "Listen to the Mocking Bird," a trick fiddling piece in which Landry uses harmonics to imitate bird calls.[40] Frank immediately went back to his hotel room and learned to copy this in his own manner.

V.d Appearing on television

Another Newfoundland student working at Altines, introduced Frank to the leader of a band, the Cape Breton Western Playboys, which had a regular CBC-television live-music show. The band leader invited Frank onto the show as a special guest. He played "St. Anne's Reel."

> Frank: I only played one reel there, and so apparently that I got fifty dollars. They gave me fifty dollars for one jig. I was amazed, really, you know. I never thought a Newfoundlander could go to Nova Scotia and get fifty bucks just for playing one reel. I was really amazed about this.
>
> But years ago that was quite a few of these old-time dances in ordinary houses. You'd get two old-time fiddlers there. There were no salaries. Before Confederation two fiddlers would play at an old-time dance for no salaries. The salaries were very low. You'd get two old-time fiddlers to go to a dance and then pay ten cents to get in. These boys would play all night for twenty cents-a-man. This was how it was. 41

The amount of money paid for this performance, like the information on the lack of salaries for old-time fiddlers is always a crucial part of

this frequently-told memorate. Frank was laid off from Altines after nine months, and the family, now with two young sons--Leo was born in 1963--moved back to St. John's. With work coming irregularly at best, the extra income made playing music must have been important. A photograph from this time in Shirley's album, shows Frank dressed in his fancy embroidered cowboy shirt, ready to go out to play, lying across a bed with his arm around the two babies and the fiddle.

However Frank's band broke up. Several of the men married and left the island to find work. One continued playing music and is still a member of an "old-time" band in the Avalon Peninsula area.

V.e Playing with American country musicians

In the mid-1960's Frank took a job on the American naval base in Argentia, on the western coast of the Avalon Peninsula on Placentia Bay, approximately 110 kilometres from St. John's. As a singer and fiddler, he was introduced to a group of musicians, servicemen who played exclusively American tunes and country music--no jigs and reels according to Frank. Frank still plays several tunes which he identifies as "popular with local bands" and on television, that he learned from this group of American musicians.

It was with this band that Frank perfected the blend of traditional and contemporary country and western fiddling evident in his music today. The frequent use of double stops; the shuffle-bow rhythm; lifting and scratching the bow for introductions and descending-scale tag endings; the slow, sliding notes in fiddle songs, played with a more legato-bow motion than is used on jigs and reels; the number of breakdowns in the

repertoire: all are marks of American country fiddling influence.[42]

The Squires next moved to Witless Bay, to live with Frank's mother. In 1969 Frank built his own house, to his own design specifications. Three years later their youngest son, Max was born, (See photograph three).

VI. Contemporary history

VI.a Playing in his local community

Frank does not support his family playing music, although he would if he could. He explains, he could never get the right people together to form another band. He still regrets selling his P.A. system, equipment vital for playing professionally.

> Frank: I kick meself in the end after, I should not have sold it, because I, I still can get employment now at this kind of work, but I just doesn't have the equipment. And then, you can't go by yourself. You got to have somebody to go with you. You wants to have another gentleman to back you up, or maybe a couple if you can get them, see, but like in this territory you won't get them here. (pause)
>
> Mac: What about working for radio and stuff like that?
>
> Frank: I would, Mac, I would go to work for it, if I could get employment at that, I would, I'd appreciate it. . . . I would love to work for radio if I could get employment at that sort of work, you see, but then, like I say, it's hard, and if, if I could get it, well, I would accept it. 43

Frank is encouraged by the increasing number of appearances by Newfoundland musicians on television, and by the growing number of young people learning traditional music and dance styles. As he sees it, "These old time are coming back," and will again provide him with work

playing. Now Frank is occupied doing the occasional watch repair, doing a bit of electrician work wiring houses in the community, and working in the woods getting the family's fuel supply. He makes models of and paints pictures of the "old-time" sealing vessels and has sold these products. But as he says, "most of my work that I do is playing the fiddle."[44]

Shirley and young Francis, now finished high school, work occasionally in the Witless Bay fish processing plant.

Once settled in Witless Bay, Frank began to participate in community music-making, especially house parties and parish and school concerts and benefits.

> Frank: Now if, if there's something coming up special now, we'll say that concerns old-timers, or if some kind of a special show going ahead, they'll call me, you see, and the old-timers knows that the old tunes that I can play, they will go out for it. . . . if there's something, something going ahead in the parish hall, now, we'll say a concert or they wants some old tunes, old reels, 'cordine tunes and country songs, you see, which I'm well experienced with, and the people, the head people, the head ladies or what not, call me and said, "Frank will you play a concert or a big time going ahead in the hall here tonight, or something is going ahead." 45

It was at such a community music time, sponsored by the local Folk Arts Council, I first met Frank.

Since then, Frank and I have worked together in four regional folk festivals and one other community concert.[46] Frank's participation in the St. John's Folk Arts Council-sponsored Newfoundland Folk Festival, in St. John's Bannerman Part, July First weekend 1977, was an extension of his participation in the Folk Arts Council-sponsored time in Witless

Bay earlier that year. In November, 1977, several of my friends organized the Good Entertainment I folk festival, held in St. John's. I suggested Frank to them as a possible performer.

VI.b A concert performance in Bay Bulls

It was through Frank I became involved in a community concert in Bay Bulls, Sunday afternoon, 19 March 1978. Bay Bulls is 10 kilometres north of Witless Bay. Women from a senior citizens' club were attempting to make money for a newly formed 4-H Club, a young peoples' organization, and Frank, with about 12 other people, was asked to play at a benefit concert. The concert was to have an Irish-St. Patrick's Day theme. Although Frank does not like or sing Irish songs, he wanted to participate. He telephoned me two weeks in advance of the show and six other times before the concert date. He suggested I attend and back him up on guitar. Frank asked me if he could use my guitar, a Martin D-28, "like Hank Williams used to use." Frank had used my guitar at the earlier Good Entertainment I festival.

The concert in Bay Bulls took place in the large Roman Catholic parish hall, and Frank was concerned about the lack of an adequate sound system. He asked me about the sound system used at the Witless Bay time, and I eventually made arrangements with the St. John's Folk Arts Council to borrow the amplifier and speakers. During the concert I operated the system instead of performing with Frank, although I brought my guitar and fiddle. Stan, Frank's friend from his string-band days, attended the show and accompanied Frank on his own guitar, which Frank also used when singing. Frank was very pleased with the entire show; his only

expressed regret was that he had gotten so excited he did not use the Martin to perform.

The concert master of ceremonies was a local radio announcer, Dick Reeves. Reeves knows Frank and has visited at the house in Witless Bay. He began introducing Frank by putting the microphone as high on its stand as it would reach, about 12 inches above Frank's head.

Reeves: Before we introduce our next guest I have to adjust the microphone for him (puts it very high), no, ya, that's about right. (pause). Ladies and gentlemen, Frankie Squires!
(much laughter from the audience)

Frank: (coming to the microphone) Thank you Dick.

Reeves: (readjusting the mic stand) I'm sorry Frank, I get confused.

Frank: Dick Reeves, what? He's a fine gentleman, isn't he? Dick Reeves, radio station VOCM's Dick Reeves, a great fellow to know.
(guitar chord)
I would like to thank Dick for the introduction, now. As I studied in the earlier '50s about American country music (guitar chord) and I found out that American (chord) songs meant a great deal to the people down on the Southern Shore, (chord) and practically all over the country, here's one of Hank Williams', the great Hank Williams, and American people told me that he was the greatest down in the states.
"They'll Never, Never Take Her Love From Me." 47
(sings)
.
.
.
(applause)
Frank: Thank You, (pause) here's another one called "The Mansion on The Hill."
This gentleman went to the station manager, there at WSM (chord) and the station manager said to him, "How do I know you wrote this song?" He said, "I'll give you a test," he said. "There's a boy,a rich boy, lives in a cabin, and there's a rich girl, who lives on the hill. Go," he said, "And see if you can make anything out of that."

> Thirty minutes are not very long to write a song, of course, but the great Hank Williams came back with this song, called, "The Mansion On The Hill." 48 (sings)
> .
> .
> .
> (applause)
>
> Reeves: (very loudly) Alright, Frankie, ya ha, Frankie Squires.
>
> Frank: I know it is a bit close to St. Patrick's Day, but I'm sure St. Patrick wouldn't mind me throwing in a little American country music.
>
> Reeves: Well the sisters down there never complained, did you sisters? (laughter) You don't want to, I'll tell you that, right now. Thank you Frankie, thank you.
>
> Frank: You're welcome Dick.
>
> Reeves: See you my friend. Frankie serves the meanest cup of tea in Witless Bay (laughter). Shirley does. I'm sorry. You're the one who makes the tea. . . . 49

Later in the programme Frank came back to play the fiddle. With Stan's accompaniment he played "St. Anne's Reel" and "Big John McNeil." When Frank plays "Big John McNeil" he uses a non-standard key change between the first and second parts of the tune. He collapses and re-arranges the internal melodic elements, when his bowing rhythm begins to dominate the melody. Stan at first got lost in the key changes and the different melody, then found the place and had no trouble following.[50]

As at the Witless Bay time, after the concert was over everyone but a few of the organizing women and some teenagers left the hall. Frank took out the Martin and sang several Hank Williams songs. The teenagers encouraged Frank, asking him to sing Elvis Presley material. I played a few rock-and-roll songs after Frank said he did not know any Presley material and handed me the guitar.

The concert made close to $500. The 4-H Club members were so pleased with Frank's contribution they took some of the money, took up a collection, and bought a new fiddle, Chinese-made. (See photograph four) The new fiddle has better tone and is much louder than his old one, a Czechoslovakian-made instrument. The old fiddle now hangs on his bedroom wall, above the bed beside a photograph of the sealing vessel The Florizel. The fiddle hangs in a place once occupied by an oil painting Frank made of The Florizel in St. John's harbour--he sold the painting last fall. Since receiving the new fiddle Frank has begun to compose tunes, and has become more concerned with keeping his fiddle at or near concert pitch. (His old fiddle was often three or four tones below concert.)

VI.c A festival evening dance party

Frank was invited back to the Newfoundland Folk Festival, in St. John's, 1 July 1978, but was disappointed the show in which he was scheduled to play was cancelled because of rain. Although he played occasionally during the next two days it was not enough to satisfy him, especially when he was not asked to play during the final evening's concert and other fiddlers were included.

Beside the park where the festival was held is a residence for the university graduate students. On the ground floor of the house a bar is operated by the Graduate Students Union. Performers and guests usually have a party at the Grad House Bar after festival concerts. On the final night of the festival the performers were unexpectedly taken to another party. Frank was the only festival performer who was not told of the change and came to the Grad House. The bar was full of people, most of

them from the festival audience. Without prompting, Frank brought out his fiddle and began to play.

The Grad House Bar common room is long and narrow with chairs and couches in a square at one end and a pool table at the other. Several chairs are arranged along one long wall opposite the door to the room. Frank sat in one of these chairs; Shirley sat beside him and young Max curled up to sleep in her lap. The people in the room drew back away from Frank and gathered in small conversational groups around the room. The floor space in front of Frank was empty.

Frank played several tunes and there was scattered applause at the end of each tune set. It seemed to me that the people were unsure how to react: this was not a "concert situation" and applause seemed inappropriate, however, they did not want to appear to ignore Frank's playing.

A friend of mine and Frank's, who organized the Good Entertainment festivals, was standing near us. I called her over and asked Frank to play his composition, "The Isabella St. John Reel," a tune he had written and named for another festival organizer as thanks for her work. Our friend began to dance as she listened, and soon other people were dancing. The applause at the end of each tune stopped as more people began to dance and the event shifted from an ill-defined semi-concert situation to a dance party.

The room became very crowded, especially the space in front of Frank. Frank took occasional breaks for a drink of ginger ale or a cigarette. He never stopped playing long enough to finish a whole cigarette. During one break I borrowed Frank's fiddle to show a friend a new tune I had learned; no one danced while I played. Frank thanked me for spelling him. He was still playing for the dancers when I

left the bar at 2 a.m.

VI.d Regional folk festivals

Until recently Frank performed at parties and on stage in towns no more than 80 kilometres from his home. Now, since becoming involved in the growing provincial folk festival circuit, he may travel several hundred kilometres to play. He is, however, still playing to essentially the same "community" of people, whose common ground with Frank and each other is an appreciation and concern for Newfoundland music and tradition.

For several weeks before the Good Entertainment II festival, 1-3 September 1978, Frank was undecided about going. The festival site was in Gros Morne National Park, on the west coast of the island, a 12-hour bus ride from St. John's. Frank and Shirley had never been that far from home since they lived in Cape Breton. Frank was unsure about the trip, the quality of the roads, leaving young Max with the older boys, and the cost of the weekend. He was tempted to attend because he had greatly enjoyed the previous Good Entertainment festival; several country singers he met the year before were scheduled to attend.

He called me regularly on the telephone, explaining his uncertainty and perhaps wanting me to make up his mind by saying I thought he should go. It was difficult not to overly encourage Frank to go to the festival because I did want him to attend yet did not want to be too influential in his decision. I did not suggest he go, but said I would like him to attend. I called festival organizer Isabella St. John to tell her of Frank's indecision. She called to encourage him which might have helped make up his mind. However, only three days before the festival Frank called and

told me he was still thinking of not going.

At the festival, I worked in a non-music area and did not see Frank "in concert" very much. After the day's workshops, there were evening music and dance sessions in several of the site's buildings. Since the dance sessions at which Frank played went on later than the session in my area, I saw Frank only when he was surrounded by dancers. No matter how long the musicians played, the crowd stil called for more. As Frank explained, "You could play for 40 years and they'd all keep it up." (See photograph five)

For several months after the festival it was often the first thing Frank spoke of when he called me or I visited him. He keeps a complete set of a local weekly entertainment magazine, The Newfoundland Herald T.V. Week, because it frequently contains profiles and photographs of the musicians from the festivals and twice ran a photo-feature on the festival which contained a photograph of Frank on stage.[51] Whenever he meets a friend of mine, Frank asks why they were not at the festival and shows them the photos from The Herald. As he said in a telephone conversation shortly after the festival:

> I think it is the most excellent thing a person could be involved in. You meet new people from Newfoundland and Canada and you have the chance to go and perform before a large audience. It is one of the best things I ever did in my life. . . . I'd love to hold out for a week. 52

These festivals feature strongly in Frank's plans for the future.

> Frank: . . . back here mostly the times I was on, I played with the private dances and concerts and such as what we have here now, folk festivals. So I'm into these now and I guess I'm going to stay as long as I'm allowed to live. 53

Since this festival Frank has had the opportunity to visit the university to speak with and perform for Folklore Department students. During this visit he saw other folklore theses and dissertations in the library, and many of his misconceptions about studying folklore and writing a thesis were clarified. He has learned that studying folklore is more than learning to play the fiddle, in the manner he studied and learned the Hank Williams' music. While visiting St. John's, Frank played for a local folk music club, of which I am a member, which he had read about in The Herald. I have also written about Frank in a bi-monthly magazine published by the university's Extension service.[54] Many Witless Bay residents have mentioned the article favorably to Frank. Frank sent copies of the magazine to his family and friends and offered to autograph a copy for me.

This biography is not a closed section of Frank's life, but a preamble to the music he will continue to play. While this thesis is being written Frank is preparing to perform for another St. Patrick's Day concert in Witless Bay and practicing for the up-coming summer festivals. He phones me regularly to tell me of his musical activities and plans. In the next chapter of the thesis, discussion continues on the influences from this history on Frank's contemporary practices. The significance of several of the narratives he often tells is suggested, as they inform on the place of the musical activity in Frank's life.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

[1]Detailed description of the physical context of the collecting sessions, including tape recorded and written fieldnotes and photographic record is on file with the MUNFLA, under accession 77-101.

[2]MUNFLA 77-101 F3051, RMS 77-3(a), 25 Feb. 1977.

[3]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[4]Folk Arts Councils are community and regional organizations dedicated to encouraging and preserving local traditions. The St. John's Folk Arts Council, with government financing, employed students to do folklore collecting in outlying communities and to organize Folk Arts Councils in those communities. The fieldworker and council encourages concerts and dances, or "times," at which local musicians perform.

[5]The Ferryland District on the south-eastern coast of the Avalon Peninsula, south of St. John's, is locally known as the Southern Shore. The area was settled predominantly by Irish immigrants. See John H. Mannion, ed., The Peopling of Newfoundland, Essays in Historical Geography, Institute of Social and Economic Research, (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978).

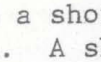
[6]"St. Anne's Reel," (trad.), see The Cornhuskers' Book of Square Dance Tunes, Cornhuskers' Series of Canadian Square Dance Books, No. 2, (Scarborough, Ontario: Harry F. Jarman Publications, 1937), p. 1; Don Messer, Down East Dancin', Vol. 4, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, Apex AL-1607.

[7]Although the tunes I specifically remember are 2/4 and 4/4 reels and breakdowns, knowing Frank's repertoire and performance practices, I assume he also played 6/8 jigs that night. Jigs are more common in Canadian fiddlers' repertoires than in American fiddlers'.

"Rubber Dolly," (trad.), see Ned Landry, Me and My Fiddle, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, RCA Camden CAL/CAS-2125.

"Boil Them Cabbage Down," (trad.), see Al Cherney, Blue Ribbon Fiddle, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, RCA Camden CAS-989.

"Big John McNeil," (trad.), see Don Messer, Original Old Tyme Music by Don Messer and His Islanders, (Toronto: Gordon V. Thompson, Limited, 1942), p. 9; Don Messer, Down East Dancin', Vol 1, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, Apex AL 1603.

[8]A saw stroke is a short bow movement, up-and-down, with one note played per-bow stroke. A shuffle bow rhythm is a combination of long and short bow strokes, usually in a  , 1, 2&, 3, 4& rhythm. Two notes, one-per-beat, are often played on the long-bow strokes and one note-per bow stroke on the short, saw strokes within the shuffle rhythm. The shuffle rhythm is emphasised by the use of double-stops or drones played with the melody.

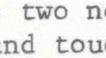
A double-stop is two notes sounded at once, created by fingering two or more strings and touching these "stopped" strings with the bow. This is also called harmonic bowing. A drone is an unchanging note played with the melody, usually by sounding an open string above or below the melody string being fingered.

See Tracy Schwartz, "Starting to Fiddle Country Style," Sing Out!, 16:6 (1967), 35, 37.

[9]Many southern-American fiddling styles exist, usually differentiated by bowing patterns. Common to most is the use of the saw stroke and shuffle-bow patterns with drone or harmonic bowing accompaniment. The predominant, non-Scottish, fiddling style in eastern Canada, and in commercially recorded Canadian fiddle music is called, variously "old-time," "down-east," or "Messer Style," after Don Messer, a popular commercial fiddler. Messer played with a swing-oriented rhythm, playing slightly ornamented single note melodies with a light touch and little internal variation among renditions.

Several works have been written describing North American fiddle bow movement styles. See those by Linda Burman-Hall, George A. Proctor and Earl V. Spielman, listed in the bibliography.

[10]For a detailed account of Williams' life and music, see the work of Robert (Roger) M. Williams, listed in the bibliography.

[11]The basic country styling played with a plectrum, or flat-pick, involves hitting a bass string, for one beat, and brushing up-and-down the treble strings for one beat, in a repeated pattern, 4/4 like the shuffle-bow rhythm of the fiddle, or 3/4  . Occasionally ascending or descending bass note patterns, called bass runs, connect chord changes at the beginning or end of a phrase. A note-pattern run, ending with the sounding of the tonic chord, is often used as a closing signature. The tonic, dominant and sub-dominant chords are used almost exclusively in any key.

[12]Alan Lomax, "Folk Song Style," American Anthropologist, 61, (1959), 930, 937.

[13]MUNFLA 77-101 F3052, RMS 77-2(a), 25 Feb. 1977.

[14]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[15]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(b), 24 May 1978.

[16]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[17]MUNFLA 78-361 F4245, Good Entertainment II tape 5, 1 Sept. 1978.

[18]Neil Rosenberg suggests the Maritime use of this description stems from performances of Wilf Carter and Hank Snow. See Rosenberg, "Studying Country Music and Contemporary Folk Music Traditions in the Maritimes: Theory Techniques, and the Archivist," Phonographic Bulletin, 14 (May 1976), 18-21; rpt. in Rosenberg, Country Music in the Maritimes: Two Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland Department of Folklore Reprint Series, No. 2, (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1976), p. 3-4.

[19]MUNFLA 77-101, F4646c, RMS 77-1B(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[20]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[21]MUNFLA 77-101 F4646c, RMS 77-1B(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[22]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[23]Unrecorded conversation, 25 Feb. 1977; see fieldnote tape MUNFLA 77-101 F2704, 25 Feb. 1977.

[24]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[25]MUNFLA 77-101 F3052, RMS 77-2(a), 25 Feb. 1977.

[26]MUNFLA 77-101 F3051, RMS 77-3(b), 25 Feb. 1977.

[27]MUNFLA 77-101 F3052, RMS 77-2(a), 25 Feb. 1977.

[28]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[29]Bonavista Bay is a major bay on the northwest coast of Newfoundland, approximately 220 kilometres north of St. John's. Residents of the Bonavista Peninsula and the area surrounding the bay are commonly said to be from Bonavista Bay.

[30]Samuel Bayard states, "Fiddlers are especially vague regarding instruction gained from older performers. . . . Three of my informants told me that they learned 'how to play' from one person, but went on to others to amass their repertoires." See Bayard, "Some Folk Fiddlers' Habits and Styles in Western Pennsylvania," Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 8 (1956), 16-17.

[31]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[32]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[33]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(b), 11 Feb. 1977.

[34]Neil V. Rosenberg, "Big Fish, Small Pond: Country Musicians and Their Markets," a paper read to the Folklore Studies Association of Canada, London, Ontario, 2 June 1978, (in press); see also Rosenberg, "Studying Country Music, in Two Studies, p. 16.

[35]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977; MUNFLA 77-101 F3051, RMS 77-3(a), 25 Feb. 1977; MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[36]"Jambalaya (On the Bayou)," written by Hank Williams, copyright Fred Rose Music, Inc., 1952; see Hank Williams' Favorite Songs, (Nashville: Acuff-Rose Sales, Inc., n.d.), p. 26; Hank Williams, The Very Best of Hank Williams, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, MGM SE 4168.

[37]MUNFLA 77-101 F3052, RMS 77-2(a), 25 Feb. 1977.

[38]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[39]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[40]"Listen to the Mocking Bird," (trad.), see Ned Landry, Ned Landry, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, RCA Camden CAL-893.

[41]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[42]Legato bowing is the playing of several differently fingered notes without changing bow direction. The resulting sound is more smooth and free-flowing than with saw-stroke or shuffle-bow motions.

[43]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(b), 24 May 1978.

[44]MUNFLA 78-361 F4245, Good Entertainment II, tape 5, 1 Sept. 1978.

[45]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(b), 24 May 1978.

[46]John F. Moe would consider the regional festivals to be a "non-participatory" mass cultural folk festival, because there was little performer-audience interaction other than communal singing and dancing. The community concerts were also non-participatory in terms of audience/performer interaction, but were sponsored and organized by an in-community group to raise money for local projects. Both reflect local concerns and culture. See Moe, "Folk Festivals and Community Consciousness: Categories of the Festival Genre," Folklore Forum, 10:2 (1977), 33-40.

[47]"They'll Never Take Her Love From Me," written by Leo Payne, copyright Fred Rose Music Inc., 1950; see Hank Williams' Country Hit Parade Folio, (Nashville: Acuff-Rose Sales, Inc., n.d.), p. 40; Hank Williams, The Very Best of Hank Williams, Vol. 2, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, MGM SE 4227.

[48]"A Mansion on the Hill," written by Hank Willlams and Fred Rose, copyright Milene Music, Inc., 1948; see Hank Williams' Country Music Folio, (Nashville: Acuff-Rose Sales, Inc., n.d.), p. 2-3; Hank Williams, The Very Best of Hank Williams, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, MGM SE 4168. This story Frank tells is a legend, repeated from oral tradition and reinforced by regular appearance in print. See Robert M. Williams, Sing a Sad Song: The Life of Hank Williams, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1970; New York: Ballantine Books, 1973), p. 130.

[49]MUNFLA 77-101 F4639c, RMS 78-3(a), 19 March 1978.

[50]MUNFLA 77-101 F4639c, RMS 78-3(b), 19 March 1978.

[51]The Newfoundland Herald TV Week, (St. John's: The Sunday Herald Limited and Robinson Blackmore Printing and Publishing Limited), 6 Sept. 1978.

[52]Unrecorded telephone conversation, 10 Sept. 1978; see MUNFLA 77-101 fieldnotes, 10 Sept. 1978.

[53]MUNFLA 78-361 F4245, Good Entertainment II, tape 5, 1 Sept. 1978.

[54]Mac Swackhammer, "Frank Squires--Newfoundland Fiddler," Decks Awash, 7:6, (Dec. 1978), 54-55.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MEANING OF FRANK'S MUSIC AS IT IS EXPLAINED IN HIS STORIES

To know why a person plays music, it must first be determined what the person thinks his music is and means; then investigation can turn to the person's intentions in communication through performance. It is this intention, or purpose, which provides, in part, the value and significance of the repertoire items for the person.

One of Frank Squires' self-expressed purposes for playing the fiddle is to keep his "tradition" alive. It is necessary to understand what Frank means by his "tradition," and how he sees his music fit into this idea. This chapter explains some of Frank's ideas about music by looking at the stories he tells.

Frank uses narratives to explain himself and his music. Like the music, the stories are part of Frank's folklore repertoire. They are about the forces, situations and goals that shaped the non-narrative aspects of his repertoire; the stories are also a response to these same influences. Understanding some of the reasons Frank tells the stories he does, and seeing the kind of image of himself as a musician he presents in the stories, offers insights into his musical repertoire and performance practices.

I. The affect of media on the meaning of Frank's music

Life-history narration is a self-defining process. Social psychologist Allen Pincus suggests the individual's self image can be inferred as he reconstructs memories into narratives: the content may reflect underlying struggles or may involve themes of finding justification for achievements; reminiscences and memorates may also be used to maintain self-esteem, reinforce a sense of identity or to work through personal anxieties.[1]

Memorates, especially those retold often enough to become formulaic, are more than a record of past events. The necessity for the use of formula in such narratives can be seen from this perspective: the narrator needs to arrange his own conceptions--to order his past experiences --so there will be the appearance, for himself and others, of a continuity both of personality and purpose throughout life. Social psychologist Anselm Strauss suggests, "Each person's account of his life as he writes or thinks about it, is a symbolic ordering of events."[2] It is these patterns of symbols seen in the forms and formula of performance as they are manipulated for purpose and used for affect, that must be discovered in the tradition bearer's repertoire.

Often-told memorates are the reporting of events which were, and still are, meaningful in personal and situational terms for the narrator; they come to be told in the way which makes them--as a past event, as a memory, or as a memorate--meaningful. The stories become invested with emotional significance; there is a purpose in their telling. Consider the following versions of a memorate Frank often relates.

[During a conversation on playing history]
Frank: Within nine months from the first day I started the fiddle, well I was on CJON television, on t.v. within nine months, you see.

That's my first opening, (laughs). I had an Eskimo from Labrador with me chording with the guitar. We were both on the "News Cavalcade" together.

Mac: You were living in Labrador at that time?

Frank: No I was living here in St. John's. My friend came down from Labrador. He was Benny Noland, an Eskimo. I believe he's dead now. But Don Jamieson said he was a good guitar player. He was the only fellow I could get to chord me the Newfoundland jigs and reels.

Mac: Can you remember the tune you played that day?

Frank: Ya. One of them was "Uncle Jim" and the next one was the "St. Anne's Reel." 3

[During a talk on media work]
Frank: I was on the "News Cavalcade" on a film run with the fiddle. That was only a short film, see. It was Don Jamieson said that there was a good guitar player here. It was an Eskimo player from up north. So I got him to accompany me, with me.

I said, "You come on t.v. with me?" And he said yes.

The other guys wouldn't go. They were afraid, see. What they were afraid of I don't know, but anyway there was a gentleman come in from CJON television and they rigged up their camera and their films and stuff.

So they said, "Now all we want you to do is play one tune." So Benny the Eskimo, from some part of Labrador somewhere, he and I became quite friends, and he said, "I'll chord with you."

So anyway we sat down that night and watched ourselves. I was playing the "St. Anne's Reel."

Don Jamieson said, "That fellow does a pretty good job of playing the guitar." 4

[During a conversation on learning to play]
Mac: You live in St. John's then?

Frank: Ya, I was 20 years old then. We had, a mostly, mostly I picked up quite a few fiddle tunes from an Eskimo from Labrador and he was a great singing. He was also a guitar player, see. I picked up quite a few tunes from him too, and different ways he showed me how to play. Yet many of the people on 'round the bays played much different from the way this, this Eskimo played.

Mac: Played the fiddle different?

Frank: Oh yes. It was different altogether.
But this Eskimo is gone to, um, a land, what they say?, ah, a land, ah, where you don't die anymore. He died there four years ago.
Matter of fact my first film with CJON was when the boys wouldn't go with me and I asked him to go. He said, "I'll go and chord with you." There's my first film, first one. Only played them, we only had to play one reel, you see.
Don Jamieson used to read the "News Cavalcade." So I sat down and watched meself that night, meself and the Eskimo playing. I played "St. Anne's Reel" that time. And he chorded me on the reel, see. The rest of the boys was afraid to get in front of the camera. 5

The story takes place within a new media situation for Frank. He has explained that, at the time of the filming, television had been in Newfoundland only about six months. He did not have a television and had to watch the programme at a friend's house. He emphasises the fact that the other band members were "afraid" to go on television; his and Benny's self-confidence in the new situation is illustrated. Frank realized the importance of the new technology for advertising and has explained how the televised appearance, despite the lack of a sound track, provided an audience for the band's in-person appearances and increased his personal popularity at parties.

The narrative is, on the surface, about Benny Noland. Benny is the accompanist who makes the appearance possible; it is Benny, not Frank, who is praised by the news commentator.[6] When studying patterns of oral narrative in a Newfoundland fishing community, Lawrence Small pointed out that personal bragging was unacceptable in that egalitarian society. He suggests memorates of past accomplishments or of momentous exploits with which the teller was associated serve the purpose of bragging in an indirect, socially acceptable way.[7] Frank's story can be seen to serve a rhetorical function of affect, establishing his own competence and confidence as a musician, while talking about his friend.[8] The story's repetition and standardization suggest that the need for such proof is common and critical for Frank. It appears that he feels the situation, in which proof is necessary, arises often enough to create a formulaic reply to meet this felt need. It is significant that the story was told during our conversation when Frank felt ignored while other fiddlers performed at the St. John's Folk Festival.[9]

These memorates illustrate part of Frank's value system: for Frank the success of an entertainer and his evaluation as a proficient musician is illustrated by appearance on or in popular media. Frank has never made this statement overtly. What he says instead is:

> I'm a professional. I'm a singer too, but I'm not on records. I had a nine-week country programme with CJON, that was a half-an-hour country and western programme and the fiddle was in there too. 10

The Squires spend much time listening to the radio, watching television and talking on the telephone.[11] Frank often makes reference to

television, radio and newspaper statements as justification or proof of his own opinions;[12] many of his commonly told narratives are detailed retellings of stories taken from popular publications.[13] He sees media as a source of information, opinions and repertoire material, as well as a symbol and potential source of economic gain and personal prestige. Frank was extremely pleased when I published a short personality profile and photograph of him in a free-distribution university-sponsored magazine;[14] he considers the piece equivalent to the write-ups of musicians in the weekly entertainment guide. He tells a long legend about a man who learned a fiddle tune from the fairies, moved to the United States and "made a fortune" playing the tune on radio;[15] the money made with the tune through appearance on mainland broadcasting is one of the dominant themes of the story, and provides a "worth" to the tune itself. In the same way, the fifty dollars Frank was paid for playing on the Cape Breton television show is a central part of another narrative, the first Frank ever told me.[16]

Broadcasting media also influenced the form of Frank's music. When playing as a solo performer, either publically or privately, taped or unrecorded, Frank plays short instrumental bursts, one tune then another, as separate units, not a medley. This appears patterned after radio and television presentations in which a two to three-minute selection fits the maximum alloted time slot. This is unlike a dance context, where a tune is played as long as the square dance figures last or until the dancers get tired and sit down.

In Frank's stories, price is a mark of worth and quality. Music on the media is paid for, thus is a valuable and proper model to emulate.

For Frank, to be paid for playing music is the mark of a professional, even if it is an "old-time fiddle player" receiving a salary of twenty cents-a-night. Being a professional musician is very important to Frank's self-evaluation. When talking about recording artists, Frank explains how he shook hands with and talked to them. Their association with him illustrates, for Frank, that these famous people are not intrinsically better than himself, not special in any way to deserve media attention except they are proficient, successful musicians. At the time when Frank attempted to become a professional musician--to make money playing music--this was a relatively new social role in Newfoundland. The "stars" Frank met provided, in part, the role model. To find that his models were "ordinary, like ourselves," would have encouraged him to attempt the job.

Now, when he mentions other Newfoundland musicians who have appeared on television, in the newspaper, or on records, Frank tells of working with them at folk festivals. His association with these people elevates his self-esteem and status as a musician.

These memorates about media experience reinforce Frank's sense of identity.[17] They supply the listener with a history not just of Frank as a fiddle player, but of a player who has been on television. The programme he sat down to watch and the story about it become as important to his identity as the actual performance. This helps explain why Frank is eager to be interviewed and recorded--he has told me several times of how high school students visit to tape his music for class projects. It helps explain why he poses self-consciously whenever a camera is visible--the photographs in Shirley's albums show Frank performing or holding his

instruments;[18] he suggested he wear his special performance embroidered "western" shirt and use my Martin guitar for a prop when I took field-work photographs. It helps explain why he is anxious to have his festival appearances videotaped and to see the tapes. These tapes appear to be second best to records and televised appearances as a mark of being a professional.

Coupled with his concern for maintaining a tradition, the media technology is doubly important, because it preserves the past.

> Frank: I enjoyed working with them [radio and television] I enjoyed it very much. . . because in radio everybody all over the country will have a chance to hear you. . . . Whereas I heard meself there on the radio there a couple of weeks ago, was a tape they taped, Entertainment, Good Entertainment show there. I heard that on radio.
>
> But apparently, I guess, like everything else, when they get you on tape and when you die your music will still be there. You see. That's what I like about it. It's better today now as compared to the past, you see. In the past they couldn't; if you went on in life, that was it, you know. It was all over. But now they have tape today. They can tape you and therefore when you're gone, the people behind you can still listen to you playing. 19

The festival has somewhat replaced concerts and dances as the active area in which Frank looks for success, and may be seen to be, for him, a new "media," especially when the festivals are taped and video-recorded, photographed and written about in magazines. Frank calls me to report whenever excerpts from the festival tapes are played on local radio folk music programmes. He has begun corresponding with festival visitors who have sent photographs they took of Frank performing. The Newfoundland self-consciousness evident in the regional festivals matches

Frank's concepts of local identity and heritage. He sees the increasing interest in traditional life style and entertainments creating for him a new potential audience and market.

An extension of the festival participation, is Frank's role as a "folklore" informant. My fieldwork has been an opportunity for Frank to preserve his music on tape; speaking to the university folklore students, Frank emphasised descriptions of "old-time" music and dance and his own maintenance of this tradition. Connection with the university and the festivals is providing him with a forum for his role as tradition bearer and "professional" musician.

II. The role of heritage in the meaning of Frank's music.

This dual role of tradition bearer and professional musician is a response to Frank's two-part motivation: 1) that of preserving Newfoundland tradition, and 2) that of performing for and pleasing an audience.

Frank's self-assumed responsibility for the maintenance of Newfoundland tradition is an integral part of his personality, even though much of the music he plays is not strictly "native" Newfoundland. I have asked Frank, "Why do people play the fiddle?"; he has answered simply, "It's in their blood." This kind of appeal to heritage permeates Frank's performances, no matter what the source of his musical material.

What Frank thinks his music is and how it fits into Newfoundland tradition, may be seen in the vocabulary he uses to describe both the music and the tradition.

In his study of the life history as an oral narrative genre, Martin Lovelace attempted to understand the sense of the words in stories by the

"company" they kept. He found certain concepts and certain words were related in "associational clusters," or formed "associational equations."[20] Such an equation or cluster appears in the stories Frank tells about playing for dances, for he never talks about playing for dances without mentioning the salaries. It indicates a relationship between the two concerns of playing music and making a living: that being a musician is having a job.

A similar associational relationship exists, for Frank, between knowing a person's place of origin and establishing their identity. In the middle of any narrative, if a new character is introduced his home community is indicated; Frank never meets a person without asking where they "belong to." The same connection of place and identity--or nature--holds for music, as Frank's taxonomy of fiddle tunes and songs is based, in part, upon geographical/cultural distinctions: Newfoundland versus American and Canadian mainland tunes.

As the taxonomy/terminology is explained in this thesis, it is demonstrated Frank uses two basic criteria to distinguish between and order items in his musical repertoire: nature and use.[21] Nature, as expressed by Frank in geographical/cultural terms, is discussed first, here, followed by a discussion of naming by use in the next chapter.

It is in part the heritage of the composer and/or player which provides a tune with a nature. For example, Frank has mentioned "The Rawlington Skipper" as a tune used for the Newfoundland square dances, explaining it is not a jig or a reel--names derived from the dances done to certain fiddle tunes--but a "Newfoundland tune."[22] The following conversation contains both naming criteria, but the fact that the tune

is Irish--its nature via heritage--is more important as a definitional feature than the dance done to the tune--its use. The description of the "nature" is an indication of the repertoire item's significance in Frank's performance as a tradition bearer. Note also how music of one heritage may be played by musicians from another, but is not played properly because it's not "in the blood."

> Frank: . . . so there was another young fellow there with the same question, he was there watching it too, and he said, "The way you play is sort of on a French style," see. And I said this is how I picked it up, from Quebec Frenchman, from, ah, from Quebec in Labrador City, see. . . .
>
> British Columbia too, has another tune they used one night for a square dance there that was shown there on television. Now that tune I picked up years ago from people from Bonavista Bay, but I never even thought it was used for square dances too, you see.
>
> There's tunes too that, there's lots of tunes in Newfoundland, fiddle tunes are made up, you see, the old-timers make these up, see, and these, these tunes if they were recorded today, I'm sure they'd sell.
>
> . . . There was, see, too there that, ah, one of the Ryan's Fancy do there, played one of these Scottish tunes, there, but it was played in a different style. It was played different. You heard an ordinary fellow, now playing it better than the ordinary Irish fellow himself. Some of them play a Scottish tunes but not so good's the other fellow can, you see. They are Irish and that's it. You can't get it out of their blood, you see.
>
> .
>
> . (story here of meeting a Scottish fiddler)
>
> .
>
> Like the "Rawlington Skipper" is Irish, you know. (plays) See, that's Irish, see Mac, now see, you take note. It's different altogether from a Newfoundland, Newfoundland fiddle tunes. It's a difference, see. . . . There's, there's, I don't know whether it's a jig or a reel. I don't. It's not a jig or it's not a reel, all I know's it's Irish. "The Rawlington Skipper."
>
> I suppose it has something to do with an Irish fisherman. I guess this is where, I don't know who wrote it or where it came from, but it is an Irish tune, you see.

> Now I guess when me and Kelly played it together, at the Good Entertainment show, well now, I guess when he got talking about them, he said I was an Irish fiddler, you see. But apparently I'm not, you see. (plays another tune)
> Now Mac, that's a tune I made up myself. I have to put a title fast to that. I don't even know what that is. I made it up there a couple of weeks ago, see, but anyway it's going to be a Newfoundland tune, anyway 'cause I don't know what it, I have to put a title fast to it. I never heard it before 'til I made it up. 23

II.a The description of the heritage as "old-time"

In Frank's interpretation of his music and musical activity there is a specialized vocabulary which holds for him connotations of identity and nature, in addition to the geographical/cultural names. Words like "old-time," "traditional," "folk," "country," and/or "western" carry an import beyond their descriptive characteristics. The fiddle tune acts as a symbolic statement of a life style conjured by the adjectives; playing such music, for Frank, is an affirmation of and a participation in a set of values associated with the life style.[24] This life style is essentially an idealized conception of Newfoundland "as it was."

> Frank: Used to the days when the sealing, when the steamers be going off to the ice, they'd have all sorts or parties, like this you see. Where'd they's be square dances and fiddle tunes, and of course when the sealers be ready to leave St. John's, of course there's a big party that night. 'Course there was no trouble to go into a house and see a big large number getting ready to sail the next day to the seal hunt. 'Course there'd be fiddle and button 'cordine and a little drop of booze, or whatever you call it, in, alcoholic beverage. But nobody got out of the way. They'd have a few drinks and a big feed and the next morning they'd sail to the seal fishery out to the ice. But always before they left there'd be a big party before they left, you know.
>
> You get two old-time fiddlers there, 'cordine.

Then in St. John's and these old places, they'd clear out the kitchen. Out came the stove maybe if possible. If there was room enough for to get a big crowd dancing on the floor. Then you'd be another room maybe have a big feed of cabbage, potatoes, pease pudding, salt beef, you know. Mom would have old-time ginger bread and stuff cooked. So this was a great day in the old timers. And this is what they want, see.

So when they sailed to the ice the next day, then too, there was danger of a man being drowned or a man being killed or the possibility of being blown up. . . .

.

. (story here of The Viking disaster)

.

My father was a sealer apparently. He, he made three trips to the ice and he, he, he had a, he made a good wage, you know and, usually these days that, you know, if you got a berth to the ice and you were lucky enough you got a berth, well this meant through cash to you, 'cause the fishery was the only means of, ah, of ah, income to the Newfoundland people, you see, 'cause there was no other thing. No such thing as employment around on the land and stuff, construction. There was none of this going ahead. But if you were luck and you got a berth to the ice, this meant through cash for you. You see. This is the same for the cod fishery. I mean if they do get codfish well, you, you, you receive a great deal of money in this.

But years ago there was a different thing. As we became a province of Canada, now we have greater opportunities. . . . Now the old people don't have to go to work anymore, due to the fact they draw the old age pension. And there, we have our school kids getting the best kind of education, probably the best in Canada. Then if a fellow is unemployed through no fault of his own, where he can draw unemployment insurance. . . . Usually now it's higher jobs, higher education and better opportunities. See, so our people growing up now don't have to do what our forefathers done. They, they don't have to do it. Because due to the fact that when we entered Confederation it made it great for Newfoundland. And I think Joey created Heaven here on earth. That's my, my opinion of all of it. 25

To Frank, like most Newfoundlanders, the seal fishery is a

quintessential Newfoundland occupation. Above Frank's bed is a photograph of the sealing ship The Florizel at the ice fields. Beside it used to hang an oil painting he did of The Florizel leaving St. John's harbour. Frank lists painting such pictures and making scale models of the "old-time sealing vessels" as part of his work experience.[26] His narrative repertoire includes detailed retelling of sealing stories and sailing disasters--like the wreck of The Florizel--taken from oral tradition and popular publications.[27]

Frank lives in a society which traditionally measured the worth of a man by his employment and the ability to support his family in a harsh environment.[28] Frank has neither the strong physique or desire necessary for employment in the traditional inshore cod or seal fishery. He often has said, "That is no life for a man, for a boy of 13 to put on his rubber boots and go to work in a dory."[29] But through his narratives about sealing, through his father's activity and through his own painting of the sealing vessels, Frank is able to support and participate in this Newfoundland cultural experience.

In many of Frank's narratives, fiddling and sealing appear together; they appear to be functional equivalents, as parts of and signs of "old-time Newfoundland" cultural heritage. Fiddling and sealing have similar, if not identical, symbolic roles, evocative of a similar set of emotions and values.[30] (It is interesting to note Frank's old fiddle hangs on the wall in the place of one of his oil paintings of The Florizel.) Frank is able to use fiddle playing as a viable alternative, psychologically as well as economically, to traditional forms of employment, like fishing and sealing, because of such a cognitive connection between the two.

Despite his concern for the old Newfoundland ways, Frank speaks highly of contemporary Newfoundland. He sees the raised standard of living and increased educational opportunities as positive results of Confederation. He criticises the old economic system of the province, in which fishermen were dependant on city merchants. He speaks of the merchants collectively as exploiters, and of traditional fishing as back-breaking slavery.

An apparent contradiction exists between Frank's valuing of the old and the new; it is partly through his use of conceptions and terminology like "old-time" that Frank is able to bridge the gap between the old and the new in his repertoire and performance.

The description old-time is used in studies of fiddle music, no doubt because of its ubiquitous popular use. Sam Bayard, writing on traditions in Pennsylvania in the 1940's, set the phrase in quotation marks to distinguish it from an academic musicological term.[31] George Proctor, studying three distinct fiddling traditions in Ontario in 1960 found old-time used by his informants to describe all three.[32] Even within "regular old-time music itself there seem to be regional differences," he states.[33] Neil Rosenberg, studying in the Canadian Maritimes in the 1970's wrote:

> My research project entailed a year-long study of the relationship between the commercial music system known as "country" or "old-time" (most of my informants used these terms interchangeably) and the folk music traditions of the Maritimes. 34

Those interested in recorded American music employ old-time to refer to that section of the 1920's and 1930's commercial country music roughly

equivalent to Columbia recording company's 15000D series or Okeh's Hillbilly music.[35] Okeh Records itself often labled tunes as "old-time music."[36] This designation includes the Anglo-American song and dance band repertoire and style of the rural American south and mid-west, and of those areas closely associated with it through geography or population migration.[37]

But if old-time's meaning is relative --chronologically, geographically and stylistically--from tradition to tradition, I suggest its use is precise for the participant within the tradition because the term is precise emotionally. What is called old-time in one tradition is not the same as in another, but the criteria which make something old-time appear to be consistent from tradition to tradition. Old-time customarily stands for something from the generation before, what parents and especially grandparents and their contemporaries had and did. It may be something which only mimics or is associated with these forms and styles rather than the thing itself. Often it is necessary only for a few significant features of the form and style to be old-time-like to have the entire thing or event called old-time.[38] Certain aspects of the heritage become abstracted and idealized; components of the folklore traditions come to stand for the whole.[39] Music, dialect and work experience particularly are used as evocative of the entire cultural experience.

For Frank, old-time stands for the products and possessions of the previous generation, remembered from youth, which he considers typically Newfoundland material, unique to his heritage. Although much of his instrumental repertoire is non-Newfoundland in source, it has become

part of Newfoundland entertainment in the way that Irish and British broadsides operate within the singing tradition, side by side with locally composed songs. As Frank explains,

> See, a fiddle and a violin, there's no difference in them. If you want to be a violinist, well you don't play jigs or reels, you play this classical music, whatever you prefer. That's a different thing altogether. But now, if you, you are going to playing, playing jigs and reels, you are considered to be a fiddler, an old-time fiddler, we'll say,'cause this is the music that our forefathers used when they were young. . . .
>
> These old-time fiddle tunes are what the Newfoundlanders, our forefathers, used to play in the past. 40

Even if the material is not Newfoundland by source, it is played on instruments which are traditional in Newfoundland--the fiddle and the button accordion--in a style developed and played by Newfoundlanders as "Newfoundland music." Songs and music "from away" have become Newfoundland music through inheritance, the natural operation of tradition. Songs imported through other media channels are also adapted, localized and presented in a manner matching indigenous performance styling. Often new local forms and styles result.[41] Through use and adaptation, instrumental music of Great Britain, Ireland, United States and Canada has become Newfoundland music; this music is used by Frank and called "old-time," associated with the past--his heritage.

At times it seems that, for Frank, the instrumentation is more important than age or origin of the piece for its designation as old-time. The accordion points to Newfoundland dance music, particularly lancer

tunes, regardless of the actual origin of the melody; fiddles play "old-time jigs and reels."

Frank clearly distinguishes between old-time and other music, even country. Country music, for the most part is vocal music or song melodies. Each geographical or cultural region has its own old-time music and style which may be played and shared in other areas, although the styles remain distinct. To Frank, country music is an American product, not Newfoundland old-time and occasionally even distinguished from American old-time.

Frank has delevoped a way of thinking about and talking about his music which allows him to fulfill his purposes of pleasing an audience and maintaining his heritage. Words like old-time bridge the potential gap between his role of tradition bearer and professional musician. "Old-time fiddle music" stands as a symbol for old-time Newfoundland; playing such music is an affirmation of and a participation in that life style. As the life-history narratives are significant in Frank's self-definition and identity as a musician, his conception of the music reinforces this identity by placing him as a player within the stream of old-time Newfoundland tradition.

The reverse of this is also true, since for Frank the nature of the music may be provided by the performer's heritage. Frank's identity as a Newfoundlander places his music within the scope of Newfoundland tradition, whatever the ultimate source of the music.

In the following chapter a more detailed description of Frank's musical taxonomy and terminology is provided showing further distinctions made within the musical types. The study shifts from the narrative

portion of Frank's performance to a concentration on the musical repertoire and Frank's performance as a musician.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1]Allen Pincus, "Reminiscence in Aging and Its Implications for Social Work Practice," Social Work, 15:3 (1970), 51, 53.

[2]Anselm Strauss, "Transformations of Identity," in Human Behaviour and Social Processes, An Interactionist Approach, ed. Arnold M. Rose, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1962), p. 83.

[3]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[4]MUNFLA 77-101 F3051, RMS 77-3(a), 25 Feb. 1977.

[5]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978. See also MUNFLA 77-101, fieldnotes, unrecorded telephone conversation, 10 July 1978. This conversation took place shortly after the Newfoundland Folk Festival. Frank was disappointed and angry he had not been invited to play during the festival's final concert while other fiddlers had played. He told the story about his and Benny's "film" and about the eight-week radio programme on CJON on which he and Stan performed.

[6]Jamieson, the commentator, was part-owner of the radio station, later entered politics and served as Minister for External Affairs in the federal government and leader of the Newfoundland provincial Liberal Party. His opinion is valued, in part, because of his prestigious position.

[7]Lawrence G. Small, "Patterns of Personal Experience Narrative: Storytelling at Cod Harbour, a Newfoundland Fishing Community," (unpub.) M.A. Thesis (Folklore), Memorial University of Newfoundland, (1971), pp. 179ff.

[8]Roger D. Abrahams, "Introductory Remarks on a Rhetorical Theory of Folklore," Journal of American Folklore, 18 (1968), 153-158.

[9]Unrecorded telephone conversation, 10 July 1978. See MUNFLA 77-101, fieldnotes, 10 July 1978.

[10]MUNFLA 78-361 F4245, Good Entertainment II, tape 5, 2 Sept. 1978.

[11]Frank often called me in the evening to tell me country music programmes or country singing artists were on television. At times he called afterwards to discuss the programmes.

[12]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(b), 24 May 1978.

[13]Frank has told me three of Farley Mowat's books, dealing with Newfoundland and sailing, and both books of Cassie Brown, about sealing and sailing disasters. These stories are discussed later in the thesis. See MUNFLA 77-101 F4638c, RMS 78-2(b), 24 May 1978 and MUNFLA 77-101 fieldnote tape F2703, 11 Feb. 1977.

[14]Mac Swackhammer, "Frank Squires--Newfoundland Fiddler," Decks Awash, 7:6 (Dec. 1978), 54-55.

[15]MUNFLA 77-101 F4638c, RMS 78-2(a), 24 May 1978.

AT Motif number F262. Fairies make music; F262.2 Fairies teach music; F345. Fairies instruct mortals. Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature, in 6 Vols., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, rev. ed., 1959).

[16]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[17]Pincus, "Reminiscence," p. 53.

[18]Conversations recorded while examining the photoalbum are, MUNFLA 77-101 F3051, RMS 77-3(a-b), 25 Feb. 1977. See MUNFLA 77-101 fieldnote tape F2704, 25 Feb. 1977, for commentary.

[19]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[20]Martin Lovelace, "Life History as an Oral Narrative Genre," in Papers From The Fourth Annual Congress, 1977, Canadian Ethnology Society, ed., Richard J. Preston, (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, ⌊Canadian Ethnology Service Paper, No. 40⌋), 211-223.

[21]Charles O. Frake, "The Ethnographic Study of Cognitive Systems," in Anthropology and Human Behaviour, eds. Thomas Gladwin and William C. Sturtevant, (Washington: The Anthropological Society of Washington, 1962), pp. 72-85, is the methodology used for detailing Frank's taxonomy of music, and is discussed further in the following chapter.

[22]"The Rawlington Skipper," usually "The Rollicking Skipper," (trad.), see Harry Hibbs, More Harry Hibbs, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phono-disc, Arc AS-908.

[23]MUNFLA 77-101 F4638c, RMS 78-2(b), 24 May 1978.

[24]Alan P. Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, (Evanston, Ill.:

Northwestern University Press, 1964), p. 234. For one study of music as such a symbol system, see Charles Keil, Urban Blues, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1966). Keil demonstrates the use of the word "soul" to stand for a constellation of meanings evocative of a life style and to describe a sound system which represents the concept; also Jeff Titon, Early Downhome Blues: A Musical and Cultural Analysis, (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1977), for the use of "downhome" to designate a sound which evokes a common "sense" of place and a common feeling. This reference was suggested by Peter Narváez, Memorial University of Newfoundland Department of Folklore.

[25]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[26]MUNFLA 78-361 F4245, Good Entertainment II, tape 5, 2 Sept. 1978.

[27]See Cassie Brown, Death on the Ice: The Great Newfoundland Sealing Disaster of 1914, with Harold Horwood, (Toronto: Doubleday and Company, 1972), and Brown, A Winter's Tale: The Wreck of The Florizel, (Toronto: Doubleday and Company, 1976).

[28]John Roper Scott, "The Function of Folklore in the Interrelationship of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery and the Home Communities of the Sealers," (unpub.) M.A. Thesis (Folklore), Memorial University of Newfoundland, (1975), pp. 137ff., 141ff.

[29]Unrecorded conversation, 25 Feb. 1977. See MUNFLA 77-101, field-note tape F2704, 25 Feb. 1977.

[30]In long conversations about music, certain patterns can be discovered in Frank's descriptions. Two recorded conversations started with descriptions of Newfoundland songs and Frank's interpretation of their content, changed to talk of traditional Newfoundland work experience, moved through sealing and shipping disasters as examples of the danger of traditional employment, discussion of poor wages and ended up praising J.R. Smallwood for bringing the benefits of Confederation. Frank then asked if there was "anything more about fiddling" that I wanted to know. Other unrecorded conversations were similar in content and structure. See MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977; MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(b), 24 May 1978.

[31]Samuel Preston Bayard, Hill Country Tunes, Instrumental Folk Music of Southwestern Pennsylvania, Memoires of the American Folklore Society, Vol. 39, (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1944), p. xiii.

[32]George A, Proctor, "Old Time Fiddling in Ontario," in National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 190, Contribution to Anthropology, 1960, Part II, (Ottawa: The Queens Printer, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963), pp. 173-208.

[33]Proctor, "Old Time Fiddling," p. 183.

[34]Neil V. Rosenberg, "Studying Country Music and Contemporary Folk Music Traditions in the Maritimes: Theory Techniques and the Archivist," Phonographic Bulletin, 14 (May 1976), 18-21; rpt. in Rosenberg, Country Music in the Maritimes: Two Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland Department of Folklore Reprint Series, No. 2, (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1976), p. 13.

[35]Archie Green, "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol," Journal of American Folklore, 78 (1965), 204-228.

[36]Bill C. Malone, Country Music USA, A Fifty-Year History, Publications of the American Folklore Society, Memoire Series, Vol. 54, (Austin and London: The University of Texas Press for the American Folklore Society, 1968), p. 44.

[37]John Cohen, "Introduction to Styles in Old-Time Music," in The New Lost City Ramblers Song Book, eds. John Cohen and Mike Seeger, (New York: Oak Publications, 1964), pp. 10-21.

[38]For example, the new sound of bluegrass in the late 1940s and early 1950s found an audience with older country music listeners dissatisfied with the modern country-pop and Nashville sound, in part because the tune and song repertoire of bluegrass was based on older, traditional material. The main instruments, mandolin, banjo and fiddle, although played in a different style, were reminiscent of "old-timey" string bands. This process of association was reversible With an increase in the popularity of bluegrass among an audience unfamiliar with the older sound, old-time musicians were mistakenly associated with and labled "bluegrass." Here being "pre-electric" was a significant feature. See Malone, Country Music USA, pp. 325-331.

[39]Neil V. Rosenberg, "Folklore in Atlantic Canada: The Enigmatic Symbol," in Atlantic Provinces Literature Colloquium: The Marco Polo Papers, One, (St. John, N.B.: Atlantic Canada Institute/L'Institue Canadien de L'Atlantique, 1977), pp. 79-86. See also Paul Mercer and Mac Swackhammer, "'The Singing of old Newfoundland Ballads and a cool glass of good beer go hand in hand': Advertising and the Use of 'tradition' in Newfoundland Popular Media," Culture & Tradition, 3 (1978), 36-45.

[40]MUNFLA 77-101 F4646, RMS 77-1B(a-b), 11 Feb. 1977.

[41]Gordon Cox, "Some Aspects of Musical Acculturation in the Repertoire of a Newfoundland Singer," Culture & Tradition, 2 (1977), 91-104; Peter Narvaéz, "Country and Western in Diffusion: Juxtaposition and Syncretism in the Popular Music of Newfoundland," Culture & Tradition, 2 (1977), 105-114, are two studies of this process.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MEANING OF FRANK'S MUSIC, SEEN IN ITS USE AND PERFORMANCE STYLE

Frank Squires has heard and learned from the two musical traditions which have produced contemporary Newfoundland music: the older, relatively stable traditional songs and dance band music of European settlers; and the newer, constantly changing mainland popular music styles, most often determined by broadcasting and recording industries in the United States. As Herbert Halpert suggests:

> Apparently singers in Newfoundland are doing what Charles Seeger observed that Appalachian mountain boys did when they heard songs and song-styles on hillbilly recordings and radio. First they tried to imitate this prestigious music; but eventually they adapted the material creatively, developing their own musical styles. One might say that these artificially introduced styles generated their own dynamics. 1

One might argue over the phrase "artificially introduced," but it is clear that during inter-cultural contact acculturation is a constant process.[2] Musicians and performers consciously and unconsciously participate in it, even on an inter-personal level. It is a natural part of the learning process for those who have an opportunity to experience music other than their own.[3] In Newfoundland much of the "new" material and innovative performance styles have been gleaned from popular media sources rather than in the face-to-face interaction situation considered

the sphere of folklore study.[4] This should not prevent the use of such terms as "traditional" or "folk" when dealing with performers like Frank who have been influenced by popular media sources. Frank places himself and his musical efforts directly in the mainstream of folk tradition, while maintaining clear distinction between that music and popular music.

> Mac: How come you bought a fiddle when you couldn't play it?
>
> Frank: I was interested in old-time fiddle tunes and our people of Newfoundland, 'cause, 'cause Newfoundland was well noted for the old days and the old men years ago. This is all they used to use, you see. If it wasn't the fiddle, it was accordine. I, so I became interested in the fiddle because I thought a lot of our old-timers years ago.
>
> Now it's not like that today of course, because we have these big rock string bands, and very rarely you'll see a fiddle being played today on account of the new bands have been taking over, so the people go for this stuff.
>
> But mind you, if you do get a couple of good old-time fiddle players and go to a hall or some parish place like that in Newfoundland, you'll get people sit down and watch you and listen to you, see. So the reason was, I fell in love with people. I felt as though that I should do something for me country and try to keep it alive in the old Newfoundland style. You see. I remember Premier Smallwood, J.R. Smallwood said we mustn't lose our Newfoundland heritage. So I feel as though by playing the fiddle, I feel as though I'm going to keep this alive. 5

> Frank: Mostly I fell in love with American country style music, western. This is what I fell in love with mostly. But in order to keep Newfoundland tradition on the move, I must the fiddle. . . . 6

Frank's musical performance style--his choice of instruments, technical practices, idiom and repertoire material--includes traditional

Newfoundland dance music played on the button accordion; a combination of fiddling styles from Newfoundland, Canada, Scotland and the United States, with which he plays dance music, show pieces and country and western songs; and 1950s popular hit parade country and western songs, sung with a guitar in a high-pitched, tight-throated voice. The string band Frank organized with several friends in the late-1950s was a concrete example of these musical ideas.

The band played with an amplification system and electric guitar, "not too loud just so the people in the back of the hall could hear."[7] Band members wore embroidered cowboy shirts on stage.[8] The band played dance music with button accordion, piano accordion, fiddle and drums for the Lancers and other Newfoundland square dances. Frank and another band member sang contemporary country and western songs with an acoustic guitar, for slow dancing and waltzes between Lancer sets. The band's audience consisted of older and younger people who demanded both traditional and modern music. As Frank explains, "You had to play what the people wanted."[9]

These musical materials and performance styles were not blended into one, but in conception and practice remained separate entities--distinct, named categories with different functions and portions in the show/dance. The use of amplification did not alter the class of music, but was added to each to give the band versatility and increase its professionalism. These features are still true for Frank's performances and the distinct divisions between Newfoundland and mainland music, between old-time and country-western music are present in his conversations. In Frank's fiddling, even the physical approach to the instrument differs from musical type to musical type as he understands them.[10]

I. Frank's use of Hank Williams' songs

The reason for the personal aesthetic, or taste, which singles out particular items among others for acquisition into a performance repertoire may remain mysterious. Frank's preference for the sound and words of Hank Williams' songs over Irish songs is not easily explained, considering the value Frank places on his musical Irish ancestry. However, the purpose with which he sings these songs may be suggested from his use of them. When Frank sings "They'll Never Take Her Love From Me," or "Never Again (Will I Knock on Your Door)," he is communicating with his wife Shirley.[11] He often speaks asides directly to her while singing, pointing out lyrics which are especially applicable to their relationship. At times Shirley sings along and usually laughs or smiles at Frank's spoken commentary.

As Frank explains, the songs are about "a girl, . . . love, . . . or the blues."[12] Like many country songs, the lyrics deal with unrequited love, lovers' quarrels, mistreated lovers or forbidden love. There is a humorous irony in Frank's communication to Shirley through these songs. The songs may have featured in their courtship, since all the early pictures of Frank in Shirley's photo album show him performing or with a guitar.

Why these particular songs and not others were used is a result of their availability in the popular music of the time, and their applicability to the situation, as well as the Squires' personal taste. That "They'll Never Take Her Love From Me," and "A Mansion On the Hill," are the first two songs Frank sings whenever he sings, is indicative of the songs' significance. This significance may have surpassed personal

taste as an active force in establishing the songs' place in the performance repertoire.

D.K. Wilgus has demonstrated the presence of the value system of "the cowboy myth" in hillbilly and western music.[13] He points out that Hank Williams was a bridge between the rural and urban music audiences, as he expressed the forces and fears operating in a rapidly changing American society. Something about the Hank Williams style of music struck a responsive chord in Frank and his audience. As Aaron Latham has written on the contemporary "urban cowboy" life style in Texas:

> One way the Cowboy Code is transmitted to the new urban cowboy is through country-and-western music. How [the urban cowboy] sees his world is shaped by the songs he hears on the radio and the lyrics sung by the band at [the bar] . Country music is the city cowboy's Bible, his literature, his self-help book, his culture. It tells him how to live and what to expect. 14

Latham and Wilgus both discuss the communicative content of the music--the lyrics--and illustrate the symbolic, referential function the music may hold.[15] It is important to note, as well, that the local community entertainer may use the content and referent of the music as his own message.

Frank Squires heard and "fell in love with American country style music," especially Hank Williams. The words and music, the meaning and the sound, appealed to his personal aesthetic. This music was also popular with an audience Frank needed to please in order to become a successful entertainer. These two motivations were complementary and the Hank Williams' songs entered Frank's active repertoire. The songs remain in his active repertoire as he uses them to convey a private message, to his wife, through public performance.

II. Frank's description of the music, according to its use

Because instrumental music does not have a denotational language content from which to determine its "meaning," investigation must turn to the words used by the musician to talk about his music. The understanding gained from the semantic distinction may be checked against non-verbal performance-practice distinctions. For example, musics Frank differentiates by name, he uses differently in practice.

II.a Jigs and Reels

Frank speaks of "jigs and reels" often as a unit, referring to a type of "old-time fiddle music." For much of our early conversations I thought the terms "jigs" and "reels" were interchangable when referring to tunes in general, in Frank's use. Frank once referred to "The Tuckerman's Jig" as "quite a reel."[16] He gave such descriptions as:

> I only played one reel there, and so apparently I got fifty dollars. They gave me fifty dollars for one jig. I was amazed really, you know. I never thought a Newfoundlander could go to Nova Scotia and get fifty bucks for playing one reel. 17

At times, certain tunes were called reels and others jigs, despite or contrary to the presence of the designation jig or reel in the tune's title. Occasionally "jigs and reels" was contrasted with "tunes" when referring to some music. [18]

Technically jigs and reels are contrasted by their time signature, or rhythmic structure: 6/8 or 9/8 for jigs and 2/4 or 4/4 for reels. But when Frank wrote a 6/8 tune he called it "The Isabella St. John Reel," because, he said, it was the kind of tune like the old Newfound-

land reels.[19] When playing another 6/8 tune, "Uncle Jim," Frank said he did not know whether it was a jig or a reel; he refers to "The Flop Eared Mule," a 4/4 tune, as an "old Canadian jig."[20]

I was confused by these different uses of the words jigs and reels because I associated them with certain technical aspects of the tunes and Frank obviously used other criteria to judge between a jig, a reel or a tune. Eventually it became clear to me that Frank was speaking of the dances done to certain tunes, and the name was determined by the tune's use.

Mac: You don't make up many reels do you?

Frank: Not a lot, no. I'm after making up quite a few different tunes, but I wouldn't say you'd call them reels. They're more of, of a jigs, I guess.

Mac: What's the difference between a jig and a reel?

Frank: A reel is better than a jig. A reel is better than a jig. There is a great difference in the tune. Like for instance, you take "The Rippling Water Jig," you'll find that's a different tune from a reel, you see.
(plays a 6/8 tune, using no shuffle-bow strokes, only saw strokes) 21

Mac: But that seems to have the same sort of rhythm like the one you made up for Isabella although you call that a reel.

Frank: It may have the rhythm, but it's different, you see.

Mac: I still don't understand. . . . like "Big John McNeil," is that a reel or a jig?

Frank: Well Mac, I do not know. I guess you could call it, it was used years ago as old-time square dances, you see.
(plays "Big John McNeil")
There is a fast start. Ah, see, and fellows and girls are out changing up on the floor, see, changing

partners. There's a fast, and if they turned this into a reel, they are going to have to be on the floor one hour steady dancing.

Mac: Oh, so in other words, a reel is a kind of a dance?

Frank: Ya, it is.

Mac: And a jig is a different kind of a dance?

Frank: A jig is different altogether.

Mac: So it doesn't really have anything to do with the tune itself?

Frank: No. See the two different tunes are different. They are different altogether. . . .

[In this way Frank is also saying "different" tunes have distinct, recognizable melodies.]

. . . and then too, there is the step dance tunes, where you get out on the floor and a fellow will step dance to himself. Now that's a different type of tune altogether. . . . (plays a tune)

Mac: Now, you call that neither a jig or a reel, but (pause)

Frank: No. That's what you call a step dance tune. We used to use, we used to use, the old man used to step dance to this tune, "The Old Man and The Old Woman" this is what we used to do it here in this country. 22

Now I don't know if they used the same type of tunes on the Canadian mainland or not. Now that I don't know. But they use, I see a gentleman there one night on television playing "Big John McNeil," and they turned it into a step dance. I seen a young girl doing this on t.v., now I don't know if this is correct or, or not. Or maybe the fiddler doesn't know a step dance tune probably to play, but he used "Big John McNeil" for a young lady doing a step dance. . . .

But usually years, when I learned it from the old-timers, it was always done, it was an old-time Newfoundland square dance. See. So that's all I can tell you on that part of it. But I see this gentleman, he used "Big John McNeil" for this girl from some part of Quebec somewhere. . . and she step danced to this tune that he played. . . . I know it is different altogether from a reel or a jig. It is different tunes, you see, different types. 23

Realizing Frank's criteria for naming depends, in part, on the dances done with the tunes, helps explain why the emphasis of his fiddling is on strong, punchy rhythm rather than melody. It suggests Frank's criteria for good and bad tunes is based not on the sound of the tune but on whether or not the tune is easy to dance to.[24] The proper evaluation of Frank's playing can only be done when the music is understood to be "dance music," intended to stimulate and satisfy movement not passive listening. Frank's deviation from standard tune models, both in structure and melody, was a secondary consideration for him, compared to making music with a solid danceable rhythm. Now that he is playing more with musicians who have different technical and aesthetic standards, and playing in new performance contexts other than dances, Frank is becoming more aware of standard or "right and wrong" ways of rendering a tune. This process is part of Frank's learning experience which is detailed further in a following chapter.

II.b The "turn" of a tune

An important word in Frank's descriptions of music is "turn." The word has many meanings. The majority of fiddle tunes are two-part pieces. The first strain is designated [A]; the second strain, usually chromatically higher than the first, is designated [B] . Basically, the turn of a tune is the second part of the two-part reel or jig. At the change from the [A] to the [B]-part in the tune, the square dancers change figures, or swing; the change in the music supplies the cue. Because of this, instrumentalists have developed tricks in making the change to the second part more prominent. Accordion players, for example, may take air into the bellows at the end of the [A]-part, and begin the

[B]-part with an increased volume or surge with a quick closing of the bellows. In this way, "turning a tune" also has the connotation of how one plays the piece. To play the turn means both to play the second part of the piece and also to do the proper technical movements involved with playing the [B]-part properly. "To turn a tune" can merely mean to play a tune.

Occasionally when Frank says a tune has a "lot of turns" in it, this can mean there are certain tricky note patterns, or "turns;" also called "putting in runs." When someone is said to "turn a tune" differently than another player, this means putting in different notes or ornamentation, called turns--around the basic melody. Essentially it means one version sounds different than another. For a fiddler, turning the tune differently may involve using different notes, different ornamentation, or different bow patterns and phrasing, all of which makes the piece sound "different" or distinctive.

Words and labels provide clues to the speaker's conception of objects. Adjectives may carry connotations and implications from other experiences. The word turn implys a linear, movement, orientation in its use with fiddle tunes. It may have first been used because dancers turned, or swung, at certain points in the tune. At the same time it indicates the understanding of a change of direction, or part, in the tune itself. Frank knows there are two parts to each dance tune, except, for him, waltzes, since he used song melodies for these slow dances. At the same time he does not play the tunes in regularly repeated patterns, as they would be needed for a dance. Fiddle tunes with [A] and [B]-parts are customarily played [AA] [BB] [AA] [BB], and so on. Frank's renditions are

comparatively erratic; at times he may play one part once, twice, three times or more before changing. He often ends unexpectedly, without completing the full two-part cycle.

Perhaps Frank never played with musicians who forced him to learn the pattern of regular repeats. More likely the style of dancing was changing while Frank was learning to play. Set and square dancing has lost its prominence and has been replaced by single step dancing, or step dancing in couples, without the accompanying figures.[25] When the figures were not done, the two parts of the tune had no meaning for the dance, and their regular repetition was not necessary.

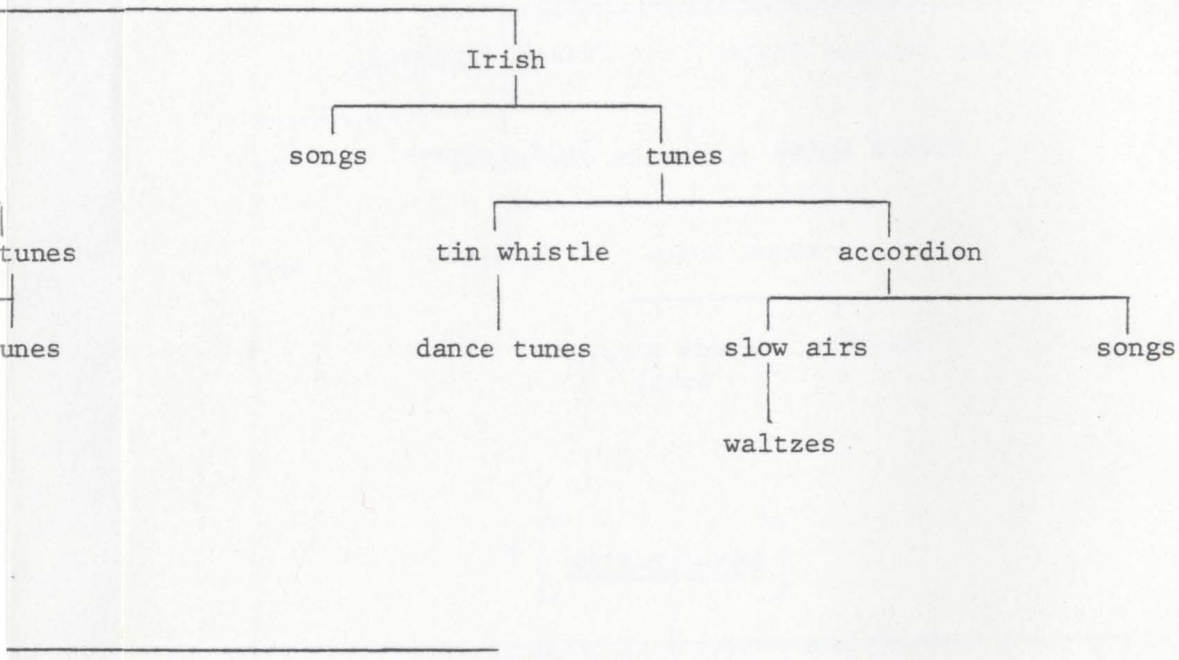
III. Frank's terminology and taxonomy for instrumental music

To continue demonstrating Frank's terminology and taxonomic structure for instrumental music, some definitions must be established for clarity in the discussion. These definitions follow Charles Frake's method for the ethnography of cognitive systems.[26]

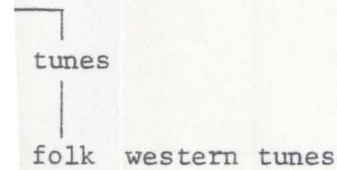
A terminologically distinguished array of objects is called a segregate; a group of contrasted segregates forms a contrast set.[27]

For example, in Frank's use, "dance tunes" is a segregate identifying forms of music, which contrast with other segregate sets such as "songs" and "American country style" music, although in practice all three musical segregates may be danced to. Segregates are formed and are contrasted by certain features of the objects significant for the person who names them. Songs are songs even when danced to, for Frank, because he knows them to be "worded," while dance tunes are instrumental music.

Some segregates include a wider range of objects than others and



rock and roll



subpartitioned by contrast sets. For example, the segregate "dance tunes" contains the contrast sets "reels," "step dance tunes," tunes used for the lancers, and "waltzes." "Square dance tunes" is a segregate within, or sub-group of, "dance tunes;" it includes the segregates "reels" and tunes used for the Lancers but excludes the segregate "waltzes" because waltzes are not square dances in Frank's musical system.

It is necessary to determine the relationships of inclusion and exclusion which organize the various contrast sets. Segregates in different contrast sets may be related by inclusion in a hierarchical ordering of categories; each contrast set is a more exclusive sub-grouping within a larger, more inclusive segregate. A system of contrast sets so related is a taxonomy.

> This definition does not require a taxonomy to have a unique beginner, i.e., a segregate which includes all other segregates in the system. It requires only that the segregates at the most inclusive level form a demonstrable contrast set. 28

Frank uses two classification criteria which combine to provide for a tune-type segregate. He uses classification by Nature, provided by the known or assumed heritage of the tune or some technical property, like instrumentation, of the tune, (see chart one). For example, songs contrast with tunes because songs are known to be worded, and remain songs even if the words are not used in performance. Frank also has a definitional distinction by Use, (see chart two). For example, dance tunes have different uses--the names of the tune types are determined by the dances done to them: jigs, reels, step dance tunes, square dance

NOTES TO CHART ONE:

Classification by Nature

[1]A known composer may provide the opportunity for the creation of a sub-set, such as a Don Messer fiddle tune or a Hank Williams country/western/cowboy song.

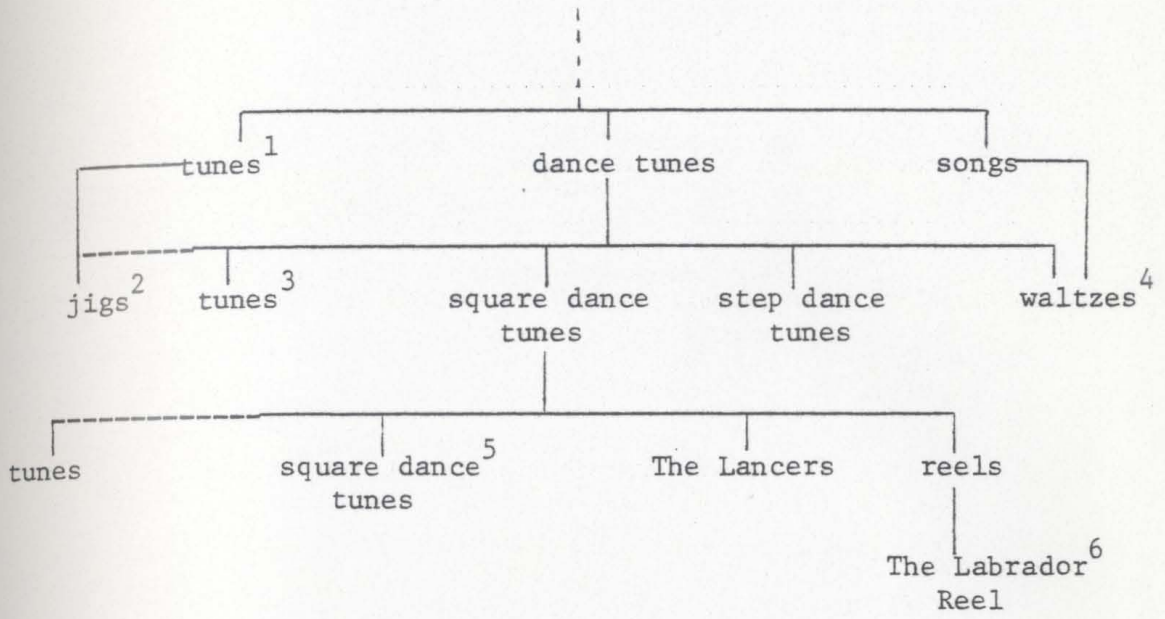
[2]A song is known to be "worded" and remains a song even when the words are not used in performance.

[3]Frank may say "old-time folksong," but does not say "old-time folk tune." An old-time tune may have a known author. A folksong or folk tune does not have a known author.

[4]Western songs may at times be described as American folksongs. However, in Frank's use, not all American folksongs are western songs.

[5]The bracketed section and terms are implied in the conversations, but not specified. Newfoundland folk tunes are once contrasted, within the same segregate set, with reels and jigs, implying that some folk tunes may be used for dance music.

CHART TWO: CLASSIFICATION BY USE



[1]Tunes meant for listening are contrasted with dance tunes and songs, but have no special name other than "tunes."

[2]Frank has both said that jigs are not dance tunes and are meant for listening, and said that jigs are a type of dance which gives its name to the tune.

[3]Some dance tunes are contrasted with square dance tunes, and are just called "tunes." This is a contrast set of tunes for which Frank does not know the dances done. The segregate called "tunes" may exist on every level of contrast as an anonymous category necessary to fill gaps in knowledge.

[4]Songs may be used as waltzes but remain songs even if the words are not sung.

[5]Frank has both called The Lancers a kind of square dance and has contrasted Lancers with "an old-time Newfoundland square dance." He has also done this with square dances and reels, but more commonly contrasts reels and jigs and square dances.

[6]The Labrador Reel may simply be a specialized kind of reel and not a separate category.

tunes. In this way, a slow song may be used as a waltz and may, at times, be called by either name.

It can be argued, from Frank's conversations, that the particular use of a tune is determined by something about the tune's technical nature. As he explains, "they are different types of tunes," "the two different tunes are different, they are different altogether." However, the tunes appear to be more "different" in the dances done to them than in their nature, since a "square dance tune" may be "turned into a reel" if the dancers care to be on the floor long enough to dance the hour-long reel set.[29]

With these criteria of nature and use, a particular tune may be referred to as an "old-time Newfoundland reel." The old-time and Newfoundland aspects of the definitional label are provided by the tune's nature and heritage; it is a reel by use.

Frank's initial segregate categories are "old-time" and non-old-time. I can find no word in our conversations which he uses to mean "non-old-time" because it is a cognitive more than a linguistic distinction. Old-time is something "our forefathers" had or did;[30] non-old-time is "different."

Each cultural/geographical region may have both old-time and non-old-time music. Unless Frank is specifically speaking of another cultural/geographical region, when he uses old-time he is probably speaking of Newfoundland music. Within each cultural/geographical old-time segregate are various other contrast sets, beginning most commonly with the contrast sets of songs and tunes played on fiddle, accordion or other "old-time" instruments like a tin whistle, flute or pipes--notably not the guitar. Tunes meant for listening and not dancing are

a contrast set to the segregate dance tunes, but are only called "tunes." "Dance tunes" also contains a segregate set called simply "tunes," which contrasts with the segregates "reels," "step dance tunes," and so on--that is, it is a dance tune but Frank does not know what kind of dance is done to the tune.

There is, to me, a certain amount of ambiguity in Frank's use of the term "jigs." He has said that "jigs are not dance tunes," and that he used jigs at dances between the sets of Lancers, playing jigs for people to listen to while they rested and waited for another dance.[31] At other times he clearly contrasts jigs and reels, on the same segregate level of contrast within the category of dance tunes. A similar problem has arisen when discussing the Lancers, a form of Newfoundland quadrille. Frank has spoken of doing "the old-time Newfoundland square dances, the Lancers," and also talked of square dances which were not Lancers, speaking of "square dances and Lancers." His interest in, and description of reels contrasts that dance, and the tunes used for that dance, with both square dances and the Lancers. The following two conversations are not uncommon in their strict, but ambiguous, definitions.

> [After playing a set of fiddle tunes and being asked for the names]
> Frank: One of them is the Newfoundland's own "Rawlington Skipper" and the other one is "The St. Anne's Reel." It's quite noted here in Newfoundland for the old-time square dances. The first one I played I don't, I'm just not quite sure what it is but it is a Newfoundland tune.
>
> There are some Newfoundland tunes and old reels I play, but some of the names I do know what they are, but most of them I don't know. This the old-timers could tell me what these old-time tunes are, you see.

But mostly "St. Anne's Reel" now, and "The Rawlington Skipper," they are also played in Canadian and mainland tunes, too; the same "St. Anne's Reel" is quite a favorite, mostly on t.v. and in the old-time Newfoundland square dances. This is where they used the tune at, see.

Who wrote "St. Anne's Reel" I don't know, but it is a good tune. And "The Rawlington Skipper" is noted here in Newfoundland, usually used in square dances. I do believe it is a Newfoundland tune. This "The Rawlington Skipper," now. Most of the old-timers themselves used this quite often. And you get two old-time fiddle players they'd play this tune together and they would do the Newfoundland square dances. This is what they used to dance to.

It takes an hour to dance a reel. This old-time reel. "The Dusty Miller's Reel" is another one is called the "Big John McNeil." This is the early days where they used to use this one too for a Newfoundland square dance.

Like I said, it takes an hour to dance a reel, and there's sixteen sets in a reel. That's a Newfoundland reel. Now there's sixteen sets in this part and it takes a whole hour to dance this and this would consist of two old-time fiddlers. This was in the past now. 32

[Talking about kinds of music]
Mac: Then, a lot of Newfoundland waltzes are songs too?

Frank: Ya, they are, they are songs but you can use them as a waltz, you see. If the person is singing this song, you can get, um, what he's singing, what the 'cordine plays, see is a song, but you can use it as a waltz and the old-timers will get up on the floor and waltz to it. 33

In any segregate, tunes and songs with a known author may be provided with their own segregate category--for example a "Don Messer tune" or a "Hank Williams song." This, however, does not change the basic nature of the category just adds a further refinement within the contrast set.

To divide Frank's categories of American music is more an analytical practice than one which is necessary in conversation. He has many different terms to refer to American music. It is obviously not "jigs and reels," but whether, in practice, "American folk songs," "western songs," "American early folk western tunes," "American type country music," "American country style music," "western," and "cowboy" music are contrast sets is questionable. The music is different from "American old-time fiddle tunes," and during conversations it appears Frank does not think that all American folk songs and tunes are country music. However, Frank's interest in American music is limited mainly to one type of music and that specifically to one artist. He may not have had exposure to enough variety of American music to develop a strict system with completely exclusive categories.

Confusion arising from the multiple use of the word "tunes," and from the inclusive/exclusive nature of terms such as dance tune, square dance tune and reels, arises only in the abstraction of the taxonomy out of the conversational context--in which the taxonomy operates naturally--into an analytic chart for exposition--where the taxonomy is forbidden the flexibility allowed in practice. In spoken language it is not uncommon for the same linguistic form to designate segregates at different levels of contrast within the same system.[34] The terminology must be checked with a parallel taxonomy in the way the named items are used.

Frank's playing technique, which differs between musical types in his classification, and the differing uses he makes of the various types of music he classifies, offer further refinements to the abstracted system. What is obvious, and important, is that the unique conception

he holds of the music and his personal aesthetic, or taste, are well defined on practical as well as terminological levels.

> Mac: What's the difference between a Scottish tune and an Irish tune?
>
> Frank: The Scottish tune is a better tune. The Scottish tune is better.
>
> Mac: But what makes it better?
>
> Frank: It's a different altogether, you heard an Irish tune and Scottish, is different. It's a different tune, you see. The Scots seems to be a better tune than the Irish tune is. Although some Irish tunes are good, but I prefer the Scots tune the best.
>
> Mac: You mean they sound better, is that what you mean?
>
> Frank: They sound better, ya, they sound better. (pause)
>
> Mac: More notes or less notes or what?
>
> Frank: I'd say there is more notes. There is more notes and their bowing is different. The bowing is quite a bit different in, there is more bowing and more notes in the Scottish tunes than in the ordinary Irish tunes. 35

What is especially significant in Frank's use of the terminology is that it indicates there is, for him, a marked distinction between country music and old-time music, and between musics which come from different cultural/geographical heritages. These distinctions are paralleled in his value system, in his separation of the music styles and products in performance, and his technical manipulation of the instruments he plays.

As an alternative to the analytical structure indicated in Chart One, "Classification by Nature," it could be suggested that Frank's

initial contrast sets are the cultural/geographical regions from which the music comes. Within these segregates, then, the music would divide into segregates of old-time and non-old-time within each cultural/geographical category. This would produce a different diagramme, however the segregate sets would still operate on the same levels of inclusion/exclusion and contrast within the separate branches. Such an analytic structure was not used because of the presence of the segregate "rock" or "rock and roll." This type of music, which belongs primarily to young people, not the "old-timers," is a form of non-old-time music which is not geographically bound.[36] Frank does not consider the age difference of the players and audience a cultural distinction on the level at which he distinguishes between American, Scottish, Irish and Newfoundland things. Also, old-time music from various areas may be shared and used by members of various heritage groups--while not playing it "perfect." This indicates that the character of the music's old-timeyness is preemptive to the geographical/cultural distinctions. Frank has adopted "the Canadian polka" and "The Rippling Water Jig," and uses them side-by-side with his Newfoundland music. He knows that "St. Anne's Reel" and "Big John McNeil" are not indigenous Newfoundland tunes, and that "The Rawlington Skipper" is a Newfoundland tune from Ireland and also played in "Canadian and mainland square dances." It is the tunes' old-time character which allows Frank to use the fiddle to "keep Newfoundland tradition alive."

Frank has a personal way of classifying his music; he also has an individual way of playing it. Understanding his classification and use of the music provides insights into the meaning of the music, for Frank,

but it does not explain why Frank plays the way he does. The life-history has indicated several factors of time and place which were influential in Frank's choice of musical repertoire items. The vocabulary and taxonomy indicate how Frank thinks about the music. In the next chapter learning practices are discussed, to suggest reasons for Frank's performance practices and the manner in which he developed his musician's role.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

[1]Herbert Halpert, "Preface," to A Regional Discography of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1904-1972, by Michael Taft, Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, Bibliographical and Special Series, No. 1, (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1975), pp. v-vi.

[2]William Bascom, "The Main Problems of Stability and Change in Tradition," Journal of the International Folk Music Council, 11 (1959), 7-12; Alan P. Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), pp. 303-319.

[3]Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, pp. 313-314.

[4]Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," Journal of American Folklore, 84 (1971), 12.

[5]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[6]MUNFLA 77-101 F3052, RMS 77-2(a), 25 Feb. 1977.

[7]MUNFLA 77-101 F3051, RMS 77-3(b), 25 Feb. 1977; unrecorded conversation, 24 May 1978.

[8]See, Neil V. Rosenberg, "A Brief Survey of Bluegrass Haberdashery," Bluegrass Unlimited, 2:9 (March 1968), 6.

[9]MUNFLA 77-101 F3051, RMS 77-3(b), 25 Feb. 1977.

[10]When Frank plays what he calls a jig, or Newfoundland tune, the saw-stroke is predominant in his bowing; the saw stroke is also present in his playing of reels but not to the exclusion of shuffle-bow patterns. However, when Frank plays what he describes as an American old-time, or American fiddle tune, the shuffle-bow patterns are predominant; several of Frank's American tunes are constructed entirely of held, double-stop chords sounded by a continuous shuffle-bow rhythm. In country songs, Frank uses legato bowing, almost to the exclusion of saw strokes. When playing "American style" Frank introduces the tune with a formulaic opening pattern, the shuffle-rhythm sounding the opening chord; he closes the tunes with a formulaic tag-ending, a descending-note pattern with a specialized rhythm. Such opening and closing features rarely enter Frank's Newfoundland music.

[11]"Never Again (Will I Knock On Your Door)," written by Hank Williams, copyright by Fred Rose Music, 1948. See Hank Williams' Country Music Folio, (Nashville: Acuff-Rose Sales, Inc., n.d.), pp. 34-35; Hank Williams, Hank Williams in the Beginning, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, MGM Records, SE-4576.

[12]MUNFLA 77-101 F3052, RMS 77-2(a), 25 Feb. 1977.

[13]D.K. Wilgus, "Country-Western and the Urban Hillbilly," Journal of American Folklore, 83 (1970), 157-179.

[14]Aaron Latham, "The Ballad of The Urban Cowboy: America's Search for True Grit," Esquire Fortnightly, 90.6 (12 Sept. 1978), 22.

[15]See also Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, p. 237.

[16]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977. "The Tuckerman's Jig," usually "Tuggerman's Jig," see The Shamrocks, The Shamrocks, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, Banff RBS 1055.

[17]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[18]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[19]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[20]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977. "Uncle Jim's Jig," (trad.), see The Corn Husker's Book of Square Dance Tunes, (Toronto: Harry F. Jarman, 1937), p. 10; The Shamrocks, The Shamrocks.
MUNFLA 77-101 F3051, RMS 77-3(b), 25 Feb. 1977. "The Flop Eared Mule," (trad.), see Don Messer, The Best of Don Messer, Vol. 1, one 12" 33 1/3 RP, phonodisc, Apex AL-1609.

[21]"The Rippling Water Jig," (Don Messer), see Don Messer, The Best of Don Messer and His Islanders, Vol. 2, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, Apex AL-1609.

[22]"The Old Man and The Old Woman," (trad), see Don Messer's Way Down East Fiddlin' Tunes, (Toronto: Gordon V. Thompson, Limited, 1948), p. 11; Don Messer, The Best of Don Messer and His Islanders, Vol. 3, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, Apex AL-1610.

[23]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[24]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[25]Wilfred W. Wareham, "Social Change and Musical Tradition: The Role of Singing in the Life of a Newfoundland Traditional Singer," (unpub.) M.A. Thesis (Folklore), Memorial University of Newfoundland, (1972), pp. 81-92.

[26]Charles O. Frake, "The Ethnographic Study of Cognitive Systems," in Anthropology and Human Behaviour, eds., Thomas Gladwin and William C. Sturtevant, (Washington, D.C.: The Anthropological Society of Washington, 1962), pp. 72-85. See also Harold C. Conklin, "Comment," on "The Ethnographic Study . . .," by Frake, in Anthropology and Human Behaviour, eds. Gladwin and Sturtevant, pp. 86-92.

[27]It is important to note that not all segregate sets which define mutually exclusive categories form contrast sets. There must be a cognitive relation of contrast. Frake uses the example of the segregates "hamburger," "hot dogs," and "rainbow," which are mutually exclusive in membership. Two categories contrast only when the difference between them is significant for defining their use. He states, "The segregates 'hamburger' and 'rainbow' even though they have no members in common, do not function as distinctive alternatives in any uncontrived classifying context familiar to me," and therefore are not contrast sets.

This illustrates the need to study the use and operation of the taxonomic system; it is not sufficient to study only the semantic, linguistic dimensions. One method of determining the cognitive relation of contrast is to find whether the contrast sets are themselves included within a segregate. Hamburgers and hotdogs would be included within the segregate "something to eat" which excludes rainbows.

[28]Frake, "The Ethnographic Study," p. 80.

[29]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[30]"Folk" is a similar but different category from old-time, and I think a category which has recently entered Frank's vocabulary. I have heard him refer to old-time folksongs but not to old-time folk tunes without words. An old-time tune may have a known author or known to have been "composed;" folk tunes are not said to have been written, just passed down like some old-time tunes may be. For this reason, the term "folk" may enter both segregates old-time and non-old-time in the ambiguous manner of a new or non-native category.

[31]Unrecorded conversation, during a classroom discussion, 30 Jan. 1979.

[32]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[33]MUNFLA 77-101 F4646c, RMS 77-1B(a), 11 Feb. 1977.

[34]For example, "man" versus "animal," "man" versus "woman," and "man" versus "boy." See Frake, "The Ethnographic Study," p. 82.

[35]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[36]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

CHAPTER FIVE

HOW LEARNING PRACTICES HAVE INFLUENCED FRANK'S PERFORMANCE PRACTICES

Previous chapters of this thesis suggest several reasons why Frank Squires plays the music he does, by examining how Frank talks and thinks about that music. The linking of "old-time music" with his cultural heritage, and a desire to preserve this heritage led Frank to start playing the fiddle. In an attempt to support himself he became a semi-professional dance band musician who played both older and modern music in response to his own aesthetic and audience demands. An equation of fiddling with traditional employment--in that both keep "old-time" life style alive--allowed Frank to balance his two self-defined roles of tradition bearer and professional musician. His choice of repertoire material came from a wide range of sources; the material is categorized and used according to Frank's understanding of the music and his purposes in performance.

This chapter suggests why Frank plays the way he does. Learning practices which have influenced Frank's repertoire and performance practices are discussed. Particular attention is paid to the performer's need for proper audience response with which to judge his music.

Frank Squires is an idiosyncratic fiddler in several ways; his tune renditions do not always match standard varients in their structure or melodic contours. In contrast, his accordion playing does not differ greatly from regional norms; his song repertoire and performance closely

approximate standard models of country-western styling. Whether Frank's performances are idiosyncratic or standard, his renditions are consistent throughout the examples taped over the past two years. Now his music is slowly changing in response to influences discussed in this chapter.

I. Frank's methods of "picking up" music

For Frank, tunes have identity, with separate natures and uses. In the story he tells of the fiddler who received a tune from the fairies, the tune "passed along beside" the man--Frank has specified about 20 feet away. The man "picked it up," and used the tune to make his fortune.

> Frank: . . . there was people came from everywhere to hear him, but my Jesus, they couldn't pick it up. . . . but there's tunes they said fairy tunes, or what, reels or whatever or whatever kind of reels they plays, they plays lots of different tunes, that's not even, you know, we haven't got it in books even. 1

Whatever it is about the tune that makes it "different" from others, it is the player's brain that has to do with picking up, or learning, according to Frank. There are some tunes a man can't pick up "no matter what kind of a brain you got," but when it comes to learning, "it's the brain, is all it is," he explains; and desire, for "if you put your mind to it, you can do it."[2]

> Frank: The fellow that writes [the tune], now he's, he's, if he sits down and writes the tune, by accordine music, he is going to do it accurate. But the fellow who's playing it, there may be a couple of notes or maybe one note that he would miss, you see. But not knowing that, he, he himself, see. He only just got the tune just by

> listening to it. But there is a possibility that he could make a mistake . . . even if he was, could read music. 3

I.a The role of print in learning

The reference to books, of fiddlers coming to hear the fairy tune, and to the writing of accordion tunes, illustrate how Frank distinguishes between the two means of tune transmission: oral tradition and print media. He appears to favour print media for accuracy. Just as he studied the Hank Williams' books to get the songs and chords correctly, an instrumentalist is more likely to get a tune accurately from print, while one who just picks it up by listening may make mistakes. But Frank has never learned to read music.

> Mac: Can you read notes Frank, can you read music?
>
> Frank: No I can't read music, but if a guitar, I can follow the notes, 'cause it's already there, drew out on the book for you, there. The chords are there with the piano music and it's there by the fiddle too, but I doesn't know it, see.
>
> But the chords in the country song books, I can play that, by whatever chords, notes, is there, I can do it, 'cause I had to use the books to sing on radio and in some stage shows. There are so many songs I know, western, country songs, that I had to take the books to follow, see. And I has no trouble to follow them them, see.
>
> .
> .
> .
>
> Usually if I go at a stage show now, I'm going to bring a country book with me, I, so I has the words in front of me and the chords so I can make no mistake. But usually most of the time I has them off, like poetry. You know it off by heart. All down through the years I've studies this, so when you sing these songs you can't forget the words. 4

Shirley keeps these song books, preserved in plastic wrap, with her photos

of movie stars and country artists she and Frank have seen in concert.

It is important to note here, Frank is responding to critical standards of his audience, as well as his own. The audience was familiar with the words and melodies of the country songs. In order to please listeners Frank had to know and sing the songs correctly according to the audiences' standards. The audience was well informed of the "proper" rendition from radio, juke boxes and records; Frank relied on printed sources rather than his memory.

Alan Merriam suggests that music learning

> must be a continuing process since the response of the listener to music sound determines, ultimately, the form which that sound must take. If the product is rejected, the musician must "re-learn " his music, in order to satisfy his audience. . . . It is through the learning process that the relationship between product and concept is established via the response of the musician to the criticism of his performance by his listeners. 5

Ballet books and other printed or manuscript source material, broadsides and newspaper columns, are common tools of the performer and fan for learning and keeping songs.[6] Several studies have been done on such books and learning practices, but I know of none which correlated the reliance on printed material by a singer with the knowledge of the audience and its familiarity with the songs.[7] Musically literate fiddlers, however, appear to be common particularly within those traditions which stress accurate renditions and replications of tune performances rather than variation. Cape Breton and Scottish fiddling traditions are examples of such a case.[8] In Cape Breton, where massed-fiddles rallies and fiddlers' associations are organized so many

musicians play together, festival organizers and associations print and distribute copes of tunes, so that every fiddler will know and play the "same" rendition. Such a demand for accurate renditions is part of the Newfoundland folksong tradition aesthetic, however insufficient work has been done on Newfoundland instrumental music traditions to suggest whether the same aesthetic standards hold.[9]

I.b Learning from another person

Frank also learned by listening to records, radio and television. He suggests that if it is a Newfoundland tune, he can "pick it up." But for the most part, Frank did his learning in a face-to-face situation. To learn to play the accordion he and his teacher had two identical instruments and whatever the older man did, Frank mimicked. An American fiddler in Argentia taught him shuffle-bow patterns, the opening and closing scratch-bow country fiddle tags and how to play the slow country songs; Harvey Mowland taught him "St. Anne's Reel." Frank feels such interaction is the passing on of a tradition.

> Frank: Most of it I learned this from Newfoundland people, the old-timers. I picked most of it up from them, you see, clear of the one that I made up myself. . . . But most of it I picked up from the old-timers, usually from Bonavista Bay. I picked it up from them.
>
> From where they learned it, I guess from their fathers, their fathers. Money was scarce then and they used to make their own fiddles, used to make their own fiddles and they would teach the sons how to play. 10

When Frank speaks of learning tunes, he usually mentions a visual as well as auditory contact. He learned "Listen to The Mocking Bird," from

seeing Ned Landry in concert; "The Rippling Water Jig," he learned from seeing Don Messer on television when the camera was brought close to Messer's hands.[11] As he explains, "I heard [fiddlers] on radio first, you know, but I never know, I had no idea how all this was done until I saw a person playing it."[12]

I.c Learning significant details

Despite his enjoyment of Scottish music, Frank says he cannot play it because the tunes are too difficult. Burt Feintuch's dissertation on a New York fiddler, explains that his informant could not learn "modern music" by ear like he learned his fiddle music,

> because modern tunes were outside the parameters of the emic musical system he participated in as a fiddler and were therefore difficult or impossible for him to learn by ear. 13

I think there is a similar reason for Frank's inability to assimilate Scottish music into his repertoire. The elements upon which Scottish fiddle music is built are sufficiently different in structure and technique from Newfoundland music to be so foreign to Frank that he cannot duplicate them, except for the most basic, significant features of the music which, in some ways, match certain features of his own playing.

During a fiddle workshop at the 1978 St. John's Folk Festival, Frank played a song melody on fiddle, "The Little Ball of Yarn," in what he told me later was "Cape Breton style," starting slowly and speeding up.[14] Frank has heard on television, Cape Breton fiddlers who customarily play medleys of tunes. One common medley set is a lament and two strathspeys; another set is a slow strathspey then faster strathspeys or

reels. These are separate tunes, played at different tempi, slow then fast. When Frank played "The Little Ball of Yarn," he began playing each melody note with a single stroke of the bow, or using a slow shuffle-stroke to play two notes. The speed was slightly slower than his normal reel-playing speed. After playing the tune twice, he increased the speed of his bowing arm, playing a double-time shuffle-bow rhythm, but he did not increase the speed at which he fingered the melody notes. The melody continued to fall on the strong beats of the bow rhythm. He played twice as many notes; his bow arm moved twice as fast, but he did not increase the tempo of the tune.

During a session together, 30 January 1979, Frank and I listened to records of Cape Breton fiddlers and I pointed out specialized bow movements like triplets and the characteristic bow cuts--the inverted dotten rhythm of the Scot's Snap, ♪𝅗𝅥. . When Frank later played his "Little Ball of Yarn," there was a pronounced attempt to imply the snap rhythm and bow cuts missing from his earlier recorded version.

II. Changing performance practices because of new learning experiences

His attempt to play Scottish music is one of several examples of Frank attempting to change his usual performance practices in response to his expanding musical contacts. During a session with a fellow fiddler and I, Frank said all of his previously recorded versions of "Big John McNeil" had been wrong.[15] The mistake had been pointed out to him by a young fiddler at a festival, he explained. When I first met Frank, he played the first, low or [A]-part of "Big John McNeil" in the Key of D;

the second, high or [B]-part in the Key of A. (Frank now plays the [A]-part in the Key of G, a change I attribute to my influence.) The phrases of Frank's [A]-part of "Big John McNeil" are collapsed and repetitious; his shuffle-bow motion dominates the melody, forcing it out of regular sequence. His high, [B]-part is closer to the standard model than the lower [A]-part. However, Frank explained it was the [B]-part he had wrong. When he played the tune for us that afternoon, there was no noticeable change from the previously recorded versions. That afternoon we played "Big John McNeil" with Frank at least 30 times through. We adapted to his key changes, using the Key of G and the Key of A--most fiddlers play the entire tune in the Key of A--but we did not change the melody structure like Frank does so there were conflicts in melody and timing as we played. Frank continued to play the tune the way he always did.

Later Frank played us his version of "The Old Man and The Old Woman." He said he had played this tune at the Good Entertainment II festival with Emile Benoit, a french fiddle Frank admires from Black Duck Brook, on the Port au Port Peninsula of Newfoundland's west coast. Benoit is a well-known fiddler in Newfoundland and has appeared on national broadcast television programmes originating from St. John's. Frank said his own version of the tune differed from Emile's but that "when playing with a fiddler like Emile you have to play it his way." Frank demonstrated the two versions and there was a notable difference in melody, although the rhythmic structure was very similar.(See photograph six)

Frank then played us a tune he learned from Rufus Guinchard, during

the same festival. Rufus is a popular fiddler from Hawke's Bay, Newfoundland, who has recorded and appeared on television.[16] He is a fiddler with a distinct personal style: holding his fiddle to the right of his chin, Rufus grips his bow in the middle of the stick and accents his tunes with short, strong, up-bows. When Frank played Rufus' tune, the phrasing was more choppy and the accents were more pronounced than normally found in Frank's fiddling. Frank explained he learned the tune by playing for one hour with Rufus at a festival dance session.

Conflicts between his tune versions and other fiddlers' do not often bother Frank, who maintains:

> No matter who he is you can always learn something from another fiddler; every fiddler is different, they are all different. One is always better than the other one, and regardless of where you go there is always someone better than him. . . . Another fellow can put in more notes on the fiddle and it sounds better. 17

It is difficult to determine what, for Frank, constitutes "playing it different" and "playing it wrong." Frank distinguishes between two tunes, "The Rippling Water Jig" and one he calls simply "a Canadian polka." To my ear the two tunes are almost identical, except for the use of a pronounced trill in one melodic passage of "The Rippling Water Jig" which is not used for the same passage in the unnamed tune.[18] However, when we play "Smash the Window" Frank leaves out the entire second phrase of the [B]-part, without making up the time at the end of the phrase, while I include the part he omits.[19] This puts our renditions our of synchronization in melody and timing. To Frank, who realized we cannot play the tune together and stops fiddling when we try, this makes our versions "different," but what we play remains the same tune.

When Frank played and practised alone, concern with similarity in pitch and key to other instruments, or between his tune renditions and other musicians', was not necessary. Frank has explained that for a fiddle to play with other instruments like an accordion or guitar in a band, it must be tuned up. But at times, in key and rendition differences among Frank and other ensemble players have caused confusion.[20]

Frank does have a sense of music. He can identify tunes that he knows when other fiddlers play them, and can usually accurately identify various fiddle styles, even if he has not heard the particular tune played before.[21] He is able to comment on bowing style and melodic structure of the tunes he hears. When he accompanies fiddlers with a guitar he is able to follow and chord properly to tunes he has not likely heard before. Yet his own fiddling, the music he favours and cares for most, is in many instances idiosyncratic enough, far enough away from standard tune models, to be considered mixed up or "wrong" if it were to be judged simply on technical criteria. It is not that Frank does not know the tunes and makes mistakes in his renditions; he has performed consistent renditions of the tunes whenever I've recorded him.

An answer to why Frank plays the way he does is suggested by the fact that now, with increasing contact with other fiddlers and musicians, Frank's music is changing. His instruments are now being kept up to concert pitch, when before they were usually two to four tones below concert. Several of his commonly played tune renditions are being smoothed out; although shifting phrase-elements are still frequent the versions are becoming regularized.[22] He is beginning to play regularized

repeat patterns in his two-part tunes, a feature absent from his music when we first met.[23]

III. The role of a reference group in the learning experience

Both Alan Merriam, discussing music, and Ward Goodenough, discussing language, consider some form of "feed-back" process vital to any form of cultural learning.[24] Music and language are culturally coded sound systems. In order to communicate meaningfully a musician or speaker must produce sounds which are recognized as meaningful by the listeners who judge the sounds acceptable/unacceptable within the appropriate codes. A child experiments and at random produces vocal sounds; occasionally the child receives reinforcement in the form of positive response to some of those sounds and is encouraged to produce the sounds again. Slowly a repertoire of sounds is gained and becomes speech. Music learning is similar. Both Merriam and Blacking cite examples of childhood imitation of adult music-making being an important stage in the acquisition of musical ability.[25] By judging from the performance of their elders, children learn what is an appropriate, or socially acceptable, "musical" sound, and may begin to order these sounds into a musical system. Each is then free to develop their own repertoire and performance style within the system.

Goodenough points out that each person's speech behaviour is actually an "idiolect," a private and unique code system close enough to the surrounding ideolects of his community members for mutual intelligibility.

> There is something to be learned, a set of standards for speaking. . . . By using the others as his guide

> the individual learner may someday manage to discover what those standards are. . . . We know that the individual learner plays an active role in learning ; the standards he arrives at for speaking and interpreting the speech of others being his own creation.
>
> What the learner comes up with in the end is a feel for a set of patterns, and, at the same time, a feel for principles by which to select among the patterns to construct actual utterances. He has developed these principles out of his experience of the behaviour of others. 26

If there is no appropriate reference group upon whom the speaker or musician can depend to judge his attempts at mimicking the coded sound system, to correct or help explain the principles and patterns he sees in the system, there is not sufficient feedback for him to properly shape and modify his ideolect. At times this results in unintelligible utterances. In the case of a musician, his musical products may sound highly idiosyncratic when compared to others which more closely conform to the common musical-language pool.

III.a Frank's response to his audience as a reference group

Frank's audience is his reference group for learning feed-back. He was aware of this when he learned the Hank Williams music. He had to conform to the audience's demands for proficiency in a particular performance repertoire and style. The audience is not as knowledgeable about fiddle music as it is of the song repertoire; its standards are not so refined in its appreciation of fiddle music as of singing. The audience's response to the fiddle is on a symbolic rather than a technical level--the sound of the fiddle is enough to classify a musical style and evoke a like/dislike response.[27] The audience's primary

purpose is to enjoy the social aspects of a music-making event, which in Frank's case was usually a house party or dance. For a successful dance, the music must be heard and supply a strong rhythmic pulse; melody is secondary; a good fiddler is one who can play all night.

The audience is aware of and responds to the musical form in terms of the music's social meaning and function, discriminating only on significant features which affect it: such as a fiddler who provides an unstable rhythm for dancing, is far out of tune with accompanying instruments, or who plays music inappropriate for that particular social context.[28] The audience's discrimination between tunes or between versions of the same melody is not fine. This allows Frank, a fiddler who does not read music, to vary from standard melodic models of tunes more than he can from the words and melodies of well-known songs, and still be a successful dance musician.

It was demands from this audience which Frank matched, and he received sufficient positive reinforcement for his performance to continue doing what he was doing. Now after association with me and other fiddlers Frank is learning more about the technical demands of the music and is attempting to match them. As Goodenough explains:

> Because each individual creates his own version of what he understands the language of his fellows to be, the degree to which his version approximates their individual versions must depend aside from his own apptitude for learning, on the opportunities he has for discovering significant differences in his fellows' speech. The more he and they talk together and the wider the range of situation and of subject matters covered, the greater the opportunities to discover these differences and adjust speech to reduce the variance. 29

During a class presentation with Folklore students at the university, Frank was asked if he ever tape recorded himself and listened to his own music.[30] This is a technique well known among contest fiddlers who wish to polish their technique and renditions.[31] After the session, during a telephone conversation, Frank told me he is going to try this tape recorder experiment, "to see where I make mistakes." He has asked me for tapes of several of my Cape Breton fiddle music records to see if he can "pick up anything" from them. With the tape recorder technique and these new musical influences, I look forward to more changes happening in Frank's musical repertoire and performance style.

III.b The reinforcement of the festival audience

Frank is adapting and using performance styles and a repertoire learned both through the tradition-oriented contexts of house parties and dances and the popular media entertainment contexts of radio and television. He is now beginning to use these musical styles and items in a new context: the folk music festival. The phenomenon of the festival and festival behaviour--of performers and audience--demands an entire investigation and thesis of its own.[32] Festival behaviour is complex, and its purpose and meaning cannot be observed with any degree of objectivity, according to R.J. Smith. Smith writes:

> Festival behaviour is meaningful . . . acquiring its meaning . . . through tradition [that is, through repetition in certain contexts]. Furthermore, the behaviour is symbolic. . . . The significance of festival behaviour must be looked for in the response of those toward whom it is directed, in the meaning they assign to it. 33

Smith suggests that festival behaviour has neither a strictly cognitive or strictly affective meaning, but a combination of the two. In other words, the audience not only "knows" or "recognizes" what is happening on stage or between themselves and the performers, but the material performed at a festival, and the festival situation itself, have an emotional association and meaning for the audience.[34] Especially under the influence of a revitalization movement, festival behaviour has symbolic meaning, and is evocative of a complex set of social, political and private emotional responses.[35]

The symbolic meaning of fiddle playing for Frank--in his equation of "old-time" and Newfoundland tradition--communicates through his performances to a festival audience. The festival, which displays selected aspects of regional or cultural heritage, provides an opportunity for identification with the heritage as a member of the regional or cultural group, through an appreciation of the festival content and participation in the festival activities. It is at a festival that Frank shares with his audience a concern for old-time Newfoundland music and entertainments and the associated life style these things symbolize.

In the final analysis Frank plays what he does the way he does because of a set of beliefs about what the music is and what playing music means. The technical properties of the music and the performance practices are vehicles for his personal expression of an understanding of folklore forms and processes. As a performing musician he has had to shape and adjust this personal, private expression, in response to its public reception.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[1]MUNFLA 77-101 F4638c, RMS 78-2(a), 24 May 1978.

[2]MUNFLA 77-101 F3052, RMS 77-2(a), 25 Feb. 1977.

[3]MUNFLA 77-101 F3052, RMS 77-2(a), 25 Feb. 1977.

[4]MUNFLA 77-101 F4646, RMS 77-1B(b), 11 Feb. 1977.

[5]Alan P. Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), p. 158, 161.

[6]See the use of homemade songbook material described in Almeda Riddle's book listed in the bibliography; also MUNFLA 78-157, MUNFLA 78-235, MUNFLA 78-237, three collections of manuscript song material.

[7]Examples of studies of both commercial and homemade songbooks are a thesis by Paul H. Mercer and an article by Neil V. Rosenberg, listed in the bibliography.

[8] Earl V. Spielman, "The Fiddling Traditions of Cape Breton and Texas: A Study of Parallels and Contrasts," Anuario interamericano de investigacion musical, 8 (1972) 39-48; Francis Collinson, The Traditional and National Music of Scotland, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 205-207. For contrast see George Proctor's study of a similar Scotland-derived tradition in Ontario where he found few musically literate fiddlers; Proctor, "Old Time Fiddling in Ontario," in National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 190, Contributions to Anthropology, 1960, Part II, (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1963), pp. 173-208.

[9]Gerald Pocius, "'The First Day That I thought of It Since I Got Wed': Role Expectations and Singer Status in a Newfoundland Outport," Western Folklore, 35 (1976), 109, 112.

[10]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[11]MUNFLA 77-101 F3051, RMS 77-3(b), 25 Feb. 1977.

[12]MUNFLA 77-101 F4637c, RMS 4637c, RMS 78-1(a), 24 May 1978.

[13]Burt H. Feintuch, "'Pop' Zeigler, Fiddler, a Study of Folkloric Performance," (unpub.) Ph.D. Dissertation (Folklore), University of Pennsylvania, (1975), p. 137.

[14]MUNFLA 77-101 F4643c, RMS 77-7(a), 2 July 1978.

[15]Unrecorded session, 7 Nov. 1978.

[16]Rufus Guinchard, Newfoundland Fiddler, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, Breakwater Recordings 1002; see Jim Hornby, "Guinchard Recording Shows his Forceful, Unadorned Style," a review of Newfoundland Fiddler, in MUN Gazette, 11.8 (21 Dec. 1978), 4-5.

[17]MUNFLA 77-101 F3050, RMS 77-1A(a-b), 11 Feb. 1977.

[18]MUNFLA 77-101 F3051, RMS 77-3(b), 25 Feb. 1977.

[19]"Smash the Window," (trad.), see Old Time Fiddlin' Tunes, The Corn Husker's Series, No. 4, (Toronto: Harry F. Jarman, 1937), p. 11; Don Messer, The Best of Don Messer and His Islanders, Vol. 6, one 12" 33 1/3 RPM phonodisc, Apex, AL-1613.

[20]MUNFLA 77-101 F4643c, RMS 78-7(b), 2 July 1978; MUNFLA 78-361, Good Entertainment II, tape 7, 2 Sept. 1978.

[21]When listening to examples from my record collection, Frank was only confused by examples of Ukrainian-American fiddling and jazz violin which he had not heard before. He easily identified examples of Scottish, Cape Breton, Quebec, Cajun, Old Timey American and various contemporary Canadian fiddle styles. He named several tunes, although they were played in different styles than Frank was used to.

[22]An eight-bar reel is commonly constructed of two four-bar repeated parts. These four-bar parts are constructed of two two-bar phrases, each constructed of, usually, two phrase elements. See David Parker Bennett, "A Study of Fiddle Tunes From Northwestern Carolina," (unpub.) M.A. Thesis (Music), University of North Carolina, (1940), pp. 35-36.

[23]Unrecorded session, 30 Jan. 1979.

[24]Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, pp. 145-163; Ward H. Goodenough, Culture, Language and Society, An Addison-Wesley Module in Anthropology, No. 7, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 3, 9, 11.

[25]Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, pp. 146-150; John Blacking, How Musical is Man?, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1973), pp. 69, 91-95.

[26]Goodenough, Culture, Language and Society, p. 14.

[27]Michael Owen Jones, "The Concept of 'Aesthetic' in the Traditional Arts," Western Folklore, 30 (1971), 82; Howard S. Becker, "The Professional Dance Hall Musician and His Audience," The American Journal of Sociology, 55 (1951), 139 (this reference was suggested by Neil Rosenberg); and Serge Denisoff, Solid Gold: The Popular Record Industry, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1975), pp. 10, 31-36.

[28]Neil V. Rosenberg, "Studying Country Music in the Maritimes: Theory, Technique and The Archivist," Phonographic Bulletin, 14 (May 1976), rpt. in Rosenberg, Country Music in the Maritimes: Two Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland Department of Folklore Reprint Series, No. 2, (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1976), p. 17. This observation was first suggested to me by Neil Rosenberg, after playing with Frank at a festival.

[29]Goodenough, Culture, Language and Society, p. 15.

[30]Unrecorded conversation, 30 Jan. 1979.

[31]Richard Blaustein, "Traditional Music and Social Change: The Old-Time Fiddlers' Association Movement in the United States," (unpub.) Ph.D. Dissertation (Folklore), Indiana University, (1975), p. 25.

[32]See Feintuch, "'Pop' Zeigler," Chapter Five, "Performance: The Brandy Wine Mountain Music Convention," pp. 191-242, for an attempt to analyse a fiddler's festival performances and social behaviour.

[33]Robert Jerome Smith, "The Structure of Esthetic Response," Journal of American Folklore, 84 (1971), 69-70.

[34]Jones, "The Concept of 'Aesthetic'," p. 101.

[35]For a discussion of the affects of revitalization movements, see Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist, 58 (1956), 264-281.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SHAPE OF FRANK'S MUSICAL CAREER

Imput and influence from various media sources and styles on Newfoundland musical traditions have been documented.[1] Each performer within such a dynamic tradition develops his individual conception of his music and heritage, and the adaption and use he makes of music from various sources to fit his own model is unique.[2] Adaption, conception and use is selective and idiosyncratic, although in so adapting the performer may be seen as an example of a larger cultural process. Similarities among performers in a musical tradition allow the construction of analytical study models.[3] The concurrence with or deviance from such a model by a single performer illustrates the specialized influence of personality operating within the larger processes of culture development and change.[4]

Certain aspects within a tradition, such as repertoire content and performance style, are similar and remain fairly constant from performer to performer.[5] This may illustrate those aspects of the tradition dominated by attitudes of maintenance and conservatism. Frequent differences between performers point to features of the tradition in which personal creativity and individuality are allowed greater expression.

Rosenberg has developed a model of components relating traditional music and country music in the Canadian Maritimes, particularly New Brunswick.[6] With a small amount of manipulation, this model can be used to understand facets of Frank's repertoire and performance style, and the formation of his musical career.

Although Frank cannot read musical notation, he fits Rosenberg's pattern of the literate folksingers and musicians who "refurbished their repertoires through reference to print."[7] His use of the Hank Williams books and their careful preservation in order to ensure continued accuracy in performance, was a response to the popularity of Williams' music and Frank's own taste. The distribution of Williams' music on radio and jukeboxes informed the audience of the correct way of singing--a standard it demanded of Frank. This is one factor of conservatism which demands not only that the repertoire be familiar, but that it also adhere to a norm. Frank had to give the people what they wanted. Because he did, his band was locally popular and successful.

Some of the audience, and part of Frank's character also, demanded the maintenance of another familiar music: the jigs and reels of traditional Newfoundland dance music. Frank values the old Newfoundland way of life and to preserve his heritage began to play the accordion and fiddle. It would be interesting to have a recording of Frank's playing of jigs and reels before he became involved with a country band. There are cognitive and technical differences in the way he approaches the different types of music, as he sees them, however a certain amount of country colouration affects his playing of the older music.

The importance of familiarity with a standard musical repertoire is illustrated by Frank's inability to learn Scottish and Cape Breton fiddle tunes. The "turns" of the tunes, that is, the note patterns and rhythmic motion, ornamentation, the bow timing and phrasing, are different from the musical style Frank is used to. He cannot "pick up"

the sound. When he attempts to play a Cape Breton style he uses the significant musical features familiar from his own stylistic repertoire. However, a sound he is used to, or similar to one he knows, is less difficult for him to learn and incorporate. Canadian and American fiddle tune repertoires overlap; Frank's most common fiddle reels are from this shared area: "St. Anne's Reel," "Big John McNeil," "Boil the Cabbage Down." The jigs he plays are more common to Canadian tune repertoires.

Rosenberg states the appearance of records and the growth of radio affected Maritime instrumental traditions just as it affected singing, partly because of the ubiquitous popularily of Don Messer. When Frank plays a Messer tune, particularly "The Rippling Water Jig," again he does not duplicate but exaggerates significant details--the pronounced trills in "The Rippling Water Jig" are the only significant difference between that tune and another unnamed jig Frank calls a Canadian polka. Frank plays tunes his own way, using double-stops, drones and sliding finger-note patterns not found commonly in Messer's music. Frank employs some conventional Canadian-style ornamentation--trills, grace-notes and triplets--but his bow arm conforms more to American fiddling patterns of shuffle rhythms he learned with a country band.

Too few regional style-studies have been done with east-coast Newfoundland accordion players or fiddlers; it is presently impossible to say whether Frank's playing conforms to an area style, or is more a result of personal learning experiences. Since his sources and teachers were local men or mass media peformers, other dance fiddlers and accordionists of his age may be found with similar Canadian-Newfoundland-Ame-

rican country style musical blend. Separate studies have shown both a syncretistic musical response to acculturation in Newfoundland and the assimilation of musical styles which are kept as discrete elements within a repertoire.[8] Frank's terminology, technical manipulation of his instruments, and the use to which he puts the various elements of his repertoire, indicate that separation in his repertoire is more common than syncretism.

Country music stars influenced Frank's musical career, not only by providing tunes and techniques, a pattern which conforms to Rosenberg's model, but also by supplying the image of the musician Frank and Shirley like to hold: an artist, commercially successful but still in touch with the common people. Frank's greatest compliment about any musician is that he can support himself financially through music and is still ordinary "like ourselves." In stories Frank often links himself with these people by explaining how he shook hands and talked with them.

Few of the people Rosenberg interviewed had not played for money at one time; fewer however were full time professionals who could afford to quit their "day job." He states, these people were not hobbyists,"

> they are important people within their community . . . to whom others turn when there is a need for music. . . . These are the folk entertainers for the working class of the maritimes. 9

Frank is one of these people. He plays on request at concerts, benefits, house party celebrations and regional folk festivals. I have never visited his house, or had him visit me, without music being played.

But why did not Frank Squires make it up one more rung of the professional-status ladder, even only on a provincial level?[10] It is obviously one of his goals and would contribute to his self-worth as a musician. Parallels and differences between Frank's career and those of other Newfoundland musicians suggest several possible reasons.

Wilfred Wareham's thesis deals with an older Newfoundland musical tradition, the unaccompanied ballad singer, but provides insight into Frank's life and music.[11] Wareham's informant was of an older generation than Frank; raised in an outport, the man made his living on the sea and participated in the traditional Newfoundland way of life and employment. Early in life the man became a singer because he realized that singing could be an advantage in gaining prestige and recognition, and an aid in establishing a unique identity in an egalitarian society.[12] As social structure in the singer's community--and Newfoundland in general--changed, the singer's performance style, repertoire and purposes changed. Through it all the man was respected, not only as a good worker and capable skipper, but as a singer; his folkloric expression was a means of establishing and maintaining his status and identity.

Wareham adds a new dimension to studies of traditional musicians as deviant or social outsiders, showing examples of his informant being different or "deviant" in an upward, positive way, capitalizing on his reputation as a good worker and good singer for his own purposes, in some cases, contrary to community custom. Music making was one tool with which Frank Squires also managed to rationalize a felt difference between himself and his community, using it to create the positive social

role he needed to participate in and contribute to his community.

In a traditional Newfoundland society, a strong connection is made between occupation and concepts of manliness and self-worth.[14] A man is respected for his ability to perform a difficult job well, and to provide for his family under adverse conditions. Frank values traditional Newfoundland life styles and occupations as symbols of his heritage; at the same time he is unable and unwilling to be a fisherman or sealer, and saw music-making as a viable economic alternative. By equating music-making with traditional occupations--because it keeps old-time Newfoundland ways alive--fiddling playing became a viable psychological alternative, providing the feeling of accomplishment and self-worth other forms of work could not provide.[15] To accomplish this, however, Frank had to make money playing music, which depended upon a market.

Michael Taft's study of Newfoundland singer-guitarist Jimmy Linegar has shown professional success in Newfoundland popular music required three things: access to media, for exposure and advertising; high mobility for touring the outports where the market was; a good business sense which could determine the product the people wanted and the price they would pay.[16] Linegar and Frank's careers parallel each other closely up to the point Frank married and began a family. Linegar's first radio broadcast was on the children's savings programme; he quit school and supported himself playing music; he modeled himself on a popular country star, in this case Hank Snow; and appeared singing Hank Snow's songs regularly on local radio. But Linegar chose to disassociate himself from traditional dance music, partly because of taste and partly because of market demand; he performed solo and did not have

to split his wages with a band nor attempt to keep an operating band together. He was younger than Frank when he started to play professionally, unmarried and free to travel.

Linegar succeeded, for a while, because he associated himself with "modern," "prestigious" music on the popular media at a time when, after Confederation, the greater impact of mainland culture increased the association of traditional music with the old "bad" days.[17] Frank, however, stayed with a foot in both worlds. One might think this should double his potential audience, but more likely the decline in appreciation and practice of the Lancers and their tunes, especially in the urban area, was an overriding factor, since Frank was limited in mobility to the St. John's and urban areas of the Avalon Peninsula.

Linegar and Frank's selling point was a deliberate imitation of a popular "star," which provided a success very much dependant on the cultural and political climate of the island. When the mainland popular culture changed--especially after the appearance of Elvis Presley--and their performance repertoires did not adapt, both Linegar and Frank's careers failed.

Taft suggests accordion player Wilf Doyle's success, achieved without having to leave Newfoundland, may be attributed to his specialization in dances rather than concerts and his maintenance of an image as a traditional button accordion player. Doyle is also a very innovative musician, willing and able to continually expand his band's musical repertoire and style.[18] Perhaps Frank, with more mobility to tour and a band able to play full-time, may also have succeeded. However, Doyle did have the advantage of being primarily an accordion player, an instru-

ment now more popular in Newfoundland than the fiddle, partly because of Doyle.

Jimmy Linegar, Wilf Doyle and Frank Squires, all about the same time, were entering into a new social role in Newfoundland--the professional musician. Previously, the singers and musicians were members of the community, who had community-oriented occupations; their musical abilities gave additional status and certain ones were deferred to for performance, but their abilities were used for special times as community entertainment.[19] Music was not something you paid to hear.[20] With a changing society, changing media, and changing popular concepts about musicians, a new alternative opened up for those who prefered music-making to other forms of employment. A man no longer had to be a carpenter or fisherman who sang and played the accordion; he could become a specialist, and make his living as an entertainer, in and out of his local community. The varying success of these men indicate the various forms of specialists the society was willing to accept in this substitutive role.

Unable and unwilling to find satisfaction in the traditional employment roles provided by his community, Frank attempted to find a new role in the realm of artistic expression. He painted and made models of sealing ships; he read and retold stories of Newfoundland's past; and he tried to make a living playing music. In these attempts he turned to the content of the traditional artistic expression available to him and to the new media technology which provided, for him, both substance and means for his expression.

The changing media was also affecting his community, and opened up

the possibility of success within the new, self-chosen social role of professional musician. His practical failure in this attempt--he does not make a living playing music--can be attributed to many things, not the least of which was the lack of a sufficiently attuned musical reference group in which to hone his musical skills. The changing public taste in entertainment was also a deciding factor--only the old-timers knew and practised the traditional dances, and the young people's taste passed beyond Hank Williams-style country music. Now another changing social circumstance and changing media style are again opening the possibility of a new social role for Frank--that of professional folklore performer.

Again Linegar and Frank's experience parallel. Linegar began to perform more frequently after his contact with Taft and other members of the Memorial University Department of Folklore. His appearance at the Good Entertainment folk festivals have lead to increased exposure in the local press, and, in co-operation with the Department of Folklore and the university, he has been featured in a documentary videotape film "Country Music Pioneer," shown on local cable television in St. John's.[12]

Frank's contact with the university, as a folklore informant and as a classroom visitor, and his participation in the folk festival circuit are new ways to fulfill his purposes--which have remained unchanged for so long--that of sharing his knowledge and understanding of traditional Newfoundland ways and entertainments and that of performing for an audience which appreciates his music. It is appropriate that a recent profile of Linegar in the Newfoundland Herald T.V. Week is accompanied by a photograph of Linegar and Frank performing together at the Good Entertainment II festival.[22] (See photograph seven)

Frank Squires is an entertainer responding to a variety of needs and demands which arise internally from his self-concept and purposes and externally from the expectations of his audience. His music has developed through a situation in which his own needs and goals and the demands of his audience were complementary and conflicting. Frank has used both traditional musical material and contemporary media products, adapting them to his own standards, to mediate successfully between the various demands. Using his folklore repertoire, the narrative and musical material, he has established an identity in his chosen role of entertainer and tradition bearer. Now with new social contacts and new performance situations, there are new demands on Frank and his music. The music is slowly changing to meet these demands.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

[1]For examples, see the work of Gordon Cox, Paul Mercer, Peter Narváez and Michael Taft, listed in the bibliography.

[2]Michael Taft, A Regional Discography of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1904-1972, Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive Bibliographical and Special Series, No. 1, (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1975), p. viii.

[3]Neil V. Rosenberg, "'Folk' and 'Country' Music in the Canadian Maritimes: A Regional Model," The Journal of Country Music, 5 (1974), 76-83; rpt. in Rosenberg, Country Music in the Maritimes: Two Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland Department of Folklore Reprint Series, No. 2, (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1976), pp. 1-11, and the work of Alan Lomax, listed in the bibliography.

[4]See the work of Roger Abrahams, William Bascom and Martin Lovelace, listed in the bibliography.

[5]Lomax' work attempts to systematise similarities among performers across large cultural areas.

[6]Rosenberg, Two Studies, p. 2.

[7]Rosenberg, Two Studies, p. 3.

[8]For a study of syncretism, see Narváez, "Country and Western in Diffusion,"; for a study of musical assimilation in which the elements remain separate, see Cox, "Some Aspects of Musical Acculturation," in the bibliography.

[9]Neil V. Rosenberg, "Studying Country Music and Contemporary Folk Music Traditions in the Maritimes: Theory, Technique and The Archivist," Phonographic Bulletin, 14 (May 1976), 18-21; rpt. in Rosenberg, Two Studies, p. 17.

[10]Wilfred W. Wareham, "Social Change and Musical Tradition: The Role of Singing in the Life of a Newfoundland Traditional Singer," (unpub.) M.A. Thesis (Folklore), Memorial University of Newfoundland, (1972).

[12]Wareham, "Social Change and Musical Tradition, p. 106.

[13]Wareham, "Social Change and Musical Tradition," p. 101. For a discussion of the musician as deviant, see Alan P. Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 130-132.

[14]John Roper Scott, "The Function of Folklore in the Interrelationship of the Newfoundland Seal Fishery and the Home Communities of the Sealers," (unpub.) M.A. Thesis (Folklore), Memorial University of Newfoundland, (1975), pp. 137-141.

[15]Howard S. Becker and James W. Carper, "The Development of Identification with an Occupation," The American Journal of Sociology, 61 (1956), 289-298.

[16]Michael Taft, "'That's Two More Dollars': Jimmy Linegar's Success with Country Music in Newfoundland," Folklore Forum, 7 (1974), 99-120.

[17]Taft, "'That's Two More Dollars'," p. 106.

[18]This was pointed out to me by Neil V. Rosenberg.

[19]Gerald Pocius, "'The First Day That I Thought of It Since I Got Wed': Role Expectations and Singer Status in a Newfoundland Outport," Western Folklore, 35 (1976), 109, 112.

[20]Wareham, "Social Change and Musical Traditions," p. 174.

[21]Country Music Pioneer, with Jimmy Linegar, (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland Media Division, 1979).

[22]Neil Murray, "Profile; Recognition Finally Comes to Country Music Singer Jimmy Linegar," Newfoundland Herald T.V. Week, 34:13 (28 March 1979), 16-17.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

This study illustrates an individual's self-expression through folkloric performance. It demonstrates how Frank Squires selects, adapts and uses narrative and musical material from traditional and contemporary media sources to create a repertoire which fits and communicates his self-image.

The terms motivation, conceptualization and manipulation have been used to describe processes which are not as straight forward, one dimensional, or linear as the written description makes them appear. These forces in Frank Squires' life and their expression through his stories and music are in dynamic relationship; a change in one brings about a change in the other. Change has been seen during the course of this study, and it is understood that Frank, his repertoire and his performance practices will continue to develop.

In Frank's life history, certain factors of time and place have been shown to have influenced his selection of repertoire material. These influences have come from:

1) his personal contact with traditional musicians and musical traditions from Newfoundland, Canada, the United States and Scotland;

2) popular media, which offered a form and forum for his expression, standards by which to judge his music and a potential income.

For example, the availability of American country music on radio and the opportunity to play with a band of American musicians helped

Frank develop his fiddling style. As a performing musician, Frank was also influenced by audience demand; he had to play what the people wanted.

Other private factors, such as motivation, taste and self-image, cause Frank to select and use his repertoire in a personal manner. Studying the life-history accounts to understand these internal factors provides insight into Frank's musical performances, since these same factors have been the shaping influence for both the musical repertoire and the autobiographical stories.

The thesis focused on those aspects of Frank's personality, the attitudes and values, which made him a musician and a performer. A two-part motivation caused Frank to become a musician:

1) the desire to maintain his cultural heritage;

2) the desire to perform for and please an audience.

To fulfill these purposes he plays the music he learned from both sources of his musical tradition, the older Newfoundland dance music and styles, and modern country-western music, particularly that of Hank Williams. The choice of Hank Williams' music was a matter of personal taste reinforced by audience demand.

Frank appreciates the advantages of contemporary Newfoundland, yet places a high value on the old ways. While using sealing as a major theme in his repertoire of stories, as a representative of the things he respects, he considers such traditional employment systems exploitative slavery. Frank wishes to maintain his cultural heritage as a Newfoundlander, yet he plays music which he knows is not Newfoundland by source. He is able to rationalize potential contradictions in these attitudes

and behaviours by a conceptual manipulation of his repertoire, illustrated by the common use of the adjective "old-time." The symbolization of selected aspects of the life style of his heritage, particularly fiddling, as "old-time" creates a link between these two important elements in Frank's life.

In Frank's understanding, music is defined by its nature and its use. The nature, expressed in geographical/cultural terms, is provided, in part, by the heritage of the composer and/or performer. Frank establishes credentials for his father as a Newfoundlander and traces his own musical ability through his ancestry. The music he plays is also used for Newfoundland dances; "It is what the Newfoundlanders, our forefathers, used to dance to years ago," he explains. By these descriptions Frank is showing his music is, at once, a cultural heritage, a family tradition and a personal expression--Newfoundland no matter what the ultimate source of that music.

The need for employment is a crucial consideration for Frank. This need is filled by being a "professional" musician, being paid for playing music and appearing on popular media. Frank's use of "old-time" music in performance allows him to simultaniously fill two roles--that of being a tradition bearer and that of being a professional musician. Playing such music serves as an economic and psychological alternative to more traditional forms of employment, providing a sense of self-worth and a positive social role in his community.

It was a changing media situation which offered the opportunity for this new social role, while also supplying the form and substance of the expression in this role. However Frank's repertoire did not continue to

change with the media or popular taste. His attempt to support himself as a musician failed. Now another change in popular taste and media--exemplified in the folk festival--is offering new opportunity for Frank.

Frank is an idiosyncratic fiddler. His renditions of tunes appear irratic when compared to standard models, although they are consistent among themselves. It was a lack of a sufficiently attuned musical reference group in which to perfect his fiddling which partly accounts for Frank's style in technical production of the tunes. The strong rhythmic pulse in his music, emphasised at the expense of melodic structure, is a response to the demands made on him as a dance fiddler. Now in new performance contexts other than dances, the music and Frank's technique are slowly changing to meet new demands.

The repertoire items, narrative or musical, and Frank's presentation of them, are chosen in response to changing "external" contexts of performance situations. The "internal" context of his performance--his attitudes, values and evaluations--remain fairly constant, as Frank places himself and his music directly in the mainstream of Newfoundland tradition.

Through performance, Frank Squires has established and communicates an identity as a professional Newfoundland musician, a local community entertainer whose personal expression is helping to keep his tradition alive. Frank's self-descriptive life-history narrations provide a picture of this personality and purpose throughout his musical career. His music acts as a symbolic statement of his heritage and the values inherent in that life style. No matter what the change in the vehicle

of expression or the market to which it is directed, this identity and meaning communicated through Frank's folkloric performance remains consistent with his motivational purposes, of preserving his heritage and pleasing his audience, and consistent with his self-image as a tradition bearer and a professional musician.

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